

SABIEDRISKĀS POLITIKAS CENTRS



## **“Analysis of the political party expenditures prior to the 2005 municipality elections”**

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## **Abbreviations used in the report**

LP – Labor Party  
Homeland – Politically patriotic association “Homeland”  
NC – New Center  
NE – New Era  
CP – Conservative Party  
LW – Latvia’s Way  
LL – Light of Latgale  
LK – Latvia Kalve  
LP – Liepaja Party  
LFP – Latvian First Party  
LSDWP – Latvian Social Democratic Workers Party  
LSP – Latvian Socialist Party  
LGP – Latvian Green Party  
LFU – Latvian Farmers Union  
LV – For Latvia and Ventpils  
PAFHRUL – Political Association For Human Rights in United Latvia  
FF/LNIM – For Freedom and Fatherland/ Latvian National  
Independence Movement  
PP – People’s Party  
NUP – National Unity Party  
GFU – Green and Farmer’s Union  
VA – Vidzeme Association  
KNAB – Corruption Preventing and Combating Bureau  
CEC – Central Election Committee

## **Characteristics of the trends in the pre-election campaign expenditures**

The project "Openness about the 2005 municipality election finances" consists of the monitoring of the political party finances and the monitoring of the possible hidden advertisement. This report is prepared about the party finance monitoring and it consists of two parts – the information about the political party expenditures for the placement of the political advertisement and the information about the events organized by the parties.

In the course of the project it was concluded that in general the campaign expenditure limitations had reached the objective and ensured that in comparison with the 8<sup>th</sup> Parliamentary elections of 2003, the campaign expenditures have decreased nearly twice. However, in comparison with the previous municipality elections of 2001, it seems that general campaign expenditures have remained at the similar level. The attitude of most of the political parties towards the pre-election campaign financing prior to the 2005 municipality elections could be poetically called the "honey moon", i.e. most parties did observe the limitations defined in the legislation, or violated them minimally, and in several cases did not admit the violations. Additionally, the project concluded that the proportion of the expenditures not declared in the political party financial reports had increased. This is a negative trend.

Only one party – Latvian First Party ignored the pre-election campaign limitations and exceeded the expenditure limitations for nearly three times, therefore positioning itself in a much more favorable position in comparison with other parties in terms of the availability of the means for the promotion. Significant pre-election campaign limitation violations were established for the party Latvia Kalve as well.

In the second category there are parties, which had probably exceeded the limitations for nearly LVL 20,000 – PP, FF/LNIM, GFU/LGP/LFU<sup>1</sup>. It cannot be declared that these parties have violated the expenditure limitations, because the largest expenses accounted for in the project may be originated from generous discounts the parties may have received from the media. In the third category there are parties for which the expenditure violations may be less than LVL 10,000. These are – New Era and LSDWP for which the amounts offended could be relatively small. The possible violations of the expenditures for these parties most likely have not occurred due to conscious intentions.

In the future perspective, it is important to bear in mind that if until the next elections the pre-election expenditure limitation violators will not be punished accordingly, the political parties most likely will not respect these limitations and they will turn into a threat on a paper. Additionally, it would be necessary for KNAB – the organization, which oversees the party finances, to react not only to obvious pre-election campaign expenditure violations, but also to disclose the cases when the parties have declared their expenditures incompletely, even if they comply to the total amount allowed. If such a response will not take place, the regulations of the Law on Party Financing will lose

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<sup>1</sup> Even though the parties in some districts were campaigning together, and in some separately, in their declarations the expenses for each party separately is impossible to distinguish. Therefore the expenses accounted in the project, the party declared expenses and the volume of the limitations of the pre-election campaign is accounted for all three parties together.

their significance and the expenditure limitations will be bypassed by simply not declaring a part of income. Other parties should be interested in appointing an appropriate fine to LFP as well, since it had positioned these parties in a much less favorable position in terms of their promotion.

The fact that there was a reduction in the amount of paid advertising diminished the influence of the political advertisement on the voter's opinion and on the party popularity, but increased the influence of the information that the voters obtain from the media. It was concluded in the report that unlike in the 8th Parliamentary elections<sup>2</sup>, the popularity of certain political parties was less affected by the volume of paid political advertising, but more by the information about the parties provided by the media, which in several cases was possible hidden political advertising<sup>3</sup>.

Additionally, there was a monitoring conducted on the events organized by the parties. Originally this monitoring was planned as a considerable addition to the accounting of the political party finances, expecting that the parties will divert significant means to the organization of various events thus hoping to bypass the expenditure limitations. This prognosis was not realized because, (1) as it was mentioned earlier, most parties observed the limitations or violated them somewhat, (2) the parties as usual, spent most of their means for the placement of paid political advertisement, which is accounted for within the framework of the monitoring of the paid advertisement. It was concluded in the course of the project that the expenses for the events organized by the parties were in total 20 times less than the expenses for the placement of the paid political advertising:

Expenses for the events organized by the parties:	Expenses for the advertising placed by the parties:
<b>71, 732 LVL</b>	<b>1, 524, 000 LVL</b>

The comparison of the expenses of the events declared by the parties and the events accounted for by the project was burdened the fact that in the party election declaration a section, where such expenses should be indicated is not provided. There is a section for the recording of "the financing of the charity events connected with the election campaign, payment of benefits and endowments (donations)"<sup>4</sup>, which only vaguely reflect the meaning of the political party events, therefore the expenses of the events are most likely indicated in various categories – payments to the legal persons, leasing of real and movable property, etc.

However, within the framework of the monitoring of the events organized by the parties, there were several significant conclusions made. First, the monitoring of the events helped to conclude that the regional party Light of Latgale had violated the expenditure limitations for at least LVL 6,000<sup>5</sup>. Second, the report has concluded that meetings with

<sup>2</sup> "Analysis of the expenditures for the 8th Parliamentary elections" project "Openness about the pre-election campaign finances for the 8th Parliamentary elections", Soros foundation, Latvia and The Transparency International "Delna", Riga, February, 2003.

<sup>3</sup> "Analysis of the possible cases of hidden advertisement in the media prior to the 2005 municipality elections", "Providus", Riga, March, 2005 [www.politika.lv](http://www.politika.lv)

<sup>4</sup> The information, which must be indicated in the electoral expense declaration in accordance with the regulations No 196 issued by the Cabinet of Ministers on March 22, 2005

<sup>5</sup> The project accounted that in the regional printed press the party spent approximately LVL 11,000, but in organization of the events approximately LVL 19,000. In total these expenses come up to approximately LVL 30,000, but the allowed 7 expenses for LL is LVL 23,658

the voters are not only cheap, but also not sufficiently valued element of the campaign and the communication in between the voters and the party. The minute of advertising time on TV often costs the same as the rental fee for a medium sized hall in a municipality house rented for the organization of a two hour long debate with the voters. However, even in the situation when the party resources for the campaign are limited, the parties choose to utilize an expensive minute rather than a cheap hour.

Third, the volume of the expenses for the events organized by the parties, do not necessary indicate to the informative value of the campaign events. In order to encourage the voters to attend the meetings more actively, the useful is combined with the pleasurable – a concert, theatre play or some other entertaining, cultural or educational event. The balance of the useful and the pleasurable usually tends to turn towards the useful part.

Further in the course of the report it was concluded that the balance between the debates and the entertainment, as well as the choice of the type of the event varies in different electoral districts. In Kurzeme and in central part of Latvia there are more "simple" meetings with the voters as well as informative and educational events. In Latgale and in Vidzeme offers of direct debates are relatively few. In most cases, the parties have considered it necessary to provide the voters with entertainment and recreational activities, which are followed by the candidate speeches and the placement or handout of promotional materials. Parties also more often acted as sponsors to the events organized by other persons or the candidates.

Finally, the conclusions of the research prove that the campaign events were organized more actively and a more direct contact was established with voters by the parties with a well organized and stable regional division or the network of supporters (NE, LW, LFP, LFU, FF/LNIM, PP).

Within the framework of the project the political party event "profiles" were created, in order to gain insight how the parties have organized their regional activities.



## **Monitoring of paid political advertising**

### **The sources of information and methodology of calculations of the project**

Within the framework of the project, 270 days prior to the elections in the time period of June 2004 until May 12, 2005 the register of political advertisement was carried out. This register was compiled by the marketing research agency TNS/BMF. The analysis was performed for 23 newspapers, 43 magazines, 40 regional newspapers, 7 national TV stations, 7 regional TV stations and 7 radio stations. Within the framework of the project, the data was obtained from practically all of the media where the paid political advertisement is placed, except for a small number of regional TV and regional radio stations. Within the course of the analysis the information about outdoor advertising was obtained as well, however it is not complete.

The costs of advertising were calculated by using the official data provided by the media about the deductions for the placement of political advertisement, as well as by using calculations for possible discounts for the volume.

The authors of the project "Openness about the 2005 municipality election finances" compiled the information about the type of campaigning, which is publicly available and visible, outside of this report remained such categories as the costs for creation and preparation of the pre-election advertisements, the printing of the promotional materials, salaries for the campaign employees, transportation costs, gifts, and other activities. Within the framework of the project, complete information was obtained about the most expensive part of the campaign – paid advertisement in the media.

### **General evaluation of the campaign expenditure limitations**

Even though the Parliament chose to limit the total campaign expenditures, the experts of the political party finances are stressing, that the limitation of total campaign expenditures is only partially effective, because it creates a wish to bypass these limitations in a creative way<sup>6</sup>.

In Latvia, the limitation of total campaign expenditures becomes even more problematic due to the significant proportion of illegal economy<sup>7</sup>. This implies that the real party campaign expenditure compliance to the limitations established by the legislation is quite difficult to measure. Even though the supervision of the party finances is entrusted to KNAB, it may have difficulties to prove the possible pre-election expenditure violations, except those that are presented in the official reports provided by the parties. Additionally, it would be complicated for KNAB to prove, for instance, in the court of law, that the data provided by the monitoring of the paid political advertisement is enough to prove that the party has violated the expenditure limitations established by the legislation<sup>8</sup>. Even though there are such shortcomings for the total campaign expenditure limitations, the most of the parties respected these limitations and only one

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<sup>6</sup> Handbook on funding parties and election campaigns, Overview by Michael Pinto-Duschinsky

<sup>7</sup> Proportion of illegal economy - 18%, report "Illegal economy in the expanded European Union", European Commission, year 2004

<sup>8</sup> According to the contract between Providus and KNAB entered into on January 26, 2005, the data about the volume of political advertising obtained within the framework of the project is delivered to KNAB as well.

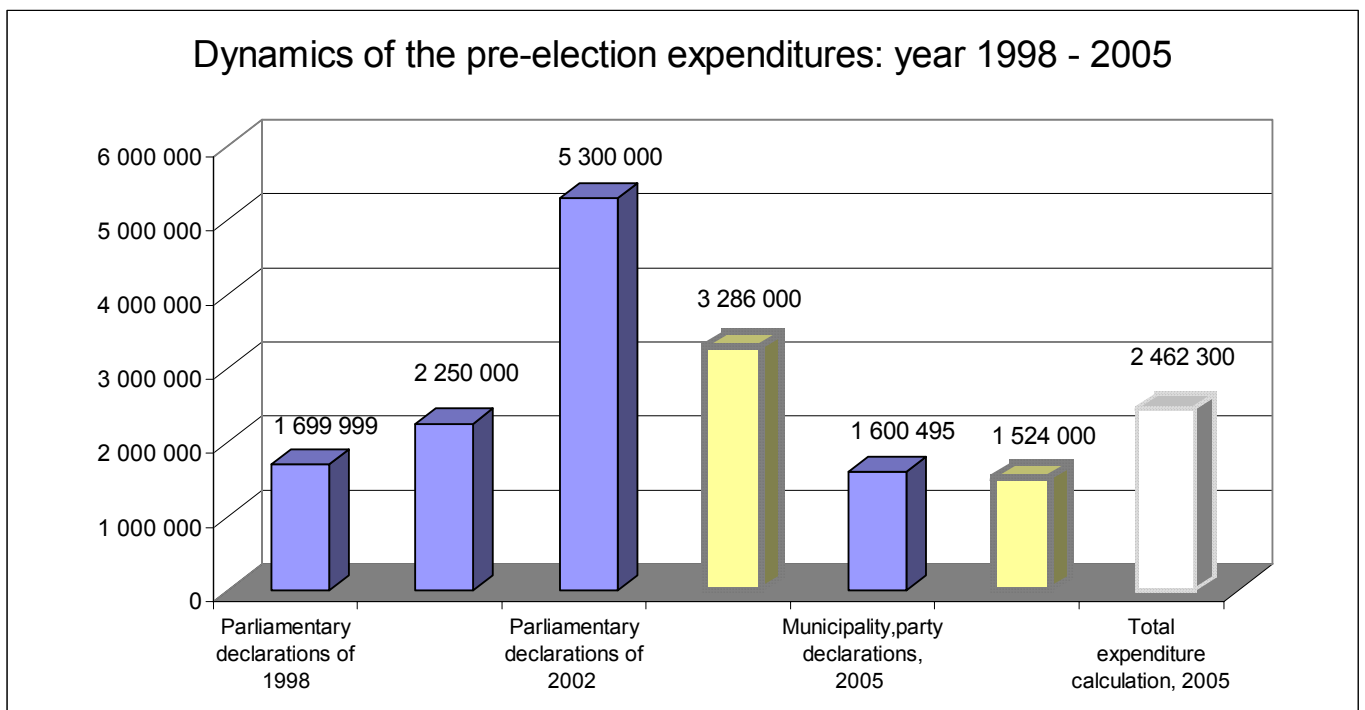
party – Latvian First Party *considerably* violated the pre-election campaign expenditure limitations established by the legislation, and practically ignored the legal norms.

The pre-election campaign total expenditure limitations were implemented in accordance with the amendments in the Political Party Financing law on February, 2004, by establishing that each party is allowed to spend LVL 0,2 for one voter in electoral districts where it has submitted the electoral lists<sup>9</sup>. These limitations were introduced as an attempt to limit the growing pre-election campaign expenses, which reached their maximum amounts prior to the Parliamentary elections of 2002.

**The considerable volume of the pre-election campaign undeclared expenses**

According to the party electoral declarations, all of the pre-election expenditures for these elections have reached LVL 1, 600, 495. However, this number cannot be considered complete, because as demonstrated by the project conclusions, several parties have declared expenses for the placement of political advertising, which are less than accounted for within the framework of the project. According to the data provided by the project, for the placement of paid political advertisement in the media, all of the parties spent approximately LVL 1, 524, 000 i.e. almost the same amount indicated in the party declarations. It must be noted that the project is accounting only for the party expenditures for placing political advertisements, but beyond the scope of the project remains other categories of the expenses, which are linked with the pre-election campaign expenses.

TABLE 1. VOLUME OF THE PRE-ELECTION CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURES



Source: Political party annual and electoral declarations, "Openness about the municipality election finances of 2005"

<sup>9</sup> The Law on Political Party Financing, Paragraph 8.4

Several political party finance experts indicate – if the political advertisement is not considerably limited (for example, the ban of the political advertisement in the radio organizations), then the costs for the placement usually generate 60-70% of the total party expenditures<sup>10</sup>. The existence of such a proportion is also confirmed by the fact that the project "Openness about the pre-election campaign finances prior to the 8<sup>th</sup> Parliamentary elections", which was carried out in the year 2002, accounted 62% of all the expenditures declared by the parties, by registering only the costs for placement of the paid political advertisement<sup>11</sup>.

It must be reminded that in 2002, the total campaign expenditure limitations were not established yet, and the parties were most likely declaring their expenses close to their actual volumes. This is supported by the statements made by the politicians as well<sup>12</sup>. However, during these elections, the project has accounted for 95% of the total volume declared by the parties. This allows for a conclusion that certain parties have not declared a part of their actual expenditures.

