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Constitutional Affairs

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Petitions

**Party financing and
referendum campaigns
in EU Member States**

STUDY FOR THE AFCO COMMITTEE



DIRECTORATE GENERAL FOR INTERNAL POLICIES
POLICY DEPARTMENT C: CITIZENS' RIGHTS AND CONSTITUTIONAL AFFAIRS

CONSTITUTIONAL AFFAIRS

**PARTY FINANCING AND REFERENDUM
CAMPAIGNS IN EU MEMBER STATES**

STUDY

Abstract

This study has been prepared by the Amsterdam School of Communication Research (ASCoR), part of the Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences, University of Amsterdam (UvA). It comprises 1) an up-to-date inventory of party finance rules within the EU Member States, 2) an overview of the regulations on referendum and issue campaigns, 3) an investigation into actual spending on the EU referendum, national election, and EU election campaigns, and 4) remarks concerning AFCD's amendments to the proposed Statute for European Political Parties based on collected data.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CC	Criminal Code
c2d	Centre for Research on Direct Democracy
CEC	Central Electoral Commission (Bulgaria/Lithuania)
CNCCFP	La Commission Nationale des Comptes de Campagne et des Financements Politiques (National Accounts and Political Campaign Funding Commission)
CPI	Corruption Perception Index (Transparency International)
DO	Designated Organisation
DR	Desk Research
EP	European Parliament
ES	Expert Survey
EPVPA	Election of President and Vice-President Act (Bulgaria)
Greco	Group of States against Corruption
IFRS	International Financial Reporting Standard
LFP	Law on Financing and Financial Control of Political Parties and Political Campaigns (Lithuania)
MGS	Minimum Gross Salary (Romania)
MP	Member of Parliament
NAO	National Audit Office
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NRA	National Revenue Agency
PEA	Permanent Electoral Authority (Romania)

PP Permitted Participants

PPA Political Parties Act

PPERA The Political Parties Elections and Referendums Act 2000 (UK)

PPP Purchasing Power Parity

SAO State Audit Office

SGI Sustainable Governance Indicator

SIPO Standards in Public Office Commission (Ireland)

SMD Single Member District

STI State Tax Inspectorate (State Tax Inspector)

VZW De Vereniging Zonder Winstoogmerk (i.e., NGO)

YPPE The Ministry of Economy and Finance (Greece)

ZVRK Elections and Referendums Campaign Act (Slovenia)

Political parties

Bulgaria

ATAKA Bulgarian Nationalists

BSP Bulgarska sotsialisticheska partiya (Bulgarian Socialist Party)

GERB Grazhdani za evropeysko razvitie na Balgariya (Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria)

KzB Koalitsiya za Bulgaria (Coalition for Bulgaria)

NDSV Nacionalno dvizhenie za stabilnost i vazhod (National Movement Simeon II)

Croatia

HDZ Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica (Croatian Democratic Union)

HL-SR Hrvatski laburisti - Stranka rada (Croatian Labourists – Labour Party)

HNS Hrvatska Narodna Stranka (The Croatian People's Party – Liberal Democrats)

HSS-HSLS Hrvatska seljačka stranka - Hrvatska socijalno liberalna stranka (Croatian Peasant Party - Croatian Social Liberal Party)

SDP Socijaldemokratska Partija Hrvatske (Social Democratic Party of Croatia)

Denmark

EL Enhedslisten (Socialists, Red-Green Alliances)

RV Det Radikale Venstre (Radical Right)

SD Socialdemokraterne (Social Democrats)

V Venstre (full name Venstre, Danmarks Liberale Parti) (Left Liberals)

Latvia

LPP/LC Latvia's First Party/Latvian Way

NA National Alliance

PCTVL Latvian Russian Union

SC Harmony Centre

TB/LNNK The Conservative For Fatherland and Freedom/Latvian National Conservative Party

TP The People's Party

V Unity

ZZS Union of Greens and Farmers

Netherlands

CDA ChristenDemocratisch appèl (Christian Democrats)

CU ChristenUnie (The Christian Union)

PvdA Partij van de Arbeid (Labour Party)

PVV Partij voor de Vrijheid (Party for Freedom, Right Wing)

VVD Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie (Liberal Right)

Spain

PP People's Party

PSOE Socialist Party

UK:

Con Conservatives

Lab Labour

UKIP United Kingdom Independent Party

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Background and Aim

In the view of the 2014 European elections and the increasing number of EU-related referendums held throughout the EU Member States, the Committee on Constitutional Affairs aims to update its expertise in the legal framework of campaign financing across the European Union. This study is intended to fulfil this aim.

In some EU countries, regulations on party expenditures have been well established for several decades. However, in recent years, new Member States in particular have established a comprehensive set of rules on party financing, leading to clearer regulations about who receives public funding for what purpose, reducing corruption and generating more transparency. This study presents the most recent updates (the situation as of September 1, 2014) to the regulations on party financing for election, referendum and issue campaigns in all 28 Member States.

Furthermore, this study presents an inventory of party expenditure in a carefully chosen sample of the EU Member States (Bulgaria, Croatia, Denmark, Latvia, the Netherlands, Spain and the United Kingdom) during general, European election and EU referendum campaigns.

Finally, we conclude with a brief discussion of the Statute for the European Political Parties in light of the findings in this study. In doing so, we pay particular attention to the discussion about whether or not to allow European-level parties to use EU funding to finance EU referendum campaigns.

Method

Our findings are presented in four consecutive chapters. This section presents the method with which the data were collected for the first three chapters.

The first chapter presents the regulations related to party financing in the 28 Member States. The information was obtained through desk research (DR) and expert surveys (ES). A structured questionnaire was created that addressed four main topics, namely: 1) public contributions, 2) private financing, 3) contribution limits, spending ceilings and goals, and 4) transparency. A questionnaire was compiled, which was first completed using findings from our own extensive desk research. The questionnaire, including our answers, was then sent to country experts for cross-validation and to fill in the blanks. In case of any inconsistencies between the desk research and the expert's answer, the expert was asked to elaborate on his or her answer, followed by more extensive desk research on our part (DR - part 2). We managed to obtain responses in 20 countries for chapter 1. In the remaining 8 countries, the data we collected is limited to our desk research findings.

Chapter 2 presents the regulations on financing referendums and issue campaigns. It takes the same approach to gathering the information as chapter 1. A filled-in questionnaire was sent to the country experts for cross-validation. The questionnaire addressed the organisation of referendums and issue campaigns, public funding, limitations on donations, controls on donations, and transnational campaign donations. However, gathering information and finding experts for this chapter proved to be more complicated. Most countries hardly hold referendums, if at all. Moreover, regulations are in many cases either not clearly written down or created on an ad hoc basis. Our experts also often did not know the specifics of current regulations related to financing referendums and issues campaigns,

which resulted in less data collected for chapter 2 than for chapter 1. We received expert surveys from 10 countries. We have had to fall back on merely desk research results for the other 18 countries.

The information for chapter 3 was obtained in various ways. For Croatia, Bulgaria, Latvia, Spain and the UK, the information was gathered from political-party or government websites that regularly gather and publish such information. The information for the Netherlands was gathered by asking the party's treasurer and from desk research. The information for Denmark was obtained from the Folketinget website¹.

¹ http://www.ft.dk/Folketinget/Folketingets_administration/Tal_og_regnskaber/Partierne.aspx

1. INTRODUCTION: REGULATIONS FOR PARTY FINANCING

KEY FINDINGS

- All Member States have some form of **public funding** of parties, except for Malta, where party financing regulations are scheduled to be implemented soon.
- Parties in all Member States receive a form of **indirect** public funding.
- The most common **distribution criterion** for public funding is **equal and proportional** to the number of votes received.
- **Bans** on certain types of **donors** apply in most countries, with the exception of Denmark, Malta, the Netherlands and Sweden.
- Half of the Member States apply **limits** to party expenditures.
- In most Member States, public funding is **earmarked** for specific purposes.
- Political parties in all Member States are required to perform **financial bookkeeping**.
- Parties must **publish** their **financial statements** to the public in all Member States except for Malta and Spain.
- The most common **sanctions** for parties that do not obey the rules are **fines, forfeiture and imprisonment**.

The following section presents party regulations in all of the EU Member States. As stated in the executive summary, the information for this first chapter stems from extensive desk research, based on the most recent legal documents that could be found for each of the Member States. In most countries, the findings from the desk research were cross validated by country experts and amended and updated where necessary. In the process of gathering the data for this section, it became apparent that many of the regulations are subject to regular change and that especially in the newest Member States, the formulation of these regulations is an ongoing process, which becomes clear when reading the regularly updated evaluation reports by the Group of States against Corruption (hereinafter Greco). However, what is also evident is that in recent years, most countries have moved towards a more open and accountable system of party financing regulations. The data below present the regulations for each of the Member States in a structured manner as of September 1, 2014. In each country, the regulations regarding public subsidisation, private funding, limits and ceilings on donations and party expenditures and transparency regulations are discussed. This introduction presents the main findings for all 28 EU Member States. Subsequently, it structures the countries according to public funding, bans and limits related to funding and level of transparency.

1.1. Main findings

The results showed that each Member State either provides some form of public funding of parties for financing electoral campaigns or is working on implementing new public financing regulations (Malta). In Italy, however, this will change soon: in that country, public funding is slowly being phased out (from 2014 to 2017) and will gradually move towards completely private funding. Furthermore, in all Member States, parties receive some form of indirect public funding, mostly tax exemptions, free media access or broadcasting time and other campaign-related forms of public funding. A party is often eligible for party financing when it is registered, has participated in a particular election and/or

has reached a threshold of votes during the last general, local or European election. This threshold is most commonly between 1 and 3 percent of the total votes. The most common distribution criterion for public funding is an equal and proportional distribution according to the number of votes received during the previous general election.

In some countries, such as Malta and Portugal, there is a form of party funding which is not specifically related to elections or election purposes, but is provided annually for other specific purposes. Few Member States also invest in party-related organisations, but those that do (Austria, Cyprus, Germany, Lithuania, the Netherlands and Slovenia) most often invest in youth organisations.

Most Member States ban certain types of donors, such as anonymous and corporate donors. The main exceptions are Denmark, Malta, the Netherlands and Sweden, where anyone or any company can donate. Of these countries, Malta is working to implement new rules, including new bans. This means that it is mostly Northern European countries that lack donor bans. Interestingly, although a lack of rules related to donations has the potential to increase political corruption, the Northern European countries are among the least corrupt in the world (cf., the Corruption Perception Index, Transparency International).

The results further indicate that Northern and Western EU countries have fewer limits on donations and fewer ceilings on party expenditure than do Eastern and Southern European countries. In recent years, the latter countries have often updated their regulations, whereas the regulations in the former countries date from much earlier. The updated regulations contribute to more transparency in the Eastern and Southern European countries.

About half of the Member States have a ceiling on party expenditures, whereas parties in the rest of the Member States are supposedly allowed to spend as much as they see fit. Public funding is often earmarked for specific campaign-related activities. Yet, in nine of the 28 countries (Belgium, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, France, Germany, Malta and Sweden), there are no strict rules about how the budget may be spent.

Parties in all Member States are required to engage in some form of financial bookkeeping. In most countries, parties are obliged to submit annual financial reports, including sources of income, party expenditures, loans and returns. In Ireland, the Netherlands and Sweden, parties are not obliged to report income below a certain threshold, making party expenses in these countries less transparent than in others.

In most Member States, political parties' financial statements have to be made publicly available. Exceptions include Malta, where these regulations have not yet been implemented; Spain, where there is no formal obligation to publish the findings; and Austria, where the published financial report must only include donations above 7,260 Euros.

In Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, France, Germany, Hungary and Italy, financial reports are published in one or more newspapers, making them publicly available for everyone and thereby increasing transparency. France, Germany, Hungary and Italy also publish financial statements online, as do most other countries. The most noticeable exceptions are the Czech Republic, Finland and Greece, where the reports are only available upon request.

Most Member States apply fines or forfeiture and in some cases, imprisonment, when parties do not comply with these rules. However, the extent to which Member States enforce these sanctions varies. In Cyprus, for instance, the sanctions have never been enforced whereas they have been enforced in February 2000 in Germany, when the CDU was fined DM 41 million due to faulty financial reports².

1.2. Countries according to public and private financing, bans and limits on funding and level of transparency

As stated above, the EU countries have started to become more similar as most countries have increased the number of bans and limits related to private funding and the level of transparency related to expenditures. Figure 1 shows how the 28 Member States are situated with respect to two out of three dimensions. In this section, we discuss the main findings related to those regulations.

First, all countries except Malta have some form of public funding. Although the Maltese government is currently working to establish regulations related to the public funding of political parties, as of September 1, 2014 (our time point of reference), the information is current. This means that with respect to public funding, we can distinguish between two groups: the country that does not provide public funding (Malta) and those that do (all other Member States). Since only one Member State does not provide funding, for clarity, this dimension is not observed in the graph.

Second, a limited number of regulations regarding private funding and donors can make it easier for companies and persons to exercise some form of political influence through donating money to parties. Our focus here is on corporate donations, as corporations are more likely to have the available resources to exercise a strong influence than do natural persons. When such donations can be made anonymously, there are even more opportunities for corporations to gain some form of political influence without parties having to justify that influence. Accordingly, in countries with no limits or bans, any corporate influence on politics can be exercised in silence, which has detrimental consequences for democracy. The second dimension consists of the sum of three elements: whether there is a ban on corporate donations, whether anonymous donations are allowed and whether there are any limits, especially for large companies, on donations. The dimension "limits and bans"³ in the graph below indicates whether a country has no (0) or many (10) bans and limits regarding public funding. The first cluster of countries with no or a very limited number of limits or bans includes Denmark, Austria and Malta. In these countries, corporate and anonymous donations are allowed and there are no limits with respect to the amount that donors are allowed to give. The second cluster consists of Germany, Ireland, the Netherlands, Estonia, and Hungary. These countries, except for Estonia, allow corporate donations and have no limits on companies' donations. Stricter rules apply in the other EU countries. In these countries (except for Sweden), corporate donations and/or donations from companies with government contracts are not allowed. Most countries either do not allow anonymous donations or do not allow them above a certain threshold and most of these countries have regulations on the amount that donors are allowed to give.

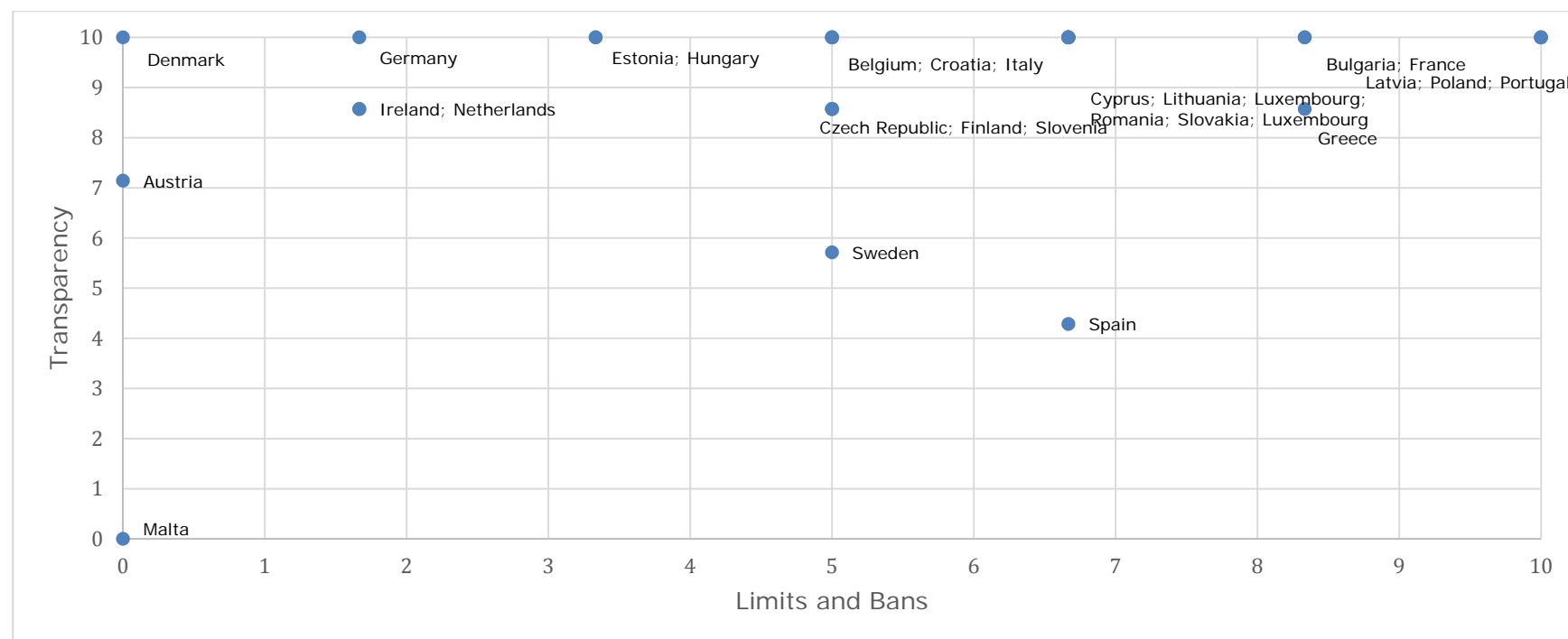
² <http://www.rp-online.de/politik/kohl-soll-cdu-vorsitzenden-zur-aussage-gedraengt-haben-aid-1.2264014>

³ **Corporate donations:** 1 = No ban on corporate donations; 2 = ban on donations from corporations with government contracts; 3 = ban on corporate donations. **Anonymous donations:** 1 = No ban; 2 = a threshold for anonymous donations; 3 = a ban on anonymous donations. **Limits:** 0 = No limits; 1 = limits, but not for companies; 2 = limits for companies. These three variables (in bold) were added to create a single variable of "limits and bans" with a range from 2 to 8. Subsequently, the range was standardised to a scale from 0 to 10.

Finally, each country was given a score on its level of transparency, with 'zero' meaning there is no form of regulated transparency and 'ten' meaning that it is the maximum of empirically observed transparency. This dimension was created from four variables: whether there is some form of financial bookkeeping; whether parties must report all of their donations/expenses or only above a certain threshold; and whether and how that information is publicised⁴. One can see that most countries are quite transparent. Again Malta is the great exception, with no regulations on political parties' financial bookkeeping and transparency (first cluster). In the middle region (second cluster) are Sweden, Spain and Austria. In Sweden, this is mostly because parties only have to report on donations and expenses above a certain threshold. In Austria, not all information must be made public, whereas in Spain, there is no formal obligation whatsoever for the Court of Audits or parties to make reports available to the public. The final cluster contains the other (and most) EU Member States, which have fairly strict to very strict rules about financial bookkeeping and public openness about party finances.

⁴ **Financial bookkeeping:** 0 = No bookkeeping; 1 = bookkeeping. **Content:** 0 = report nothing; 1 = report above a certain threshold; 2 = report everything. **Whether publicly available:** 0 = Not made public; 1 = yes, but not all information 2 = yes, all information. **How publicly available:** 0 = Not publicly available; 1 = upon request; 2 = publicly available. These four variables (in bold) were added to create a single variable "transparency" with a range from 0 to 7, which was then standardized to a range from 0 to 10.

Figure 1: Two dimensions of party financing regulations, status of all 28 EU Member States



The dimension “limits and bans” indicates whether a country has no (0) or many (10) bans and limits regarding public funding.
The dimension “transparency” indicates whether there is a no form of regulated transparency (0), or maximum observed transparency (10).
The dimension of whether Member States receive public funding is not represented in this graph, as only one (Malta) does not receive such funding.

1.3. Regulations on party financing in each of the 28 Member States

The following tables contain the information collected during Desk Research and Expert Surveys. For accessibility, sources have been omitted and information has been shortened where possible. For complete details, refer to the full questionnaires in Appendix I.