According to the calculations made by the project, by analyzing party declaration sections about the expenses for paid advertisement it follows that the undeclared part is about LVL 350,000, and the most part or 67% from this amount comprises the undeclared expenditures of LFP. However, these calculations apply only to the expenditures for the placement of paid advertisement. According to this calculation, it follows that the actual expenses could have been approximately LVL 1, 950, 500.

However, if we take into account an assumption that the expenses for the political advertisement comprise 60-70% of the total party expenditures, and if we remember that the media monitoring conducted prior to the 2002 municipality elections accounted for 62% of the total party expenditures, an estimate can be done, which establishes that the total party expenditures for the 2005 municipality elections could have been approximately LVL 2, 462, 300.

### **Reduction of the campaign expenditures**

By analyzing this information, it is clear that the rapid increase of the pre-election campaign expenditures have been stopped, and that prior to the 2005 municipality elections the parties have spent less for the campaign. According to the party declarations, the total expenses for the campaign, in comparison with the 8<sup>th</sup> Parliamentary elections have been reduced by three times. However, as noted, this information is not complete. Whereas in comparison with the expenses for placing paid advertisements prior to the elections of 2002, it becomes clear that prior to the 2005 municipality elections the expenditures for placing the advertisements were reduced by two times.<sup>13</sup> The same reduction can be applied to the estimate of total expenses, thus

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<sup>10</sup> Handbook on funding parties and election campaigns, Overview by Michael Pinto-Duschinsky

<sup>11</sup> "Analysis of expenditures for the 8<sup>th</sup> Parliamentary elections", project "Openness about the pre-election campaign finances of the 8<sup>th</sup> Parliamentary elections", Soros foundation, Latvia and Transparency International "Delna", Riga, February, 2003

<sup>12</sup> "The previous version of the Law ensured that at least 85-90% of the finances invested in the campaign were reflected in the finance declaration, now not even half of them will show" Parliamentary deputy of 8<sup>th</sup> Saeima J. Lagzdīņš "Unbelievable amounts for the campaign" NRA, 28.09, 2004

<sup>13</sup> "Analysis of the expenditures for 8<sup>th</sup> Parliamentary elections" project "Openness about the finances of the pre-election campaign prior to the 8<sup>th</sup> Parliamentary elections", Soros foundation, Latvia and Transparency International "Delna", Riga, February, 2003

the campaign for the 2005 municipality elections could have cost two times less than the campaign for the 8<sup>th</sup> Parliamentary elections.

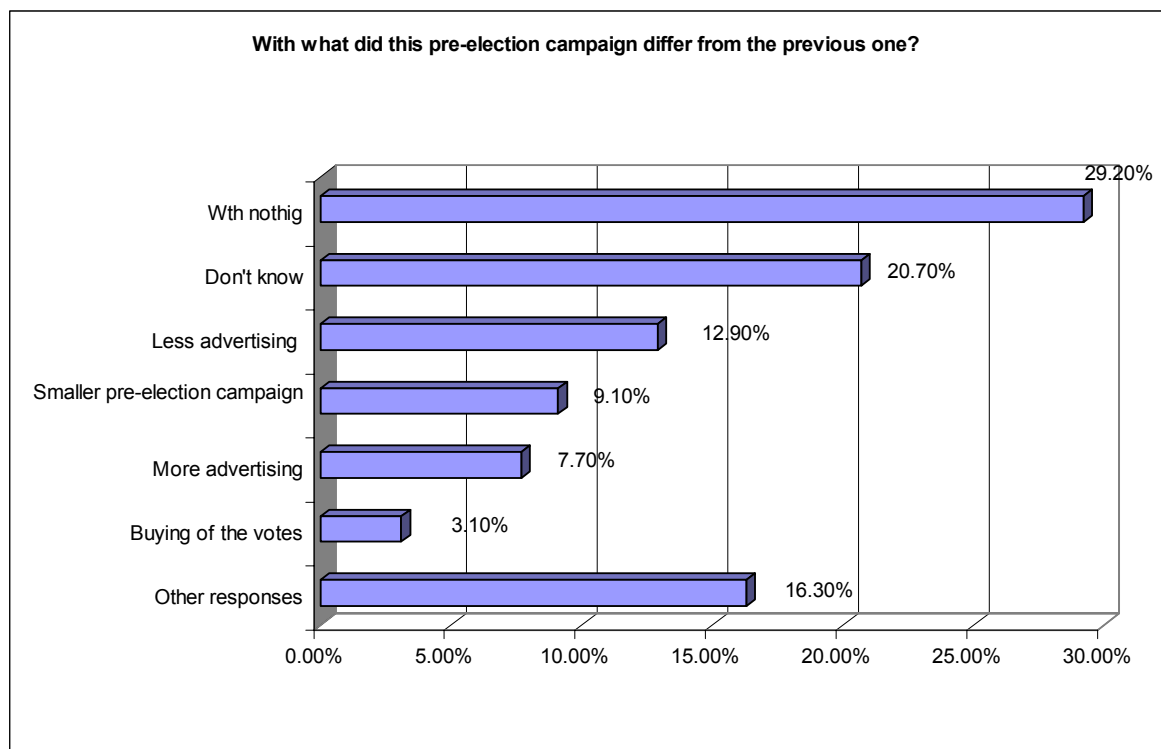
This concludes that the objective for the total campaign limitations to arrest the rapid increase of the party expenditures has been reached. Certainly the concern remains that several parties have not declared a significant amount of the campaign expenditures.

### **The viewpoint of the society about the campaign procedures**

The influence of the campaign expenditure limitations on the total volume of the expenses is an indicator by which to conclude if the limitations have been effective. The second important indicator is the society's viewpoint about the campaign limitations and whether they have altered anything in the general procedures of campaigning.

In April 2005 the social research company "Latvijas fakti" conducted a survey commissioned by this project, about the evaluation of the pre-election campaign by the society of Latvia, and about the necessity to limit the campaign expenditures. According to these surveys it is evident that a large part of the society (29,2%) consider that the pre-election campaign prior to the 2005 municipality elections did not significantly differ from the previous elections and 20,7% of the respondents could not answer to this question. At the same time, the total of 22% of the respondents consider that the campaign was reduced – that it had less advertising (12,9%) and that the campaign has been smaller in general (91,1%). Hence, about the half of the respondents have noticed the difference and 1/5 of the respondents have noticed that the volume of the pre-election campaign was reduced.

TABLE 2. THE FEATURES OF THE PRE-ELECTION CAMPAIGN



Source: "Latvijas Fakti", April, 2005

The respondents were not offered the choice of the answers; hence all of them were free to formulate their opinion. It must be noted, that none of the respondents had indicated that the information on the political parties was insufficient. Therefore, one of the most important arguments against the campaign expenditure limitations – the concern that the pre-election campaign expenditure limitations limit the opportunities for the voters to obtain information on the political parties<sup>14</sup> did not prove right.

Further the residents were asked how do they value the establishment of the pre-election expenditure limitations. Here it was established that the most part of the respondents (53%) consider setting the pre-election expenditure limitations a positive and meaningful event.

<sup>14</sup> "Latvijas fakti" the survey of the inhabitants, April, 2005

TABLE 3. CAMPAIGN LIMITATION JUSTIFICATION

Was it sensible to legally determine the pre-election campaign expenditure limitations	
Most likely Yes	27,3%
Yes	25,7%
Most likely No	18,1%
No	15%
Don't know	13,9%

Source: "Latvijas fakti", April, 2005

It can be concluded from the aforementioned that the expenditure limitations did not bring drastic changes in the course of the campaign; a large part of the society did not feel the impact of these limitations or felt it by reduced intensity of the advertising and total volume of the campaign. From the perspective of party finances, the pre-election expenditure limitations reduced the need for active fundraising and therefore provided an opportunity for the parties to decrease their dependence from large sponsors and their interests.

## **The violation of the pre-election expenditure limitations**

The attitude of the political parties towards the pre-election expenditures in these elections could be poetically called the "honey moon", because most parties did observe the expenditure limitations or violated them slightly. At the same time, the information compiled by the project concludes that several parties have considerably violated the pre-election campaigning expenditures, whereas others have not violated the limitations or have violated them somewhat.

If the expenditure limitation violators will not be punished accordingly until the next elections, then the political parties will not be motivated to observe these limitations. Currently the legislation prescribes the maximum administrative fine that can be applied by KNAB for the campaign limitation violations is LVL 5,000. In the case of the LFP the project has concluded that the party had violated the campaign expenditure limitations for almost 3 times or for approximately LVL 272,000. It is obvious that for a party that is ready for the challenge with such a violation, LVL 5,000 penalty is meaningless. Therefore it would be necessary to create a system of sanctions, which would ensure that the fine is substantial enough and, which would deter the parties from violating the limitations. It must be emphasized that in other countries (for example, in Great Britain, France and Canada) the fines for violations of the pre-election campaign limitations are considerable, because there "the lawmakers have not depended on the parties for observing the established pre-election limitations due to ethical reasons and have prescribed serious fines"<sup>15</sup>.

"In these countries for the violation of the expenditure limitations the punishment can be all together a monetary fine, a prison term, cancellation of the election results, and taking away the rights to be elected up to seven years for the guilty parties. In France and Canada on the observance of the limitations depends the opportunity for the party to obtain government financing and the rights for reimbursement of the election expenses. The party financing and the electoral campaign watchdog organization reports indicate that the results are good. For example, in Great Britain all the parties were included within the scope of the expenditure limitations for the elections of 2001. In France for the 2002 presidential elections none of the candidates exceeded the expenditure limitations, but in the Parliamentary elections such a violation was established for one out of 8,444 candidates."

Source: Iveta Kažoka "How stable is the pre-election expenditure limitation ceiling? " [www.politika.lv](http://www.politika.lv)

It would also be necessary for the party finance control organization KNAB to react not only in the cases when the pre-election campaign expenditure limitations are violated, but also to detect cases, when the parties have declared their expenses incompletely, even if they fall within the total allowed range of the expenditures.

## **The violations declared by the parties**

A part of the pre-election expenditure limitation violations were detected in the declarations submitted by the parties. These violations are considerable to the point if we consider that:

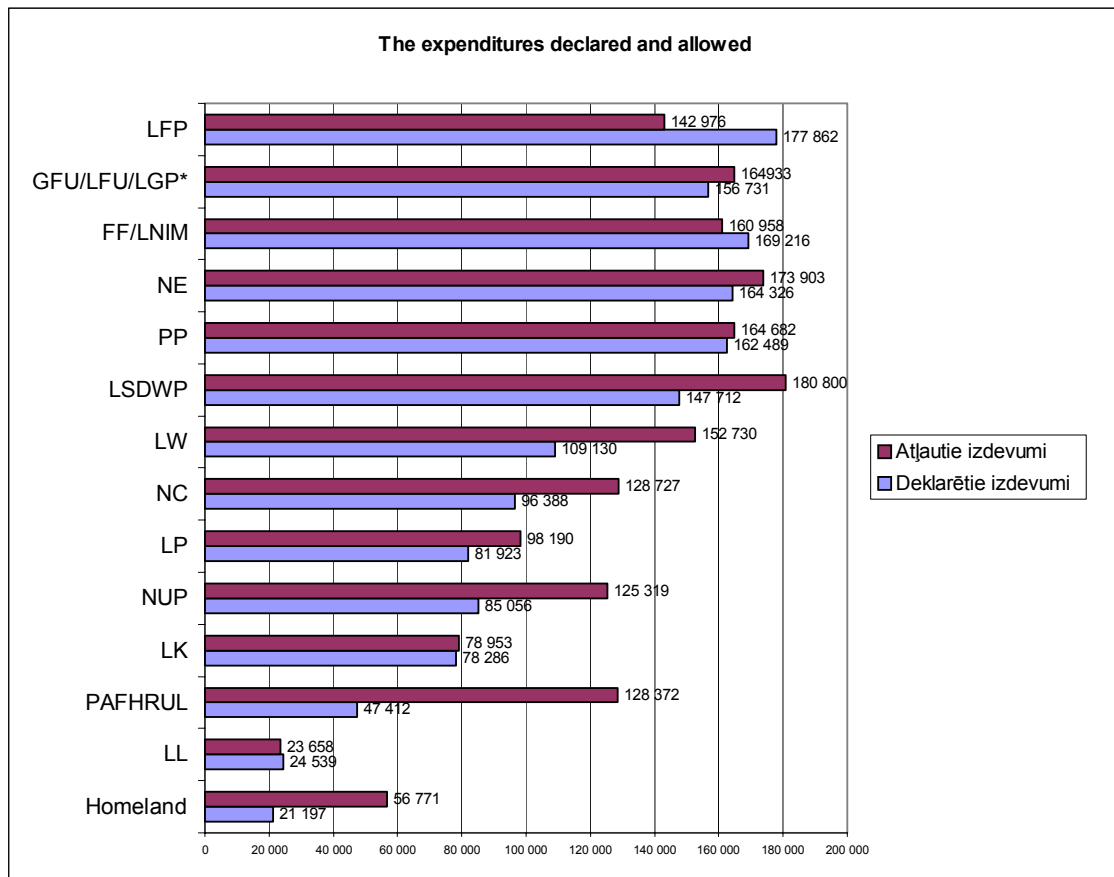
1. Pre-election expenditure limitations are implemented in Latvia for the first time;

<sup>15</sup> "How stable is the pre-election expenditure limitation ceiling? ", Iveta Kažoka [www.politika.lv](http://www.politika.lv)

2. The parties do not have any previous experience in observing such limitations;
3. The established pre-election expenditure limitations considerably reduce the party expense volume in comparison with the previous expenses.

A situation where several parties have declared that they have violated the established limitations is positive considering that it provides an opportunity for KNAB to account such violations effectively, and together with the party to establish how did the violation originate, and to resolve on a penalty.

TABLE 4. THE COMPARISON OF THE EXPENDITURES DECLARED BY THE PARTIES AND ALLOWED BY THE LEGISLATION



\* In some districts the parties were participating together and in some separately, and in their declarations they did not indicate the expenditures of each party separately.

Source: Political party annual and electoral declarations, "Openness about the 2005 municipality election finances"

According to the party declarations, the allowed campaign expenditures were violated by four parties – Vidzeme Association (VA), the Light of Latgale, FF/LNIM, and LFP. LFP has declared that it has violated the limitations for only LVL 34,876, i.e. 7 times less the amount that is estimated by the project.



TABLE 5. THE PRE-ELECTION EXPENDITURE LIMITATION VIOLATIONS DECLARED BY THE PARTIES

<b>Party</b>	<b>Declared expenditures</b>	<b>Legally allowed expenditures</b>	<b>Difference</b>
VA	3,607	2,846	-761
LL	24,539	23,658	-881
FF/LNIM	169,216	160,958	-8,258
LFP	177,852	142,976	-34,876

Source: Political party annual and electoral declarations, "Openness about the 2005 municipality election finances"

### **The violations established by the project**

As it was established earlier, there was conducted an accounting for the political advertising in the media and outdoor advertising within the framework of the project from June 2004 until May 12, 2005. In the course of the project practically all of the advertising placed by all of the political parties was accounted for, and by taking into consideration the possible discounts, approximate costs for the advertising were defined.

However, due to several reasons the expenditures estimated in the project do not provide a complete picture about the party expenditures for the pre-election advertising:

1. The project may not have complete information about the discounts some parties may have received, when paying for the pre-election advertising;
2. Even though the total calculation of the costs for placing the advertising includes the information on the outdoor advertising, this information is not complete;
3. Some media groups (for example, regional radio stations) are not included in the monitoring, therefore the expenditures accounted for by the project could be lower than those declared by the parties;
4. Occasionally the estimate of the price politics of the regional media may be problematic;
5. The authors of the project compiled the information about the publicly available and visible campaigning; beyond this estimate are such categories as the payment for productions of the pre-election advertising, the printing of the promotional material, the salaries for the employees, transportation expenses, gifts and other activities.

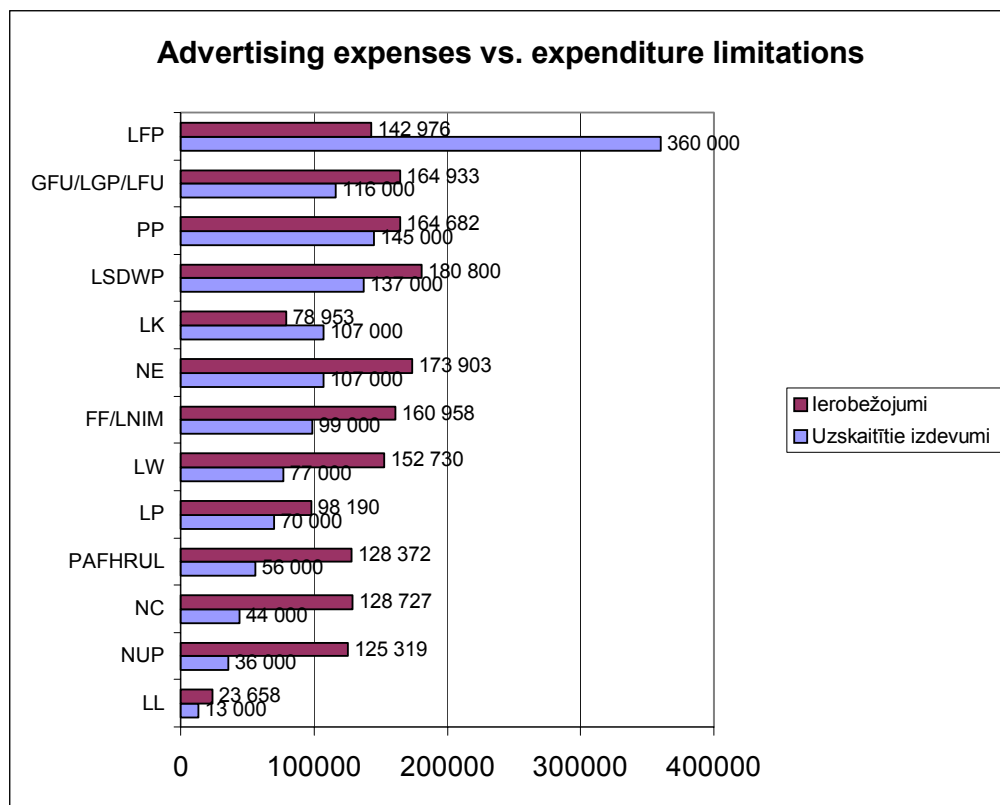
Considering these limitations of the project, the information compiled allows to conclude the following:

1. Are there parties which violate the expenditure limitations only by the placement of the political advertisement;
2. Are there parties, which have declared less for the advertising expenses than their expenditures demonstrate;

**Parties for which the expenditures for the advertising accounted by the project exceed the legal amount.**

According to the data compiled by the project, two parties- LFP and Latvia Kalve have violated the legal pre-election expenditure limitations already with the expenses occurred by the placement of paid political advertising in the media and for outdoor advertising. LFP has violated the expenditure limitations for at least LVL 217,000, but Latvia Kalve for about LVL 28, 000.

TABLE 6. THE EXPENDITURES FOR THE ADVERTISING ACCOUNTED FOR IN THE PROJECT AND EXPENDITURE LIMITATIONS ESTABLISHED IN THE LEGISLATION



Source: Political party annual and electoral declarations, "Openness about the 2005 municipality election finances"

**Parties for which the declared expenditures for the advertising differ from the expenditures for paid advertising accounted by the project.**

For several parties the declared expenditures in the category of paid advertising are considerably smaller than it is accounted in the project<sup>16</sup>. Extreme difference of almost LVL 237, 000 is noted in the case of LFP, significant difference is also for Latvia Kalve – LVL 41,000, LSDWP for almost LVL 35,000, People’s party – LVL 29,000, GFU/LGP/LFU – almost LVL 23,000, New Era LVL 18,000, PAFHRUL – LVL 21,000.

<sup>16</sup> Declarations are submitted to KNAB not later than 30 days after the elections for the pre-election campaign expenditures for the time period of 270th day prior to the elections until the Election Day.

TABLE 7. DIFFERENCE OF THE EXPENDITURES DECLARED BY THE PARTIES AND ACCOUNTED BY THE PROJECT

	Declared	Accounted	Difference
LP	68,058	70,000	<b>-1,942</b>
LK	65,930	107,000	<b>-41, 070</b>
LL	10,585	13,000	<b>-2,415</b>
LW	73,534	77,000	<b>-3,466</b>
LFP	123,448	360,000	<b>-236,552</b>
NC	64,885	44,000	<b>20, 885</b>
PAFHRUL	35,058	56,000	<b>-20, 942</b>
NE	88,652	107,000	<b>-18, 348</b>
NUP	63,522	36,000	<b>27, 522</b>
PP	116,019	145,000	<b>-28, 981</b>
FF/LNIM	113,213	99,000	<b>14, 213</b>
GFU/LGP/LFU	93,221	116,000	<b>-22, 779</b>
LSDWP	102,149	137,000	<b>-34, 851</b>

Source: Political party annual and electoral declarations, "Openness about the 2005 municipality election finances"

In the case of the Latvian First party the considerable difference has originated due to following factors:

1. Insignificant amount was declared for the outdoor advertising. Even though the outdoor advertisements with a picture of a prospective Riga Mayor Juris Lujāns was seen in many places in the city, and the posters of these advertisements were exchanged at least once, in the LFP declaration it is stated that this advertisement cost only LVL 112. According to the data available to the project, LFP has spent at least LVL 31,000 for outdoor advertising. Additionally, the information provided by the Riga City Council states that LFP had to pay at least LVL 7,528 <sup>17</sup> in taxes to the RCC for just the placement of the outdoor advertisement.
2. Even though the LFP placed an advertisement in total of 6 hours long in commercial TV stations, the information provided in the declaration states that it had cost only LVL 57,214. According to the data available to the project, by taking into consideration the discounts for the volume, which the LFP might have received, it follows that the costs for the advertising placed are 4 times greater - of approximately LVL 253,000.

If the information about the expenditures for the advertising in TV provided by the LFP declaration is correct, then the LFP has paid 4 times less for the placement of the advertisement than other parties according to the expenditures declared. For the LFP the rates for one second are on average 4 times less than it was estimated by the project. Even though the rates for one second of advertising in commercial TV differ in

<sup>17</sup>"About the placement of the political advertisement in the city prior to the 2005 municipality elections", RCC Department of city development, April, 2005

some party declarations, however for none of the parties the difference is so considerable as for LFP.

TABLE 8. THE RATES FOR ONE SECOND OF ADVERTISING IN COMMERCIAL TV STATIONS ACCORDING TO THE PARTY DECLARATIONS AND THE PROJECT ESTIMATES

Party	Amount in seconds	Declared costs	Costs for one second according to the party declaration	Costs accounted by the project	Costs for one second according to the project accounting*	Difference in the costs declared and the costs calculated for one second*
LFP	21732 (6 hr)	LVL 57, 214	<b>2,6</b>	LVL 254, 000	11,7	4,5 times greater
PP	5917 (1 hr. 36 min)	LVL 45, 979	7,8	LVL 77, 000	13,0	1,7 times greater
LW	2683 (42 min)	LVL 35 057	13,1	LVL 25, 000	9,4	Similar
LSDWDP	3657 (1 hr.)	LVL 40, 721	11,1	LVL 76, 000	20,7	1,8 times greater
NE	5959 (1 hr 36 min)	LVL 22, 275	3,7	LVL 33, 000	5,5	1,5 times greater
LK	1405 (24 min)	LVL 18, 356	13,1	LVL 29, 000	20,7	1,6 times greater
FF/LNIM	3085 (48 min)	LVL 53, 769	17,4	LVL 46, 000	15,0	Similar
GFU/LFU/LGP	8272 (2 hr 36 min)	LVL 26, 828	3,2	LVL 52, 000	6,3	1,9 times greater

Source: Political party annual and electoral declarations, "Openness about the 2005 municipality election finances"

\*Insignificant differences may arise in the real costs and the costs accounted by the project, because the parties may have specific arrangements about the discounts.

\*\* Considerable differences in the costs for one second for different parties may be established because the costs for the broadcast time used by the party may differ according to the time of the day and the program the advertisement is placed.

If the information declared by the LFP is correct, then such a goodwill expressed by the radio organizations can be considered as a contribution to the party as defined by the Political Party Financing Law. Additionally, it is important to note that the contributions from legal entities are forbidden; therefore this contribution is considered an illegal contribution.

A [contribution] [...] is considered any material or other type of benefit provided without a pay, including services, granting of rights, exemption of a political organization (party) from responsibilities, refusal from a right in favor to the political organization (party), or any other actions that result in gaining of benefits for a political organization (party). Within the scope of this Law an endowment is considered a transfer of real or movable property to the political organization (party) and providing of the services to the political organization (party) for **the rates that are lower than the market value of the respective real or movable property or the service.**

*Political organization (party) financing Law, paragraph 2, section 2*

The difference in the expenditures declared by the parties and accounted by the project for the parties Latvia Kalve, LSDWP, GFU/LFU/LGP, NE, FF/LNIM and PP are generally regarding different amounts that were spent for the placement of the political advertisement in commercial TV, whereas the difference in the case of the PAFHRUL is linked with the volume of advertising placed in the commercial radio station SWH+. This party declared that for the advertising in the commercial radio it had spent LVL 7,944, but the project had estimated LVL 30, 000.

### **Estimate of the possible violations of the limitations.**

If we add the remainder of the expenditures declared by the parties and accounted for by the project to the total number of the expenditures declared by the parties, it results that possibly several parties had violated the established expenditure limitations.

As it can be seen in table 9, the most considerable violation of about LVL 272,000 is for LFP. A significant violation of the expenditure limitations has also occurred for Latvia Kalve – approximately LVL 40,000.

In the second category there are parties, for which the violations could be approximately LVL 20,000 – PP, FF/LNIM, LFU. It can't be affirmed that these parties have violated the expenditure limitations, because the larger amounts that were estimated by the project, could have originated from more generous discounts that the parties may have received from the media. Additionally, it must be noted that the party FF/LNIM indicated a violation of the limitations of LVL 8,000. In the third category are the parties, for which the amount of the expenditure limitation violations could be less than LVL 10,000. These are - New Era and LSDWP, for which the violated amounts could be insignificant. The possible violations of the expenditure limitations for these parties, most likely have not originated from a conscious intentions by these parties.

In case of the other parties the expenditures estimated by the project exceed the limitations somewhat, and this difference may be explained with more generous discounts for the advertising, then it was accounted for within the framework of the project.

**TABLE 9. POSSIBLE VIOLATIONS OF THE EXPENDITURE LIMITATIONS**

	Total expenditures calculated by the project	Pre-election expenditure limitations	Possible violations of the expenditure limitations
LP	83, 864	98, 190	14,325
LK	119, 356	78, 953	-40, 403
LL	26, 954	23, 658	-3, 296
LW	113, 212	152, 730	39, 518
LFP	414, 976	142, 976	-272, 000
NC	96, 388	128, 727	32, 339
PAFHRUL	68, 354	128, 372	60, 018
NE	182, 674	173, 903	-8,771
NUP	85, 055	125, 319	40, 263

PP	191, 470	164, 682	-26, 788
FF/LNIM	183, 429	160, 958	-22, 471
GFU/LGP/LFU	190, 659	164, 933	-25, 726
LSDWP	182, 561	180, 800	-1, 761

Source: Political party annual and electoral declarations, "Openness about the 2005 municipality election finances"

### The volume of the advertising placed

LFP placed the most amount of advertising both in the television and the printed press. LFP has placed almost ¼ of the advertising volume of all the largest parties together.

TABLE 10. THE VOLUME OF THE POLITICAL ADVERTISING

LFP	TV	6 hr 24 min
	Radio	12 min
	The press	55 m <sup>2</sup>
FF/LNIM	TV	1 hr 30 min
	Radio	2 hr 12 min
	The press	20 m <sup>2</sup>
NE	TV	1 hr 54 min
	Radio	1 hr 18 min
	The press	39 m <sup>2</sup>
PP	TV	2 hr 6 min
	Radio	22 min
	The press	24 m <sup>2</sup>
LSDWP	TV	1 hr 18 min
	Radio	0
	The press	42 m <sup>2</sup>
LW	TV	1 hr 4 min
	Radio	1 hr
	The press	44 m <sup>2</sup>
NC	TV	18 min
	Radio	4,5 min
	The press	34 m <sup>2</sup>
LP	TV	2 hr 4 min
	Radio	48 min
	The press	24 m <sup>2</sup>
NUP	TV	2 hr 42 min
	Radio	0
	The press	22 m <sup>2</sup>
LK	TV	32 min
	Radio	4 hr
	The press	8,5 m <sup>2</sup>
PAFHRUL	TV	1,8 min
	Radio	2 hr 42 min

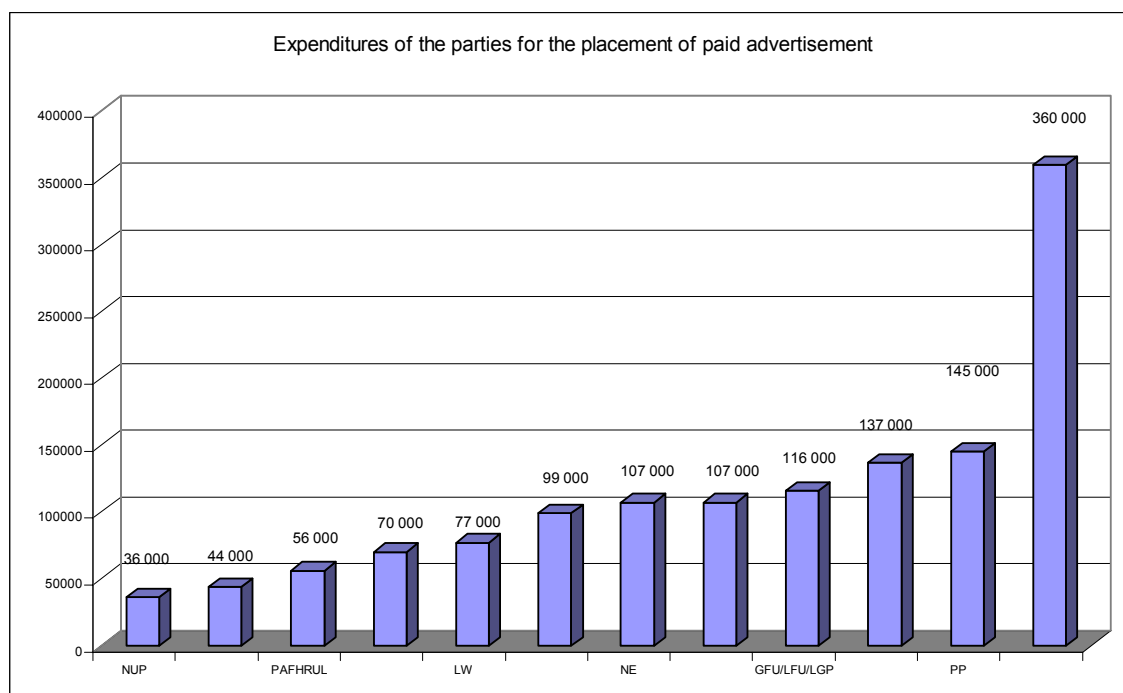
	<b>The press</b>	<b>16 m<sup>2</sup></b>
<b>GFU/LGP/LFU</b>	<b>TV</b>	<b>2 hr 36 min</b>
	<b>Radio</b>	<b>54 min</b>
	<b>The press</b>	<b>33 m<sup>2</sup></b>

Source: Political party annual and electoral declarations, "Openness about the 2005 municipality election finances"

By calculating the total number of the TV advertising placed by the rest of the parties, it becomes evident that LFP has placed 4 times more advertising than any of the other parties on an average. The volume of the placed TV advertisement for other parties is on an average 1 hour and 47 minutes, for LFP – 6 hours and 24 minutes. The volume of the advertising placed in the printed press for the rest of the parties is 28 m<sup>2</sup>, but for LFP – 55 m<sup>2</sup>, which is almost twice the volume of the advertising, then for the rest of the parties on an average. If the volume for the placed advertisement for the other parties is similar, or with comparatively insignificant differences, then the LFP in terms of the volume of the advertising reaches the numbers that overpower all the others.