Figure 2: General Description of political party systems in all 28 Member States in alphabetical order

Austria	The Federal State of Austria is composed of nine Länder (provinces). As stated in the Greco reports, the Austrian Federal Parliament is a bicameral legislature. It represents the both the Austrian population and the Parliament of the Länder, whereas the latter is mono-cameral. Vienna plays a double role as both a city and one of the Länder. This means that the mayor is also a governor and the city council also serves as the Parliament of the Land. The primary implications of this system are that some of the party legislation is prepared by the Federal Parliament and therefore is the same in all Länder, whereas other legislation is handled by the Länder and therefore some rules may differ around the country.
Belgium	In 1830, Belgium became an independent state. Its current federal structure, which is composed of communities and regions, formed between 1970 and 1993. This entails that the country's leadership is in the hands of various partners that have independent authority within their own domains. Redistribution of power occurs largely along two lines: communities and regions. The three regions, initially inspired by economic interests, consist of the Flemish Region, the Walloon Region and the Brussels Capital Region. In a sense, these regions are similar to the Austrian or German Länder. The communities are distinguishable along linguistic lines (German, French and Dutch). Furthermore, Belgium contains 10 provinces and 589 municipalities. Despite these divisions, the Federal State retains important powers (e.g., the justice department, social security, foreign affairs, national health and defence) ⁵ . The Federal Parliament, which consists of two assemblies (i.e., the Chamber of Representatives and the Senate) and the King, exercises legislative power. Although the King exercises no personal authority, his Ministers bear full responsibility ⁶ . Federal elections are held every four years, local elections are held every six years and regional elections are held every five years, coinciding with the European elections. Voting is compulsory. With respect to financing regulations, parties can be financed both publicly and privately. However, public financing is allocated only to parties, not to individual candidates, whereas private funding is subject to limits and regulations, as set forth below. Although financial monitoring takes place at both the federal and the regional levels, the regulations set forth below apply at the federal level only.
Bulgaria	Bulgaria is a parliamentary republic with a multi-party system. The president is elected directly, with presidential elections taking place every five years, whereas parliamentary elections take place every four years. Because Bulgaria is a relatively recently established democracy, its party financing regulations have also been formulated recently but remain subject to change. Updated and promulgated regulations are printed in the State Gazette ⁷ . In 2005, the Political Parties Act (PPA), which governs Bulgarian political parties, entered into force. Furthermore, several regulations regarding political parties are contained in article 11 of the Bulgarian Constitution.
Croatia	Croatia's democracy developed in the late 1980s after a long history of communism. Today, it is a parliamentary republic with a multi-party system. However, political party financing was not a top priority and the first set of regulations that mentioned it, although quite generally (i.e., the Political Organisations Act), passed only in the 1990s. Following the formulation of non-comprehensive laws on party financing, the most comprehensive law is now the Act on Financing Political Activities and Election Campaign.
Cyprus	In the Republic of Cyprus, the regulations regarding party financing are recent; a first attempt to regulate parties was made in 2004 in a bill that was further developed in 2007. Only in 2011 did the Parliament adopt the Law Providing for Registration, Funding of Political Parties and other Similar Matters (also known as the Political Parties Law, 2011). Presidential elections are held every five years, and voting is compulsory. The House of Representatives is elected for the same five-year term by proportional representation. Public funding has been granted to political parties since 1991, but the legal basis of such funding was questionable until the implementation of the Political Parties Law in 2011. Even now, some regulations are not enforced.
Czech Republic	After an extensive history of communism, the Czech Republic (formerly Czechoslovakia) is now a multi-party democracy. Despite its recent formation, the Czech Republic has clear regulations for political parties. Party-funding laws are governed by Law No. 424/1991 Coll. On the Association in Political Parties and Movements (also known as the Law on Political Parties

⁵ http://www.belgium.be/en/about_belgium/government/federale_staet/⁶ http://www.belgium.be/en/about_belgium/government/federal_authorities/⁷ See updates since 2009 at http://www.bulnao.government.bg/bg/articles/download/3978/ZPP_2014.rtf.

	and Movements). In addition, the information below stems from Law No. 247/1995 Coll. on Elections to the Parliament of the Czech Republic.
Denmark	Denmark is a constitutional monarchy. The 1953 constitution established the Folketing, or Parliament, which is unicameral and consists of 179 members, two of whom are elected from the Faroe Islands and two of whom are elected from Greenland. Elections are held every four years, but the Folketing can be dissolved at any time. Public funding is not exclusive to political parties but can also be given to individual candidates. The most recent legislation regarding the funding of political parties can be found in Consolidated Act no. 1291 of 2006 on Grants to Political Parties.
Estonia	Estonia declared its independence on February 24, 1918. The current Constitution came into force in 1992. Estonia has a multi-party system; as of 2007, there were 15 political parties registered. Legislative power is vested in the Riigikogu, a unicameral parliament of 101 members, for which elections are held every four years. In Estonia, three bodies are allowed to campaign: political parties, single candidates, and election coalitions. However, only political parties can apply for state funding. The Political Parties Act of 1994 contains the main provision related to the funding of political parties ⁸ .
Finland	Finland declared independence from the Russian Empire in 1917 and adopted a system of government in the form of a parliamentary democracy with a multiparty political system. The executive power is divided between the president (elected for six years) and the prime minister. The Eduskunta, or Finnish Parliament, is unicameral and composed of 200 members, who are elected every four years. The Constitution of 2000 increased the amount of power held by Parliament. Finland's rules related to political party funding are contained in the Act on Political Parties 10/1969, and the Decree on Subsidies to Support the Activities of Political Parties ⁹ .
France	In 1958, the constitution of the Fifth Republic was approved by referendum. It gave more power to the executive than to Parliament. In 2002, presidential terms were reduced to 5 years, with a limit of two terms. The Parliament is bicameral, composed of the National Assembly and a Senate. The 577 deputies of the National Assembly are directly elected for five-year terms. The Senate is composed of 300 senators, who are chosen indirectly for six-year terms. Regulations for party financing were issued in 1988 in response to a number of scandals. Organic Law No. 88-226 and Law No. 88-227 were the first instruments to establish standards for political party and election campaign funding. Subsequent legislation has further strengthened these laws, initiating bans and promoting gender parity.
Germany	Following the Second World War, Germany's Federal Republic was the second democratic system in the country's history. It is a multi-party system in which elections are held every four years. The German electoral system makes it almost impossible for parties to form a government alone. The Bundestag is the German Parliament, in which the German people are represented through general elections. One of the duties of the Bundestag is to elect the federal Chancellor, and to keep them in office by supporting policies. It is also the duty of the elected representatives to pass legislation ¹⁰ . Parties are given public funding but must obtain at least half of their campaign funding through donations. This regulation is unique in the European Union.
Greece	Greece is a parliamentary republic. The executive power is divided between the president and the prime minister. A presidential term is five years, with a maximum of two terms. It has a unicameral legislature, known as the <i>Vouli</i> , composed of 300 seats, with elections every four years. The legal framework regarding political party financing is Law 3023/2002, on "Public Funding of political parties – Income and expenditure, promotion, publications and audit of the finances of political parties and candidates for election."
Hungary	Hungary is a parliamentary representative democratic republic. It has a unicameral legislature, the National Assembly. Until recently, the Parliament was composed of 386 seats, but this was reduced to 199 members, elected every four years, with the first election in this form held in 2014. The Constitution was adopted in 2001. As of 2013, both parties and individual candidates are eligible to receive funding. In 2013, Hungary adopted the Act LXXXVII of 2013 ¹¹ on the Transparency of Campaign Costs related to the Election of the Members of Parliament, which made significant changes in party finance regulation.

⁸ <http://estonia.eu/about-estonia/country/the-state--structure-and-symbols.html>

⁹ <http://formin.finland.fi/public/default.aspx?culture=en-US&contentlan=2>

¹⁰ <http://www.tatsachen-ueber-deutschland.de/en/political-system/main-content-04/the-bundestag.html>

¹¹ http://valasztas.hu/en/ovi/241/241_1_12.html

Ireland	Ireland has a parliamentary system of democratic government. The Parliament, known as Oireachta, is bicameral, consists of the Senate (Seanad Eireann) and the House of Representatives (Dail Eireann). The Senate is composed of 60 members and is not elected directly. The House is composed of 166 directly elected members. National elections are held every five years, using the single-transferable-vote system that is designed to minimise wasted votes. Irish politics is dominated by two political parties. The framework for political funding and donations is found in the Electoral Acts 1997 to 2005, which include a detailed regulatory regime.
Italy	The Italian monarchy was abolished by referendum in 1946, and the country became a democratic republic, with the Constitution coming into force in 1948. The Italian Parliament is bicameral and consists of the Italian Chamber of Deputies and the Italian Senate, which have equal rights and powers. The Parliament consists of 946 members. After a difficult history of scandals in parliamentary elections, in 2006 the electoral system was changed to a proportional election system with a majority bonus. In 2014, Parliament voted to phase out the state financing of political parties, a change that will take place in 2017.
Latvia	The highest governmental body in Latvia is the Saeima. It is a unicameral legislative body composed of 100 directly elected members, elected every four years. The Prime Minister is the head of government, whereas the President holds a mostly ceremonial role. In 1991, Latvia re-implemented portions of its 1922 constitution. The main provisions for party funding are contained in the Law on Financing of Political Organisations (Parties), 2011, last amended in 2008.
Lithuania	Lithuania is a multi-party parliamentary democracy. The Seimas is a unicameral parliament composed of 141 members. In Lithuania, political parties do not have the exclusive right to participate in elections. Both political parties and independent candidates can participate in single-seat constituency elections. Only political parties receive direct public funding.
Luxembourg	Luxembourg is a constitutional monarchy with a parliamentary form of government. The Parliament is known as the Chamber of Deputies, and power is exercised by the Grand Duke and the Council of Government, which includes the Prime Minister. The political system is focused strongly on the local level, favouring consensus and party cooperation. Draft legislation related to the funding of political parties was not introduced until 2007; it entered into force in 2008.
Malta	Malta gained its independence from Britain in 1964 and was declared a republic under its revised Constitution of 1974. Malta is a parliamentary republic, with a unicameral parliament, the House of Representatives, which is composed of 65 members elected every five years. Elections are held using a "single transferable vote system", which is designed to minimise wasted votes by transferring them among voting districts. General Elections are regulated by the General Elections Act, however, as of September 1, 2014, there is no legislation that regulates political parties ¹² . Such legislation is due to be introduced in the near future. Expert Comment: "A new Bill of law on Political Party financing, entitled 'An Act to regulate the formation, the inner structures, functioning and financing of political parties and their participation in elections' had been published on June 27, 2014. It is a top priority for the Government, as soon as it reconvenes from its summer recess, towards mid-October, 2014, to discuss it in the House in the Committee stage, to make amendments to the Bill and to finally pass it as a Law. The date of its coming into force is indicated as January 1, 2015."
Netherlands	The Netherlands is a parliamentary democracy and has a multi-party system. The Dutch Parliament (Staten Generaal) is bicameral and thus, it consists of two chambers: the Senate and the House of Representatives (or the first and second chamber, respectively). The Parliament's duties consist of scrutinising the government's work and in cooperation with the government, making new laws. General elections are held every four years. During the last decade, circumstances have led to several elections in closer proximity to one another, with the latest two having been held in 2010 and 2012. Because political parties rely on both state subsidies and private funding, the unexpected elections meant that there was less time for parties to collect donations, which may have affected the amount that they were able to spend on the 2012 election campaign ¹³ .
Poland	Poland is a parliamentary republic with a multi-party system. The current Constitution dates from 1997. The bicameral national Parliament consists of the <i>Sejm</i> (the Lower Chamber) and the Senate (the Upper Chamber). The Constitution provides for the <i>Sejm</i> 's dominant role in the legislative process, and the Council of Ministers is responsible to the Lower Chamber of Parliament only. The right to take legislative initiatives is conferred upon a group of at least 15 <i>Sejm</i> deputies, <i>Sejm</i> committees (except for investigation committees), the President of the Republic, the Council of Ministers, a group of at least 100 000 citizens with the right to vote in elections to the <i>Sejm</i> , and the Senate. In principle, the Senate is allowed 30 days to examine a bill adopted by the <i>Sejm</i> and to approve it without amendments, amend it or reject it. The <i>Sejm</i> may reject the Senate's resolution on the act or propose amendments subject to an absolute majority vote.
Portugal	Portugal became a parliamentary democracy after the 1974 military coup against Marcello Caetano, the successor to dictator Antonio Salazar, who had been in power since 1932. The new

¹² <http://www.legal-malta.com/government>

¹³ <http://www.houseofrepresentatives.nl/node/132>

	constitution was passed in 1976. The Parliament, known as the Assembly of States, is unicameral and composed of 230 members, elected every four years. For presidential elections, votes are cast for candidates and political parties are not directly involved, although they can make contributions. With respect to finance for parliamentary and European elections, the rules are contained in Law No. 19/2003 concerning the funding of political parties, with a set of specific rules that forbid other forms of funding.
Romania	Romania is a parliamentary republic. The Romanian Parliament consists of two chambers: the Chamber of Deputies, composed of 334 members; and the Senate, with 137 members. Elections for deputies and senators are held every four years. The President is chosen by direct vote. Political parties do not have exclusive rights to participate in an election. Individual candidates can present themselves for any type of election. Romania has legislation related to party finance, which is consolidated in Law No. 335/2006, accompanied by a system in which candidates declare their assets and interests.
Slovakia	Slovakia is a republic with a multi-party parliamentary system. The highest legislative body in Slovakia is the unicameral National Council of the Slovak Republic, composed of 150 members elected every four years. The head of state is the president, elected directly for five-year terms. The legal framework for funding political parties is established in Act No. 85/2005 on Political Parties and Political Movements.
Slovenia	The Republic of Slovenia is a parliamentary representative democratic republic. Following its independence in 1991, Slovenia made great progress establishing democratic institutions. Following the results of a plebiscite on the independence of Slovenia, with an overwhelming vote in favour of independence, the Constitution was adopted in 1991. The bi-cameral parliament is composed of the National Assembly, which has 90 members, and the National Council, an advisory body with 40 seats. The president is elected by popular vote. The 2004 Political Parties Act and the 2007 Elections and Referendums Campaigns Act contain the rules regarding the funding of parties and campaigns ¹⁴ .
Spain	Following the death of General Franco in 1975, a parliamentary democracy was restored in Spain. Spain was established as a parliamentary monarchy by the 1978 constitution. Its Parliament is bi-cameral, consisting of the Congress of Deputies with 350 deputies and the Senate with 258 senators. Elections are held every four years. Organic Law 5/1985 on the General Election Regime, along with Organic Law 8/2007 on Political Parties Funding contain the rules of political finance.
Sweden	Sweden is a limited constitutional monarchy with a parliamentary system. The Riksdag (Swedish Parliament) is unicameral and is composed of 349 members, with general elections held every four years. Public funding in Sweden is thought to be essential for a functioning democracy, allowing parties to pursue activities without external dependence, and has existed since the 1960's. The Act on State Financial Support to Political Parties contains the rules on party funding. One unique facet of the law is that although anonymous donations are not banned, parties that accept them lose their eligibility for public funding.
U.K.	The United Kingdom does not have a written constitution. The law is based on statute, common law, and "traditional rights". Parliament is made up of the House of Commons and the House of Lords, with elections held every five years. Parliament has varying levels of legislative power in Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland, which have their own legislative and executive bodies. The legal framework for political parties is established in the Political Parties Elections and Referendums Act 2000 (PPERA).

1.3.1. Details of Public Funding

All countries provide direct public funding for political parties, except for Malta, where currently there is no provision of direct public funding to political parties, although this issue is being debated. However, there is an annual fund granted to parties in Parliament for the purpose of developing relations with the European Union and in the Mediterranean region (Greco, 2009). Furthermore, in Italy, public funding will be phased out beginning in 2014 (Legge 6 luglio 2012, n. 96).

¹⁴ Vlada.si

This following table includes the conditions to receive funding, the government authority responsible, the distribution criteria, the total amount given annually (in euros, an approximate conversion), whether money is given to party-related organizations, and whether they receive public funding.

All information in *italics* was contradictory among the sources, and preference here was given to most recent information. To see the discrepancies, refer to the full questionnaires in Appendix I.

Figure 3 : Details of public funding for all 28 Member States in alphabetical order.

	Conditions	Gov. Authority	Distribution Criteria	Total Annual Amount	Party-Related Orgs.	Indirect Funding
Austria	Public funding is allocated to parties that <i>have five members in the National Council</i> . Parties that are not represented can still apply for funding during if they received more than 1% of votes.	Federal gov.	Distributions are equal and proportional (a flat rate) to the number of received votes. Each party receives an initial lump sum of 218,019 euros. The rest of the funds are distributed equally according to the share of votes obtained during the previous election.	2010: €11 574 815.	Political education, research institutes, youth orgs	Possible donor tax relief. <i>Funding for civic education and media information.</i>
Belgium	Party must be represented in at least one of the chambers by a member of Parliament who has been chosen directly. A party's statutes or program should state that it will observe the rights and freedom of mankind.	Chamber of Representatives and Senate	In part, the parties represented in a particular body receive an equal distribution; moreover, each party receives an additional sum according to the number votes received in the previous election.	-	Research services, scientific orgs, political education orgs, VZW	Tax exemption for posters & ad space, preference for election mail, free electoral register
Bulgaria	Subsidies granted to finance parties/coalitions in four equal parts. These must have legitimate registration, have participated in most recent parliamentary elections, and candidates need to have been elected. Subsidies also for parties not represented, but received not less than 1% of votes.	Ministry of Finance	The budget is allocated in proportion to the share of the vote received by each party or coalition during the most recent general elections. Distributed in accordance with the coalition agreement. Subsidy granted to parties not represented in the National Assembly, but which have received not less than 1% of valid votes, is a specific amount (2009 election: 6 euros per vote).	Per vote, subsidy of 5% of minimum wage. 2009-2013: €103.75 million	No	Donor tax relief. Premises, free media access.
Croatia	Parties having their deputies in the Croatian Parliament, independent deputies elected from independent slates and national minority deputies, shall be entitled to regular annual financing (also at local and regional levels).	Croatian Parliament	Funds allocated by setting an equal amount for each deputy to Parliament or each member of the representative body of a local and regional governmental unit, with each party entitled to receive funding proportionate to the number of its deputies or members of the representative body. For each elected deputy or member who	€6 616 680. Does not include that provided by local budgets and refunds.	No	Donor tax relief. Party tax benefits, ad space, free/subsidised media access, advertising, premises, space for campaign materials.

	Conditions	Gov. Authority	Distribution Criteria	Total Annual Amount	Party-Related Orgs.	Indirect Funding
			belongs to an under-represented gender, parties are entitled to a bonus of 10%.			
Cyprus	Funding is provided to registered parties. Parties receive funding if their candidates have won a specified minimum number of seats in previous elections.	Council of Ministers.	Proportional distribution among parliamentary and non-parliamentary parties. Parliamentary parties receive an equal share, remaining funding is distributed according to parties' share of vote.	-	Yes. Youth orgs, party foundation, NGOs	Donor tax relief. Party tax relief, free/subsidised media access.
Czech Republic	Yes	-	Granted equally according to number of votes and proportion of seats. A permanent contribution: each party/movement, which received at least 3% of the vote for Chamber of Deputies: €240 000 per year, and; €8 000 per year for every 0.1% of the total amount of votes up to 5% of votes; A mandate contribution: each party/ movement of which at least one candidate has been elected to Chamber of Deputies, the Senate, a regional/municipal council is entitled to: €36 000 per member of Parliament; €10 000 per member of a regional/municipal council.	-	-	Donor tax relief. Free broadcasting space for campaign ads, tax relief.
Denmark	Parties and candidates that participated in the most recent governmental, national, or district elections are eligible	The government	Proportional distribution criteria are applied, a certain amount is provided per vote obtained in previous general elections (3.50 euro in 2009)	-	-	Free access to public broadcasting.
Estonia	A portion of the funds are distributed to parties that reach 1% and 4% of the vote, and another portion to parties with parliamentary representation	Supervisory Committee on Party Financing; Ministry of Interior	Allocated to parties that participated in the Riigikogu elections. Parties that fail to reach the election threshold but receive at least 1% of the votes are given €9 600 per year. Parties that receive at least 4% of the votes receive €16 000 euros per year. Parliamentary parties receive funding in proportion to the number of seats, determined by State's budget.	2013: €5 400 000	No	Donor tax relief. Free airtime, exemption from advertising tax.
Finland	Distributed annually on basis of a decision by Government within budget limits, agreed by Parliament. Decision departs from number of seats held by party.	Prime Minister's Office.	Funding is allocated in proportion to the seats won in most recent parliamentary election and therefore, those without seats receive no public funding.	€34 000 000 per year	Women's, district orgs, party newspapers	Possible corporate tax relief. Party tax exemption, media time.
France	Party must be registered with the	National	Funding is partially proportional to the votes	-		Donor tax relief. Party

	Conditions	Gov. Authority	Distribution Criteria	Total Annual Amount	Party-Related Orgs.	Indirect Funding
	Ministry of Interior and Regional Planning and win either 1% of votes from 50 constituencies or 1% of votes in as many constituencies as they have stood for.	Commission for Campaign Accounts	received during the previous parliamentary election and partially proportional to the parliamentarians declaring that they belong to the political party each year. Candidates may be reimbursed for campaign spending.			tax relief, broadcasting time, in-kind services, newspapers.
Germany	Party must obtain at least 0.5% of the vote during the elections for the European Parliament and/or 1% of the votes during the state elections, or 10% of the votes within its constituency. Parties that only take part in EU or local elections are excluded.	President of the Bundestag	Funding is distributed in the amount of a flat rate per vote received in the most recent election of the EU Parliament or Bundestag. The first 4 million votes entitle a party to €0.85 for each vote, after that, €0.70 per vote is given. Party must generate at least half of its income from other sources.	€150.8 million	Yes. Youth orgs, Pariteinahe stiftung (org for political education, research).	Possible donor tax relief. Some party tax relief. Free media access, space for campaign materials, premises.
Greece	Parties need to be represented in either Parliament or EU Parliament, or parties/coalitions need to have reached a certain representation in most recent election (3%).	The Greek National Parliament	Funding is distributed equally according to the votes in the most recent general election (3%) and EU Parliamentary election.	Not available.	No	Possible donor tax relief. Free telephone services, mail, travel, outdoor sites.
Hungary	<i>Individual candidates/parties are eligible. SMD candidates entitled to €3 270, transferable to parties, and must provide detailed spending report. Parties that run national list of candidates entitled to extra money without reporting obligation.</i>	Ministry of Finance.	25% of the total state support allocated to political parties is to be divided equally between parties that obtained mandates from the national list. The remaining 75% is provided to all parties participating in the parliamentary election, in proportion to votes, provided they received more than 1% of votes.	2014: €19 577 040	Yes. Party foundations (allowed to engage in educational work and research).	Party tax relief. Free political advertising.
Ireland	Party must be included in the Register of Political Parties and obtained at least 2% of votes at last Dáil general election.	-	Funding is granted according to the number of votes obtained by the candidates of the qualified parties in the preceding general election.	2010: €13 480 749	-	Free media airtime.
Italy	-	Chamber of Deputies and the Senate	For Chamber of Deputies, funding is divided according to number of votes obtained among parties/movements that received at least 1% of votes. Linguistic minorities receive additional fund, 1.5%. For Senate elections, funding is divided among the 20 Italian regions according to the proportion of votes at regional level, among candidates who received at least 5% in the region or elected. Funding also divided among	€180 000 000 on all elections	-	Limited donor tax relief. Party tax relief, free airtime, postage, storage, meeting rooms, materials publication.

	Conditions	Gov. Authority	Distribution Criteria	Total Annual Amount	Party-Related Orgs.	Indirect Funding
			individual elected candidates, or who received at least 15% of votes.			
Latvia	Party needs to have received more than 2% of votes during previous election.	-	Each calendar year, the organisation (party) receives 0.50 LVL per vote.	-	-	Donor tax relief. Free media access.
Lithuania	Ongoing funding is provided to parties that received at least 3% of the votes in the most recent election.	Central Electoral Commission	Amount shall be determined: 1) by summing up those votes cast for candidates of parties for whom a state budget may be allocated; 2) a six-month financial coefficient of one elector's vote is established by dividing the half of the state budget appropriation by the number of votes; 3) the six-month appropriation of the budget allocated is established by multiplying a six-month financial coefficient of one elector's vote by the number of votes of the electors who cast their votes for the candidates of a party.	2012: € 5.8 million to (10) political parties.	Yes. Youth orgs.	Free broadcasting time.
Luxembourg	Parties must present a complete list of candidates and win at least 2% of the vote. Parties should lodge with Prime Minister 1) its articles of association, a list of its national officials and any changes to those articles or officials; 2) a list of donors and donations; and 3) its balance sheet and accounts.	Minister of State.	Lump sum of €100 000, extra €11 500 for each percentage point of the votes for the party/group in national and EU elections. In parliamentary elections, amount depends on number of persons elected, from €50 000 for parties with 1-4 elected members to €200 000 for ones with at least 12 members. Extra allowance of €10 000 per elected member. For EU elections, amount depends on percentage of votes, from €12 500 for parties/groups with at least 5% of votes to €74 500 with at least 25%. Extra allowance of €12 500 per MEP.	€1.6 million		Free/subsidised postage costs, special tax status.
Malta	Yes. A party must be represented in the House of Representatives and the funds	House of Representatives	The total amount of funding is €200 000, equally distributed between the two political	€ 200 000	Yes. To benefit relations with	Party tax exemption, media access.

	Conditions	Gov. Authority	Distribution Criteria	Total Annual Amount	Party-Related Orgs.	Indirect Funding
	must be used for the purpose indicated.		parties currently represented in Parliament.		EU.	
Netherlands	Party must have at least 1000 members and have won at least one seat in first or second chamber during previous election. In case of discrimination, a judge can withdraw a party's funding.	Ministry of Interior and Kingdom Relations.	Fixed amount of €51 740 per member plus €1 953 202 divided by total number of party members. If a party has allocated a political scientific institute as a secondary institution, an amount of €125 287 is allocated plus €12 877 per seat.	€15 million	Yes. Party-related scientific, youth orgs.	Donor tax relief. Party tax relief, free broadcasting access, space for campaign materials.
Poland	Two types. The first is provided after parliamentary elections for each seat gained. The second is given yearly to those who won 3% or more of votes in election to the Sejm and members of the election committee of a coalition that received 6% or more of votes.	-	The allocation is based on the proportion of valid votes.	2008: €31 106 241	-	Free airtime.
Portugal	For ongoing assistance, party must have at least 50 000 votes in preceding election or gained representation. For campaign assistance: funding granted only to parties that run for: 1)EU Parliament; 2)at least 51% of seats in National/Regional Parliament or; 3)regional assemblies.	Entity for Accounts and Political Financing of the Constitutional Court	Funding is equivalent of 1/135 of national monthly minimum wage per vote in most recent elections. In case of a coalition, the subsidy is distributed according to the number of seats. The subsidy will be divided equally or in proportion to the results. Overall amounts are equivalent to 20 000 minimum wages in parliamentary elections; and 10 000 minimum wages for presidential and EU elections.	2010: € 8 520 000	No	Party tax exemptions, media access, space for campaign materials, ad space, premises, exemption from judicial costs.
Romania	Parties, alliances, and organisations of minorities can receive funding if they reach the electoral threshold in parliamentary elections, or obtain at least 50 county councillor mandates.	Permanent Electoral Authority	Budget is allocated in two ways: 75% is divided among the parties in proportion to the number of votes in parliamentary elections; 25% is similarly divided, but in proportion to votes in municipal elections.	0.04% of the budget (differs each year).	No	Premises, free broadcasting time, certain tax exemptions.
Slovakia	Parties receive an amount for each vote if the party obtained more than 3% of votes in most recent election. Contribution shall not be paid to any party that has not submitted a preliminary or final report.	Ministry of Finance	The distribution is equal.	-	-	Party tax relief, office & technical equipment, media access, transport, salary payments
Slovenia	Parties presented by their own candidates in most recent National	National Assembly	<i>Parties that have received at least 1% of the votes share 25% equally. The other 75% of the</i>	2013: €2 741 823	Yes. Youth orgs, women's orgs.	Donor tax relief (3 times minimum

	Conditions	Gov. Authority	Distribution Criteria	Total Annual Amount	Party-Related Orgs.	Indirect Funding
	Assembly election can receive funds, if they received at least 1% of votes. Parties that submitted a joint list of candidates can receive funds if they have received at least 1.2% of the votes (for two parties) or at least 1.5% of votes (for three or more parties). This means a party does not necessarily have to hold a seat to be eligible.		<i>funding is provided in proportion to the number of votes.</i> With respect to National Assembly and EU Parliament campaigns, organisers whose candidates have obtained seats, are entitled to reimbursement of €0.33 per vote. The total amount cannot exceed funds spent. Parties/candidates that entered Parliament (entitled to €0.33 per vote) or received at least 2% of votes at national level or 6% within one constituency (thus entitled to €0.17 per vote) are entitled to reimbursement.			wage). Free broadcasting time, free billboards, certain salary payments.
Spain	Only parties that hold a seat in the respective legislative body are eligible. Subsidies cannot be granted to a party with a person found guilty of a serious offence in management, electoral list, or parliamentary group.	Home Affairs Ministry	Subsidies are provided on the basis of the number of seats/votes gained in the last elections.	2008: €78 100 100	Yes. Youth orgs, orgs for political education, foundation, research orgs.	Donor tax relief. Party tax relief, free airtime, postage, free billboards, meeting rooms
Sweden	Party needs to have gained at least 2.5% of the votes in the most recent elections or have been represented in Parliament in one of the two prior elections.	The Partibidragrämmen	Party assistance according to number of seats won in last two elections, €30 100 euros per seat, per year. Office assistance to parties as a basic contribution of €523 800, extra contribution per seat for government parties (€1 470) and opposition parties (€2 200). Additional funding for specific activities of Riskdag members, funded in fixed amount of €153 500, plus €6 160 per year, per member.	2007: €22 million		Possible donor tax relief. Party tax relief, office & technical equipment, free ballot papers.
U.K.	Parties have at least two members in House of Commons. Short money is available to opposition parties with at least two seats or more than 150,000 votes during previous general election.	Various government authorities	For the House of Commons, distribution is proportional to the votes and seats won. For the House of Lords, a complicated formula is used to allocate money taking into account the votes won during the previous election.	No exact figure availability	No	Meeting rooms, media access, ad space, space for campaign materials, grants, postage, premises.

1.3.2. Limits and Bans

Figures 4, 5, and 6 contain the information for each country regarding types of bans and limits to donations (high – medium – low), which were used to calculate the second dimension regarding possible influence. Information on whether funding is earmarked and the ceiling on expenditures is also included. Countries with high limits and bans have less opportunity for political influence through donations, while the opposite is the case for low limits and bans. Countries are arranged by their score (highest to lowest), and when equal, in alphabetical order.

All information in *italics* was contradictory among the sources, and preference here was given to most recent information. To see the discrepancies, refer to the full questionnaires in Appendix I.

Figure 4 : High Limits and Bans

	Bans	Limits (annual)	Earmarked	Ceiling
Latvia	Corporations, foreign interests, trade unions, anonymous.	Prohibited for a political organisation to receive more than 100 times the minimum monthly salary.	Rent of premises and services, meetings, communication services, salaries/ payments of natural persons, auditor services, research, public awareness, charity events, publishing of books and brochures.	Not exceed the average gross salary of the year before the last year published by the Central Statistical Bureau, approximated to full lats and by applying coefficient 0.0008 per each voter at the previous Saeima election.
Poland	Corporations, trade unions, foundations or associations, anonymous, legal persons.	Total contributions by an individual to political party, excluding membership fees, may not exceed in a year 15 times the minimum monthly wage.	Only for the purposes mentioned in the Constitution or for charitable purposes.	Yes, depends on the number of voters and seats per constituency.
Portugal	Corporations, donations from legal entities, anonymous, donations or loans in cash.	Natural person's donations cannot exceed 25 times the national monthly minimum wage. For election campaigns, donations cannot be more than 60 times the national monthly minimum wage.	-	No ceiling for "ordinary activities." Limits for election campaigns. For presidential elections, 10 000 national monthly minimum wages. For Parliamentary elections, 60 national monthly minimum wages for each candidate. For regional elections, 100, for EU Parliament, 300.
Bulgaria	Foreign interests, corporations, companies with government contracts, trade unions, anonymous, state resources, religious institutions, gambling organisers, non-profits.	No more than €5 200 from a natural person.	Support operational activities, including preparing for and participating in elections, organising events.	For each campaign of parties/coalitions shall not exceed: 1. During elections for the National Assembly, a) €1.5 million for a party/coalition; 2. For Grand National Assembly, a) €2 million for party/coalition. For presidential elections, total of each list of candidates may not exceed €1 000 000. For the EU Parliament, €1 000 000 per list.
France	Foreign states, foreign parties, legal persons/entities, corporate donations. De facto ban in anonymous.	<i>Up to €30 000 from same donor</i>	No	No
Greece	Foreign interests, corporate donations, trade unions, anonymous, donations from media owners and editors.	All donations should not be more than 20% of most recent total amount received by party/coalition. A donor cannot contribute more than €15 000.	For research and study centres, campaign spending, ongoing party activities.	Not more than 20% of the most recent total amount of public funding received by the party/coalition.

Figure 5: Medium Limits and Bans

	Bans	Limits (annual)	Earmarked	Ceiling
Cyprus	Foreign interests, corporations with government contracts, public institutions.	By natural person up to €8 000, by private companies, €20 000, by companies listed on the stock exchange up to €30 000.	No	No
Lithuania	Anonymous, state and municipal enterprises.	One natural person may not exceed 300 minimum living standards, €11 300 euros. One person may donate money specifically for a campaign, not exceeding 10 times the average monthly salary. Prohibited for natural persons to donate directly to parties.	For the transparency of funding.	In 2014 the maximum amount of expenses for presidential elections was €754 000. For EP elections with party lists, the sum was the same.
Luxembourg	Anonymous, legal persons, corporations, government contractors, trade unions.	No	Campaign spending and ongoing party activities.	Parties establish a tacit agreement to limit expenses. The most recent agreement set ceiling at € 800 000."
Romania	Trade unions, state-owned national company, trading company, banking company, public institution, religious orgs, foreign associations and foundations, those made with obvious intention of gaining an economic or political advantage. Limited anonymous donations.	Cannot exceed 0.025% of year's funding (0.05% in election year). A natural person cannot give in excess of 200 minimum gross salaries, and legal person's cannot exceed 500 minimum gross salaries (2007: €28 000, €70 000).	For: a) maintenance of premises; b) personnel; c) media and propaganda; d) political activities; e) travel; f) communications; g) foreign delegations; h) fees owed to international political orgs; i) investments in property; j) protocol; k) office; l) campaign.	Maximum limit is calculated by adding the maximum values allowed by the law for each candidate; between 20 minimum gross salaries per candidate in communal councils and 10 000 per candidate for the seat of general mayor of Bucharest. For presidential elections, 25 000 (2010: €3.5 million).
Slovakia	Corporations with government contracts, trade unions, anonymous, the State, National Property Fund of the Slovak Republic, the Slovak Land Fund, and municipalities or higher territorial units.	No	Funding must not be used for fines, silent partnership agreements, loans, supporting a company of which party is a founder or supporting presidential campaigns.	Parties may spend a total of €399 000 on advertising.
Spain	Anonymous, public sector entities, private companies providing goods or services for public entities or are majority owned by the State.	Not more than €100 000 from an individual donor. For campaign donations, not more than €6 000.	(a) public subsidies for election expenses; (b) State subsidies for operational activities, security expenses; (c) Autonomous Communities and municipal subsidies for operational activities; (d) extraordinary subsidies for advertising; (e) contributions to parliamentary groups at State,	Yes. Expenditures on general elections (Congress and Senate) are restricted to a maximum of the result of multiplying €0.24 by the number of residents in the relevant electoral districts. For EU Parliament, the same procedure applies, but the maximum is the result of multiplying by €0.12.

	Bans	Limits (annual)	Earmarked	Ceiling
			Autonomous Community, municipal levels.	
U.K.	Only donations banned are from those on the electoral register.	No	For policy development, parliamentary business, travels, operating the leader and opposition's offices.	The level varies according to the type of election. The limit is €18.7 million for UK elections.
Belgium	Corporations, government contractors, trade unions. Only natural persons may donate.	Donor may give up to €500 to a party. No more than €2 000 to all parties combined.	No	No
Croatia	Humanitarian and non-profit associations, religious communities, organisations and legal and natural persons subject to any enforcement proceedings because of debts, trade unions, anonymous, transnational.	By natural person shall not exceed €4 000. By legal person shall not exceed €26 100 when made in elections for the President. Limit of €73 058 when made to an independent deputy, a national minority deputy, an independent slate or a candidate for national minority deputy in Croatian Parliament or EU Parliament.	Pursuing the goals that are set out in the political parties' programs, charters, annual political plans and operating programs. Campaign costs.	Total shall not exceed: €1 043 000 in presidential elections; €130 400 within a single constituency in elections to Croatian Parliament; €130 400 in elections to EU Parliament.
Czech Republic	Foreign interests, corporations with government contracts, anonymous, state entities, charities.	No	No	No
Finland	Corporations with government contracts; other corporate donations are limited.	<i>Up to €30 000 from the same donor.</i>	Support operational activities. Separate allowance for election campaigns, newspapers, and parliamentary group work.	No
Italy	Publicly held companies or companies that hold more than 20% of their public shares.	Only for national elections. For parties, donations cannot total more than the total number of eligible votes in their constituencies; for candidates, the limit is a fixed amount of €52 000 per constituency, plus €0.01 per citizen.	-	-
Slovenia	Corporations with government contracts, state bodies, public companies, local community bodies, legal persons governed by public law, humanitarian orgs, religious communities, companies in which over 25% of capital shares is held by the state, anonymous, transnational. Donor cannot condition a donation for a	Cannot exceed 10 times the average monthly wage of previous year. In 2006, this amount was €1 212.80 and thus, the limit was €12 128 in 2007. Any excess funding received by non-party campaign organisers must be "earmarked for humanitarian purposes" and given to a charitable cause. Political parties can use excess funds for routine activities. Real estate not included in limit.	For indirect public funding, funds are earmarked for people employed in parliamentary party groups.	For members of the National Assembly and EU Parliament, expenses must not exceed €0.40 per eligible vote. For presidential elections, the ceiling is €0.25 per eligible voter. This can increase by an additional €0.15 per voter for candidates in second-round elections.

	Bans	Limits (annual)	Earmarked	Ceiling
	specific purpose.			
Sweden	Anonymous, parties that receive them will no longer receive funding.	Unknown	No	No

Figure 6: Low Limits and Bans

	Bans	Limits	Earmarked	Ceiling
Estonia	Anonymous, non-profit legal persons and associations, corporations are not allowed.	No	No	No
Hungary	Anonymous.	No	No	Maximum of €16 400 per candidate. Amount shall be increased by the consumer price index.
Germany	Government contractors, anonymous.	No	No	No
Ireland	Foreign donations, anonymous, state resources.	Not more than €2 500 per person	Managing party affairs, promoting female and youth participation, research, education & training, general administration, policy formulation and coordinating party-related activities. Cannot be used to recoup election or referendum expenses.	No
Netherlands	No bans per se. However, any donations of more than €1 000 must be registered.	No	Political schooling, informational activities, contact with related parties outside of the Netherlands, political/scientific activities, activities that motivate youth to become politically active, recruitment, campaigns.	No
Austria	Donations to grassroots institutions from donors who want to forward a donation from unnamed third party, from donors who clearly want to donate with the expectation of a particular advantage, donations solicited in return for remuneration.	<i>Yes, the limit is the total amount of public money devoted to political parties under the law.</i>	Public funding designated functions are extremely general and hardly constraining but for other money-receiving parties, the constraints are real.	Maximum is €7 million.
Denmark	No	No	No	No
Malta	No	No	No	No

1.3.3. Transparency

Figures 7 and 8 contain the information regarding the transparency of financial information (high-low). This information was used to calculate the third dimension. All countries must report on their financial bookkeeping. The table includes information on whether this information is publicly available, and whether contributions have to be disclosed¹⁵ and/or made public. Information on how this is made public is also included. Countries are divided into low and high, as most countries fulfilled all conditions for high transparency. Countries are arranged by their score (highest to lowest), and when equal, in alphabetical order.

All information in *italics* was contradictory among the sources, and preference here was given to most recent information. To see the discrepancies, refer to the full questionnaires in Appendix I.

Figure 7: High Transparency

	Reports publicly available?	Disclose contributions?	Threshold to make donations public	How is made public
Belgium	Yes	Yes. Donor's name and address must be disclosed. Names and donations during campaigns can be consulted by the public for 15 days.	More than €125 euros must be disclosed.	Through the Belgische staatsblad.
Bulgaria	Yes	Yes. Parties must disclose donors' identities and names, a balance sheet of the profit and loss account, the owners' equity accounts and notes and a statement of cash flow.	No.	The information is placed online at the website of the Court of Audits.
Croatia	Yes	Yes. Information about each donor (name and address), the date, product or service, amount specified and type of donation must be disclosed.	No.	Political party's website.
Cyprus	Yes	Yes. But there are no rules related to such disclosures.	Yes, but legislation is currently being revised.	Auditor General publishes report. Parties publish a summary of their accounts in the Daily Press.
Denmark	Yes	Sometimes. Political parties must disclose the identity of its donors.	The threshold is €2 680	Folketing website.
Estonia	Yes	Parties must regularly report donations to the committee.	No.	Donations are publicised on party websites (quarterly) and on the committee's website.
France	Yes	The annual total of donations must be published in the	No	Donation information is published in the

¹⁵ Unless specified, donors do not have to disclose contributions, or no information was available.

	Reports publicly available?	Disclose contributions?	Threshold to make donations public	How is made public
		State newspaper.		French National Gazette, both on paper and electronically.
Germany	Yes	Yes. The identity (name and address) of the donor must be disclosed in the financial statement if the donation is more than €10 000 in a single year. Donors must also disclose.	If larger than €500, the donor's identity must be disclosed. If larger than €10 000 euros a year, the donor's identity must be disclosed. If more than €50 000, identifying information is immediately published.	As a Bundestag paper and for large donations, on the Bundestag website.
Hungary	Yes	Yes. The name of the person or organisation, along with the amount, must be disclosed. Donors must also disclose.	When donations exceed either €2 000 or €400 from foreign donors, they shall be separately listed in the financial statement (name and amount).	In the Official Hungarian Gazette and on their own party websites.
Italy	Yes.	Yes. Parties must provide donors' names whether they are natural or legal persons.	Donations above €50 000 in a calendar year must be reported.	In at least two newspapers; one must be a national newspaper. Also in the Official Journal by the Bureau of the Chamber of Deputies and on the electronic archives managed.
Latvia	Yes	Yes. Within 15 days after receiving the donation, information must be published, including the type of donation, the amount, the date received and the name of the donor. Donors must also disclose.	No.	On the "Latvijas Vestnesis" newspaper and on the Internet homepage of the Corruption Prevention and Combating Bureau.
Lithuania	Yes	Yes. Parties' annual reports must be submitted. These include party activities, income and expenditures and are handed to the Central Electoral Commission (CEC) and the State Tax Inspectorate (STI). The report includes a list of donations (monetary and in kind), indicating donations, loans and other funding received; the amount, donor's name and surname, donor's place of residence and a personal id number; information about how the grant was spent. Donors must also disclose.	No.	Parties and candidates are not required to publish their regular and/or campaign accounts by themselves, but this is done on the website of the CEC which they are required to keep informed, including via a special IT tool.
Luxembourg	Yes	Yes. Currently, the identity of private individual donors who give to parties must be registered regardless of the party's degree of autonomy.	Donations larger than €250 must be reported, along with their accounts, to the Chamber of Deputies.	Office of clerk of the Chamber of Deputies makes the results of audits available for consultation and publishes online. Parties publish their balance sheets and accounts in the official government journal.
Poland	Yes	Yes. The name, surname, address and bank account	Contributions of more than €353 euros)	The election committed should make

	Reports publicly available?	Disclose contributions?	Threshold to make donations public	How is made public
		number of the donor should be disclosed.	should be publicised.	donations public on its website on a weekly basis. Should be available for at least 3 months after election day.
Portugal	Not by parties. Constitutional Court publishes information	Political parties, electoral coalitions, presidential candidates, and registered groups must present their accounts and the budgets of their electoral campaigns to the Constitutional Court.		The Constitutional Court publishes all accounts on its website; the media can access offline information on request.
Romania	Yes	Yes. Donations must always be identified, and the political party must identify donors' identity. Donors must also disclose.	If a donor requests it, identity need not be revealed donations do not exceed 10 minimum gross salaries (in 2010, this was €1 400) per year.	The PEA publishes on its website a list of all donors. Also publishes financial reports in the Official Journal within 30 days after results are known.
Slovakia	Yes	Yes. Parties must disclose names and addresses of its donors. a) Forename, name, personal id number, permanent address, in case of a natural person and in case of legal entities—contractor and trade name, id number and place of performance b) Id number of the receiver, name, address of the headquarters, id number, and in case of financial donation the trade name of the bank and account number. c) Details on donation's object. d) Place and date of conclusion of the donation agreement e) Authenticated signature	Yes/No	Publicly available once it has been submitted to the Ministry of Finance.
U.K.	Yes	Yes. The full names of individual donors, the names of company donors and the names of registered-party donors should be provided. For security reasons, donations and loan reports are not published in Northern Ireland. Donors must also disclose.	Donors can remain anonymous only if the donation threshold of €268 is not exceeded.	The public register of donations is updated on a quarterly basis and on a weekly basis during election period. Published on the Election Commission's website.

Figure 8: Low Transparency

	Reports publicly available?	Disclose contributions?	Threshold to make donations public	How is made public
Czech Republic	Yes	Yes. Disclosures must include individual donors' names, addresses, dates of birth (for natural persons) and business identification (for legal persons).	All amounts must be made public.	The information is not publicised as such, but citizens can search for and copy it.
Finland	Yes.	Yes. Successful candidates must disclose the identity of the donors that have given more than €1 500. Unsuccessful candidates are not obliged to disclose their financing information.	There is a threshold, but not for political parties. If donation is more than €3 400 in presidential elections and €1,700 in parliamentary and municipal elections, candidates must disclose the value of the donations and the names of the donors. Below this threshold, the identity of the donor must not be revealed without consent.	Financial reports can be accessed upon request from the Ministry of Justice. The Ministry has no obligation to publish the reports, but it always releases notifications related to electoral campaign financing.
Greece	Yes	Sometimes. The identity of the donor must be disclosed.	Identities must be disclosed if the donation exceeds €600.	Donation statements are available upon request.
Ireland	Yes	Yes	Yes. Donations above €5 078.95 must be reported.	On the website of the Standards Commission.
Netherlands	Yes	Yes. A donor's identity must be made public if his or her donation exceeds €4 500. The date(s) of the donation(s) must be made public.	Yes. Donations of more than €4 500 must be made public.	Publicised online and in the State journal (Staatscourant).
Slovenia	Yes/No	Yes. Anonymous donations are not explicitly banned, but parties are required to record donors' names and addresses.	Yes. Donations that exceed 3 times the average monthly wage of the previous year must include donors' names and addresses and the amount of the donation. If an individual's contributions exceed the average gross monthly salary, the party must provide information, including name and address and the total amount of the contribution, in its annual financial report and its special report.	DR: Reports are published on the website of the Court of Audit and can be accessed upon request from the National Assembly.
Austria	Yes, but not all information must be included.	Yes. When a donation is greater than €3 500, the identity, name and address of the donor must be made public. Donations greater than €50 000 must be reported immediately to the Court of Audit. This information is published on the website of the Court of Audit.	-	The annual report is made public in the official journal of the Wiener Zeitung. A second report, which is not publicly released, is submitted to the Court of Audit and includes all donations above €7,260.

	Reports publicly available?	Disclose contributions?	Threshold to make donations public	How is made public
Sweden	Yes	Sometimes. The value and nature of the donation are to be reported as openly as possible. However, there is no requirement that the donor be named.	The identity of the donor must be reported on if the total value of the donations exceeds half of the Consumer Price Index.	Donation information is publicised on the Kammarkollegiet website.
Spain	No. However, it is required to issue an annual report on party financing.	Yes. Disclosures of private donations must include the identity of the donor and the amount of the contribution. The only exception to disclosure is for income from party property and activities if the amount is less than €300.	No. Detailed financial is not accessible to the public.	The report is sent to Parliament and subsequently is published not only in the Spanish Official Journal (BOE) but also on the website of the Court of Audit. Parties are not legally required to publish financial reports, nor do they do so in practice.
Malta	Sometimes.	No, currently there is no such obligation. Election candidates' returns candidates can be made public upon request.	No.	Contributors/donors have no reporting obligations.