The project also did the estimate about the rates of the respective media and the volume of the outdoor advertisement. By calculating these costs, the rates set by the media for placing the advertisement in a determined time and place were considered, including the discounts that each of the parties may have received by the volume.

TABLE 11. EXPENDITURES OF THE PARTIES FOR THE PLACEMENT OF PAID ADVERTISEMENT.



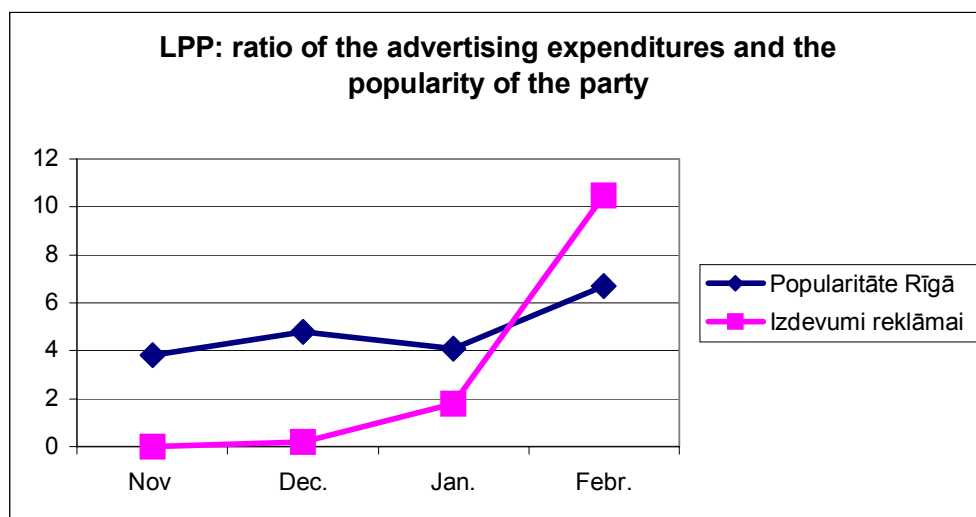
Source: Political party annual and electoral declarations, "Openness about the 2005 municipality election finances"

### Possible impact of the volume of advertisement on the election results

One of the most important matters in this issue is to determine to what extent did the violations of the expenditure limitations and the resulting advantages for advertising, have impacted the successes of the parties in the municipality elections of 2005. It is difficult to evaluate the total achievements of the parties from this perspective, because the municipality elections are decentralized, and the popularity of the parties within the scope of the municipalities is influenced by many other factors besides the publicity of the party in the media.

However, by evaluating the increase of the popularity for the LFP prior to the 2005 municipality elections, it seems that the party would not have reached the 5% barrier necessary for entering the Riga City Council.

TABLE 12. LFP: RATIO OF THE ADVERTISING EXPENDITURES AND THE POPULARITY OF THE PARTY



Source: SKDS, "Openness about the 2005 municipality elections"

The last index of the party popularity refers to the end of the February, when the LFP had already begun a broad and an aggressive pre-election campaign, by placing intensive series of impressive political advertising in TV stations. Unfortunately, there is no data available to the project about the popularity of the LFP in March, but according to the data available, during the first two weeks of March, LFP for the paid political advertising had spent almost twice the amount then it had spent in February. It must be noted that in March LFP received 5,7% of the votes for the Riga City Council elections, and it was elected in other municipality councils as well.

It must also be reminded that the advertising expenditures for the LFP and the election results correlated much more considerably than prior to the 2002 Parliamentary



elections. If the placement of the political advertisement prior to the municipality elections increased the popularity of the LFP possibly for about 2%, then the aggressive advertising prior to the Parliamentary elections increased the popularity for about 6%<sup>18</sup>.

However, in the conclusion it must be acknowledged that in comparison to the 8<sup>th</sup> Parliamentary elections, in the 2005 municipality elections, there were fewer parties whose popularity was directly linked to the volume of the advertisement. Prior to the Parliamentary elections there were at least three such parties – GFU, LFP and PP<sup>19</sup>. As demonstrated in the table 13, following parties met a significant rise in the popularity ratings in Riga prior to the municipality elections - LSDWP (for 2,9%), People's party (for 2,6%), and New Center (for 4,4%). However, in this case it is impossible to establish a direct link with the increase of the pre-election campaign intensity, due to the fact that the popularity of all three parties was already increasing in January, when none of them had begun an intensive advertising.

As demonstrated in the report "Analysis of the cases of the possible hidden advertisement in the media prior to the municipality elections of 2005"<sup>20</sup> it is likely that the increase in the popularity for LSDWP and NC was promoted by the favorable attitude towards the parties by the media, more notably by the Russian printed press. The LSDWP gained a considerable additional positive publicity by the information that was placed in the program "Rīgas ziņas"<sup>21</sup>, which was sponsored by the Riga City Council. The popularity of the PP, was possibly increased by the successful use of its power position by the party's public relations experts, but in order to support this assumption, further research would be necessary. Certainly the unexpected success of the Homeland must be noted, which is linked to a great extent to the massive campaign of hidden advertisement in the Radio PIK<sup>22</sup>.

TABLE 13. PARTY POPULARITY IN RIGA

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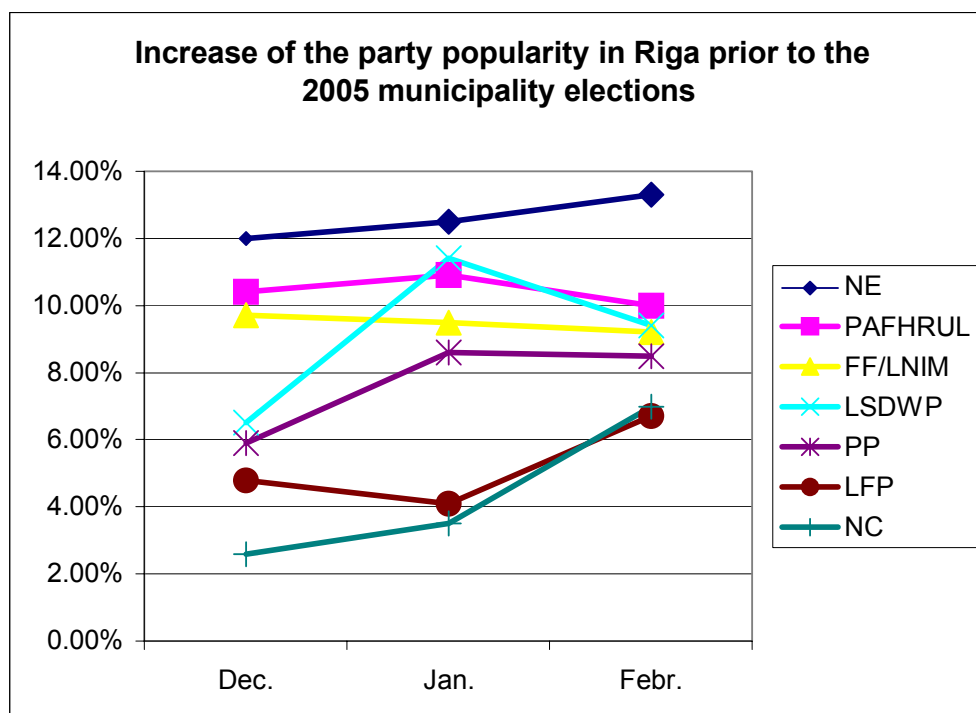
<sup>18</sup> "The analysis of the expenditures in the 8th Parliamentary elections ", Soros foundation, Latvia and Transparency International "Delna" Riga, February, 2003 [www.politika.lv](http://www.politika.lv)

<sup>19</sup> "The analysis of the expenditures in the 8th Parliamentary elections ", Riga, February 2004

<sup>20</sup> "The analysis of the cases of possible hidden advertisement in the media prior to the municipality elections of 2005, CPP Providus, Riga, March, 2005, [www.politika.lv](http://www.politika.lv)

<sup>21</sup> Same as above

<sup>22</sup> Same as above



Source: SKDS, www.skds.lv

As a result, it may be concluded that in these elections, the political advertising was less significant in determining the success rates for the political parties. As demonstrated by the survey conducted by "Latvijas fakti" (table 14), an important factor was the information provided by the media, party programs, and appearance of the party members in the media and in the debate shows.

This is most likely due to the fact that because of the expenditure limitations, the political advertising was less intensive, therefore the voter chose different information sources to learn about the parties. In regards to the LFP, which exceeded the legal limitations twice the allowed amount when placing the advertising, it must be concluded that the political advertisement was not very effective, even though the violation of the limitations placed the party in considerably more favorable position against other parties.

As it is demonstrated in the survey conducted by "Latvijas fakti" on April, 2005, only 8,1% of the respondents have named the political advertisement as the crucial factor of their choice in the municipality elections. The fact that the respondents are not keen to admit that the political advertisement may have influenced their choice in the municipality elections, must be taken into account.

TABLE 14. INFORMATION SOURCES FOR THE BUILDING OF THE VOTERS OPINION

What information sources did influence your opinion the most by choosing for which party to vote in the municipality elections on March, 2005	
Information provided by the media	28%
Party programs	21,40%

Appearance of the party representatives in the media, debates	12,70%
Political advertisement	8,10%
Don't know	7,30%
Specific individuals	5,30%
Events organized by the parties	5%
Accomplished by the parties – promised and delivered	3,30%
Individual beliefs (information and experience)	2,50%
Consultations with the friends, family and acquaintances	2,50%
Individual acquaintance with politicians	2,20%
Previous participation in a political party	1%

Source: "Latvijas fakti", April, 2005

The results of this survey indicate on another very important trend – by making the choice for which party to vote in the elections, the voters rely on the information provided by the media to a great extent. The decrease of the volume of paid advertising makes the information provided by the media even more important. As it was mentioned earlier, the rise in the popularity of the parties NC, LSDWP and Homeland prior to the 2005 municipality elections was considerably influenced by the fact that several media provided good publicity for these parties in a form of hidden advertisement.

## Payments to the legal entities for the campaign planning and production

The largest categories of the expenditures that are not accounted by the project are payments to the legal entities for the preparation of the advertising material and the campaign planning. It must be noted that according to the declarations, the most expenses in this category were occurred by FF/LNIM, which had indicated LVL 43, 849 and NE, which indicated LVL 36,296. Considerable expenditures in this category were also indicated by LFP – LVL 35, 185.

Two considerations must be taken into account in regards to the payments to the legal entities:

1. The correlation mentioned earlier, that without the considerable limitations for the placement of the advertisement, the expenditures reach approximately 60-70% of the total number. The rest of the expenses are spent for other categories, including to the legal entities for the production of the advertising campaign and the promotional materials. The existence of this correlation is supported by the declarations of NC, NE and FF/LNIM, where it was indicated that the payments for legal entities for reaching the above mentioned goals were 20% of the total of expenditures. LFP also is nearing to this number, however, if we take into account that the party had considerably violated the expenditure limitations, then the expenses indicated in this category are proportionally much smaller.
2. The 60-70% ratio for the placement of paid advertising and 30-40% for the rest of the campaign is applicable to the cases when the parties place a multiple advertisement by including paid advertisement in TV. If the party has submitted the lists in a few places and use the regional media and the events to popularize themselves, then the involvement of the legal entities might be much smaller. In this context it seems strange, that the LSDWP, which placed an expensive and extensive political advertising, indicate only 1% of all the expenditures in the payments to the legal entities, whereas in the case of LFP, this ratio is 7%. These small numbers create suspicion that these parties may not have indicated a part of the actual payments to the legal entities in their declarations.

TABLE 15. PAYMENTS TO THE LEGAL ENTITIES FOR THE PRODUCTION OF THE CAMPAIGN AND THE PROMOTIONAL MATERIALS

Section in the declaration	GFU/LGP / LFU	LP	LSDW P	LK	LW	LFP	NC	PAFHRL	NE	NUP	PP	FF/LNIM
3) payment to the legal entities for the preparation of the promotional material;	21461	5771	1672	10283	5627	23886	24453	1386	15646	9333	5310	38881
4) payment to the legal entities for the planning, preparation and organization of the pre-election campaign;	2500	2360	0	0	2089	11299	0	0	20650	65	7166	4968

<b>Total:</b>	<b>23961</b>	<b>8131</b>	<b>1672</b>	<b>10 283</b>	<b>7716</b>	<b>35 185</b>	<b>24 453</b>	<b>1386</b>	<b>36 296</b>	<b>9397</b>	<b>12 476</b>	<b>43 849</b>
<b>% of the total expenditures</b>	<b>15%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>13%</b>	<b>10%</b>	<b>19%</b>	<b>25%</b>	<b>3%</b>	<b>22%</b>	<b>11%</b>	<b>7%</b>	<b>26%</b>

Source: Political party declarations, "Openness about the 2005 municipality election finances"

### Advertisement placed by the third persons

During the course of analysis about the implementation of the political party pre-election campaign expenditure limitations, there were often expressed concerns, that the limitations will be by-passed, by channeling considerable amounts of money for the placement of the political advertisement through the third persons, which are seemingly unconnected to the party and who will place the advertisement in order to popularize the party, the candidates or the ideas of the party<sup>23</sup>. The analysis conducted within the framework of the project indicates that in total in the period analyzed 11 different legal and natural persons had placed political advertisement in their name for several hundred lats, therefore their impact has been insignificant and does not require further analysis.

TABLE 16. THE ADVERTISEMENT PLACED BY THIRD PERSONS

	Person	Costs of advertisement placed, LVL	Media
1.	I. Ostapenko	143	Regional newspapers
2.	J. Zigerists	192	Regional newspapers
3.	J. Zigerists, O. Kostanda	111	Regional newspapers
4.	Russian School Advocacy headquarters	<b>1 740</b>	National newspapers
5.	The Country and Regional Development Association	<b>23, 876</b>	Public and commercial TV
6.	PAFHRUL/Russian School Headquarters	522	National newspapers
7.	R. Kaminiskis	228	Regional newspapers
8.	Rēzekne Russian community	228	Regional newspapers
9.	Rodņik	172	Regional newspapers
10.	U. Sesks	66	Regional newspapers
11.	U. Veldre	312	Regional newspapers
12.	V. Godfridsons	98	Regional newspapers
13.	V. Zaicevs	47	Regional newspapers
	<b>Total:</b>	<b>Ls 27, 735</b>	

Source: "Openness about the 2005 municipality elections"

The Russian School Advocacy Headquarters had placed advertisement for LVL 1,1740 mostly in national newspapers "Vesti Segodna" and "Chas" in the time period of

<sup>23</sup> Debates organized by Providus "The pre-election campaign after the amendments in the party financing law" 2005.12.07.

September 2004 until March 2005 which cannot be considered a significant popularization campaign for a party.

The only case that takes notice is "The Country and Regional Development Association", which on March 2005 placed paid political advertisement in public and commercial TV for total amount of LVL 23,000. The association placed two types of political advertisements. One had depicted the images of various dogs in a nice and clever way, which invited the voters to choose not only the right dog, but also the right politicians and to participate in the elections of March 12. In the second advertisement the Mayor of Valka, a candidate for the People's Party Vents Krauklis invited Rigans to vote for such municipality leaders, that currently head several municipalities in Latvia including Valka, Kuldīga and Ventspils, i.e. the candidates from the People's party.