1.3.4. Financial monitoring

The following figure contains the specific information regarding how financial management is monitored, by which authority, with what instruments, and the possible penalties for non-compliance. This information was not used when calculating the dimensions. Certain information on the rules of the reports was included when possible, but it is a summarized version. The details can be seen in the full questionnaires.

All information in *italics* was contradictory among the sources, and preference here was given to most recent information. To see the discrepancies, refer to the full questionnaires in Appendix I.

Figure 9: Details about financial monitoring

	Rules on content of financial reports?	Responsible body	Instruments	Penalties
Austria	Reporting for presidential campaigns is not required beyond the regular reporting for political parties; campaign expenditures for parties running in the presidential campaign are included as part of the regular political party reporting. Donations to, advertisements for and sponsorship of candidates shall be included in the campaigning party's statement of accounts.	An electoral commission is appointed by the government in consultation with the speaker of the House of Commons.	The electoral commission is only empowered to inform the prime minister that information about donations was incomplete or submitted late.	Fines, forfeiture.
Belgium	The political organisation VZW writes up a financial report on bookkeeping and companies' annual settlements (and implementation). The report should include identification of the political party and its components, including its name, seats, legal status, societal goals and composition (name, city of residence, profession) of the management and control bodies of each party component, and a summary of the balance and results for each component of the party.	The VZW and the control committee are responsible for monitoring compliance.	The Control Committee approves or rejects the financial report of the party and its components in accordance with the opinion of the Court of Accounts. The procedure for controlling and hearing the parties is determined in the Committee's household rules.	Fines, loss of funding.
Bulgaria	Political parties are required to keep a public register, recording, a) the list of donors and the type, amount, value and purpose of the donation, legacy, devise and bequest made; b) a declaration of the donors stating the origin of the funds where the donation exceeds €2 500 EUR; c) the corporeal immovable property owned; the transactions in respect of movable or immovable property exceeding €2 500; d) the annual financial statements and the financial reports on the election campaigns.	National Audit Office and Court of Auditors.	The Court of Auditors is entitled to carry out activities with respect to political parties that have failed to submit their financial statements to the National Audit Office within the time limits. The Executive Director transfers information about the action taken, including information about the auditing instruments issued, to the National Audit Office.	Fines, forfeiture, party deregistration, loss of public funding, loss of elected office.
Croatia	The election campaign costs report shall contain information on the purpose of the costs, the name and address of the recipient, the date of the payment, the amount, whether the donation is a product or a service and the market value of the product or service. In addition, political parties, independent slates and candidates shall publicly disclose the amount of the price of media advertising for the purposes of an election campaign.	The State Audit Office is for auditing regular funding and campaign funding. The State Election Commission of supervising both regular funding and campaign funding.	The bodies perform audits. In addition, audit reports on the annual financial statements shall be posted on the website of the State Audit Office. Decisions made by the National Elections Commission to impose administrative sanctions may not be appealed, but may be subject to administrative lawsuits.	Fines, full or partial forfeiture, suspension of the payment of recoverable election campaign costs, and loss of public funding.
Cyprus	Political parties' financial reports must contain a summary of financial accounts, and contain audited financial statements compliant with IFRS.	The Auditor General of the Republic.	The Auditor General forwards the report to the Registrar. The Auditor General recently publicly disclosed that financial statements are not audited.	Fines, prison, loss of public funding. Regulations related to penalties for non-compliance are not enforced.

	Rules on content of financial reports?	Responsible body	Instruments	Penalties
Czech Republic	Records of party finances, parties and movements must include all regional and local tiers of the party structure.	The Supervisory Committee and the Ministry of Finance.	The Supervisory Committee and the Ministry of Finance inform the tax authorities in the event of violation.	Fines, forfeiture, prison, deregistration, loss of public funding, suspension of party.
Denmark		There is no specific authority. However, the General Audit Office, an independent institution, examines state accounts.	DR: Records may be demanded and the auditing office may determine whether spending is appropriate.	Fines, prison, loss of public funding.
Estonia	Parties' annual fiscal reports must be audited prior to presentation. The reports must contain information about party-related organisations, party-related costs and the party's objectives.	<i>The Riigikogu Anti-Corruption Committee and the Tax and Customs Board. The Political Parties Financing Surveillance Committee</i>	Pre-trial investigation of any breaches rests with the Police and Border Guard Board and such breaches are adjudicated in the courts of first instance.	Fines
Finland	Parties must submit certified copies of their income statements, balance sheets, and audit reports to the Ministry of Justice. Separate income statement sheets must be provided for income and expenses relating to the election activities. Campaign revenues must be reported in a standardised form.	The Ministry of Justice controls the accounting and use of public funds. The State Audit Office can verify the use of public funds.	The Ministry of Justice can appoint an auditor to carry out its controls.	Fines, prison, loss of public funding.
France	Parties must have their yearly bookkeeping checked by two independent accountants, and submitted to the CNCCFP. The report must contain information about the party, along with all party-related organisations and cooperating entities.	The CNCCFP (National Commission for Campaign Accounts and Political Funding)	The CNCCFP can refer inconsistencies or possible violations to the public prosecutor for further investigation.	Fines, prison, loss of public funding. A judge may exclude a person from government contracts.
Germany	A party's financial report should contain a statement of accounts. All reports must provide information for the same categories and expenditures.	President of the Bundestag.	The president of the Bundestag may order corrections and impose fines.	Fines, forfeiture, prison, loss of public funding, disqualification.
Greece	The content of financial reports follows the rules set by the Ministry of the Interior.	Special Investigative Service under the Ministry of Economy and Finance (YPEE), the Control	The bodies can conduct investigations and hearings and forward their reports to the Control Committee.	Loss of public funding, forfeiture, fines, imprisonment,

	Rules on content of financial reports?	Responsible body	Instruments	Penalties
		Committee.		and the loss of elected office.
Hungary	Individual candidates now must provide a detailed report. A party setting up a party list shall submit an aggregated financial statement to the Treasury on all support to be used. The review of the statements by the Treasury shall focus on verifying compliance with the provisions, and, in particular, whether a) the expenses can be considered as real costs b) the documentation of the expenses complies with the provisions of the Act on Accounting and the Act on Value Added Tax, c) the expenses were paid during the campaign period using the Treasury card or by way of transfer	State Audit Office, the Office of the Public Prosecutor, and the National Election Committee.	State Audit Office (SAO) controls the legality of parties' financial management. The SAO audits the financial management of political parties, which receive public funding every two years. The prosecutor has a gate-keeping role; the prosecution service is informed when a party is registered, it has the competence to bring an action against a party that violates the law and it may request the termination of parties.	Fines, forfeiture, and loss of public funding are the penalties for non-compliance.
Ireland	The report (donation statement) must include all donations of more than €5 078.95 to parties and the form in which they were provided. The statement does not include details about a party's debts and assets. It must be accompanied by bank statements provided by the bank where the party's account was opened and a certificate of monetary donations.	Standards in Public Commission and the Gandai Police.	Bodies can require more information and in response to specific complaints, they can carry out enquiries.	Fines, prison, withdrawal of public funding, disqualification penalties.
Italy	The legal representative or treasurer of the party must maintain the daybook and the inventory book. The daybook must show the day-to-day operations carried out. The inventory book must display assets and liabilities and state their values and conclude with an annual report, signed by the legal representative of the party. Records must be kept in accordance with the principles of orderly bookkeeping. A report on the financial and economic circumstances of the party and on its operating performance as a whole must be included.	Party's own auditors. The Senate and the Chamber of Deputies.	Monitoring is done by the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, which rely on the auditing and control activities of the Board of Auditors, the Board of Controllers of Election Expenses and the Regional Electoral Guarantee Board,	Fines. Suit can be filed when the responsible person carries out his or her function in a criminal manner.
Latvia	-	Corruption Prevention and Combating Bureau.	The head of the Bureau can require an organisation to return illegally acquired funds or goods within 30 days. If not done, the head of the Bureau will require the organisation to transfer the donation to the state within 30 days. This period may be extended upon request and divided repayments are possible.	Repayment of the donation and/or a fine, suspension, imprisonment, loss of public funding, deregistration.
Lithuania	Accounting should cover all economic transactions and economic events related to changes of assets, equity, amount of liabilities or structure of assets and must be supported by accounting documents.	The CEC and STI.	The STI officers have the right to access accounting records related to the private and public funding of parties, candidates	Fines, prison, loss of public funding, party

	Rules on content of financial reports?	Responsible body	Instruments	Penalties
	Parties produce an annual financial statement for the control of the Central Electoral Commission, accompanied by a certified copy of the "accounting journal". Documentary evidence justifying the data contained in the journal must be kept available for the CEC and provided upon request.		and applicants, initiators of referendums, referendum opponents, and political campaigns, and they have the right to request additional information or documentation.	deregistration, loss of political rights, suspension.
Luxembourg	Yes. Each political party's central body must keep accounts covering all expenses (incoming and outgoing) and the party's assets and liabilities in accordance with section 11 of the 2007 legislation on party funding.	Court of Audits.	The Court of Auditors can demand any documentation or information it requires to carry out its responsibilities.	Loss of public funding.
Malta	With respect to electoral campaigns, political parties have no reporting obligations. Political candidates must submit an election income-and-expenditure return to the Electoral Commission.	No particular mechanism for monitoring party finances.		There are no particular sanctions.
Netherlands	Financial reports must contain an overview of any donations in excess of €4 500 within a single year. The reports must also contain an overview of a party's debts of €25 000 or more and a written statement from the party's accountant.	Ministry of Interior, Kingdom Relations and the Court of Audit.	The Commission responsible for supervising reports can advise the appropriate minister on the parties' application of the rules.	Fines, prison, and loss of public funding.
Poland	Yes. Parties should keep proper accounts of all debts, contributions and assets in their financial reports. On March 31, political parties should submit financial reports that contain information about their expenditure of the State-provided budget together with the opinion and report of an auditor appointed by the National Electoral Commission.	The National Electoral Commission.	Authorised tax inspectors may demand access to files, books and all kinds of documents connected with the subject of inspection and make extracts, copies, excerpts, notes, printouts and documented collection of data in electronic form; in certain cases, inspectors may demand surrender of such documents for the duration of inspection. Moreover, in case of criminal proceedings the Public Prosecution Service and the courts have full access to accounting records.	Fines, imprisonment, loss of funding.
Portugal	Political parties must disclose their accounts annually, including revenues and expenses. These annual accounts should be submitted to the Constitutional Court ¹ . Parties are legally required to have their books and account organised. Accounting rules for campaign and parties are the same, albeit with some adaptations.	Constitutional Court; the Entity for Account and Political Financing (EAPF); and the National Commission of Elections.	Parties are required to cooperate with the EAPF, which may request that any public or private entity submit information. The EAPF has the power to apply sanctions, e.g., for non-compliance.	Fines, prison.
Romania	Parties have to submit the following information to the Permanent Electoral Authority (PEA): 1. Situation of the received donation; 2. Half-yearly situation of income resulting from membership fees; 3. Annual situation of other sources of income; 4. Monthly situation of the	The PEA, the Court of Audit, the National Integrity Office, and the Central Election Office.	The PEA is supported by public authorities, which are obliged to assist with controlling public funding. Compliance with the legal provisions on party funding is controlled by	Fines, confiscation.

	Rules on content of financial reports?	Responsible body	Instruments	Penalties
	subsidy and expenses incurred. During an election campaign, parties and candidates must submit the following information to the PEA: donations, legacies, propaganda materials produced, and expenditures.		the PEA and following complaints about breaches of the party-funding law. The PEA can request documents and statements, which must be submitted within 15 days. The PEA can act ex-officio when a violation is suspected.	
Slovakia	Report is to include: the financial statements of a party, certified by an auditor; overview of income of the party; records of gifts and free of charge services; loans and credits; the number of party members; the total amount of membership fees; financial statements of the company of which the party is a founder or sole partner; information on the financial situation of the party for at least two immediately preceding periods; on events of special importance that will occur after the end of the period; suggested profit distribution or loss settlement; performance of tax-related obligations, overview of overdue liabilities.	National Council and the Ministry of Finance.	The National Council and the Ministry of Finance check the data in the interim and final reports.	Fines, prison.
Slovenia	Report must show all party income and expenditures, particularly sources of income. This documentation must be kept for at least 10 years. Reports should include: a) total income according to their types and values; b) all party expenditures according to type; c) all contributions from individuals whose total contributions to the party exceed the average gross monthly salary; d) all individual loans; e) costs of elections and referendums; f) all individual contributions given to the party in contravention of the legislation and their values; and g) information on contravention of the legislation.	Compliance is monitored by the National Assembly and the Court of Audit.	The Court of Audit has full access to parties' financial information and records. In a criminal investigation, this access is extended to law enforcement authorities. At the request of the Court, the election campaign organiser, the Bank of Slovenia, and other banks are obliged to present documents required for an audit and must enable access to books and records. The Court can perform any other investigation required.	Fines, prison, forfeiture, suspension of funding.
Spain	With respect to operational activities, the board of a political party must prepare an annual financial report, including (i) a balance sheet (assets and liabilities); (ii) a profit and loss account; and (iii) explanatory notes of detailed information donations, including thorough information on loans. The law requires a separate detailed accounting of the revenue and expenditures of election campaigns. An "electoral administrator" must be in charge of managing the campaign-related finances for a political party.	Court of Audit and the Election Commission.	The responsible supervisory bodies are equipped with investigative powers and can request the documents necessary to verify compliance with the funding regulations, whether public or private.	Fines, withholding of public funds, prison, disqualification.
Sweden	For those parties that exceed the threshold (half of the Consumer Price Index), the report need only report income.	Kammarkollegiet.	There is no specific mechanism for monitoring party financing.	Fines. .

	Rules on content of financial reports?	Responsible body	Instruments	Penalties
U.K.	Parties need to provide annual reports not only on their accounts and quarterly donations but also on loan returns and campaign expenditures.	Electoral Commission	The Commission has particular powers to require within a reasonable time, the relevant person in the case of any supervised organisation or individual to produce, for inspection by the Commission any books, documents or other records or information or explanation relating to the income and expenditure of the organisation or individual. Moreover, the Commission may make copies or records of any information contained in any books, documents or other records produced. The powers also include requiring any person on the premises in question to give the inspector reasonable assistance to enable the inspection.	Fines, forfeiture,

2. REFERENDUM AND ISSUE CAMPAIGN REGULATIONS IN 28 MEMBER STATES

KEY FINDINGS

- A **limited number of regulations** exist with regard to party funding of referendums and issue campaigns.
- Only the **UK** has **specific rules** regarding party funding of referendums.
- Most Member States distribute public funding on an **ad hoc basis** in case a referendum is held.
- Nine countries do not allow the use of public funding for **campaigning during referendums or issue campaigns**.

2.1 Introduction

Unlike the regulations regarding general party expenditure, there are limited regulations that govern referendum and issue campaigns. This is primarily the case because most EU Member States do not hold regular referendums and when they do, public funding is often distributed ad hoc. Because issue and referendum regulations are limited, it was not possible to create categorisations and organise the countries as in the first section. Instead, we have summarised the most important findings related to public funding in the tables below.

Here, we see three clusters of countries. Only two countries have specific regulations regarding public funding of referendums, the U.K. and Romania, and the rules for general party funding apply. Most countries distribute public funding on an ad hoc basis (i.e., Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Lithuania, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Slovenia, and Spain¹⁶). This may lead to particular uncertainty in Italy, where referendums are held on a regular basis. In a cluster of countries, it is strictly prohibited to use public funding for issue campaigns (i.e., Austria, Bulgaria, Croatia, Ireland, Latvia, Malta, Poland and Portugal). Parties in these countries rely on private donations for referendum campaigns. In Portugal, there is no specific allocation of public funding, but there are thorough regulations regarding the allocation of indirect funds such as advertising and the use of public buildings. Finally, in Belgium and Germany, no national referendum has ever been held. However, in both of these countries, referendums can be held at the local and/or regional level. Also in most other member states subnational referendums can be held. The only countries that do not hold referendums at the local and/or regional levels are Cyprus, Greece, Latvia, and Lithuania.

2.2 Transnational Campaign Donations

Concerning transnational campaign donations, it should be noted that the information found was not always specific to the role of such donations in referendums but rather, to political party finance as a whole. The following countries do not allow transnational donations of any kind: Bulgaria, Estonia, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Latvia, Luxembourg, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovenia, Sweden, and the UK. In Latvia, foreign donations are not allowed for referendums. In certain countries, transnational donations are allowed, with some restrictions. For example, in Cyprus, foreign companies are not allowed to donate. In the Czech Republic and Slovakia, transnational donations are only allowed from foreign political parties and foundations. In France, only foreign individuals are

¹⁶ Information for Hungary and Slovenia was contradictory among the sources

allowed to donate. In Germany, foreign donations are limited to 1 000 euros. In Lithuania, foreign donations are permitted, but with several restrictions and only in certain elections, and in Spain, donations from foreign governments and companies related to them are forbidden.

In some countries, transnational donations are allowed from both natural and legal persons, and there are no limits or restrictions in either the amount or frequency of foreign donations. Included in this category are Austria, Belgium, Croatia, Denmark, Finland, Italy, Malta, and the Netherlands. In Estonia, the desk research findings were mixed, but the expert responded that transnational donations are banned.

Specific information regarding transnational donations can be seen in figure 11.

2.3 Comparison findings of Chapters 1 and 2

Due to the lack of information and/or regulations governing referendums and because many countries regulate their referendums on a case-by-case basis, it is difficult to make a clear comparison between political party funding during elections and funding for referendums. The previously mentioned categories of transparency and limits could perhaps be extended to referendums in terms of financial bookkeeping, publicly available records, and bans on certain donations, but it is not possible to know this with certainty. Therefore, the only dimension on which we can base the comparison between WP1 and WP2 is whether public funding is available.

In many countries, public funding is available for both parties and referendums, although it is primarily provided on an ad hoc basis. These countries include Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Greece, Hungary, Lithuania, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Romania, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, and the UK. In Germany, although referendums are not held at the national level, public funding is available for local referendums. In Portugal, there is public funding for parties but for referendums, there are extensive provisions in the form of indirect public funding.

In other countries, public funding is available for political parties but is not explicitly allocated for referendum campaigns. In some cases, public funding is used in small amounts or for organisational purposes, such as in Austria, Bulgaria, and Latvia. Finally, in some countries, there is no public funding for referendums. This is the case in Croatia, Ireland, and Poland.

Malta is the only country in which funding is not available in either situation. Finally, limited information was found on funding referendums in Cyprus, Czech Republic, and Slovakia, or for funding local referendums in Belgium.

2.4 REGULATIONS ON REFERENDUMS AND ISSUE CAMPAIGNS

This section presents the regulations governing party financing for issue campaigns and referendums. The regulations that were found through desk research were cross-validated by expert surveys whenever possible. However, many of the EU Member States either do not have clear regulations for national referendums and issue campaigns or do not allow such referendums and issue campaigns. Figure 10 includes the situation of referendum and the conditions in each country for it to take place. Figures 10.1, 10.2, 10.2.1, and 10.3 include information regarding referendum financing. Figure 11 includes information on transnational donations.

For accessibility, sources have been omitted and information has been shortened where possible. For complete details, refer to the full questionnaires in Appendix II.

Figure 10: Summary regarding the situation of referendums in all 28 Member States, and the conditions necessary for them to take place (when applicable) in alphabetical order.

	Situation of Referendums	Conditions for Referendums to take place
Austria ¹⁷ (2)	There are three instruments of direct democracy in Austria: the referendum, the people's initiative, and the consultative referendum. A referendum can be conducted for any law, but this has only occurred once, in a 1978 referendum related to nuclear power. The other referendum, conducted in 1994, related to the EU. In Austria, referendums are only mandatory when a total revision of the Constitution is proposed, which was the case for the referendum on EU membership. No public funding is explicitly allocated for referendum campaigns.	There are three instruments of direct democracy in the Austrian institutional framework: 1) The referendum (Voksabstimmung): A referendum is required for a "total revision" (Gesamtänderung) of the Constitution (Article 44) or to remove the federal president from office (Article 60). The Parliament calls the people to make legally binding decisions in an exercise of direct democracy. Always binding. 2) The people's initiative: Used to place a bill or demand before the Parliament. 3) The consultative referendum (Volksbefragung): Not binding. The Parliament calls upon the people to officially record their opinion. One-third of the members of one of the two chambers of Parliament can demand a referendum on other constitutional amendments. If the Nationalrat demands it, a referendum can be held on any other law (Article 43).
Belgium (0)	In Belgium national referendums are not allowed. It is possible to hold referendums and popular initiatives at the regional and municipal levels, although they are non-binding.	
Bulgaria (2)	In Bulgaria, the set of eligibility issues for referendums is limited and therefore, they are infrequent. Bulgaria's latest referendum, in 2013, related to nuclear energy; however, it	Referendums and issue campaigns may be used for nearly all fundamental questions within the power of the national assembly, but no constitutional referendum or referendum on taxation or state budgets is allowed. MPs can initiate a referendum; no

¹⁷ In Austria, public funds are not completely ruled out, but are strictly limited.