The candidate for the Mayor of Riga from the People's party Andris Ārgalis congratulated the inhabitants of Riga for Christmas by sending them Christmas cards. However, it is difficult to estimate the costs for this activity. The representatives from the party were affirming that the party had nothing to do with the expenses for sending these greeting cards<sup>24</sup>.

In a similar way, shortly prior to the municipality elections there were posters placed in several parts of Riga with the depiction of the Riga Vice Mayor Sergejs Dolgopolovs in connection with the newspaper "Vesti Segodna". Both the newspaper and S. Dolgopolovs denied that this had any connection with the advertising for the NC, and that the newspaper had placed the advertisement by its own initiative<sup>25</sup>.

This highlights the facts that the political advertisement paid for by third persons was established in these elections, therefore it would be necessary to envision for a respective regulations in the legislation, which do not threaten the importance of the freedom of speech, but also would not provide the opportunity for by-passing the pre-election expenditure limitations by means of the advertisement placed by third persons. Such a solution would be the limitation of the expenditures for the advertisement placed by third persons, or, for instance, a requirement for all the third persons, which wish to place the advertisement for a political organization or a candidate and spend the amount over the set limitation, to register in the Central Election Committee.

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<sup>24</sup> "Ārgalis slips in the mailboxes of Rigans" D. Arāja, "Diena" December 7, 2004. gada

<sup>25</sup> "Deputy candidates in the advertisement for the newspaper" D. Arāja "Diena" February, 17, 2005

## **MONITORING OF THE EVENTS ORGANIZED BY THE PARTIES**

### **The methodology for the monitoring of the events organized by the parties**

One of the objectives for the project "Openness about the 2005 municipality elections" is the estimate of the expenditures by the political parties for the organization of the events based on the observations made in the course of the event. The result is an estimate for a specific event, which complements other data obtained in the course of the project, thus completing the total volume of the approximate party expenditures in the course of the pre-election campaign. This type of analysis is included in the project for the first time, and the information is for the time period of January 1, 2005 until March 12, 2005.

In the course of the research 310 questionnaires were compiled. Events where several parties participated, for example the debates, sports or entertainment events organized by third persons were not included in the estimate for the approximate volume of the party expenditures for the organization of events.

### **Selection of the events, the search for the information**

The objective of the project is to compile as much data about the publicly announced events as possible, therefore the most important source for identification of the events was the information provided by the media, publications by the parties, as well as – the posters, mailings, invitations, promotional materials, etc. However, taking into consideration the specific features of the municipality pre-election campaign and the limited financial resources, the observers were invited to get in touch with the party representatives in the area of observation, thus often the information about the event was obtained directly from the organizers of the event. Additionally, the rights established in the state legislation, especially in the Law on the Publicity of Information<sup>26</sup>, to obtain the information from the state administration and the municipalities, were exercised.

In order to determine if a specific event should be included in the monitoring of the event, three types of criteria were applied:

1. The organizer of the event,
2. The objective/contents of the event,
3. The target audience of the event.

1. Within the framework of the project, the events are considered the activities that are organized by:

- The parties in the name of the whole party;
- Party representatives or deputy candidates,
- An individual or individuals that are acting in accordance to the assignment by the party (for example, the public relations experts, agencies, etc.)

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<sup>26</sup> The Law on the Publicity of Information. LV 29.10.1998.

- Events organized by other persons (non-governmental organizations, individuals or the media) if their objective is to popularize a certain party, its deputy candidates and/or the ideas.
2. The objective of an event is – (1) to introduce the participants with the ideas, program, accomplishments and the deputy candidates of a party, (2) to attract attention to the name of the party, program, or the ideas, (3) to invite to vote for the party, (4) to involve the voters in the debates, to inform the voters.
  3. The target audience of the event – society in general or a specific group of individuals, except for the events that are organized exclusively for the party members. For example, voters, certain age groups, social groups, the groups of certain professionals or non-governmental organizations.

### **The observers and their activities**

The performers of the monitoring were invited to participate in an open competition and were chosen according to the evaluation of their knowledge and experience. In total there were 28 observers involved in the project. Seven of them participated as the volunteers. In order to prevent misunderstandings and to identify the participants of the project, special identification cards were prepared.

The duties of the observers are characterized by three basic tasks: to keep track of the information about the events, to register with the project coordinator and to attend these events, to fill in the monitoring questionnaire and to send it to the coordinator. These duties are confirmed in the contract between the observer and Providus, as well as they are explained in a simplified instruction, which is based on the questionnaire.

**The observers were acting in** : Aizkraukle, Daugavpils, Jēkabpils, Jelgava, Saldus, Liepāja, Tukums, Madona, Rīga, Valmiera, Krāslava, Madona towns and districts. Most of the observers are the residents or regular visitors of these places. **There were no permanent observers in** : Kuldīga, Ventspils, Talsi, Bauska, Cēsis, Valka, Alūksne, Gulbene, Balvi, Ludza, Rēzekne, and Preiļi districts.

**The meaning of shared liability.** By taking into consideration the above-mentioned, each participant of the project was assigned the shared liability for an additional territory besides the full liability of the monitoring in his/her district – gathering of information and attending the events. The shared liability meant a duty to gather and compile the information when possible and to attend the events in the chosen town/district. Thus, for example, the observer of the Tukums district had a shared liability for the Kuldīga district, and the responsible person for the Daugavpils district was also responsible for the events in Rēzekne, but the inhabitants of Valmiera additionally included the events in Cēsis and Valka.

The most important benefit of the shared liability is complete information about the activities of the parties in as broad territory as possible. Thus the scope of the events identified in the course of the project is considerably larger than the events actually attended.

### **The questionnaire**

The questionnaire of the party monitoring was created by taking into consideration the



experience of the previous projects, and by considering the recommendations of the public relations experts about the information, which is necessary to calculate the costs of an event as precisely as possible.

The following information must be included in the questionnaire:

1. The date and length of the event;
2. The place of the event;
3. The party and the deputy candidates that participate in the event;
4. The organizer of the event;
5. The type of the event;
6. The organizer, coordinator of the event;
7. Transportation – if possible to identify if the transportation is registered to the government/municipality ;
8. Premises – considering the owner;
9. Approximate amount of the participants;
10. Entrance fee and amount;
11. Equipment, for example sound system, if applicable;
12. Gifts for the participants;
13. Promotional material;
14. The information source, where the event was announced;
15. Participation by other persons: officials, lecturers, artists, etc.
16. Security and its provider, if applicable.

The details of the event are recorded in order to ensure compliancy of an event in doubt to the established criteria, for example, to avoid the cases when there is information included in the monitoring about the event where the Mayor of a council, who is simultaneously an official and a deputy candidate participates by fulfilling his/her official duties.

The observer must fill in the questionnaire as precisely as possible, however by evaluating each specific situation, the information need not to be obtained "by all the means available".

### **Compilation of the data and evaluation of the costs**

In order to estimate the approximate costs, they are generally grouped in following categories:

1. Organization of an event;
2. Facility rental;
3. Equipment;

4. Performance artists, other persons invited;
5. Security;
6. Gifts for the participants;
7. Promotional material;
8. Advertisement of the event.

In order to calculate the costs of a certain event, following criteria were considered:

1. Meetings with the voters
  - a. Costs of telecommunications;
  - b. Office and organizational expenses (coffee, snacks, drinks etc.);
  - c. Costs for the transportation for the delivery of the participants to the event;
  - d. Handouts.
2. Larger meetings with the voters
  - a. Costs of telecommunications;
  - b. Office and organizational expenses (coffee, snacks, drinks etc.);
  - c. Costs for the transportation for the delivery of the participants to the event;
  - d. Handouts;
  - e. Rent of the facilities;
  - f. Equipment (projectors, computers, screens).

The costs are determined according to the rental offers in Riga during the course of the project.

3. Concerts and theatre plays that are sponsored,
  - a. Costs are established according to the situation in the sponsoring market, considering that it is possible to sponsor such events all the time and therefore the costs are quite constant;
  - b. Additional costs for the advertising if the event has advertising;
  - c. The expenses for the handouts of the promotional material in the event with the participation of the deputy candidates.
4. Especially sponsored theatre plays, concerts or any other performances,
  - a. The number of the artists;
  - b. Distance from Riga, transportation costs;
  - c. Costs for the facility rental;
  - d. Advertising of the event, printing and lay-out;

In order to estimate the approximate costs, the project involved a public relations expert, thus the experience by this expert in organization of various types of the events may be considered a criteria as well.

In the process of estimating approximate costs, pre-election mark-ups and the agency

mark-ups were not considered, because they were established according to criteria that is subjective.

## General conclusions

The conclusions of the monitoring demonstrate that meetings with the voters are not only inexpensive, but also not properly acknowledged type of promotion and communication among the party and the voters.

A second of advertising in TV often costs the same (approximately LVL 100) then a rental of a medium size hall in a municipality owned community house, booked for a two hour long debate with the voters. However, even in a situation when the funding for the campaign is limited the parties choose to address the voters by the means of an expensive second rather than a cheap hour.

Mutual communication with the voter as an important and planned segment of a campaign is only observed in the activities of only a few parties. Proportional division of the campaign funding reflect the opinion of several parties, that the meetings with the voters are useless, because they do not deliver the optional return for the attraction of the votes and the quality of the debates are low.

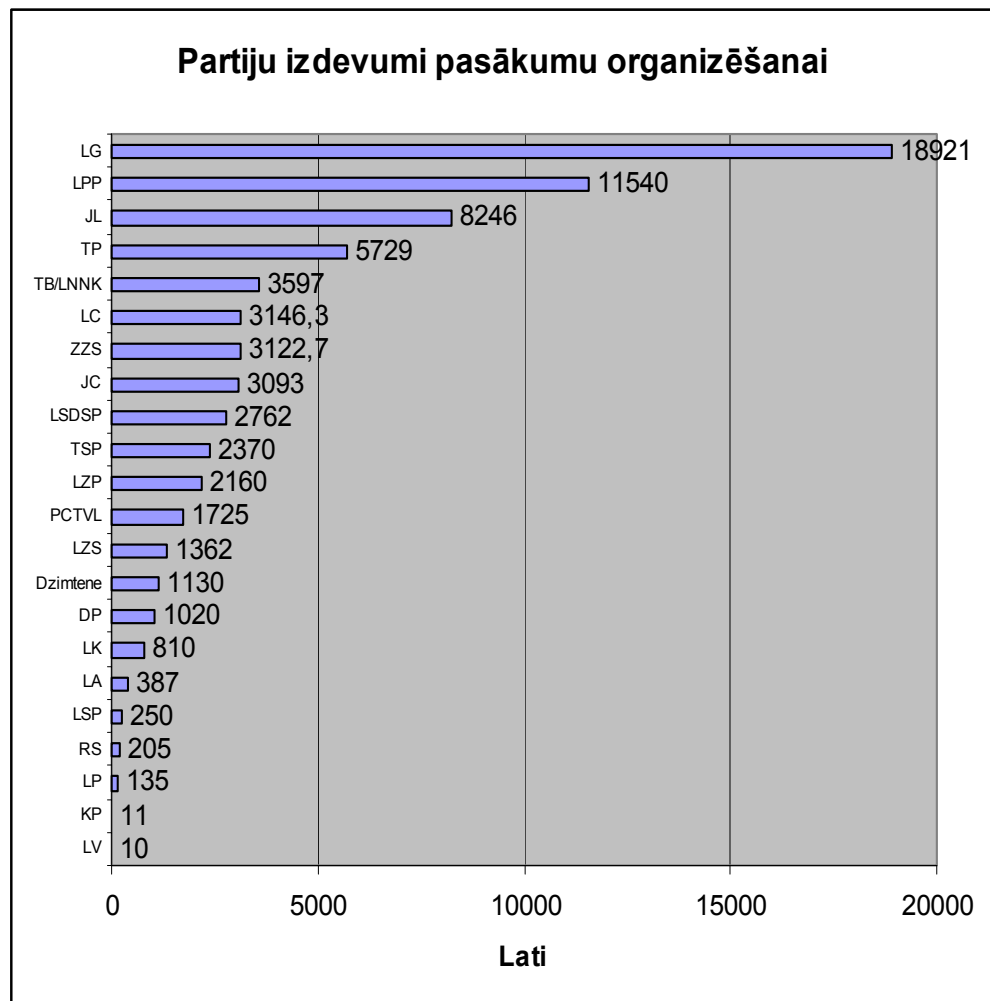
The volume of the expenditures does not always indicate on the informative value of the campaign. In order to encourage the voters to attend the meetings, the useful part of it is linked with the pleasurable – a concert, a theatre play or some other recreational, cultural or educational event. Usually the balance in between the both tends to be on the side of the useful aspect.

It was disclosed in the research that the balance among the debates and the entertainment as well as the choice of the type of the event is different in different electoral districts. In *Kurzeme and Central Latvia* there are more often "simple" meetings with the voters, as well as informative and educational type of events. Similar conclusions refer to the debates organized by other parties. For the voters of *Latgale* and partly also for *Vidzeme* the offers of direct debates are relatively few. In most of the cases the parties have considered it necessary to offer the voters entertainment and recreation options, which are followed by the speeches by the candidates and placement or handout of the promotional material. Parties also more often act as sponsors for the events organized by other persons or the candidates.

### An estimate of the costs for the events

Within the framework of the project, for the events observed the political parties have spent in total not less than **LVL 71, 732**. Furthermore – 1/3 of this amount was spent in the last two weeks of the campaign.

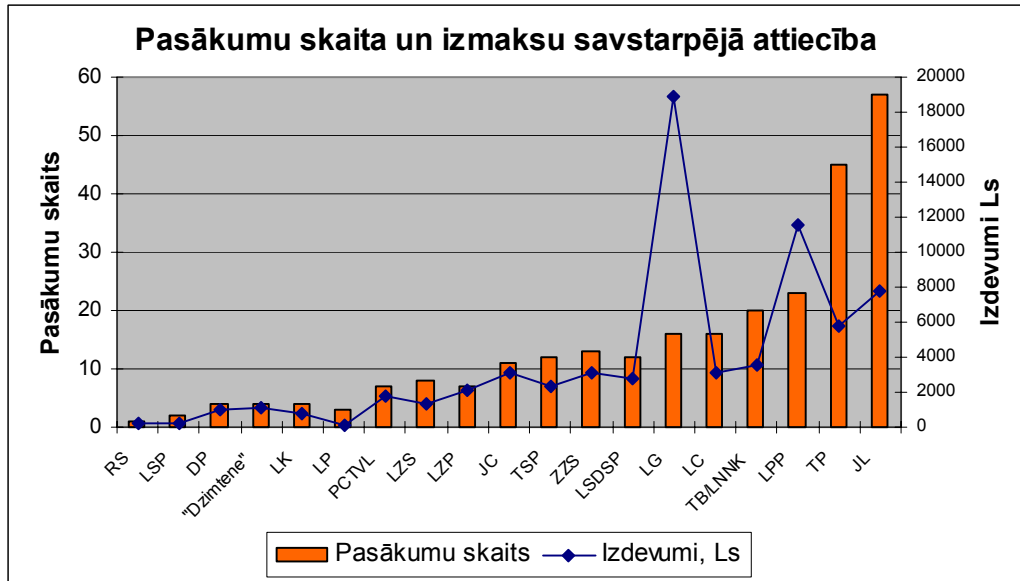
TABLE 17. AN ESTIMATE OF THE TOTAL EXPENDITURES BY THE PARTIES FOR THE ORGANIZATION OF THE EVENTS



Source: "Openness about the 2005 municipality election finances"

In the leading position in terms of the expenditures for the organization of the events is the regional party "Light of Latgale", which in the time period of January 1 until March 12 had spent LVL 18, 921 for the organization of various events. LFP has spent approximately 11, 540 from the total legal amount of the expenditures for the same objective. In the third place is the party NE, for which the project had accounted expenditures of LVL 8,246.

TABLE 18. CORRELATION OF THE AMOUNT OF THE EVENTS AND THE EXPENDITURES



Source: "Openness about the 2005 municipality election finances"

The conclusions of the project demonstrate that the total expenditures for organization of the events are not directly linked neither with the amount of the events, nor the informative value of this component of the campaign.

For example, by comparing the spendings of the LL (16 questionnaires), who is in the leading position in terms of the expenditures and the spendings of the NE (57 questionnaires), who is in the fourth place, it results that the expenditures of the LL are almost 2 ½ times more, but the amount of the events 3 times less. Similar analysis about other parties is included in the table.

The parties have spent more, by organizing relatively small amount of the events, if they have preferred entertainment, cultural or charity events. On the contrary, by organizing a large amount of the events, which are simple meetings with the voters or are of informative type, the total amount of expenditures is much less.

Thus a very expensive event can be an excellent means of marketing the party name, but with a low informative value.

### Types of events organized by the parties

Although all of the events observed are special and in their own way different, in order to establish a general idea about the activities of the party, the variety of the events recorded in the questionnaires is divided in four general categories, according to the contents of the event or probable or defined objective.

- **Meetings with the voters:** Usually a small scale event for a broad target audience or a narrow group of interested individuals or experts, which is organized by the party or the deputy candidate. Most commonly these meetings are organized in small and relatively inexpensive premises. Sometimes if there is a support from the municipalities, the parties are allowed to use the facilities free of

charge.

- In the category of **entertainment, culture and sports events** there are also included concerts, theatre plays, and exhibitions, presentations, which are organized or supported by a party or a deputy candidate. The events may be organized as an independent event or connected with the meetings with the voters. The choice of facilities is determined by the type of event, but the expenses are added by the payment to the participants of the event, specific technical fees, and sometimes also transportation costs.
- **Promotional campaigns** in terms of the project include lotteries and sweepstakes, competitions and information tents or handouts of informative or promotional materials. Free consultations about the various issues in the party headquarters or the workplace of the candidate, charity events. The most significant expenses are in connection with the purchase of the prizes or gifts, popularization of the events and donations for the support of third parties. In this category there are also included public events such as peaceful protests, meetings, walks and picket organization.
- **Events organized by third parties.** This category of events include cases when the parties or their candidates have participated in educational, charity or recreational events organized by third parties – non-governmental organizations, the media, educational establishment or another political party.

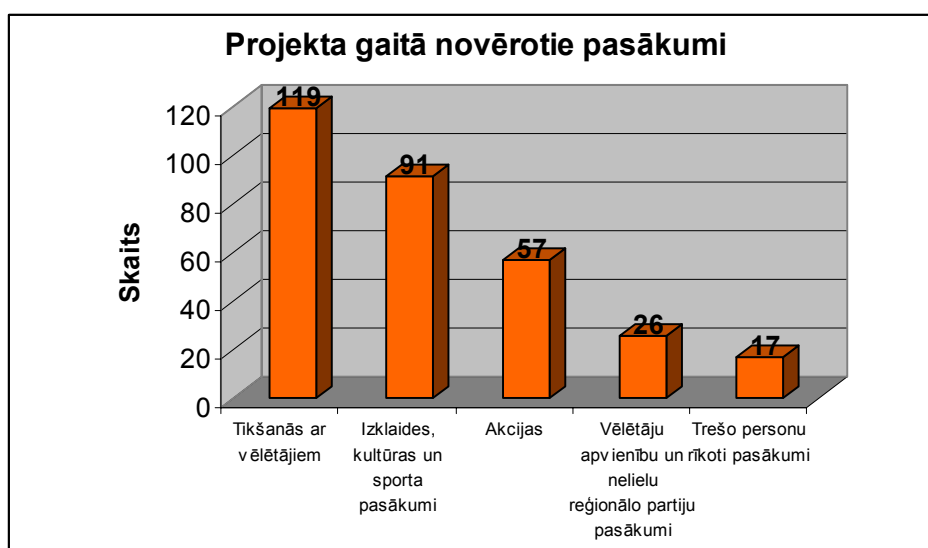
TABLE 19. CORELATION OF THE TYPE OF EVENT AND THE EXPENDITURES

Title of the party	Meetings with the voters	Recreational, educational or sports event	Promotional campaign	Expenditures for the organization of the events
New Era	40	12	5	8246
People's Party	22	12	9	5729
Latvia's First Party	7	9	7	11540
New Center	1	5	5	3093
For Freedom and Fatherland/LNIM	9	8	3	3597
Latvia's Way	7	4	5	3146,3
Light of Latgale	4	3	9	18921
Latvian Social Democratic Workers Party	2	9	1	2762
Green and Farmers Union	5	7	1	3122,7
National Unity Party	4	7	1	2370
Latvian Green Party	3	1	4	2160
Latvian Farmers Union	6	2		1362
For Human Rights in United Latvia	2	2	3	1725
Liepāja Party	3			135
Labor Party	1	2	1	1020
"Homeland"	1	2	1	1130
Latvia Kalve		2	2	810
Latvian Socialist Party	1	1		250

Reform Union		1		205
For Development of Liepāja		1		387
Conservative Party		1		11
For Latvia and Ventspils	1			10
<b>Total: LVL 71, 732</b>				

Source: "Openness about the 2005 municipality election finances"

TABLE 20. THE BALANCE OF INFORMATIVE AND RECREATIONAL EVENTS



Source: "Openness about the 2005 municipality election finances"

In the course of the project 488 events were observed and the questionnaires were received from 310 of these events.

- 267 events were organized by the political parties themselves
- In 17 cases the event was organized by the third party, for example, the media or a non-governmental organization, and in such events several parties have participated together at the same time.

26 of the events attended were organized by the regional voter unions (for example, "Staicele – Rozēni –Viķi") or small parties ("The sports and health party") and their expenses are not included in the total expenditure estimate.

The party representatives were emphasizing that the quality of the debates and the low response of the voters raise an issue about the usefulness of the meetings as the means for popularization of the party within the framework of the campaign. The time and the money invested in the organization of the event, does not yield the votes expected.

The conclusions of the research do not provide direct proof for the above-mentioned thesis, because the informative type of events or the simple meetings, which are



included in the calculations even somewhat exceed the amount of the recreational, cultural, educational or sports events monitored. Thus it may be concluded that by evaluating the total amount of the events monitored, it must be acknowledged that the meetings with voters are recognized as an effective enough means for the popularization of the party. Different conclusions can be made by analyzing the correlation of the type of the events within the framework of the pre-election campaign for a specific party.

Table 21 provides information on all the events monitored for a specific party, which are included in a certain category according to the information about the organizer of the event, type and contents according to the information provided in the questionnaire.

TABLE 21. DIVISION OF THE TYPE OF EVENTS BY SEPARATE PARTIES

The title of the party	Meetings with the voters	Recreational, educational or sports event	Promotional campaign	Total amount
New Era	40	12	5	57
People's Party	22	12	9	43
Latvia's First Party	7	9	7	23
For Freedom and Fatherland/LNIM	9	8	3	20
Latvia's Way	7	4	5	16
Light of Latgale	4	3	9	16
Green and Farmers Union	5	7	1	13
Latvian Social Democratic Workers Union	2	9	1	12
National Unity Party	4	7	1	12
New Centre	1	5	5	11
Latvian Farmers Union	6	2		8
Latvian Green Party	3	1	4	8
For Human Rights in United Latvia	2	2	3	7
Labor Party	1	2	1	4
Homeland	1	2	1	4
Latvia Kalve		2	2	4
Liepājas Party	3			3
Latvian Socialist Party	1	1		2
For Latvia and Ventpils	1			1
For Development of Liepaja		1		1
Conservative party		1		1
Reform Union		1		1

Source: "Openness about the 2005 municipality election finances"

In case of only few parties within the framework of their campaigns a specific type of an event is identified as an intentionally planned choice.

For instance, NE, PP, LW, and LFU in most of the cases chose to organize meetings with the voters, but LFP, NC, LSDWP, LL and PAFHRUL most often chose entertaining type of campaign events. Prior to the municipality elections, usually the parties chose to create a decentralized pre-election campaign by letting the regional candidates take over the initiative.

The conclusions of the research also demonstrate that the campaign events were organized more actively by the parties, which have a well organized and stable regional department or the network of supporters (NE, LW, LFP, LFU, FF/LNIM, PP). Additionally, the representatives from these parties (except LFP), relatively more often chose to organize several inexpensive events, then one expensive.

The probability for the attendance of the event depends directly on the availability of the information of the time, place and contents of the event. Often the availability of the information depends on the type of the event.

The information provided in the questionnaires demonstrates that the observers found information about the event in the advertisements of a party or in paid publications in the printed press. A significant source of information is the candidates of the party, especially in the case of small-scale events. An advertising/information about the event distributed by the party or outdoor advertising as a source of information was mentioned relatively seldom.

It was easier to obtain information about the cultural, recreational and educational events, however in order to obtain information about simple meetings, often the voter or in the case of the project, the observer had to assume the initiative.

### **The significance of the events organized by the party**

The objective of the political power during the campaign is to attract the votes. By analyzing the choice of the pre-election event, it is not hard to judge about the significance of the event in the campaign – to inform and to motivate the voter or simply to attract.

TABLE 22. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE EVENT IN THE PRE-ELECTION ACTIVITIES OF THE PARTY

To inform	To motivate	To attract
New Era		
People's Party		
Latvia Way		
FF/LNIM		
Liepāja Party		
Latvian Farmers Union		
Latvian Green Party		
	Latvian Social Democratic Workers Party	
	Green and Farmers Union	
Latvian First Party		
	Latvian Kalve	

	National Unity Party	
	For Human Rights in United Latvia	
		Light of Latgale
		New Centre
	Association "Homeland"	
	Labor Party	

Source: "Openness about the 2005 municipality election finances"

## The profile of the party events

The profile of the party events was created by compiling the facts included in the questionnaires provided by the observers. Type of the event, time, place, etc. allow for concise introduction with the choice of tactics selected by various parties for the pre-election campaign.

Next to the general information in the profile, there are examples of specific events. The parties are organized in alphabetical order.

### 1.1. Labor Party

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In most of the cases the party organizes meetings with the voters, which are followed by a concert or a theatre play. Provides active support for charity events. Party front representatives and the most popular members participate in the events over the whole country.

The estimate of the total expenditures for the events: LVL 1,020. Total number of the events: 4

The type of event	Meetings with voters Meetings with voters and a concert or a theatre play Promotional campaign
Target audience	Older voters, socially marginal groups – low-income households, disabled individuals. City dwellers.
Example	Visiting and meeting with the voters in the cultural house of the Association of the Deaf. Concert of Viktors Lapčenoks (a candidate in Riga) in Jelgava and Valmiera. The debates of all the candidates included in the party list in Cēsis cultural center and in Valmiera. Financial support for the activities of the deputy candidate (also a representative of the association "Gloss"), who distributes food stuffs to the Rigans older than 18 (oil, flour, pasta, human aid products). In exchange for the aid, the personal data, like an address, must be provided to the organization.
Notes and observations	Party issues its own newsletter and other promotional material of a mediocre printed quality. The advertising for the events highlights the image and popularity of the chairman of the party A.G. Kreituss

## 1.2. Homeland

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The party almost never uses the opportunity for a direct contact with a wide scope of the voters. The events are not widely announced. The party candidates and the supporters do the distribution of the promotional material. The party supports the events organized by its candidates. The deputy candidates participate in the events organized by other parties as sponsors.

The estimate of the total expenditures for the organization of the events: LVL 1,130.

Total number of the events: 4

The type of event	Campaigns for the distribution of the promotional material Meetings with the voters Recreational and cultural events
Target audience	All of the voters – especial attention to the Russian speaking voters and older people.
Example	Active distribution of the party promotional material, for example, calendars with the party front representatives in the commuter trains in Rīga. Meeting with the voters in the café "Indigo" in Rīga. An event for the youth in Majori restaurant "Slāvu restorāns". Meeting with the voters in Kauguri cultural house. The participants receive gifts - used clothing. Meeting with the voters in Jēkabpils. The evening of the Russian romance in cooperation with the Russian association. The costs of the event are covered by two deputy candidates from the LSP list (in some electoral districts Homeland and LSP were running together) in Jēkabpils
Notes and observations	Party distributes a newsletter and a promotional material of a low printed quality. Regular members of the party and the supporters are actively involved in the pre-election campaign along with the candidates from the party lists.

## 1.3. New Centre

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The party actively organizes events in Latgale, by refraining from organizing them in Rīga. It supports the sports and cultural events organized by other parties, visits in work groups. Meetings with the voters are usually followed by a concert, often with the participation by popular local or foreign artists.

The estimate of the total expenditures for the organization of the events: LVL 3,093  
 Total number of the events: 11

The type of event	Promotional campaigns: free legal consultations, financial support for the organization of social and cultural type of events Concerts Meetings with the voters
Target audience	Broad community, Russian speaking voters in Latgale
An example	Meetings with the voters in Krāslava cultural house, a concert by the Daugavpils choir "Maliy zvon". Free legal consultations provided by the appointment in the local Daugavpils party office. A deputy candidate in Daugavpils supports a judo tournament. A support for the concert with the participation by the artists from Latvian National Opera in Daugavpils. A concert in Daugavpils Cultural and Sports Palace honoring the February 23. A presentation of the book by a deputy candidate G. Pilsums, with the participation of the candidate registered first on the party list. Fireworks in Daugavpils in celebration of the International Women's Day of March 8 <sup>th</sup> . The deputy candidates – men address the people gathered in the city square, especially addressing women.
Notes and observations	The party distributes comparatively few, but of a good quality printed promotional materials in the whole territory of Latvia. Information about the events is also available in the media (not only by the means of advertising, but also as promotional articles).

#### 1.4. New Era

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The party organizes meetings with a variety of the voter groups, including theme debates, visiting in work places. Meetings are often complemented with a documentary film or a small concert. Meetings, pickets and walks are organized. Actively participates in the debates organizes by other parties.

The estimate of the total expenditures for the organization of the events: LVL 8,246  
 Total number of the events: 57

The type of the event	<p>Meetings with the voters, which can be supplemented by a film or a concert according to the target audience.</p> <p>Debates</p> <p>Promotional campaigns: walks, pickets, meetings, free consultations, and meetings with the voters in party regional headquarters.</p> <p>Support and participation in the events organized by other parties.</p>
Target audience	<p>All the voters – mainly outside of Rīga</p> <p>Certain social groups – for example, retirees, blind people</p> <p>Work groups, experts and representatives of various fields.</p>
An example	<p>Meetings with the voters, often demonstration of a documentary film “9km from the future”, followed by the presentation of the deputy candidate from the party list, sometimes followed by the musical performance. Various towns in Latvia.</p> <p>Pickets by the councils of Rīga and Ventspils against the principles and the work of the current municipalities.</p> <p>A walk from Jēkaba Kazarmas to the Freedom monument, marking the anniversary of the founding of the party and the principles of democracy.</p> <p>Promotional campaigns: Taking for a ride by a horse – in Saulkrasti and Zvejniekciems; a photography competition for the inhabitants of Jūrmala. Party representatives visit the potential voters at home. In the party headquarters in Jūrmala there are free consultations provided.</p>
Notes and observations	<p>Events are mostly targeted for the direct contact with the voters – introduction with the deputies on the list and their viewpoint about the work of the party in certain locations.</p> <p>Current NE Parliamentary deputies and ministers are actively involved and participate in the campaign events.</p> <p>Party distributes a lot of good quality printed and various types of promotional and informative materials, including a newsletter.</p>

## 1.5. Light of Latgale

Most often organize educational and entertaining events, which are followed with the introduction of the voters with the deputy candidates. Extensively engage in charity activities – in most of the cases the chairman of the party does it in the name of the party.