	Situation of Referendums	Conditions for Referendums to take place
	was invalidated due to low turnout. Before that, the most recent referendum was held in 1979 and related to approval of the Constitution. No public funding is explicitly allocated for referendum campaigns.	people's initiatives are allowed. The National Assembly ultimately decides whether a referendum may be carried out, along with the wording of the question. There are two requirements for the approval of a question. The first is a quorum (half of the voters) and the second is that participating voters represent more than half of the electorate. Law on Direct Civic Participation in State and Local Government Art. 10: (1) Proposal to the National Assembly to hold a national referendum can be done by: 1. At least one-fifth of the deputies; 2. President of the Republic; 3. Council of Ministers; 4. Not less than one fifth of the municipal councils in the country; 5. Nomination committee of registered voters gathered no less than 200 000 signatures of registered voters. (2) The National Assembly shall adopt a decision to hold a national referendum where this is requested by the nomination committee with a petition containing the signatures of not less than 500 000 Bulgarian citizens with voting rights and does not contradict the limits of art. 9, para. 2, 3 and 4. (3) The President of the National Assembly organise the creation and maintenance of a public register which shall contain proposals for a national referendum and initiative committees under par. 1, item 5 under par. 2 and Art. 11, para. 2. (4) The proposal for a national referendum to include one or more questions that people answer "yes" or "no."
Croatia (4)	In Croatia, referendums are not very common. The first was held in 1991 and related to the country's independence and international recognition. The only two other referendums involved EU accession in 2012 and the definition of marriage in 2013. Public funding is not used for national referendums.	Ten percent of registered voters must sign the referendum petition to make the referendum mandatory ¹⁸ . The House of Representatives can call a national referendum for the following reasons: a proposed constitutional amendment, draft law, or any other matter falling within its jurisdiction. In such a situation, the regular legislative procedure applies, that is, a simple majority is needed. Croatia's President can call for a referendum on a constitutional amendment or on any other issue that he considers important "for independence, unity and existence of the Republic". In that case, the President must obtain the countersignature of the Prime Minister and is subject to the government's proposal. If there is a turnout of more than 50 percent, the decision can be made by the majority. The outcome of a referendum is binding. "Mandatory national referendum is envisaged for association – dissociation of Croatia with and from other States, respectively".
Cyprus (1)	The only referendum to have been conducted in independent Cyprus was the referendum on the Annan Plan in 2004, which related to the reunification of the island. Currently, there is no constitutional provision that allows referendums.	
Czech Republic (1)	In the Czech Republic, there is no law governing referendums at the national level, and there has only been one referendum related to EU accession. However, a constitutional provision for a referendum on EU accession was passed in 2002. Accession was to be approved if a simple majority supported it, and there was no minimum turnout requirement. There was a budget of 200 million crowns (6.25 million euros) for the campaign, which was primarily	

¹⁸ <http://beucitizen.eu/croatian-citizenship-regime-and-its-challenges-following-the-eu-accession/>

	Situation of Referendums	Conditions for Referendums to take place
	operated by the Czech Foreign Ministry. There was also indirect funding in the form of subsidised media.	
Denmark (9)	The 1953 Constitution expanded Denmark's use of the referendum. Every Danish referendum since 1978 has concerned matters related to the European Union. Although referendums are publicly financed, there is no legal framework to determine the distribution of public funds, which is performed by Parliament on a case-by-case basis prior to each referendum.	Referendums cannot be initiated by popular initiative. According to Denmark's Constitution, once a bill passes in the Folketing (Parliament), which consists of 179 directly elected members, one-third of the members can call for a referendum, which is then submitted to voters. In other words, citizens can vote on a proposal that has been passed but not yet enacted. Denmark's monarch can also introduce a referendum by introducing bills or other measures to the Folketing. There are both mandatory and optional referendums: Mandatory referendums are called for: (1) amendments to the Constitution; (2) changes to voting age; and (3) delegating governing powers to international authorities. Optional referendums are called for: (1) adopting international treaties; and (2) bills. A referendum is always binding.
Estonia (4)	In the post-Soviet era, Estonia has held four referendums on the issues of independence, voting rights, the Constitution, and EU accession. Referendums are mandatory for issues involving changes to the first or last chapters of the main law, and there are various restrictions on the issues that can be the subject of a referendum. Public funding is used for referendum campaigns, but there is no specific legislation that governs finances.	The Riigikogu has the right to submit a bill or other national issue to a referendum. To do so, the vote of a three-fifths majority of the membership of the Riigikogu is required. The referendum cannot be held until three months after a resolution has been passed. The people's decision is made by a majority vote. The decision of the referendum is binding on all state institutions. If a bill that is submitted to a referendum does not receive a majority of votes in favour, the President of the Republic shall declare extraordinary elections to the Riigikogu. Issues related to the budget, taxation, the state's financial obligations, ratification and denunciation of international treaties, the declaration or termination of a state of emergency, or national defence are not constitutionally permissible subjects for a referendum.
France (6)	In France, referendums were reintroduced by the Fifth Republic in 1958. However, referendums are not very frequent (only six have been conducted since 1970) and there have been high levels of abstention and rejection. Only the president can call a referendum and therefore, it is not perceived as a truly democratic tool. The executive power also has the authority to determine the amount and allocation of funding.	Only the President can put a referendum on the agenda. New legislation has been proposed to allow members of Parliament to initiate a referendum, but that legislation has not yet been implemented.
Finland (1)	Referendums were added into the 1987 Constitution. Since 1970, Finland has held only one referendum, which related to EU accession. Public funding is generally not available.	An Act to the Parliament shall be submitted by at least 50 000 Finnish citizens who are entitled to vote. The Act contains provisions about the timing and choices for the referendum that are presented to the voter.
Germany (0)	In Germany, referendums are primarily used at the municipal and state levels. Approximately three hundred referendums take place every year. Regulations vary from state to state.	Such campaigns are only possible on the state level, which means that there are 16 different regulatory systems.

	Situation of Referendums	Conditions for Referendums to take place
Greece (3)	Referendums are permissible in Greece, and the decision is made by Parliament. Since Greece's 1974 transition to democracy, only one referendum has been held; it related to the abolition of the monarchy. Previously, Constitution-related referendums were held in 1968 and 1973. In general, referendums are publicly funded.	<p>"A referendum on Bills passed by Parliament regulating important social matters, with the exception of the fiscal ones shall be proclaimed by decree by the President of the Republic, if this is decided by three-fifths of the total number of its members, following a proposal of two-fifths of the total number of its members, and as the Standing Orders and the law for the application of the present paragraph provide. No more than two proposals to hold a referendum on a Bill can be introduced in the same parliamentary term.</p> <p>Should a Bill be voted, the time-limit stated in article 42 paragraph 1 begins the day the referendum is held." Before a referendum or issue campaign can take place, it must be approved by 120 of the 300 members of Parliament.</p>
Hungary (12)	Hungary's 2011 Constitution limited direct democracy by abolishing popular initiatives and placing limits on the issues that can be called to a referendum. Since 1980, six referendums and six citizen initiatives have been held. Public funding is available.	<p>"(1) Parliament shall order a national referendum upon the motion of at least two hundred thousand electors. Parliament may order a national referendum upon the motion of the President of the Republic, the Government or one hundred thousand electors. The decision made by any valid and conclusive referendum shall be binding on Parliament. (2) National referendums may be held about any matter within Parliament's responsibilities and competences".</p> <p>A referendum becomes mandatory if demanded by 200 000 voters, even if Parliament does not agree. Such a referendum is always binding. If 100 000 voters demand a referendum, one-third of the members of Parliament must also support it. In this case, Parliament decides if the referendum is consultative or binding. A quorum of approval of 25 percent of the voters is necessary.</p>
Ireland (31)	Compared to other EU countries, Ireland holds relatively frequent national referendums. Thirty-one referendums have been held since 1970, on subjects including the Lisbon Treaty and social topics such as abortion and divorce rights. All referendums on revisions to the Constitution are mandatory. Voter turnout is approximately 52 percent. Following two key lawsuits against the government in 1995, public funding cannot be used for referendums.	<p>There are three forms of referendum: abrogative, confirmative and consultative. Regulation of these referendums depends upon different normative authorities and is composed of specific norms. Referendums are not available in the case of tax, budget, amnesty and pardon laws, or in the case of laws authorising the ratification of international treaties.</p> <p>A referendum may be initiated if one-fifth of the members of a House, 500 000 electors, or five Regional Councils request that a referendum should be held. The referendum is valid only if there is a turnout of at least 50 percent.</p>
Italy (70) ¹⁹	The right to referendums and citizen initiatives is of great importance in Italy both at the national and local levels. Italy has held 70 referendums since 1974, more than any other EU country. No public funding is directly allocated for the	75,000 signatures are required to initiate a referendum ²⁰

¹⁹ In Italy, although there is no specific public funding for parties, there is funding to promote referendums

²⁰ <http://directdemocracyireland.ie/frequently-asked-questions/>.

	Situation of Referendums	Conditions for Referendums to take place
	participation of political parties in referendum campaigns, but there is no ban on the use of general public finances for this purpose. Furthermore, funding can be provided to promote a referendum.	
Latvia (10)	In post-Soviet Latvia, the Constitution contains provisions for referendums and popular initiatives. Citizens can propose and make decisions at the national level. Since 1990, seven referendums and three citizen initiatives have been held. There is no legal basis for financing referendums.	There are five referendum mechanisms in the Constitution. Mandatory referendums are called for key changes to the Constitution, for the dissolution of Parliament, and for EU membership. For changes to be implemented as the result of a referendum or initiative, half of the electorate must participate. Ten percent of the electorate can present a petition for a constitutional amendment.
Lithuania (20)	Since Lithuania's 1991 independence, there have been ten referendums and ten citizen initiatives. The most recent referendums concerned nuclear power (in 2008 and 2012) and EU accession (2003). Mandatory referendums are designed for constitutional issues, but both mandatory and consultative referendums can be called on all major issues. Only mandatory referendums are binding. Referendums are publicly funded.	<p>"The most significant issues concerning the life of the State and the Nation shall be decided by referendum. In the cases established by law, the Seimas shall announce a referendum. A referendum shall also be announced if not less than 300 000 citizens with the electoral right so request. The procedure for the announcement and execution shall be established by law."</p> <p>The Law on Referendums (2002) established two different types of referendum:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Obligatory referendum: primarily designed to address constitutional issues, including Lithuania's membership in international organisations, if such membership requires the delegation of certain functions of the Lithuanian state to supranational bodies of these international organisations (for example, the EU). Obligatory referendums are binding. 2) Consultative referendums: can be held on all other issues for which it is not necessary to hold an obligatory referendum. Decisions are indicative. <p>Both obligatory and consultative referendums can be called under identical rules, i.e., they can relate to all major issues in the life of the state and society as a result of a citizen's or parliamentary initiative. Initiatives must have the support of at least one-quarter of the members of Parliament or 300 000 citizens. "When constitutional decisions have been adopted by referendum, they can only be amended or repealed by referendum."</p>
Luxembourg (1)	Since 1919, the Constitution has allowed for referendums to be held. Referendums can be initiated by Parliament or by popular initiative. In the recent past, only one referendum has been held; that referendum was held in 2005 and was related to the European Constitution. Although referendums are funded by the state, there are no regulations regarding referendum finance.	According to article 114 of the Constitution, a referendum or issue campaign can be held in response to a request made by more than one-quarter of the members of the House of Deputies (The Parliament) or, in accordance with Chapter 2 of the Act of 4 February 2005 on national referendums, by twenty-five thousand voters.

	Situation of Referendums	Conditions for Referendums to take place
Malta (2)	Malta has held two referendums in the recent past. The first (held in 2008) concerned EU accession, and the second (held in 2011) concerned divorce. There are three types of referendums: constitutional, consultative, and abrogative. Public funds are used only for organisational expenses.	The Referendums Act (Chapter 237) refers to the following permissible purposes for a referendum: a) to approve proposals set out in a resolution passed for that purpose by the House of Representatives; and b) to determine whether a provision of law should be abrogated.
Netherlands (1)	In principle, national referendums in the Netherlands are not permitted. However, a referendum can be held on an ad hoc basis. The only referendum in the Netherlands was held in 2005 and related to the Constitution of Europe. Public funds have been used for political campaigning. Political parties represented in Parliament can use the time allocated to them on radio and television for referendum campaigns.	
Poland (9)	Referendums in Poland can be called by the president or by the lower house of Parliament. Most referendums do not succeed because they do not achieve the turnout requirement of 30 percent. Nine referendums have been held since 1970, most recently on EU accession in 2014. Actors involved in referendums must use their own funding.	Article 73.1: 'The result of a referendum on granting of consent to ratification of an international agreement... shall be valid if more than half of those eligible to vote have cast their vote.'
Portugal (3)	In Portugal, citizens can petition for a referendum, and a petition must be accepted by the president. There have only been three referendums in Portugal: two addressed abortion and the third addressed regionalisation. Referendums are binding if there is a turnout of more than 50 percent. Referendums are not publicly funded. However, Portugal has extensive legislation regarding benefits for campaigners.	
Romania (5)	In Romania, national referendums are required for constitutional revisions and in the event of the impeachment of the president. Post-communist Romania has held 5 referendums: two addressed the impeachment of the president and were invalidated due to low turnout; the others addressed constitutional amendments. The rules for regular elections apply to referendum campaigns.	<p>"The President of Romania may, after consultation with Parliament, ask the people of Romania to express, by referendum, their will on matters of national interest.</p> <p>Constitutional Amendment Referendum</p> <p>Article 151: Procedure of revision</p> <p>(1) The draft or proposal of revision must be adopted by the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, by a majority of at least two thirds of the members of each Chamber.</p> <p>(2) If no agreement can be reached by a mediation procedure, the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate shall decide thereupon, in joint sitting, by the vote of at least three quarters of the number of Deputies and Senators.</p> <p>(3) The revision shall be final after the approval by a referendum held within 30 days of the date of passing the draft or proposal of revision."</p>
Slovakia (15)	In Slovakia, there are several provisions for referendums and popular initiatives. Referendums on alliances are mandatory, whereas basic rights and freedoms can never be the subject of referendum. Four referendums and eleven citizen initiatives have been held since 1990. There is little regulation	A facultative referendum may be held when proposed by at least 350 000 citizens in the form of a petition. It can also be held when agreed to by Parliament (the proposal can be made by MPs or by the government). The referendum is then proclaimed by the president within 30 days after the petition or the Parliament's resolution. Before the proclamation itself, the president may ask the Constitutional Court to assess the

	Situation of Referendums	Conditions for Referendums to take place
	of the use of public funds.	presented question to determine whether the subject of the referendum complies with the Constitution or constitutional laws ²¹ . Referendums are binding.
Slovenia (21)	Since 1990, seventeen referendums and four citizen initiatives have been held on a variety of issues, including pensions and adoption. As the result of several concerns about referendums, a 2013 constitutional amendment limited their broad reach of referendums and the number of eligible issues was reduced. Public funding is not explicitly allocated.	<p>The National Assembly may call a referendum on any issue, which is the subject of regulation by law. The National Assembly is bound by the result of such referendum. The National Assembly may call a referendum on its own initiative. A referendum must be called if required by one-third of deputies, by the National Council, or by forty thousand voters. All citizens who are eligible to vote in elections have a right to vote in a referendum. If a majority of voters are in favour, a proposal is passed in a referendum. The Slovenian Constitution defines several types of referendums: On constitutional change; Preliminary legislative (ante legem); Subsequent legislative (post legem); Consultative.</p> <p>The initiative for a legislative referendum can come from any voter, political party or citizens association. The National Assembly can decide on a consultative referendum before making a final decision on an issue.</p> <p>The National Assembly shall call a referendum on the entry into force of a law that it has adopted if so required by at least forty thousand voters. A referendum may not be called for the following types of laws: (1) laws on urgent measures to ensure the defence of the state, security or the elimination of the consequences of natural disasters; (2) laws on taxes, customs duties, and other compulsory charges, and the law adopted for the implementation of the state budget; (3) laws on the ratification of treaties; (4) laws eliminating an unconstitutionality in the field of human rights and fundamental freedoms or any other unconstitutionality. A law is rejected in a referendum if a majority of voters casting valid votes vote against the law, provided at least one-fifth of all qualified voters have voted against the law.</p> <p>A 2013 constitutional amendment prohibits Parliament and the National Council from calling for referendums.</p>
Spain (4)	The transition to democracy created an important role for referendums. Spain has held four referendums since 1974. The most recent referendum was in 2005 and addressed the issue of the EU Constitution. Referendums are non-binding. Extraordinary funds can be allocated for referendums.	<p>The referendum design has two modalities:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Referendums related to the exercise of 'constituent power' either at the national or the regional level. 2) Referendums that are consultative, with no mandatory character (Closa & Carbonell, 2010).
Sweden (6)	The two most recent referendums in Sweden concerned introducing the euro in 2003 and accessing to the EU in 1994. Prior to that, votes were held in 1980 regarding nuclear	Conditions for referendums and issue campaigns are provided in the instrument of government.

²¹ <http://www.cepsr.com/clanek.php?ID=165>

	Situation of Referendums	Conditions for Referendums to take place
	power. Referendums in Sweden are non-binding. Public funding may be allocated.	
U.K. ²² (2)	In the UK, only governments can call for a referendum, and a referendum is not legally binding. Only two referendums have been held. The first referendum was in 1975 and addressed the UK's European Communities membership; the second referendum was in 2011 and addressing an alternative vote system. The regulations regarding referendums are similar to those governing political party funding for elections.	All aspects of party funding and electoral law in the UK are regulated by the Political Parties Elections and Referendums Act (PPERA) OF 2000. Only governments can realistically initiate a referendum because the opposition does not have much control over legislation and there are no popular initiatives. For Scottish referendums: The Referendum Act was designed in a similar manner to the UK's PERA; however, public funding is absent.

Note: Source: Centre for Research on Direct Democracy (c2d), 2011;
(#) Number of referendums (and citizen initiatives where applicable) held since 1970. No information on financing referendums was available for Slovakia (15).

2.4.1 Referendum Financing

Tables 10.1 (ad hoc funding), 10.2 (regulated funding) and 10.3 (no public funding) divide 22 Member States according to whether and how they fund referendums, and whether or not they have regulations concerning referendums. **Belgium** (where referendums are only held at the local level) and **Slovakia** are not included, because further financing information was not available. Furthermore, referendums in **Cyprus**, **Czech Republic**, **Netherlands**, and **Sweden** are all publicly funded, but no further information was available regarding private donations and controls, so they are also not included. Table 10.2.1 elaborates on the details regarding funding for those countries which do receive it.

Figure 10.1. Distribute public funds on an ad hoc basis. In most cases, there is no specific legislative framework governing referendum financing.

	Publicly funded?	Rules on private donations?	Indirect public funding?	Bans on donations?	Must report financial bookkeeping?	Rules on the content of financial reports?	Made publicly available?
Denmark	Yes.	No specific legal provisions limit spending in referendum campaigns or sources. Private contributions play			Yes	Yes. Well-developed regulations. Parties must disclose the sources of funds and expenditures. Regulations do not apply to third parties. Receiving public subsidies depends	Yes, in excess of €2700.

²² The recent Scottish independent referendum, held on the 18th of September 2014 is not included in this Figure, as it occurred after the time point of reference (September 1st 2014).

	Publicly funded?	Rules on private donations?	Indirect public funding?	Bans on donations?	Must report financial bookkeeping?	Rules on the content of financial reports?	Made publicly available?
		limited role.				on compliance. Accounts must be published and submitted. Must include amount from each source.	
Estonia	<i>Ad Hoc/No</i>	No limitations. Same rules as general financing.	Tax relief, free/subsidized media access	Corporate; government contractors; anonymous; foreign	<i>Yes/No</i>	-	Yes. On website.
Finland	Ad Hoc	-	-	-	Yes	-	-
France	Yes. Ad hoc, reimbursement of certain expenses	Donations are unlimited	Advertising, free broadcasting; reimburse certain expenses (posters, leaflets, public meetings). €800 000 limit		Only expenses provided by the State to need to be disclosed	Yes. Political parties are required to file campaign accounts	Other than the state-reimbursable expenses, there is no disclosure requirement
Greece	Yes	Yes	Special tax status, free/subsidised media, postage, & transport; space for campaign materials, advertising space, premises	Corporate; government contractors; trade unions; anonymous; foreign	Yes	Yes	Yes. Online & newspapers.
Hungary	<i>Yes/No</i>	-	Space for campaign materials	Anonymous; foreign	No	-	-
Italy	Yes/no. Relevant legislation continues to	-	-	-	No specific on referendums	-	-

	Publicly funded?	Rules on private donations?	Indirect public funding?	Bans on donations?	Must report financial bookkeeping?	Rules on the content of financial reports?	Made publicly available?
	evolve.						
Lithuania	Yes	All donations kept in special accounts and registered. Exceeding €290 can't be kept in cash. Spending limits apply. The maximum is calculated as: "the number of voters entered on the electoral multiplied by €0.43 (e.g.: 2009 = €1.16 million).	Free and equal airtime	Anonymous. Donations Allowed only by citizens of Lithuania and private corporations (except with shares in government). Limited to €10 689 annually.	Yes	Yes. Must report their total expenditures. The law allows actors to register as 'independent participants' (political parties; nominees; candidates; initiators; opponents). They must submit a funding report 10 days before election. A final funding report must be submitted no later than 25 days after result. Reports must specify all income received and all expenditures during the campaign. The Act defines political campaign funding expenditure liabilities and expenditures for which full information must be provided (see full questionnaire).	Contributions above €28.9 euros must be registered, and contributions over €289 euros must be transferred via bank account. Commission does not disclose data on natural persons who have donated less than €29, or have expressed a wish for personal data to remain private. Central Electoral Commission publishes reports on its website.
Luxembourg	Yes, but not regulated	Yes	No	Corporate; government contractors; trade unions; anonymous; foreign	-	-	-
Slovenia	Yes/No	Total contributions from individuals must not exceed ten average gross	Free broadcasting time; free campaign hoarding	Corporate; anonymous; foreign	Yes	Yes. Political parties and third parties must open special accounts to collect campaign costs. The campaign organiser must	Yes. Reports are published on the website of the Court of Audit and via the National Assembly.

	Publicly funded?	Rules on private donations?	Indirect public funding?	Bans on donations?	Must report financial bookkeeping?	Rules on the content of financial reports?	Made publicly available?
		monthly salaries.				submit a detailed report on the total amount of funds collected and spent (see extended questionnaire). Within six months, the Court of Audit conducts an audit. Expenditure limits apply (€0.25 per eligible voter).	Referendum campaign organisers must send financial information to the Agency of the Republic of Slovenia for Public Legal Records, which is obliged to publish reports on its homepage. All contributions of more than one monthly salary must be reported.
Spain	Yes	No	-	Anonymous. Cap of 6,000 per physical or juridical person	Yes	Yes. Accounts and bank information may be requested by the Central Electoral Commission. Court of Auditors must check accounts of those who received subsidies. Parties must present detailed accounts to receive subsidies	
No referendums at the national level, only at the local/regional levels.							
Germany (only at the local level)	Yes		Free/subsidised media, space for campaign materials, premises.	Anonymous	Yes	Yes. Income, expenditures, and assets falling into systematic categories are reported.	Yes

Figure 10.2 Grant public funds and have clear regulations.

	Publicly funded?	Rules on private donations?	Indirect public funding?	Bans on donations?	Must report financial bookkeeping?	Rules on the content of financial reports?	Made publicly available?
Romania ²³	Yes	Yes, rules are the same as in regular elections.	Free/subsidised media access	Government contractors; trade unions; foreign; churches	Yes	Yes, rules are the same as for regular elections	Yes, same rules apply as for regular elections. Donations of more than 10 MGS (€1 400 euros) must be publicised. Information about donations is made public both online and in the Official Gazette.
U.K.	Yes, same as elections. Spending limits, donation control, reporting requirements apply. Two organisations are lead groups, with higher spending limit (Designated Organisation – DO)	Yes. Donations subject to the general rules that describe public funding. DOs can also accept donations from registered political parties	Free referendum addresses, public meeting rooms, free/subsidised media access, postage, ad space, premises, transport; space for campaign materials.	Same as in the general election rules.	Yes	Yes. Participants must submit a fully itemised report detailing their expenses. Participants who spent €316 000 euros or less must submit within 3 months. More than £250 000 must submit (Audited) within 6 months	Yes. The threshold for publicising donations is £7 500 (i.e., the rule is the same as for elections). The spending of campaigners and third parties is published on the website of the Commission, similar to that of political-party spending during campaigns.

Information about the conditions to receive funding, legal requirements, the amount of funding (in euros, an approximate conversion), and whether extra funding is available, was limited to a smaller number of countries within the list of those which provide public funding.

Figure 10.2.1 Specifics regarding Public Funding (for countries included in tables 10.1 and 10.2, when available).

	Conditions for funding eligibility & Legal Requirements	Amount of funding	Extra funding?
Denmark	Before each referendum, distribution is made based on a political compromise. Individual parties receive a certain amount of funding based on their proportion of seats in Parliament. For example, for the EU referendum, a key source of income was public funding assigned for 'EU information.' Two-thirds of the EU-specific funding was allocated to the parties represented in Parliament and one-third was allocated to the Eurosceptic and the pro-	Funds are divided into portions: political and popular. The first is given to parties in Parliament via political agreements. The second is awarded to independent projects and organisations in the form of grants, which aim to further the discussion of Denmark in the EU. Example: 2002–04 allocation of EU: (1) The Political Party Pool (€3.13 million). (2) Organisation Pool (€ 7,400,000). Given to two pro-European	Yes. Danish Parliament allocates extra funds for EU information and campaign activities. The allocation represents a compromise between whether to fund both sides equally or distribute

²³ According to the expert in Romania, the same regulations apply as for regular elections.

	Conditions for funding eligibility & Legal Requirements	Amount of funding	Extra funding?
	EU movements.	movements. (3) Activities Pool (€4.24 million), distributed money to various ad hoc informational activities.	according to the distribution of seats.
Estonia	-	Example: Parliament provided €2 million euros for 2003 EU referendum. The Electoral Commission received €25 809 euros for lectures and new voting arrangements and procedures. The EU's representation in Estonia received €600 000. Political parties and other eligible campaigners can receive their usual annual donation from the state budget.	Yes. For the EU referendum campaign, the government's EU Information Secretariat contributed €66 000 to a project to help NGOs organise public debate on EU topics.
Finland	During the 1994 EU accession treaty referendum, political parties did not receive public funding. Funding was made available for information grants. NGOs that received information grants had to be registered. Political parties were excluded from applying for funding.	In the 1994 referendum on the EU, €1.7 million were available for information-related grants from a supplementary State budget. That fund distributed €620 000 euros to supporters of EU membership and €620 000 to the opposition. Organisations that were officially neutral received €460 000 euros.	-
France	To participate a party must satisfy one of two criteria: five seats in Parliament (no distinction between National Assembly and Senate) or 5 percent of votes in most recent national election.	State-refunded expenses are subject to limitations. In the 2005 referendum, the ceiling of refundable expenses was €800 000 per party.	
Greece	There are legal requirements to receive funding.	No	-
Hungary	-	No	-
Italy	No public funding is available for political parties. There is public funding for the 'promoting committee of the referendum' for: • Abrogative referendum of a law. Since 1974, majority have been abrogative. Funding consists of reimbursement, under the condition of obtaining the quorum. • Referendum concerning laws amending the Constitution	A lump-sum reimbursement of €500 000 is given to the organising committee for each valid request for referendums; the ceiling is €2 582 284.50 per year. Reimbursement to the promoting committee is in the amount of €1 for each supporter, a maximum of €2 582 285 per year.	-
Lithuania	Financial regulation is the same as for political campaigns. Only political parties, candidates, prospective candidates, initiators and opponents of the referendum and their representative have the right to collect and	-	-

	Conditions for funding eligibility & Legal Requirements	Amount of funding	Extra funding?
	receive financial support during the campaign process.		
Romania	The same rules apply as in any other electoral campaign. Legal requirements to receive funding are the same as in regular elections	€3 500 000 is the maximum total funding that can be received by political parties or eligible campaigners.	No
Slovenia	-	Political parties and eligible campaigners can receive up to 25% of the maximum finances allowed for campaign spending (a maximum of 0.25 euros per voter in the country can be spent).	No
Spain	Referendum regulation is subsidiary to the general electoral law. Funding regulations differentiate between institutional campaigns, which promote awareness and are performed by public authorities, and non-institutional campaigns, conducted by political actors. There are two different sources of funding: 1) Regular funding, established for all referendums. 2) Extraordinary funding, which consists of ad hoc specific subsidies. Has only been provided for the referendum on the EU Constitution. Can only be claimed by parties that have parliamentary representation	Regular funding is provided through indirect sources (ad space and media). Extraordinary economic aid involves a series of bankable expenses (See extended questionnaire). The amount of funding is fixed as a function of votes and seats: -€8 571 428 euros per seat obtained in the Congress of Deputies; and - €0.244 per vote obtained by each Congressional candidate. The State pays the amount that the political group has justified according to its 'bankable expenses' up to the amount fixed in relation to the group's seats or votes.	Yes. Regular funding includes free space and/or advertising space in publicly owned media. Electoral propaganda also receives a franchise and special postal services.
Sweden	Sweden, which does not conduct many referendums, devised a very precise formula for how to divide public money between official 'Yes' and 'No' camps during the 1994 referendum on EU membership.	In the 2003 euro referendum, the Riksdag appropriated €36.1 million: "•€21.2 million to administration; •€9.5 million to campaign organisations; •€3.1 million Kronor to parties. €106 369 million in basic support to each party – the remainder distributed proportionally •€531 846 Kronor to EU Information Centre; •€1.5 million for public education	-

	Conditions for funding eligibility & Legal Requirements	Amount of funding	Extra funding?
U.K.	The Electoral Commission designates one 'Permitted Participant' (PP) from each side (Yes/No). The 'Designated Organisation' (DO), which is considered the lead campaign organisation, has higher spending limits. To maintain equality, the Commission can only designate either two or zero permitted participants as DOs. For referendums, the same amount of cash and non-cash assistance is granted to each DO.	The status of the participant determines expenditure limits. DOs have a limit of £5 million for referendum expenditures. The limits are determined based on most recent General Election. The funding limits range from £5 million for parties that gain 30 percent of more of the vote to £500 000 for parties that gain 5-10 percent of the vote. The cap for all other participants is £500 000. 'Referendum expenses' are broadly defined and includes advertising, material production costs, transport, etc.	-

Figure 10.3. No use of public funds for campaigning. Parties rely on donations or on their own revenue sources. This does not exclude the possible use of state funds to organise referendums.

	Are publicly funded?	Rules on private donations?	Indirect public funding?	Bans on donations?	Must report on financial bookkeeping?	Rules on the content of financial reports?	Publicly available?
Austria	Not specifically, but public funding may be used	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bulgaria	Not specifically, but public funding may be used	No	Free/subsidized media access, office space	Corporate; government contractors; trade unions; anonymous; foreign	-	-	-
Croatia	No	No	No	No	No.	-	-
Ireland	No	No expenditure limits	-	-	Yes	Yes. Political and third parties must submit a statement of their account, declaring all donations are included and were for political purposes.	No. Identity must be disclosed, but not made public
Latvia	Only in one instance, for EU accession (€1.4 million)	Personal and corporate are limited to €15 000	-	-	Yes	Sources and expenses are submitted to the Corruption Prevention and Combating Bureau. No regulations for third parties and NGOs.	

	Are publicly funded?	Rules on private donations?	Indirect public funding?	Bans on donations?	Must report on financial bookkeeping?	Rules on the content of financial reports?	Publicly available?
Malta	No	No	No	No	No	No	-
Poland	No	-	Free/subsidized media access	-	Yes	Expenditures on referendums must be disclosed. Report must include declarations regarding state subsidies, expenses covered by that money, all other sources of party funding. Third parties do not have to disclose.	Yes
Portugal	No. Extensive legislation regarding selective benefits to campaigners without providing direct support	Similar to general elections. Limit on spending amount, based on minimum wage	Free advertising in (public & private) media. Public buildings for events. Theatres for meetings. Offices. Free telephone.	Anonymous; corporate; legal entities	Yes	Yes. Parties /citizen groups are responsible for keeping accounts of referendum spending. Within 90 days of the publication of referendum results, accounts must be presented to the National Election Commission.	Referendum accounts are public. The National Commission of Elections publishes its statement on the accounts of political parties and the groups of registered electors in the Official Journal.

Figure 11: . Transnational Donations

	Are transnational donations allowed?	Is there a limit to their amount?	Ban on certain foreign donations?	Does this information need to be made public?
Austria	Yes	No	-	-
Belgium	Yes	No	-	-
Croatia	Yes	No	No	No
Cyprus	Yes	No	Yes, from foreign companies	-
Czech Republic	Yes	-	Yes. Only allowed from foreign political parties	
Denmark	Yes	-	-	Registered the same way as domestic
Finland	Yes	-	Yes. Only allowed from private individuals and legal entities	-
France	Yes	Limit of €7,500 per year	Yes. Only allowed from individuals.	-
Germany	Yes	Limit of €1,000 per year	-	-

	Are transnational donations allowed?	Is there a limit to their amount?	Ban on certain foreign donations?	Does this information need to be made public?
Italy	Yes	No	-	-
Lithuania	Yes	-	Yes. Allowed from permanent residents of Lithuania who are EU nationals. Not allowed through third persons.	-
Malta	Not allowed in principle, but may be authorized.	No	-	No
Netherlands	Yes	No	-	-
Slovakia	Yes.	-	Yes. Only allowed by foreign political parties	-
Spain	Yes	-	Yes. From foreign governments, entities and related companies	-
Transnational donations are not allowed in the following countries: Bulgaria, Estonia ^a , Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Latvia, Luxembourg, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovenia, Sweden, U.K.				

^a **Conflicting information from sources. See section 2.3.8 in Appendix II for details.**

2.5 Referendums at the local/regional levels

Limited information is available about regulations and financing of referendums on the national level; on the local and regional levels, information is even more limited. This section presents a brief summary of the findings with regard to regulations on the local level in those countries where sufficient information was available. The results are discussed in alphabetical order.

In Cyprus, Greece, and Latvia referendums at the local or regional level are not allowed and in Lithuania, there is no provision for these types of referendum.

In Austria, there are provisions for local and regional referendums in the constitutions of the nine Länder. Depending on the Land, a referendum may be called by the Parliament (Landtag) or by a specific number of Members of Parliament. Furthermore, the rules at the national level also apply to local referendums, including the use of public funding (Council for Democratic Elections, 2005). In Belgium, referendums are allowed at the regional and municipal level, as are popular initiatives (SGI, 2014). In Bulgaria, eligible issues are limited and thus, only two local referendums have been held (SGI, 2014). For local referendums, financial resources are provided by the appropriate municipal budget. In Croatia, local referendums can be called by representative bodies with respect to issues that fall within their local jurisdiction (Rodin, 2000). However, this is not very common, and local referendums are rare (SGI, 2014). Local referendums are funded by the budgets of the territorial units involved (Rodin, 2000). In the Czech Republic, municipal and regional referendums can be demanded by the signatures of a certain percentage of voters, a percentage that varies by community (SGI, 2014). Referendums are mandatory in the event of the separation of a municipality, and there is no restriction on the matters that may be submitted to a referendum (Council of Democratic Elections, 2005). In Denmark, there are no provisions for regional referendums. However, at the state, regional, and municipal levels, politicians can decide to hold consultative referendums. Citizen's initiatives and recall elections are unavailable in Denmark (Seirbhís Leabharlainne & Taighde an Oireachtais, 2009). In Estonia, under certain circumstances, people can initiate an amendment to legislation on the local level through a non-binding public initiative (Auers, Ruus, & Krupavicius, 2009).

In Finland citizen-initiated municipal referendums are allowed and are arranged by municipal authorities (SGI, 2014). In Hungary, local referendums can be held on matters related to the responsibilities and competences of local governments (Constitution, Article 31, 2011). In Ireland, referendums at the municipal level are only consultative (Council for Democratic Elections, 2005). In Italy, the basic law contains provisions for local and regional referendums. Twenty percent of the electorate can request a regional referendum (Council for Democratic Elections, 2005). Local referendums can be initiated by citizens on issues within local competencies. Provisions for referendums must be contained in regional statutes and therefore, the rules are different than those applicable to national referendums. Statutes differ regarding the number of signatures required and the reimbursement, if any, of costs (Ricci, 2010). In Luxembourg, referendums at the local level are not binding. They must be requested by one-fifth of the electorate (SGI, 2014). A referendum is called at the local and regional level when it is supported by 10 percent of the electorate (SGI, 2014). The local authority covers the costs; the results are usually binding (Council of Democratic Elections, 2005). The Netherlands allows referendums to take place on the local and provincial level, but all ordinances have to be published online²⁴. Although citizens can propose a referendum in Portugal, the Municipal Assembly makes the final decision. Local referendums are infrequent, and only five have been conducted (SGI, 2014). Local campaigns are financed according to the same rules as for electoral campaigns, but public funding is not allocated. The limits on expenditures for local referendums are similar to those for general elections (Greco, 2010). In Romania, referendums can be held at the local level, but this has rarely been done. For a local referendum to be valid, turnout must be at least 50

²⁴ <http://www.referendumplatform.nl/224>

percent (SGI, 2014). In Slovenia, local referendums are allowed. Campaign organisers must submit reports on funds, similar to election campaigns, which are available to the public (Greco, 2007).

In Spain, there is a law providing for referendums at the level of autonomous communities, provinces, and municipalities. The agreement of the national government is necessary for both regional and municipal referendums (Council of Democratic Elections, 2005). At this level, referendums are not very common (SGI, 2014). Only five referendums have been held at the regional level; these referendums have involved statutes related to autonomy (Council of Democratic Elections, 2005). In terms of funding, the rules are similar to national referendums, including the distinction between institutional (full funding) and non-institutional (partial funding) campaigns. The main difference is that groups other than political parties can apply for funding. The administration that calls for the referendum is responsible for funding referendum campaigns (Closa & Carbonell, 2010).

3. PARTY EXPENDITURES IN 7 MEMBER STATES

KEY FINDINGS

- In all 7 Member States we examined, **larger parties tend to spend more** on election campaigns than smaller ones.
- Campaign spending is **lower** in the 5 **multiparty systems** than in the other 2 systems that we investigated.
- Campaign expenditure is up to **7 times higher** during general elections than during European ones in the 7 countries under study.
- Parties in the 4 Western European countries generally **spend more** than do parties in the **3 Eastern European countries** under study.

3.1 Introduction

3.1.1 Methodology

For our investigation into actual levels of campaign spending, we selected seven countries. Taken together, these seven constitute a sample that is representative of the 28 EU Member States in terms of relevant economic, geographical and political factors. We selected countries on the basis of three factors that have been demonstrated to influence campaign spending: party dependence on the state, party management by the state, and party colonisation of the state (Katz and Mair, 1995; 2002; Kopecky, 2006, Pujas and Rhodes, 1999; Van Biezen and Kopecky, 2007). By studying these countries, we ensured that we obtained a picture that adequately reflects campaign-spending patterns in the EU as a whole. This resulted in the selection of Bulgaria, Croatia, Denmark, Latvia, the Netherlands, Spain and the UK.

Below, the results are shown by country and cover party expenditures during the two most recent general and European elections. Within each of the seven countries, we select a maximum of four parties in each of the four elections mentioned. Our selection of parties is based on two factors that are theoretically predicted to affect campaign spending: government status and party size (Van Biezen and Kopecky, 2007). We thus selected both large and small governing parties and both large and small opposition parties. 'Large' is operationalised as having obtained more than 15 percent of the vote in the national election that preceded the relevant election. 'Small' is operationalised as having obtained less than 10 percent of the vote in the national election that preceded the relevant election. Furthermore, we selected a large government party, a small government party (if available), a large opposition party (if available) and a small opposition party in four relevant elections (two national and three European). Both party size and party government status pertain to the situation immediately before each of these four elections.

Finally, in five of the seven countries EU-related referendums have been held. For these countries we obtained information about campaign expenditures during the referendum campaigns, along with the position taken by the party on those referendums.

3.1.2 Main findings

There are some significant differences between countries and parties in the amount that they spend on election campaigns. These differences will be discussed in this section. Figure 12 shows the standardised²⁵ expenditure of the relevant parties the seven countries. Through this standardisation, the countries are comparable over time. Overall, we can see that the largest parties in Western European countries spend the most on election campaigns. Furthermore, in countries with multiple parties, the expenses per country are significantly lower than in Spain and the UK, where two main parties compete. In Denmark party expenses are relatively low.

²⁵ The amount in the country's currency was divided by the PPP of the country in the given year and converted into euros according to that election year's exchange rate.

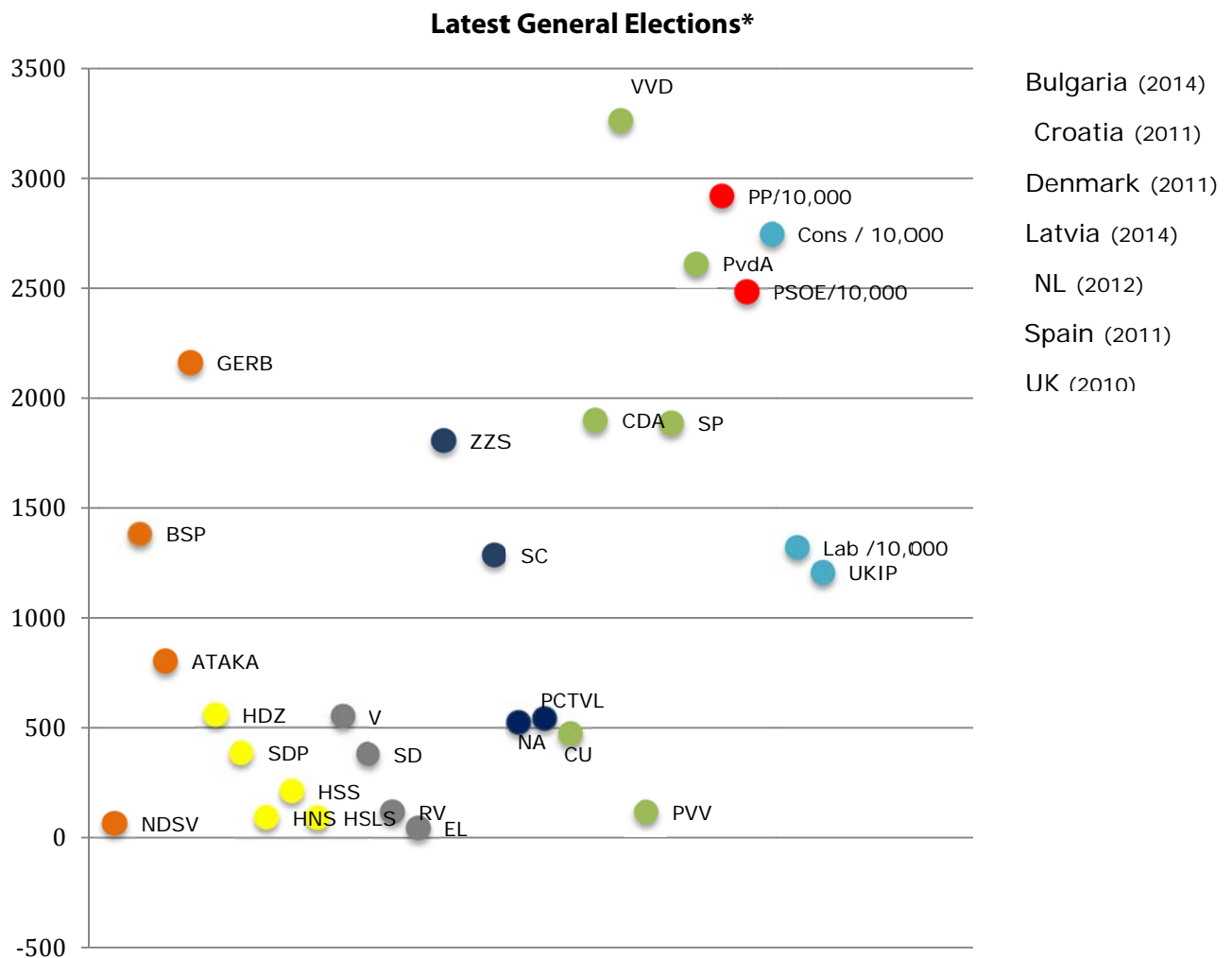
Figure 12: Standardised campaign expenditure in Bulgaria, Croatia, Denmark, Latvia, the Netherlands, Spain, and the UK (divided by PPP and converted to euros).

	Second most-recent general elections	Most recent general elections	EU elections 2004	EU elections 2009	EU elections 2014
NDSV	1 101 108	65228	Not member	789 865	537 670
1BSP	2 378 637	1 383 610	-	1 179 355	1 438 893
ATAKA	435 218	803 533	-	24 205	1 052 000
GERB	1 441 435	2 162 329	-	344 913	1 228 208
HDZ	-	558 754	Not member	-	49 584
SDP	-	386 188	-	-	49 378
HNS	-	93 351	-	-	-
HSS	-	213 067	-	-	-
HSLŠ	-	91 908	-	-	-
HL-SR	-	-	-	-	43 299
V	486 734	552 029	112 899	119 125	-
SD	175 137	381 359	865 873	40 911	-
RV	55 960	116 813	10 233	6 990	-
EL	18 442	44 512	8 648	-	-
ZZS	-	1 807 464	168 862	-	1 560 260
TB/LNNK	-	-	254 920	1 598 879	-
TP	-	-	352 444	2 300 021	-
LPP/LC	-	-	235 762	-	-
V	2 276 680	-	525 242	-	-
SC	1 149 694	1 287 169	-	1 286 736	924 052
NA	35 100	524 898	-	-	208 393
PCTVL	-	542 572	-	911 679	194 971
CU	471 143	475 059	-	129 771	-
CDA	2 355 713	1 900 238	-	-	-
VVD	2 944 641	3 266 033	-	-	605 327
PVV	117 786	118 765	-	-	-
SP	2 235 314	1 887 530	-	1 031 450	563 373
PvdA	1 648 999	2 612 827	-	-	-
PP	31 320 689	29 220 611	14 405 909	18 778 395	10 161 054 ^a
PSOE	26 398 979	24 854 067	14 570 884	19 580 706	10 161 054 ^a
Cons	31 662 477	27 474 834	7 353 637	3 943 925	-
Lab	31 817 436	13 190 726	4 010 620	3 657 498	-
UKIP	1 149 987	1 206 759	5 548 246	2 018 965	-

Note: ^a Estimate.

To provide a better picture of the differences between parties and countries, the figures below present the plotted data for each election²⁶. Note that to fit the figures of two party systems within the graph, these numbers are divided by 10 000 rather than by 1 000 (cf., data labels). Figure 13 shows party expenditures during the most recent general election; this graph presents a clear pattern of larger parties spending more on election campaigns. Furthermore, campaign expenditure is largest among the largest parties in the UK and Spain.