The estimate of the total expenditures for the organization of the events: LVL 18,921

Total number of the events: 16

The type of event	<p>Recreational, cultural and educational events.</p> <p>Charity events.</p> <p>Meetings with the voters.</p> <p>Support for the organization of the events by other persons – both the candidates of the party, and the individuals not linked with the party</p>
Target audience	<p>The events are mostly targeted for all the interested parties, however, in some cases they are organized for certain groups of individuals, for example, schoolchildren, students, teachers, retirees, women.</p>
An example	<p>Meeting with the voters and the debate by the cup of coffee – Jēkabpils. Daugavpils, Krāslava.</p> <p>Scholarships in the amount of LVL 30 for a definite amount (6) of the students from all the establishments of higher education in Daugavpils.</p> <p>Boxes of sweets with the picture of the party chairman and the party logo – a gift for the inhabitants of Daugavpils for Christmas.</p> <p>Concerts for the voters, for example, a concert and fireworks – honoring the women for March 8 (International Women’s Day). A gift for all the Daugavpils schoolteachers – women – sweets and the butterfly “fireworks” – Daugavpils.</p> <p>Party support for the candidate for publishing and presentation of the book – Daugavpils.</p>
Notes and observations	<p>Party distributes a large amount of promotional material of various quality, however, often of a low informational value. Posters with the picture of a party member R. Eigims, books, symbols, party statutes, sweets, and notebooks with party logo.</p> <p>The campaign especially highlights the personality of the party front representative.</p> <p>The campaign events are concentrated in few areas, not related to the places where the candidate lists were submitted.</p>



## 1.6. Latvia's Way

The party chooses several types of activities – mostly meetings with the voters, a variety of public activities – distribution of the party promotional materials to a wider scope of society. Uses campaign tents. Organizes activities with prizes.

The estimate of the total expenditures for the organization of the events: LVL 3,146.3

Total number of the events: 16

The type of event	Meetings with the voters Campaigns Concerts Support and participation in the events organized by other parties and organizations.
Target audience	All the voters
An example	Promotional tents in various places in town; participation of the deputy candidate in the handout of the promotional and informational material to the voters in the town square – Rīga, Jelgava Meetings with the voters and concert - Limbaži Handout of the traffic light reflectors to the inhabitants of the town – especially to the schoolchildren, kindergarteners – Ķekava. Sweepstakes for the result of the elections – prizes are a trip and gifts with the party logo – Jelgava. The municipality deputies that have been elected from the party meet with the voters and inform about the work accomplished, as well as the future plans – Sigulda.
Notes and observations	The events take place in the whole territory of Latvia with the equal level of activity. The pre-election period matches with the visits of the Euro parliament deputies in the districts of Latvia. The information about the events is included in the paid political advertisement area, and in the party Internet resources relatively often. The most popular LW party members actively participate in the campaign. Party distributes a good quality informative and promotional material, both in the course of the event and by placing it in public area.

### 1.7. Latvia Kalve

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The party does not organize meetings with the voters, but chooses to organize public protest events, for example, pickets, announcements. Actively supports the sports, cultural and educational events organized by other parties.

The estimate of the total expenditures for the organization of the events: LVL 810

Total number of the events: 4

It is impossible to determine an exact financial investment for the organization of various events for this party. More detailed information may be found in the section "An example".

The type of event	Promotional campaigns Support for the organization of the events
Target audience	All voters
An example	A picket "supporting the appeal by the Purchase Monitoring Office against the "Obermeyer Planen and Beraten"". The objective of the picket is to draw the attention of the society to the attempt to squander approximately 10 million lats of the taxpayer money.  Support for organization of the events: Latvian Chess Union "Winter chess festival in Jūrmala", the opening concert of the competition "New stars of Zigmars Liepins", book presentation and other cultural and educational events.
Notes and observations	The party distributes a good quality promotional and informative material, for example, a magazine for the inhabitants of Jūrmala.

### 1.8. Latvian First Party

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The party chooses various types of events, both addressing a broad audience and narrow interest groups. The party supports the events organized by its members and supporters, as well as the events organized by other persons.

The estimate of the total expenditures for the organization of the events: LVL 11,540

Total number of the events: 23

The type of event	Meetings with the voters Concerts, social events Support for organization of the events – prizes, scholarships
Target audience	All of the voters, as well as specific groups – members of the congregations, families, older people, etc.

An example	<p>Meetings with the voters – Jelgava, Ludza, Liepāja, Daugavpils, Saulkrasti, etc. Speeches by the candidates and handout of informative and promotional material in churches and congregations – Daugavpils, Rīga, Jēkabpils.</p> <p>Support for the organization of the competition “Silver bells” (prizes from the winners of the local LFP chapter) – Daugavpils.</p> <p>A conference for the youth – Rīga.</p> <p>A family evening – a meeting, concert and a meal for the participants – Jūrmala.</p> <p>A meeting with the voters and a following <i>gift</i> – a theatre play. Free transportation is provided for those attending the play – Saulkrasti,</p>
Notes and observations	<p>The party distributes a large variety of promotional and informational material of a good quality about the party and certain candidates in different towns, as well as publishes a party newsletter.</p> <p>Current LFP parliamentary deputies and ministers are actively involved in the campaign, as well as the youth members, and individual candidates. Activity is of equal level in all of the territory of Latvia.</p> <p>The information about the events is usually distributed informally, rarely in the form of paid political advertising or in the party Internet resources.</p>

### 1.9. Latvian Social Democratic Worker Party

Organizes events of different type and scale, and cover a broad audience – in the format of debates and cultural and entertaining events. Supports the events organized by other individuals. Organizes promotional campaigns and competitions.

The estimate of the total expenditures for the organization of the events: LVL 2,762

Total number of the events: 12

The type of event	<p>Meetings with the voters</p> <p>Campaigns – competition, presenting of gifts</p> <p>Concerts</p>
Target audience	<p>All of the voters, certain groups of voters – schoolchildren, students, politically oppressed, work groups.</p>

	<p>Meetings with the voters and a concert, recreational evening – Liepāja, Saldus, Daugavpils, Jēkabpils, Rīga, Rēzekne, Bauska, Krāslava, Ogre district, etc.</p> <p>Regular theme meetings with party members and other popular individuals – scientists, writers and educators – in the Rīga party headquarters.</p> <p>An essay competition “If I was a Rīga City Council deputy”. A campaign of giving flowers for the March 8 in the streets of Rīga. A conference on the issues of integration with the participation of the experts, deputies and activists – Rīga.</p> <p>An endowment, for example, a presentation of the book “History of Social Democracy” to all of the libraries in the district – Bauska. Giving the book as a gift for the attendees of the event – concert in Jēkabpils.</p> <p>A concert for the voters - Rīga.</p>
Notes and observations	<p>The most popular members of the LSDWP are actively involved in the campaign (for example, Dainis Īvāns) as well as the officials and the LSDWP youth organization.</p> <p>The campaign events take place over all of the territory of Latvia with an equal level of activity.</p> <p>The party distributes promotional and informative material of a good quality – including the party newsletter.</p> <p>There is a little information available about the events in the advertising sources, but the information is often spread unofficially. In some cases the entrance is by the invitations only. Little information about the events in the Internet resources.</p>

### **1.10. Latvian Green Party, Latvian Farmer Union and Latvian Green and Farmer Union**

GFU – relatively few meetings and debates with the voters, closed events – recreational evenings, a concert tour in several places of Latvia.

LGP – Debates with the voters, small-scale events

LFU – Meetings with the voters.

The estimate of the total expenditures for the organization of the events:

GFU – 3122,7 Ls Number:13

LFU – 1362 Ls Number: 8

LGP – 2160 Ls Number:8

Type of the event	Meetings with the voters. Recreational evenings and concerts. Support and participation in organization of various events. Consultation in the party regional offices
Target audience	All the voters
An example	Several meetings with the voters in various areas of Latvia – Baldone, Liepāja, Jēkabpils. Debates by the cup of tea – in the courtyards of the apartment buildings - Jelgava (all the above mentioned applies to GFU) Series of concerts/meetings with the voters in the whole territory of Latvia – Jelgava, Rēzekne, Aglona, Grobiņa, Cēsis, Jēkabpils, Preiļi, Dobeles, Ludza, Ogre district. Support for the beauty pageant and the sports competition – Jēkabpils Several meetings with the voters addressing the party standpoint on current issues in the municipality, with the demonstration of documents – Renda, Bulduri, Koknese. Together with the Road Traffic Safety Department - handout of the traffic light reflectors to the schoolchildren – Olaine (LGP).
Notes and observations	The party distributes a relatively small number of informative and promotional materials of a various quality – brochures, party programs and traffic light reflectors. An information about the events is available both in the format of paid political advertisement, handouts and outdoor advertising.

### 1.11. Liepāja Party

Meetings and debates with the voters– both the general type and with specific themes, which are generally held in the party office. Also individual meetings with the voters in the office.

The estimate of the total expenditures for the organization of the events: LVL 135 Total number of the events: 3

The type of event	Meetings with the voters – collective and individual Consultations and theme debates in the party office
Target audience	All voters, in some cases – representatives of various professional fields, interested parties.

An example	For several months there were regular theme meetings held with the voters in the party office – debates about the issues of tourism, social, administrative and city development issues. Meeting with the voters in the Liepāja association house.
Notes and observations	The information about the activities held by the party can often be obtained in the Internet resources of Liepāja city, as well as from the party representatives. The party distributes few, but of relatively good quality advertising and promotional material.

### 1.12. For Human Rights in United Latvia

Informative and protest events. Active participation in the events organized by other individuals and organizations. Concerts.

The estimate of the total expenditures for the organization of the events: LVL 1,725

Total number of the events: 7

The type of event	Promotional campaigns Meetings with the voters in party offices and headquarters Concerts Support and participation in the organization of the events.
Target audience	Russian speaking voters, educational reform opponents, youth.
An example	A picket and a concert, as well as a convention protesting against the educational reform in the minority schools – Rīga. Meetings with the voters – Liepāja, Krāslava, Daugavpils, Rēzekne, etc, Meetings with the voters and consultations in the local offices, headquarters. A competition "Who, where, when" in the Baltic Russian Institute – a financial support for the prizes, and participation of the deputy candidates in the jury. Promotional campaigns – greeting of the women for the March 8 – Rīga Presentation of the party lists - Rīga

Notes and observations	<p>The information about the public activities of the party usually is not announced in the media, there is relatively a lot of information available in the Internet resources, as well as from the party representatives.</p> <p>Many activities are closely linked with the activities of the "Russian School Advocacy Headquarters".</p> <p>The campaign activities are concentrated in the Rīga and Latgale region, however, in Kurzeme – Saldus and Liepāja, the party activities are non-existent or very minimal.</p> <p>The party distributes relatively few and of a variety of quality informational and promotional materials – brochures, party programs, and a book about the educational reform in Latvia (Daugavpils).</p>
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### **1.13. People's Party**

The party organizes meetings with the voters, which are often followed by a concert, in all of the territory of Latvia. The party organizes or supports the organization of concerts by R. Pauls in various towns in Latvia. Uses promotional tents and organizes various promotional campaigns.

The estimate of the total expenditures for the organization of the events: LVL 5,729

Total number of the events: 43

The type of event	<p>Meetings with the voters.</p> <p>Promotional campaigns.</p> <p>Concerts.</p>
Target audience	All the voters, in some cases certain voter groups, for example – students, schoolchildren.

<p>An example</p>	<p>Meetings with the voters and a concert, recreational evening - Liepāja, Saldus, Jēkabpils, Aizkraukle, Kuldīga, Aizpute, Ogre district, Saulkrasti, Sigulda, Dobele, Daugavpils, Ludza, Kuldīga etc.</p> <p>Consultations and meetings with the deputy candidates in party regional offices. Participation in the events organized by other persons.</p> <p>Campaign tents - Rīga and Jūrmala.</p> <p>R. Pauls concerts in the whole territory of Latvia – (PP representatives in various towns both approve and deny the connection of the party and the support for this event)</p> <p>Campaigns: “Participate and win” for the voters of Jūrmala, a sweepstakes for the Liepāja inhabitants and a telephone questionnaire for the Rigans.</p> <p>Support and participation in the sports, youth and other events – sports competitions and drawing contests.</p>
<p>Notes and observations</p>	<p>PP youth organization members, Parliamentary deputies, ministers, and popular individuals are actively involved in the campaign.</p> <p>The campaign events take place in the whole territory of Latvia with an equal level of activity.</p> <p>Party distributes a lot of various advertising and promotional materials of a good printed quality both in Rīga and in the districts, issues several newsletters, as well as a special magazine.</p> <p>An information about the events is available both in the advertisements in the media and the party handouts, as well as from the party representatives.</p>



#### **1.14. National Unity Party**

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The most part of the party events were meetings with the voters, which often were linked with cultural or entertaining events. The party organized various types of promotional events, as well as social and cultural events and theatre plays.

The estimate of the total expenditures for the organization of the events: LVL 2,370  
Total number of the events: 12

Type of the event	Meetings with the voters Entertainment and cultural events Promotional campaigns
Target audience	All of the voters, Russian speaking voters
An example	Meetings with the voters - campaign "A deputy in your courtyard" – Jēkabpils. Meetings with the schoolchildren. Meetings and debates with the voters, demonstration of a feature film – Jūrmala. A traveling performance of the amateur theatre "Joriks" – Ludza, Jēkabpils, Krāslava, Malta, Rēzekne, etc. Several concerts and recreational events – Rīga, Rēzekne, Olaine, Preiļi.
Notes and observations	The most popular members of the party and the deputy candidates are actively involved in the campaign. A lot of individual initiative was observed by several deputy candidates. The party distributes relatively few informative and promotional materials of a various printed quality. The information about the events organized by the party can be obtained both in the media and outdoor advertisement, as well as in the materials distributed by the party.

#### **1.15. For Freedom and Fatherland/LNIM**

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Meetings and debates with the voters, small scale cultural and entertainment events.

The estimate of the total expenditures for the organization of the events: LVL 3,597  
Total number of the events: 20

The type of event	<p>Meetings with the voters.</p> <p>Recreational, cultural and sports events.</p> <p>Participation in the events organized by other persons.</p>
Target audience	All the voters
An example	Meetings with the voters, often demonstration of a film or a concert - Balvi, Saulkrasti, Jēkabpils, Saldus, Ogre, Daugavpils, Liepāja, Ķemeri, Valmiera, Madona u.c.
Notes and observations	<p>The events take place in the whole territory of Latvia with an equal level of activity. The pre-election period matches the visits of the Latvian Euro Parliament deputies in the districts of Latvia.</p> <p>The party distributes few advertising and promotional materials of a good quality.</p> <p>The information about the events organized by the party in most cases can be obtained from outdoor media, as well as from the local printed press.</p>

## Recommendations

1. The sanctions imposed in the Administrative Code of Law for the violations of the pre-election expenditure limitations (from LVL 500 to LVL 5,000) are of a symbolic value, if the expenditure limitations have been violated for hundreds of thousands lats. In order to not allow for a situation to arise, when it would be more advantageous for a party to violate the law and to pay the relatively small penalty, it would be necessary to link the amount of the penalty to the amount of the expenditures exceeding the limitations. Therefore, it must be formulated in the Political Organization (Party) Law that on establishing the fact of the violation, KNAB instructs the guilty party to pay in the state budget the amount equal to the amount exceeding the limitations. In cases when there is an evidence to believe that a party has exceeded the pre-election campaign limitations by ill intentions, KNAB must be granted the right to assign the fine for the amount, which exceeds the limitations for up to ten times.
2. Currently the liability for the violation of the party financing regulations is for a party as a legal entity – thus for the violation of the limitations a specific party member or an employee is not penalized. Thus the fine is paid from a party budget, but the actual campaign expenditure planners are not fined. Such a system may not be considered as effective as it does not deter from future violations. Therefore, it is necessary to appoint the liability for the violations not only for the party, but for the responsible officials as well.
3. Unlike practiced in other countries (for example, France and Canada) in Latvia the sanctions for the violations of the political party finance are established in the Administrative Code of Law, instead of the Criminal Law. This implies that the legislators consider such an offense less significant. The extremely cynical way of violating the established pre-election expenditure limitations undermines not only the trust in the current party financing system, but also threatens the rights of the citizens of Latvia and of the political parties for equal elections. Hence the responsibility for this type of offense should be included in the Criminal Law.
4. The most effective penalty for the violation of the pre-election expenditure limitations would be the annulment of the deputy mandate for the guilty party or its certain members. However, it is important that such a penalty corresponds to the offense – it would not be correct if the mandate would be annulled for an elected deputy, which was not aware about offending the law. The criteria for the basis of the annulment of the deputy mandate could be the established guilt of the deputy candidate in the offense – for example, whether the candidate was liable according to the legislation and the party statutes for the duties determined by the legal regulations and whether the candidate was aware or needed to be aware that the party will considerably violate the established expenditure limitations.