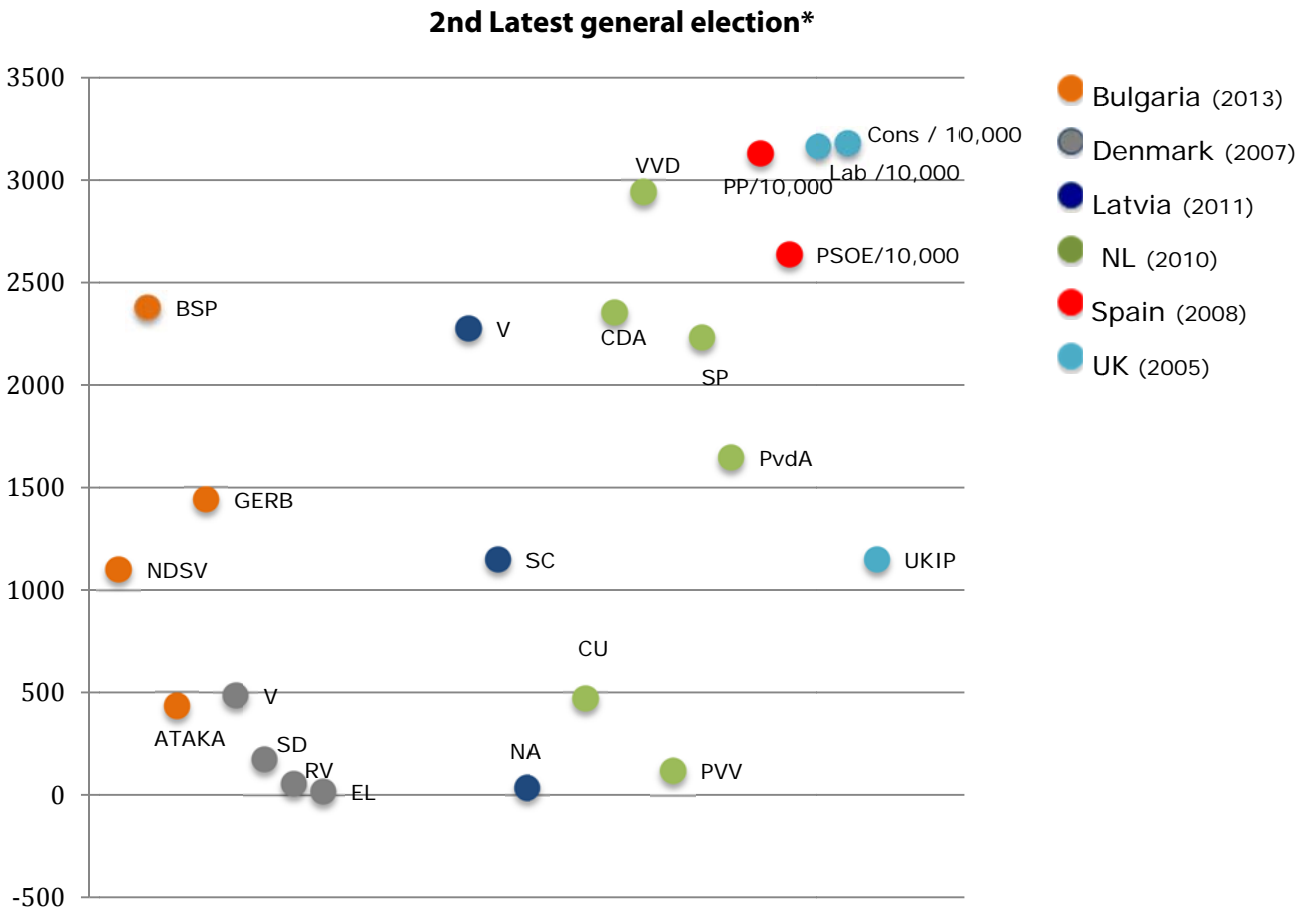
Figure 13: Standardised campaign expenditure in the most recent general elections in Bulgaria, Croatia, Denmark, Latvia, the Netherlands, Spain, and the UK



²⁶ With the exception of the 2014 EU elections, due to limited data availability.

Figure 14 shows similar patterns as those shown in the previous figure. An exception can be observed with the LPP/LC, which is a relatively small party that engaged in a large amount of campaign spending during the Latvian election in 2010 (third most recent general election; not on graph). This can be explained by the fact that this party was part of a coalition (together with, among others, TP) during that election. This also explains why expenses are higher in Latvia than in a Western European country such as the Netherlands, or Denmark where one would expect parties to have more money to spend.

Figure 14: Standardised campaign expenditure in the second-most-recent general elections in Bulgaria, Denmark, Latvia, the Netherlands, Spain, and the UK



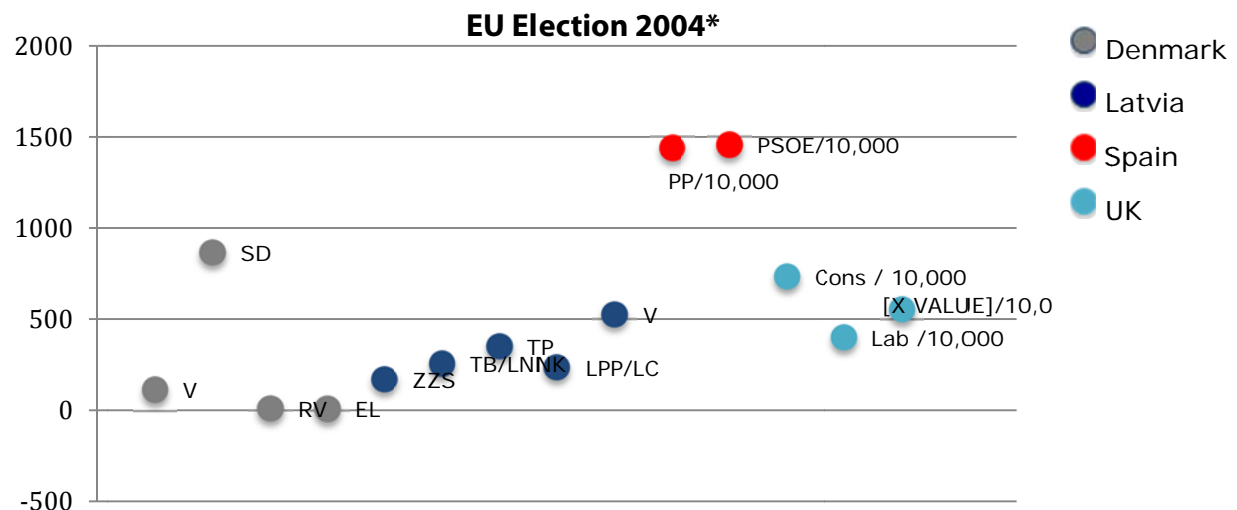
Note: * The data represent standardised expenditure (taking PPP into account) in euros and divided by 1 000 unless indicated differently (i.e., PP, PSOE, Cons and Lab).

Overall, campaign expenditures during European elections are much lower than during national. Even in Spain, where the PSOE and the PP spent several millions during the 2009 EU election, the amount is substantially lower than in national elections. However, the largest difference is in the UK, where the Conservative party spent less than 7 times the amount that is spent during the most recent general election. For the Netherlands, we were only able to retrieve the campaign expenses for two smaller parties, which may present somewhat of a misleading image because the general expenses for the 2009 European elections appear to be lower than in Latvia. These results also indicate a substantial difference between expenditures for general versus European elections. Overall, the

differences among countries remain the same, with Western European parties spending more than Eastern European ones, with Denmark as the exception.

Figures 15, 16, and 17 show standardized expenditure for EU elections. Data for 2004 and for 2014 European elections was available only for a few parties, so results are inconclusive. However, it can be observed that spending does not necessarily rise in each subsequent EU election, with some parties spending more in 2004 and 2009, compared to 2014.

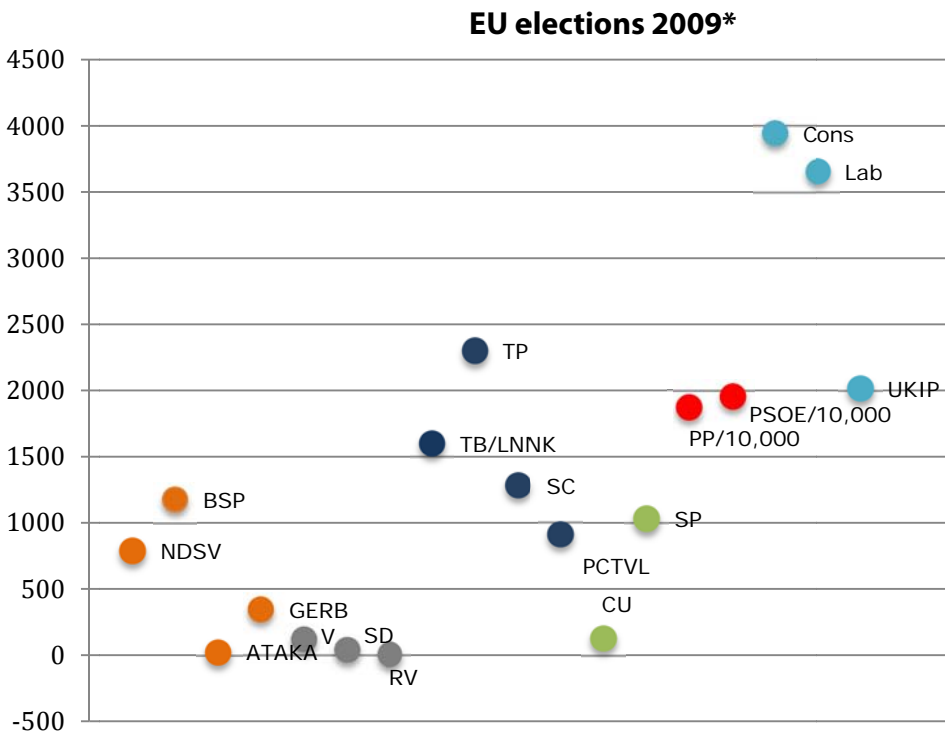
Figure 15: Standardised campaign expenditure in the 2004 EU elections in Denmark, Latvia, Spain, and the UK



Note: * The data represent standardised expenditure (taking PPP into account) in euros and divided by 1 000 unless indicated differently (i.e., PP and PSOE).

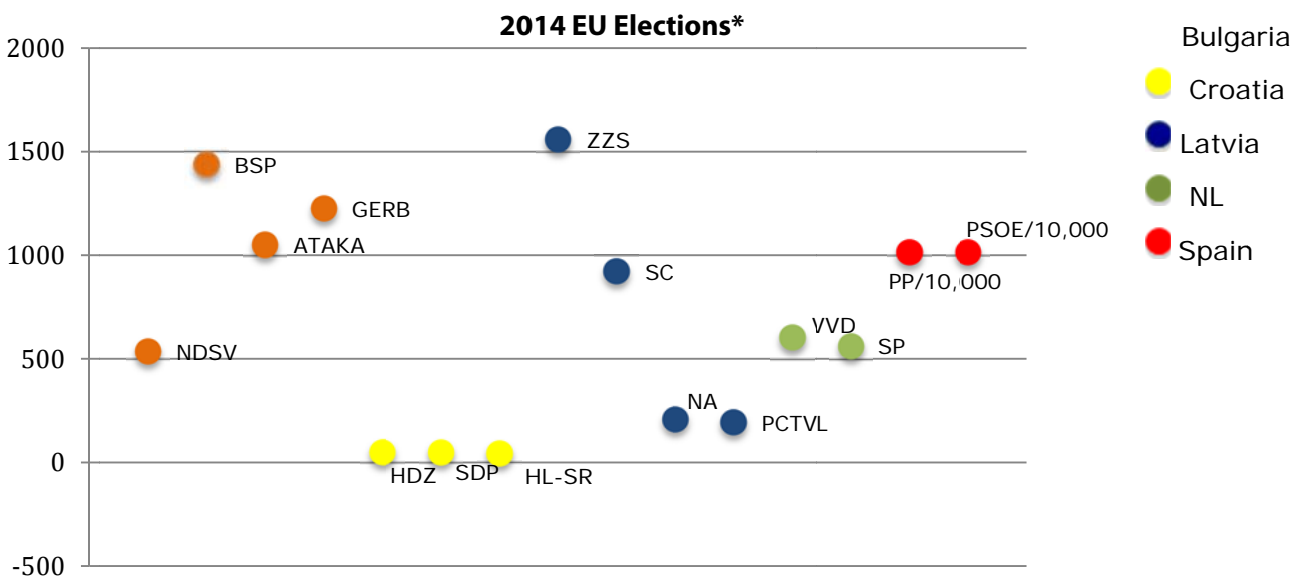
Bulgaria and Croatia were not yet Member States. Data was not available for Netherlands.

Figure 16: Standardised campaign expenditure in the 2009 EU elections in Bulgaria, Denmark, Latvia, the Netherlands, Spain, and the UK



Note: * The data represent standardised expenditure (taking PPP into account) in euros and divided by 1 000 unless indicated differently (i.e., PP and PSOE).

Figure 17: Standardised campaign expenditure in the 2014 EU elections in Bulgaria, Croatia, Latvia, the Netherlands, and Spain.



Note: * The data represent standardised expenditure (taking PPP into account) in euros and divided by 1 000 unless indicated differently (i.e., PP and PSOE).

Only the data for a few parties was available.

The figures for Spain are not official, only an estimate by journalists based on previous elections.

3.2 Bulgaria

3.2.1 Party expenditures during general and European elections in Bulgaria

The figures below present the gross campaign expenditure in Bulgaria in BGN and—to enable a comparison over time—in BGN/ PPP. The figures also represent the amount parties spent on offline media during general elections. This is often a substantial part of the total amount that parties spent on election campaigns. In Bulgaria, as shown in chapter 1, parties are indirectly funded by the government through the provision of free media access, which is not included in the figures presented here.

Figure 18: Campaign expenditures in Bulgaria in BGN

	General elections 2009		General elections 2013		General elections 2014		European elections 2009	European elections 2014 ^a
	Gross	Media	Gross	Media	Gross	Media		
NDSV	996 943	713 463	1 495 565	387 300	86 114	49 042	1 012 450	710 486
BSP (Coalition for Bulgaria)	1 999 952	1 224 563	3 230 750	1 705 176	1 828 028	1 011 587	1 511 698	1 899 282
ATAKA	220 650	139 534	591 129	195 791	1 061 782	675 977	310 260	1 390 128
GERB	826 387	501 463	1 957 809	874 802	2 857 281	445 982	442 109	1 622 992

Note: Party websites and the General Accounting Office (Smetna Palata na Republika Bulgaria) are used as the source for this data.

Figure 19: Standardised campaign expenditures in Bulgaria (BGN/ PPP²⁷)

	General elections 2009		General elections 2013		General elections 2014		European elections 2009	European elections 2014 ^a
	Gross	Media	Gross	Media	Gross	Media		
NDSV	1 522 050	1 089 256	2 217 294	5 742	127 576	72 654	1 545 725	1 052 571
BSP (Coalition for Bulgaria)	3 053 362	1 869 562	4 789 844	2 528 059	2 708 189	1 498 647	2 307 936	2 815 837
ATAKA	33 687	213 029	876 396	290 060	1 573 010	1 001 447	47 368	2 059 448
GERB	1 261 660	765 592	2 902 608	1 296 964	4 233 008	660 714	674 976	2 404 432

3.3 Croatia

3.3.1 Party expenditures during general and European elections in Croatia

Croatian parties receive discounts on media advertisements, but in 2011, SDP and HNS spent more than half of their budgets on offline media campaigning, making that their largest expenditure item

²⁷ PPP was obtained from the World Bank website, <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/PA.NUS.PPP>, and represents “the number of units of a country's currency required to buy the same amounts of goods and services in the domestic market as U.S. dollar would buy in the United States” in the relevant year. The exceptions are the elections of 2014 because those figures are not yet available and we used the most recent figures available (2013).

(see Figures below). Although today Croatian parties are generally very transparent about their income and expenditures, this was not always the case, thus making it impossible to retrieve data for the 2007 elections. Croatia is the most recent member of the European Union. The first European election in which it participated was in 2014 and like most other countries, Croatia's budget for this election was 7 to 10 times less than it was for the most recent general election.

Figure 20: Campaign expenditures in Croatia in KN

	General elections 2007 ^a		General elections 2011		European elections 2014
	Gross	Media	Gross	Media (advertising)	Gross
HDZ			15 509 605		1 493 927
SDP ^b			10 719 608	7 358 763	1 487 713
HNS			2 591 187	1 343 844	
HSS			5 914 212		
HSLS			2 551 121	668 712	
HL-SR					1 304 560

Note: Sources of data are party websites, the state electoral commission's website and GONG's (association monitoring the elections) website; ^a No data were available for the 2007 elections; ^b SDP was part of a coalition during the European elections, together with HNS, HSU and IDS.

Figure 21: Standardised campaign expenditures in Croatia (KN/PPP)

	General elections 2007		General elections 2011		European elections 2014
	Gross	Media	Gross	Media (advertising)	
HDZ			4 081 475		377 064
SDP			2 820 949	1 936 517	375 495
HNS			681 891	353 643	
HSS			1 556 372		
HSLS			671 348	175 977	
HL-SR					329 268

3.3.2 Party positions during EU referendums in Croatia

The results of the 2012 referendum in Croatia on EU accession showed that the Croatian people were clearly in favour of their country entering the European Union (66.6 percent in favour). Croatia's leading parliamentary parties all favoured EU accession. The greatest opposition came from the Croatian party of rights (HSP), which at the time held one seat in Parliament (Čović, 2012). No information is available about parties' expenditures during the 2012 referendum.

3.4 Denmark

3.4.1 Party expenditures during general and European elections in Denmark

Relative to parties in other countries, Danish parties spend little on election campaigns. Parties have free access to broadcasting during election campaigns, so their media expenses can remain low. Figures 11 and 12 show that the two biggest parties (V and SD) spent significantly more than the two smaller ones (RV and EL), which complies with the fact that government funding is provided according to the number of received votes.

Figure 22: Campaign expenditure in Denmark (Kr.)

	General elections 2007		General elections 2011		European elections 2009	European elections 2014 ^a
	Gross	Media	Gross	Media	Gross	Gross
V	29 903 747		31 628 532		6 924 192	
SD	10 760 000		21 850 000		2 378 000	
RV	3 438 040	1 655 034	6 692 835	515 606	406 308	
EL	1 133 018	429 369	2 550 330	63 552		

^a Data not yet available

Figure 23: Campaign expenditure in Denmark (Kr./PPP)

	General elections 2007		General elections 2011		European elections 2009	European elections 2014 ^a
	Gross	Media	Gross	Media	Gross	Gross
V	3 629 096		4 113 478		887 376	
SD	1 305 825		2 841 722		304 755	
RV	417 238	200 854	870 443	67 058	52 071	
EL	137 502	52 108	331 686	8 265		

^a Data not yet available

3.4.2 Party positions during EU referendums in Denmark

Denmark has held several European referendums in recent decades, which addressed the following issues: EU membership (1972); the Single European Act (1986); the Maastricht Treaty (1992); the Edinburgh Treaty (1993); the Amsterdam Treaty (1998); and the introduction of the euro (2000). The most important themes of the 1972 referendum were economic: the potential advantages of EU membership and the loss of Danish sovereignty, traditions and culture. In 1986, those issues were again important, but issues such as the protection of Danish environmental standards and the steps towards a political union were added to the agenda. During the referendum on the Maastricht Treaty, important themes included the economic advantages of the EU, the principle of subsidiarity, the loss (again) of Danish identity, sovereignty and culture, and openness and democracy. The Edinburgh Treaty supplemented the Maastricht Treaty and covered similar themes. During the referendum concerning the Amsterdam Treaty, the main themes were peace, the economy, employment, Schengen, the environment, the political union, and the closed frontiers of Fortress Europe. The introduction of the euro shed light on themes such economic advantages, threats to the Danish

welfare system, the loss of sovereignty and the value of the euro compared to the American dollar (Buch & Hansen, 2002).

As shown in chapter 2, Denmark is relatively unique with respect to regard to party funding for referendum campaign expenditures. The Danish government generally funds political parties in Denmark and additional money is available for specific campaign-related purposes.

Figure 13 shows the positions during the six EU referendums of the parties that were in Parliament at the time each referendum were held; in other words, it provides information about the most influential parties at the time.

Figure 24: Party positions and results during EU referendums in Denmark

Referendum	In favour		Against	
1972 – Membership of European community	90%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social Democrats • Social Liberals • Conservative Party • Liberal Party 	10%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Socialist People's Party
1986 – Single European Act	44%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conservative Party • Liberal Party • Centre Democrats • Christian People's Party 	56%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social Liberals • Socialist People's Party • Social Democrats • Left Socialists • Progress Party
1992 – Maastricht Treaty*	82%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conservative Party • Liberal Party • Centre Democrats • Social Liberals • Social Democrats 	16%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Socialist People's Party • Progress Party
1993 – Edinburgh Treaty	93%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conservative Party • Liberal Party • Centre Democrats • Christian People's Party • Social Democrats • Social Liberals • Socialist People's Party 	7%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Progress Party
1998 – Amsterdam Treaty	80%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conservative Party • Liberal Party • Centre Democrats • Christian People's Party • Social Democrats • Social Liberals 	20%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Progress Party • Socialist People's Party • The Unity Party • Danish People's Party
2000 – European single currency, euro/EMU	78%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conservative Party • Liberal Party • Centre Democrats • Social Democrats • Social Liberals 	22%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Progress Party • Socialist People's Party • The Unity Party • Danish People's Party

Note: The information in this Table stems from the Buch and Hansen (2002) report. *The Christian People's Party was both for and against the Maastricht Treaty.

3.5 Latvia

3.5.1 Party expenditures during general and European elections in Latvia

Because Latvia has many parties that form coalitions during election campaigns, it is often difficult to distinguish who spent what. However, we see the same general pattern as in other countries; larger parties have larger campaign budgets. However, Latvia is very transparent with respect to donations, income and expenditures. Party finances are regularly updated on party websites. Latvian parties

receive free media access, but a larger portion of the campaign budget is spent on offline media (see Figure 14 and 15).

Figure 25: Party expenditures in Latvia in LVL

	General elections 2010		General elections 2011		General elections 2014		European elections 2004	European elections 2009 ^e	European elections 2014 ^f
	Gross	Media	Gross	Media	Gross	Media	Gross	Gross	Gross
ZZS	509 624	410 860			638 035	345 330	31 228		550 772
TB/LNNK	134 053 ^a	102 389					47 143	405 495	
TP	1 030 660 ^b	536 210					65 178	583 313	
LPP/LC	1 030 660 ^b	536 210					43 600 ^c		
V			555 171	305 629	711 311	381 748	97 134 ^d		489 426
SC			280 354	241 768	454 371	323 637		326 332	326 375 ^g
NA			85 590	73 063	185 289	84 397			73 563
PCTVL					191 528	157 390	22 740	231 213	68 825

Note: The information in this table stems from: <http://www.knab.gov.lv/lv/finances/db/donations/>;

^a Please note that during these elections, this party created a political alliance with another national party—"Visu Latvijai!"—and their list of candidates was named a party alliance, the 'National Alliance'. The figure shown here is the total expenditure of that coalition.

^b These parties did not have a separate candidate list during the 2010 elections, but were part of the coalition "Par Labu Latviju" (For a Better Latvia). The figure shown here is the total expenditure of the coalition. ^c At the time, they were two separate parties. ^d V was created in 2011 with the merge of three parties. Only of these parties contributed the indicated amount in 2004. ^e Total campaign expenditure is given per party, per year. During that year, both local and European elections were held; the data do not distinguish between the two. ^f Missing data because parties did not run (LPP/LC), was reorganized (TB/LNNK), or no longer exist (TP). ^g This party went through a reorganisation and was called the "Social Democrat Party 'Harmony'" in 2014.

Figure 26: Standardised campaign expenditures in Latvia (LVL/PPP)

	General elections 2010		General elections 2011		General elections 2014		European elections 2004	European elections 2009	European elections 2014 ^a
	Gross	Media	Gross	Media	Gross	Media	Gross	Gross	Gross
ZZS	1 477 171	119 090			1 807 464	978 271	115 659		1 560 260
TB/LNNK	388 559	296 780					174 603	1 123 597	
TP	2 987 420	155 423					241 400	1 616 318	
LPP/LC	2 987 420	155 423					161 481		
V			1 599 916	880 775	2 015 045	1 081 439	359 755		1 385 691
SC			807 937	696 738	1 287 169	916 818		904 242	924 052
NA			24 666	210 556	524 898	239 084			208 393
PCTVL					542 572	445 864	84 222	640 674	194 971

^a Latvia adopted the euro on January 1st, 2014

3.5.2 Party expenditures during the EU referendum in Latvia

Latvia joined the European Union in 2004. A year earlier, a referendum was held on the subject of that accession. The question of the referendum was "Do you support the membership of Latvia in the European Union?". Turnout for the referendum was high (71.5 percent) and more than 67 percent voted in favour. Figure 16 presents the gross expenditure of the main parties that were involved in the campaign.

Figure 27: Party expenditures during 2003 EU referendum on EU membership in Latvia in LVL

	Gross	Gross (LVL/ PPP)
ZZS	16 845	65 105
TB/LNNK	64 468	249 165
TP	162 890	62 956
LPP/LC ^a	72 192/ 94 812	279 018/ 366 442
V	n.a.	
SC	n.a.	
NA	n.a.	
PCTVL	2 532	9 786

Note: It is important to note that there are only yearly party expenditure reports; the amounts given here are not specific for the EU referendum. ^a In 2003, these parties were not yet in an alliance; they were two separate parties.

3.5.3 Party positions during the EU referendum in Latvia

Figure 28: Party positions and results during 2003 EU referendum on EU membership in Latvia

In favour		Against	
67%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For Fatherland and Freedom/Latvian National Conservative Party • Equal Rights Party (ER) • The National Harmony Party (TSP) • New Era (JL) • For Human Rights in United Latvia (FHRUL) • The People's Party • Union of Greens and Farmers • Latvia's First Party (LPP) 	32%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Latvian Socialist Party (LSP)

Note: The information in this table is derived from <http://www.cvk.lv/cgi-bin/wdbcgiw/base/sae8dev.aktiv03era.vis>; <https://www.sussex.ac.uk/webteam/gateway/file.php?name=epern-ref-no-10.pdf&site=266>; <http://www.robert-schuman.eu/en/eem/0224-referendum-on-the-european-union-in-latvia-september-20th-2003>

3.6 The Netherlands

Two general elections were held in close proximity in the Netherlands after the government fell in April 2012. Although parties only had a limited amount of time to prepare and receive donations for the September 2012 elections, the party budgets did not suffer a great deal. The VVD (the biggest party in the Netherlands) even spent several hundred thousand more than in the previous election. Unlike the other parties, the VVD spent more than half of its budget on media, despite the fact that Dutch parties have free access to the broadcast media. Although Dutch parties are obliged to track and publish their financial reports, limited information is available about the European elections, and the party expenditures of the PVV is an estimate because that party refuses to publish its financial reports.

3.6.1 Party expenditures during general and European elections in the Netherlands

Figure 29: Party expenditures in the Netherlands in euros

	General elections 2010	General elections 2012		European elections 2009	European elections 2014
	Gross	Gross	Media		
CU	400 000 ^a	400 000 ^a	70 000 ^c	85 000 ^a	
CDA ^c	2 000 000	1 600 000	400 000 ^d		
VVD	2 500 000 ^c	2 750 000 ^a	1 500 000 ^c		500 000 ^a
PVV ^c	100 000 ^a	100 000 ^a	15 000 ^d		
SP ^a	1 897 782	1 589 300	400 000 ^{cd}	675 600	465 346 ^b
PvdA ^c	1 400 000	2 200 000	600 000		

Note: ^a The source is the treasurer of the political party; ^b The June 10th 2014 invoices are still coming in. ^c Information from campaign leaders and financial reports (Van Praag & Walter, 2014); ^d Estimate based on gross campaign expenditure, according to Nielsen; ^e Estimate.

Figure 30: Standardised campaign expenditures in the Netherlands (euros/PPP)

	General elections 2010	General elections 2012		European elections 2009	European elections 2014
	Gross	Gross	Media		
CU	471 143	475 059	83 135	129 771	
CDA	2 355 713	1 900 238	475 059		
VVD	2 944 641	3 266 033	1 781 473		605 327
PVV	117 786	118 765	17 815		
SP	2 235 314	1 887 530	475 059	1 031 450	563 373
PvdA	1 648 999	2 612 827	712 589		

3.6.2 Party expenditures during the EU referendums in the Netherlands

The non-binding referendum on the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe was held in the Netherlands on June 1, 2005. The question that was asked read as follows: "Are you in favour of or against approval by the Netherlands of the treaty establishing a constitution for Europe?" Although turnout was relatively high (63.3 percent) and despite the efforts that were made to increase the "yes" vote, a large majority voted against the treaty (61.5 percent). As seen in Figure 20, campaign expenditures during the referendum campaign were limited compared to election campaigns.

Figure 31: Party expenditures during the 2005 EU referendum in the Netherlands on the EU Constitution

	Gross	Gross (euros/ PPP)
CU ^a	40 000	44 643
CDA		
VVD ^a	90 000	100 446
PVV		
SP ^a	157 904	176 232
PvdA		

Note: ^a Source is the treasurer of the political party

3.6.3 Party positions during the EU referendums in the Netherlands

Figure 32: Party positions and results during 2005 referendum in the Netherlands on the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe

In favour		Against	
38.5%	Christian Democratic Appeal People's Party for Freedom and Democracy Democrats 66 Labour Party Green Left	61.5%	Socialist Party Pim Fortuyn List Group Wilders (predecessor of the PVV) Reformed Political Party Christian Union

Note: The information in this table is derived from http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/flash/fl172_en.pdf

3.7 Spain

3.7.1 Party expenditures during general and European elections in Spain

The two biggest parties in Spain have both spent a great deal of money on election campaigns, and their spending patterns over the four elections are fairly similar. The expenditure during the 2014 elections is merely estimated because the final figures are not yet available.

Figure 33: Party expenditures in Spain in euros

	General elections 2008		General elections 2011		European elections 2004		European elections 2009		European elections 2014 ^a
	Gross	Media	Gross	Media	Gross	Media	Gross	Media	Gross
PP	22 550 896	2 546 619	20 600 531	2 952 447	10 948 491	2 866 303	13 276 325	3 015 266	6 940 000
PSOE	19 007 265	2 374 760	17 522 117	2 405 693	11 073 872	2 627 015	13 843 559	3 751 161	6 940 000

Note: ^a For the 2014 European elections, parties have not released official figures. However, the press calculated the maximum estimate given by the state, which is the result of multiplying 0.19 euros by the number of citizens corresponding to the population in the relevant electoral section (Cambio16, citing the "Boletín Oficial del Estado"); source of figures: Court of Accounts, <http://www.tcu.es/tribunal-de-cuentas/es/>

Figure 34: Standardised campaign expenditures in Spain (euros/PPP)

	General elections 2008		General elections 2011		European elections 2004		European elections 2009		European elections 2014 ^a
	Gross	Media	Gross	Media	Gross	Media	Gross	Media	Gross
PP	31 320 689	3 536 971	29 220 611	4 187 868	14 405 909	3 771 451	18 778 395	4 264 874	10 161 054
PSOE	26 398 979	3 298 278	24 854 067	3 412 330	14 570 884	3 456 598	19 580 706	5 305 743	10 161 054

3.7.2 Party expenditures during EU referendums in Spain

Figure 35: Party expenditures during 2005 EU referendum in Spain on the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe

	Total Expenditure	Total Expenditure (euros/ PPP)
EU referendum 2005	14 461 763	18 904 265

Note: The source for this figure is the "Boletín Oficial del Estado"; data were collected by Que Hacen Los Diputados.net.

3.7.3 Party positions during EU referendums in Spain

One EU referendum was held in Spain on February 20, 2005. This non-binding referendum concerned the establishment of a European Constitution. Turnout, at 41.8 percent, was quite low, but the outcome was a convincing “yes” (82 percent). No data were available on the amount that was spent per party and therefore nothing can be said about whether more money was spent on the promotion of the “yes” or the “no” vote. However, the two biggest parties were in favour of the Constitution, which makes it likely that more money was spent on the “yes” campaign.

Figure 36: Party positions and results during 2005 EU referendum in Spain on the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe

In favour		Against	
82%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Socialist Party (PSOE) • Conservative Party (People’s Party) • Basque Nationalist Party (centre) • Convergence and Unity (Catalan nationalist) 	18%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • United Left • Bloque Nacionalista Galego • Republican Left of Catalonia • Initiative for Catalonia Greens • Aragonese Council (social democrat) • Eusko Alkartasuna (Basque nationalist)

Note: The information in this Table stems from the Eurobarometer report March, 2005.

3.8 United Kingdom

3.8.1 Party expenditures during general and European elections in the UK

The two most recent general elections in the UK took place five years apart. The two biggest parties had several million pounds to spend on each election (see Figure 26). Labour, however, spent significantly less in 2010 than in 2005, whereas the expenditures by the other parties were relatively stable. In the UK, parties are given free air time, and their expenditure on offline media is rather low. Of the three parties, the UKIP spent a great deal (relatively speaking) on media campaigning, especially in the 2009 European elections. No EU-related referendums have been held in the United Kingdom.

Figure 37: Campaign expenditures in the UK in GBP

	General elections 2005		General elections 2010		European elections 2004		European elections 2009		Europe an election s 2014 ^a
	Gross	Media	Gross	Media	Gross	Media	Gross	Media	Gross
Cons	17 852 248	448 276	16 682 874	439 141	3 130 265		2 482 536	19 309	
Lab	17 939 618	375 410	8 009 483	165 997	1 707 224	46 147	2 302 242	12 370	
UKIP	648 397	18 297	732 751	37 224	2 361 754	14 771	1 270 854	54 250	

Note: The information in this table is derived from: <https://pefonline.electoralcommission.org.uk> and includes party spending in England, Wales and Scotland. ^a The deadline for all political parties to deliver all of the figures related to this election is November 22, 2014.

Figure 38: Standardised campaign expenditures in the UK (GBP/PPP)

	General elections 2005		General elections 2010		European elections 2004		European elections 2009		European elections 2014 ^a
	Gross	Media	Gross	Media	Gross	Media	Gross	Media	Gross
Cons	28 069 572	704 836	24 143 088	635 515	4 968 674		3 801 740	29 570	
Lab	28 206 947	590 267	11 591 148	240 227	2 709 879	73 249	3 525 639	18 943	
UKIP	1 019 492	28 769	1 060 421	53 870	3 748 815	23 446	1 946 178	83 009	

4 THE STATUTE FOR EUROPEAN POLITICAL PARTIES

In this final chapter, we conclude with a brief discussion of Regulation No 1141/2014 of the European Parliament and the of the Council of 22 October 2014. In this chapter we refer to this Regulation about the statute and funding of European political parties and European political foundations as “the Statute.” We focus on the Statute’s regulations on financing election campaigns.

In doing so, we consider two things. First, what the Statute stipulates about financing election campaigns (see Section 4.1). Second, effects of changing the Statute so as to allow European political parties to use EU funds to finance EU referendum campaigns (see Section 4.2). We are particularly interested in effects on the outcome of such referendums. As the AFCO committee proposed amendments to the Statute that implied such a change, the EP would be interested in these effects.

4.1 What the Statute stipulates about financing campaigns

What can we find in the Statute for European Political Parties about campaign financing? The Statute contains regulation about EU funding of European-level political parties. On the basis of the Statute, these parties may apply for EU funding from the general budget of the EU. The funding provisions can be found in Articles 17 through 22.

Article 17(5) of the Statute explicitly states that this funding can be used to cover campaign expenditure. At the same time, Article 17(5) makes clear that such campaign expenses can only be covered by such funding within the limits set out in Articles 21 and 22.

In Article 21 extra requirements are laid out for using European political party funding for campaign purposes. Article 21(1) specifies that this applies to campaigns in the run-up to EP elections. Expenses related to EP election campaigns should be identified as such in the annual financial statements of the European parties, as required by Article 21(2). Article 21(1) also states that EP elections are governed by national provisions in each member state. This applies to campaign funding as well as to limits to campaign expenses, if any. In addition, this relates to participation of parties, candidates and third parties in EP elections.

Article 22 bans the use of this funding for specific other purposes. Article 22(1) holds that EU funding for European political parties shall not be donated to other parties, and especially not to national parties (or candidates). Article 22(2) forbids the usage of such funds other than for the tasks and objectives that the European parties have according to their own party statutes and according to Point (4) of Article 2 of the Statute (such as contributing to the debate on European public policy). More specifically, funding of elections, parties, candidates or political foundations is not allowed, as was determined by Article 22(2). Article 22(3) prohibits spending the EU funding on referendum campaigns.

The last-mentioned point has been a point of contention. Prior to the adoption of the Statute, there was a discussion about whether or not European political parties should be allowed to use EU funds to finance EU referendum campaigns. In the following we elaborate on the impact of changing Article 22(3) so as to allow this.

4.2 What if Article 22(3) was changed

The predecessor to the Statute was Regulation 2004/2003. Article 8 of that regulation banned the use of EU funding for European-level political parties for referendum campaigns. When the draft Statute was discussed, the AFCO proposed amendments to the proposed Statute, which would make an exception to this general ban. This exception concerned referendums on “Union legislation, the functioning of a Union institution, or the ratification of changes to treaties related to the European Union”. Thus, if AFCO’s amendments had been implemented, European political parties could have used EU funds to finance EU referendum campaigns.

What effect would the AFCO’s amendments have on the outcome of future EU referendums? Let us start by emphasising that this is nearly impossible to predict. Several studies have found empirical evidence for small campaign effects on voting behaviour. These concern effects of how visible political actors are in a campaign (Herr, 2002; Hopmann et al, 2010; Walgrave and Deswert, 2004; but: Norris et al, 1999). They also concern effects of how these political actors, among which EU actors (van Spanje and de Vreese, 2014), are evaluated in a campaign (Balmas and Sheaffer, 2010; Druckman and Parkin, 2005; Hopmann et al, 2010; Kleinnijenhuis et al, 2007; Mendelsohn and Nadeau, 1999; Shaw, 1999; Walgrave and De Swert, 2004). More specifically, there is also some evidence for small campaign effects on voting behaviour in EU referendums (Schuck and de Vreese, 2008; Semetko and de Vreese, 2004).

This leads us to the question of how large the European parties’ contribution would be as compared to the total resources invested in these referendums. This depends on various factors, including how much European political parties would actually spend on EU referendums, how many of these referendums will take place, and the amount that other actors – most notably national political parties – would spend on these referendums.

Let us first make an educated guess about how much European political parties would spend in EU referendum campaigns. We estimate this on the basis of their spending in EP elections, and on the basis of their total available budget. We do so for the three largest ones. The spending in EP elections is only available for 2009. In that EP election, the EPP spent 76 373 euros; the ALDE 107 272 euros; and PES 188 521 euros.

These figures are only a fraction of these parties’ total available budget, however. See Figure 39 for their annual budgets from 2009 until 2012.

Figure 39: European political party budgets

		Final grant from EP	Grants from other resources	Total budget
Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe Party	2009	1 179 191	374 171	1 553 362
	2010	1 553 984	373 918	1 927 902
	2011	1 815 770	391 895	2 207 665
	2012	1 950 344	374 042	2 324 386
European People's Party	2009	3 485 708	2 802 154	6 287 862
	2010	4 959 462	689 599	5 649 061
	2011	6 183 988	1 374 506	7 558 494
	2012	6 482 714	2 737 935	9 220 649
Party of European Socialists	2009	3 100 000	949 000	4 049 000
	2010	3 395 323	880 000	4 275 323
	2011	4 117 825	931 753	5 049 578
	2012	4 323 313	974 060	5 297 373

The total yearly budget for the three largest parties between 2009 and 2012 ranged from 1.2 to 6.5 million euros (see Figure 39). The amounts that parties at European level can spend on EU referendums arguably also depends on how many EU referendums are held. This brings us to the question of how many EU referendums will be held in the coming years. It is important to stress here that we have to deal with several factors introducing uncertainty here, so that any answer to this question can only be a rough estimate. First of all, we take into account that at least two EU-related referendums are planned for the near future (i.e., on Article 88-5 of the Constitution of France, and on UK EU membership). Furthermore, for our rough estimate we simply count the number of EU referendums in the past. Sixteen EU referendums (as defined in Amendment 68, which was proposed by AFCE) have been held in EU member states since 1972. If this were to continue, over the next ten years, an estimated four to six EU referendums would be organised across EU member states, given that the EU currently has 28 members. This means an average frequency of one EU referendum every two years. Such a frequency would make it difficult to allocate substantial parts of the parties' annual budget to referendum campaigns, but not impossible.

With that in mind, we consider two scenarios. Given the substantial differences between spending in EP elections and the annual budget, we base one scenario on the EP election spending and one scenario on the budget. In scenario A, the three largest parties spend per referendum the same amount as they spent in the 2009 EP election. This would add up to an additional 0.4 million euros (rounded) for the Yes campaign in such a referendum, given the moderately pro-EU stance of all three main European parties. In scenario B, in a year that an EU referendum is held the three parties allocate 10% of their annual budget to each referendum campaign held that year. That would mean a total of approximately 1.3 million euros extra for the Yes campaign in each national EU referendum.

In a next step we compare the two scenarios with actual expenditures by national parties in past EU referendum campaigns. Unfortunately we have only few numbers available, and only for three referendum campaigns. These are the 2003 membership referendum campaign in Latvia, and the 2005 referendums on the EU constitution in Spain and the Netherlands.²⁸ On average, the Latvian parties spent around 0.1 million euros each, the Dutch parties also about 0.1 million euros each, and the Spanish parties around 10 million euros each. This suggests that in scenario A, contributing only a

²⁸ We could only obtain information on smaller parties in the Netherlands, implying that the actual average expenditures were likely higher.

fraction of their annual budget, European political parties may have had a substantial impact in campaigns of the scale of the Latvian and Dutch referendums. In scenario B, the three European political parties taken together would perhaps even outspend the national parties taken together in such a referendum. By contrast, a referendum campaign of the scale of the Spanish referendum is unlikely to be affected by monetary contributions from European parties in scenario A. Even in scenario B, the contribution of the three European political parties taken together would still be tiny compared to that of each of the national parties.

Although we have limited information on actual campaign expenditure during national referendums (see WP3), we will use the information we do have to make an educated guess about whether and when the amendments could have consequences for referendum campaigns and outcomes. In Spain, for example, the treaty on a European constitution was supported by an overwhelming majority of Spanish citizens (82 percent), and the two largest Spanish parties spent millions of euros on the yes campaign. In this case, European political party contributions would have had a minimal impact on referendum results in either scenario, as the total expenditure of the parties trumps even the total annual budget of the three largest European political parties (see Figure 39). Additionally, the campaign already yielded in favour of the referendum, making any contribution of European political parties likely redundant in terms of the outcome.

The situation unfolded differently in the Netherlands during the 2005 referendum on a treaty establishing a European constitution. The referendum results showed a convincing “no” (62 percent) from Dutch voters. This occurred despite the fact that some of the country’s largest parties at the time campaigned in favour of the referendum (i.e., CDA, VVD, PvdA, Green Left and D66), and the yes campaign received significantly more media attention than the no campaign (77.1 against 22.4 percent, respectively; Kleinnijenhuis, Takens and van Atteveldt, 2005). The initial campaign budget provided by the government for the yes campaign was rather low (200 000 euros). According to our findings a total of 0.1 million was spent by the VVD (yes campaign); about 0.2 million was spent by the SP and around 50 000 euro was spent by the CU (both no campaign). Yet, an additional 3.5 million euros were spent on campaign advertisements and pamphlets right before the referendum, affording the campaign with extra visibility, most likely to stimulate the yes campaign (Lucardie, 2005). Academic literature indicates that the news media in the 2005 referendum were slightly in favour of ‘yes,’ that pro-EU political actors were more visible in the news than anti-EU actors but that the latter were slightly more favourably evaluated, and that voters’ exposure to the campaign increased the likelihood to switch to the yes side (Schuck and de Vreese, 2008; cf. Semetko and de Vreese, 2004). Yet, as the Yes campaign was hesitant and divided, the No campaign started early with considerable (also financial) investments, successfully framing the choice offered to voters in terms of immigration issues, Turkish EU entry and a European “super state” (Voerman and Van de Walle, 2009). Empirical evidence for the success of this framing of the referendum has been found in a study on actual voting behaviour in that referendum (Lubbers, 2008). As the government’s additional 3.5 million euros came only very late in the campaign, it is likely that even a small contribution of European political parties to the referendum campaign in scenario A – let alone the amounts spent in scenario B – would have led to financial dominance of the yes campaign over the no campaign. Unless invested late in the campaign, it is likely that this would have affected the referendum outcome (cf. Schuck and de Vreese, 2008; Semetko and de Vreese, 2004). As these campaign effects are small, however, considerable (also financial) investments would be needed to turn a resounding ‘no’ (as in the Dutch case) into a ‘yes’ – if at all possible.

The referendum in Latvia is somewhat of a different case, as it concerned the referendum on EU accession, during which Latvia was not yet a member of the EU. Meaning that the referendum falls outside the definition of AFCE’s Amendment 68 and European political parties could not have contributed. Yet, our findings serve an important illustrative purpose. During this referendum the selection of parties we investigated spent 0.1 million euros on average. Most Latvian parties

campaigned in favour of the referendum (see Figure 17). Although most of the total referendum budget was already spent on the Yes campaign, European political parties could have made a substantial contribution, even in scenario A. This said, it is unlikely that this would have had much of an effect on the outcome of the referendum given the dominance of the Yes campaign in that particular referendum.

In light of the total annual budget of the three largest European political parties, national political party expenditures during EU-related referendum campaigns in Spain, Latvia and the Netherlands, and the regularity of such campaigns, we conclude that lifting the ban on using EU funding for financing EU referendum campaigns can have substantial consequences. This will especially be the case for referendums during which average national party expenditures is relatively low (say, up to approximately 200 000 euros) and for which European political party contributions match or almost match national party campaign budgets; and where the national referendum budgets are not already predominantly spent on the yes campaign. However, it has to be kept in mind that our estimated effects of such change are surrounded by considerable uncertainties and the impact of European parties' spending will in all likelihood vary considerably per referendum. For the abovementioned referendums in the Netherlands and Latvia, the impact could have been substantial, whereas in Spain, given European political party budgets, the impact would have been insignificant. More generally, the Yes campaign is likely to not benefit much in some referendums while considerably benefiting in financial terms in others – with likely, but not guaranteed, effects in terms of votes in the latter cases.

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