5. The limitations of the pre-election expenditures established by the law require a respective mechanism for the party to be able to control the compliance to it. It is important that a control of the expenditures for the party is implemented in timely manner, for example, in the level of the local municipalities and over the expenditures of the deputy candidates. Thus an option should be considered to determine in either the Political Organization (party) Law or in the Political Campaign Law to appoint a legal or a natural person for a position of an organizer of the pre-election campaign. This person should have exclusive rights to cover the pre-election expenses from the party budget – he/she would personally authorize all the expenses (by signing of the bills) or, for example issue a proxy for certain party officials for a certain pre-election campaign event or a certain pre-election expenditure amount. Thus the organizer of the campaign would be always able to determine how much is already spent from the allowed amount. Such an order would have at least three positive aspects: it would facilitate the transparency of the campaign expenditures, it would unburden the control over the campaign expenditures, and it would at least help to solve the issue of the party responsibility.
6. To consider an option to establish limitations for a political advertisement in the newspapers and radio organizations instead of the overall pre-election expenditure limitations. The amount of the advertising placed is easily recognizable and therefore it is relatively easy to control.
7. By reducing the impact of the political advertisement and by increasing the meaning of the media performance, it is necessary to establish a definition on the hidden advertisement in the Law on Pre-election Campaigns and to anticipate a fine for the placement of it in order to not allow for certain parties and media to obtain a significant publicity favor against the other parties by means of unfair actions.
8. The effectiveness of the pre-election campaign expenditure limitations in order to ensure the equality of the parties is lessened by the fact that the parties receive different discounts for the placement of the political advertisements in the media and pay different prices. It must be established in the Law on Pre-election Campaigns that the commercial broadcast organizations in the same way as currently the public broadcast organizations publish the information about the rates for a second of the broadcast time in this media in a timely manner before the elections.
9. It is necessary to provide a regulation for the advertisement placed by third parties. This regulation should be such, which does not violate the freedom of speech, but at the same time, which does not provide the option to bypass the pre-election expenditure limitations by means of the advertising placed by third parties. In this context a specific amount could be established for which it is allowed to place such political advertisements (possibly complementing it to the medium monthly salary), or to appoint the liability for the third parties, which are planning to place the advertisement for the amount which exceeds the certain amount, to register in CEC.

## Appendix 1. Account of the events monitored

For the needs of the analysis, the events were grouped in three parts. All of the events were compiled in the table, and specific events were indicated by the letters:

A – Meetings with the voters

B – Entertainment, educational, cultural or sports event

C – Promotional campaign

Number	Party	Date of the event	Registration number of the questionnaire	Calculation of costs, LVL	The group of the event
1.	NE	19.Jan	38	1500	C
2.	NE	29.Jan	15	2500	c
3.	NE	01.Feb	24	30	A
4.	NE	02.Feb	25	5	C
5.	NE	03.Feb	23	31	A
6.	NE	08.Feb	57	5	A
7.	NE	08.Feb	45	10	A
8.	NE	08.Feb	228	90	B
9.	NE	08.Feb	33	15	A
10.	NE	10.Feb	51	30	A
11.	NE	11.Feb	57	50	A
12.	NE	11.Feb	55	10	A
13.	NE	13.Feb	41	87	A
14.	NE	16.Feb	85	50	A
15.	NE	18.Feb	100	190	A
16.	NE	18.Feb	68	60	A
17.	NE	27.Feb	78	300	A
18.	NE	22.Feb	115	20	A
19.	NE	23.Feb	230	90	B
20.	NE	24.Feb	83	20	A
21.	NE	24.Feb	82	200	A
22.	NE	24.Feb	113	20	A
23.	NE	24.Feb	264	40	A
24.	NE	24.Feb	114	26	A
25.	NE	24.Feb	79	40	B
26.	NE	25.Feb	162	10	B
27.	NE	25.Feb	232	60	A
28.	NE	26.Feb	164	50	A
29.	NE	26.Feb	111	100	B
30.	NE	26.Feb	235	70	A
31.	NE	27.Feb	109	20	A
32.	NE	27.Feb	167	200	B
33.	NE	28.Feb	294	50	A
34.	NE	02.Mar	224	100	B
35.	NE	03.Mar	226	70	A

36.	NE	03.Mar	146	57	A
37.	NE	04.Mar	151	60	A
38.	NE	04.Mar	176	150	A
39.	NE	04.Mar	180	140	A
40.	NE	04.Mar	175	20	A
41.	NE	05.Mar	158	150	C
42.	NE	05.Mar	193	40	A
43.	NE	05.Mar	191	110	A
44.	NE	05.Mar	190	160	A
45.	NE	05.Mar	188	300	B
46.	NE	06.Mar	139	80	A
47.	NE	09.Mar	143	60	B
48.	NE	10.Mar	310	40	A
49.		10.Mar	266	220	B
1.	LL	Start in October	18	821	C
2.	LL	04.Jan	258	1424	C
3.	LL	15.Jan	9	210	A
4.	LL	17.Jan	13	Did not evaluate <sup>27</sup>	C
5.	LL	19.Jan	16	320	C
6.	LL	20.Jan	7	250	B
7.	LL	20.Jan	17	6000	C
8.	LL	22.Feb	89	300	A
9.	LL	27.Feb	308	150	A
10.	LL	02.Mar	234	250	A
11.	LL	06.Mar	201	301	B
12.	LL	08.Mar	307	150	C
13.	LL	08.Mar	284	700	C
14.	LL	08.Mar	283	300	C
15.	LL	10.Mar	311	540	B
16.	LL	05.Dec	19	7205	C
1.	GFU	06.Feb	262	400	B
2.	GFU	12.Feb	42	385	B
3.	GFU	23.Feb	239	10	A
4.	GFU	25.Feb	269	50	A
5.	GFU	25.Feb	274	90	A
6.	GFU	27.Feb	109	650	B
7.	GFU	01.Mar	255	520	B
8.	GFU	05.Mar	187	30	C
9.	GFU	05.Mar	192	110	A
10.	GFU	07.Mar	309	190	A
11.	GFU	08.Mar	161	177,7	B
12.	GFU	10.Mar	104	210	B
13.	GFU	10.Mar	150	300	B
1.	LFU	25.Feb	103	262	A
2.	LFU	27.Feb	236	750	B

<sup>27</sup> The questionnaire includes information about the purchase of large amount of sweets. The estimation was not done, ~~62~~ considering that the sweets will be used in organization of other party events.

3.	LFU	03.Mar	213	20	A
4.	LFU	03.Mar	212	20	A
5.	LFU	03.Mar	214	20	A
6.	LFU	04.Mar	178	30	A
7.	LFU	09.Mar	103a	60	A
8.	LFU	11.Mar	267	200	B
1.	LGP	28.Jan	86	200	C
2.	LGP	06.Feb	87	150	C
3.	LGP	12.Feb	39	1000	C
4.	LGP	18.Feb	58	230	C
5.	LGP	28.Feb	223	70	A
6.	LGP	04.Mar	181	440	B
7.	LGP	05.Mar	268	20	A
8.	LGP	09.Mar	131	50	A
1.	LP	09.Feb	47	10	A
2.	LP	02.Mar	247	720	B
3.	LP	03.Mar	244	40	C
4.	LP	04.Mar	179	250	B
1.	Homeland	04.Feb	36	300	C
2.	Homeland	03.Mar	185	200	B
3.	Homeland	07.Mar	285	450	B
4.	Homeland	07.Mar	153	180	A
1.	NC	12.Feb	76	133	C
2.	NC	12.Feb	92	20	C
3.	NC	14.Feb	95	200	B
4.	NC	17.Feb	80	35	C
5.	NC	19.Feb	94	220	B
6.	NC	25.Feb	11	2000	B
7.	NC	01.Mar	305	10	A
8.	NC	05.Mar	287	90	C
9.	NC	06.Mar	279	230	C
10.	NC	06.Mar	197	95	B
11.	NC	07.Mar	286	60	B
1.	LW	01.Feb	98	330	C
2.	LW	01.Feb	26	1023,8	C
3.	LW	03.Feb	34	180	C
4.	LW	03.Feb	35	50	A
5.	LW	04.Feb	222	100	B
6.	LW	08.Feb	52	10	C
7.	LW	10.Feb	93	80	C
8.	LW	18.Feb	65	70	B
9.	LW	20.Feb	170	20	A
10.	LW	26.Feb	97	200	A
11.	LW	03.Mar	306	150	A

12.	LW	05.Mar	221	70	B
13.	LW	05.Mar	144	628,5	B
14.	LW	05.Mar	184	50	A
15.	LW	05.Mar	220	50	A
16.	LW	07.Mar	204	134	A
1.	LK	22.Feb	81	20	C
2.	LK	27.Feb	168	320	B
3.	LK	06.Mar	155	70	C
4.	LK	11.Mar	277	400	B
1.	LV	17.Feb	59	10	A
1.	LP	01.Feb	29	10	A
2.	LP	24.Feb	106	20	A
3.	LP	02.Mar	252	105	A
1.	LFP	01.Jan	20	600	C
2.	LFP	06.Jan	8	2000	B
3.	LFP	15.Jan	14	2600	C
4.	LFP	12.Jan	10	1014	C
5.	LFP	13.Jan	21	130	B
6.	LFP	25.Jan	32	1000	B
7.	LFP	10.Feb	97	50	A
8.	LFP	10.Feb	96	50	A
9.	LFP	15.Feb	44	510	C
10.	LFP	17.Feb	110	100	C
11.	LFP	18.Feb	108	50	A
12.	LFP	20.Feb	233	50	A
13.	LFP	25.Feb	114	320	B
14.	LFP	25.Feb	105	180	A
15.	LFP	26.Feb	166	90	B
16.	LFP	02.Mar	249	40	A
17.	LFP	04.Mar	157	150	C
18.	LFP	05.Mar	288	1040	C
19.	LFP	06.Mar	138	373	B
20.	LFP	07.Mar	207	370	B
21.	LFP	08.Mar	211	365	B
22.	LFP	09.Mar	289	390	B
23.	LFP	10.Mar	135	68	A
1.	LSDWP	06.Jan	259	30	A
2.	LSDWP	17.Jan	3	20	A
3.	LSDWP	24.Jan	11	290	B
4.	LSDWP	03.Feb	177	360	B
5.	LSDWP	15.Feb	77	22	B
6.	LSDWP	18.Feb	74	125	B
7.	LSDWP	19.Feb	73	350	C
8.	LSDWP	21.Feb	29	80	B



9.	LSDWP	01.Mar	171	340	B
10.	LSDWP	05.Mar	195	285	B
11.	LSDWP	06.Mar	121	460	B
12.	LSDWP	07.Mar	125	400	B
1.	LSP	26.Feb	257	140	B
		05.Mar	196	110	A
1.	PAFHRUL	20.Jan	6	75	C
2.	PAFHRUL	30.Jan	12	1200	B
3.	PAFHRUL	10.Feb	37	10	C
4.	PAFHRUL	01.Mar	242	50	C
5.	PAFHRUL	06.Mar	154	200	A
6.	PAFHRUL	09.Mar	276	20	A
7.	PAFHRUL	11.Mar	270	170	B
1.	FF/LNIM	31.Jan	99	400	A
2.	FF/LNIM	05.Feb	48	201	C
3.	FF/LNIM	06.Feb	30	5	C
4.	FF/LNIM	07.Feb	67	10	A
5.	FF/LNIM	18.Feb	63	5	A
6.	FF/LNIM	18.Feb	64	5	A
7.	FF/LNIM	18.Feb	84	270	B
8.	FF/LNIM	25.Feb	265	290	B
9.	FF/LNIM	25.Feb	169	10	A
10.	FF/LNIM	02.Mar	250	150	B
11.	FF/LNIM	01.Mar	225	20	A
12.	FF/LNIM	03.Mar	173	100	C
13.	FF/LNIM	03.Mar	174	290	B
14.	FF/LNIM	04.Mar	219	120	A
15.	FF/LNIM	04.Mar	182	220	B
16.	FF/LNIM	05.Mar	160	124	A
17.	FF/LNIM	06.Mar	132	570	B
18.	FF/LNIM	08.Mar	130	320	B
19.	FF/LNIM	10.Mar	278	380	B
20.	FF/LNIM	10.Mar	273	107	A
1.	PP	13.Dec	27	70	C
2.	PP	11.Mar	303	50	A
3.	PP	06.Mar	302	250	B
4.	PP	28.Jan	22	390	C
5.	PP	01.Feb	28	1500	C
6.	PP	06.Feb	31	5	C
7.	PP	14.Feb	50	100	B
8.	PP	11.Feb	49	10	A
9.	PP	11.Feb	227	50	A
10.	PP	11.Feb	53	10	A
11.	PP	22.Feb	109	40	C
12.	PP	25.Feb	163	10	A

13.	PP	25.Feb	292	250	B
14.	PP	25.Feb	101	50	B
15.	PP	27.Feb	108	20	B
16.	PP	28.Feb	256	120	A
17.	PP	03.Mar	237	450	B
18.	PP	01.Feb	246	70	C
19.	PP	03.Mar	113	30	C
20.	PP	03.Mar	119	40	A
21.	PP	03.Mar	148	90	A
22.	PP	04.Mar	215	20	A
23.	PP	04.Mar	218	90	A
24.	PP	04.Mar	120	10	A
25.	PP	05.Mar	183	30	A
26.	PP	06.Mar	129	10	A
27.	PP	06.Mar	133	60	C
28.	PP	06.Mar	128	10	A
29.	PP	07.Mar	202	30	A
30.	PP	07.Mar	205	64	A
31.	PP	07.Mar	206	60	A
32.	PP	07.Mar	209	45	A
33.	PP	07.Mar	208	40	A
34.	PP	07.Mar	282	400	B
35.	PP	08.Mar	231	210	B
36.	PP	08.Mar	141	90	A
37.	PP	08.Mar	142	215	B
38.	PP	08.Mar	137	240	B
39.	PP	08.Mar	127	150	B
40.	PP	08.Mar	111	50	C
41.	PP	10.Mar	149	70	A
42.	PP	10.Mar	294	150	B
43.	PP	11.Mar	271	80	A
1.	NUP	08.Jan	5	400	B
2.	NUP	11.Feb	40	80	A
3.	NUP	13.Feb	43	170	B
4.	NUP	19.Feb	263	90	B
5.	NUP	20.Feb	88	10	A
6.	NUP	26.Feb	231	20	A
7.	NUP	02.Mar	248	60	A
8.	NUP	05.Mar	291	400	B
9.	NUP	06.Mar	199	160	B
10.	NUP	06.Mar	290	370	B
11.	NUP	08.Mar	134	550	B
12.	NUP	11.Mar	272	60	C
1.	RU	18.Feb	102	205	B
1.	CP	01.Feb	260	11	A

1.	LA	19. Feb	70	387	B
1.					
2.	LSP	26.Feb	257	140	B
		05.Mar	196	110	A
<b>Total estimate of the expenditures</b>			<b>71, 732</b>	For <b>267</b> events	