



# **PRE-CAMPAIGN SPENDING FOR UGANDA ELECTIONS 2021**

**Ballot Paper or Bank Note?**



# Alliance for Finance Monitoring-ACFIM

With support from



## **PRE-CAMPAIGN SPENDING FOR UGANDA ELECTIONS 2021**

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God Bless!

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

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Acknowledgement	ii
List of Abbreviations	viii
<b>1.0 INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Objectives of the Study	1
1.2 Political Parties Politics within a COVID Context	1
1.3 Monitoring Approach and Scope	2
1.3.1 Design and scope	2
1.3.2 Data Collection Protocols	3
1.3.3 Data Entry and Analysis	3
1.3.4 Regional and District Representation	4
1.3.5 Political Parties	4
<b>2.0 THE PRE-CAMPAIGN CONTEXT</b>	<b>5</b>
2.1 The Yardstick used by the Electorate to measure performance of a Politician?	5
2.2 The blurred Lines between the State and NRM Party	6
2.3 Extent of Pre-campaign Expenditure	6
2.4 Highly Monetized Pre-Campaign Trail	6
2.5 Regional Variations in Pre-Campaign Spending	7
2.6 Why invest in politics?	7
2.7 Market Politics	7
2.8 Public Financing	7
2.9 Inability of Political Party Systems to Sanction Members that Finance them	8
2.10 Lack of Openness in Financing Political Party Activities	8
2.11 Domineering Party individuals	8
<b>3.0 PRE-CAMPAIGN DEMOGRAPHICS</b>	<b>9</b>
3.1 Composition of Aspiring Candidates Covered	9
3.2 Gender Dynamics and Political Participation	9
3.3 Politics of Inclusion: Youth Raising the Bar	10

3.4	Occupations of Political Aspirants	11
3.5	Political Party Affiliation	12
3.6	Media Spending on a Hybrid Election Campaign	13
<b>4.0</b>	<b>WHAT DID ASPIRANTS SPEND ON?</b>	<b>14</b>
4.1	Distribution of Pre-Campaign Expenses	14
4.2	Proportionate Distribution of Pre-Campaign Expenses	16
4.3	Money as a Perceived Game-Changer	17
4.4	Aspiring Candidates Dropping out of Race	17
4.5	Ranking by Region and District on Pre-Campaign Spending	18
4.6	Sources of Funds for Pre-Campaign Spending	20
<b>5.0</b>	<b>REGIONAL DISPARITIES IN PRE-CAMPAIGN SPENDING</b>	<b>21</b>
5.1	Disparities in Voter Expenses	21
5.2	Variations in categories of Expenses according to Regions	21
5.3	Increasing Interest in Politics	22
5.3.1	Political Comeback	23
5.3.2	Businesspersons Become Politicians	23
5.3.3	From Civil Service to Politics	23
5.3.4	Political Showbiz	23
<b>6.0</b>	<b>POLITICAL PARTY SPENDING ON PRIMARY ELECTIONS</b>	<b>24</b>
6.1	Public Financing of Political Parties and Organizations	24
6.1.2	Implications of the current political party financing context	25
6.1.4	Other sources of political party financing	25
6.1.5	Opacity surrounding political party financing in Uganda	25
6.2	Sources of Political Party Financing	26
6.2.1	Democratic Party	26
6.2.2	National Resistance Movement	26
6.2.3	Justice Forum	27
6.2.4	FDC Financing Party Activities	27
6.2.5	National Unity Platform	27
6.2.6	Alliance for National Transformation	28
6.3	Political Party Spending on Delegates Conferences	28

6.3.1	The Democratic Party (DP)	29
6.3.2	The National Resistance Movement (NRM) Party	29
6.3.3	The Justice Forum (JEEMA) Party	32
6.3.4	Forum for Democratic Change Party	32
6.3.5	Alliance for National Transformation	34
6.3.6	National Unity Platform (NUP)	34
6.3.7	Uganda People's Congress (UPC)	36
<b>7.0</b>	<b>POLITICAL PARTY PRIMARY ELECTIONS</b>	<b>37</b>
7.1	The competition in UPC stronghold districts	37
7.2	ANT holds party primaries in four districts	38
7.3	FDC district party primaries	38
7.4	DP Party Primaries	38
7.5	Party Primaries of NRM	38
7.5.1	How much did the NRM Spend on Party Primary Elections?	39
7.5.2	Financing NRM Party Primaries	39
7.5.3	Party Contribution to Nominations Fees of Flagbearers	39
7.6	NRM in Own Spending League	39
<b>8.0</b>	<b>CORRELATION BETWEEN MONEY AND VIOLENCE IN PARTY PRIMARIES</b>	<b>41</b>
8.1	NRM Party primaries	41
8.2	The disputed voter register	41
8.3	Party Chairperson's Directive on NRM's party primary	41
8.4.	Regional perspectives	42
<b>9.0</b>	<b>CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS</b>	<b>43</b>
9.1	Conclusions	43
9.2	Recommendations	44

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## LIST OF TABLES

---

<b>Table 1:</b>	Regional and District Representation	4
<b>Table 2:</b>	Electoral Aspirants by Positions	9
<b>Table 3:</b>	Analysis of Respondents by Gender	10
<b>Table 4:</b>	Comparative Figures of Aspirants below and Above 35 Years of Age	11
<b>Table 5:</b>	Occupation of Aspiring candidates	11
<b>Table 6:</b>	Direct MP and District/Woman MP Representatives	17
<b>Table 7:</b>	No. of Aspirants who Withdraw Based on Cost of Spending	18
<b>Table 8:</b>	Financing Options for Pre-Campaigns	20
<b>Table 9:</b>	Variations in Voter Expenses	21
<b>Table 10:</b>	Indicating Former or Present Sources of Employment of Politicians	22
<b>Table 11:</b>	Membership Annual Fees Structure for Political Parties	25
<b>Table 12:</b>	Showing estimates of NRM funding sources	27
<b>Table 13:</b>	Showing DP's expenditure on MP nomination fees and contribution to posters	29
<b>Table 14:</b>	CEC candidates and their nomination fees	31
<b>Table 15:</b>	Showing Breakdown of Spending on Extra Ordinary Council Meeting	33
<b>Table 16:</b>	Showing Breakdown of Spending on Delegates Conference	34
<b>Table 17:</b>	NUP vetting structure	35
<b>Table 18:</b>	UPC's Contribution to Nomination Fees of MPs	36
<b>Table 19:</b>	Showing the positions contested for and number of contestants in the NRM Primaries	38
<b>Table 20:</b>	Showing nomination fees collected from the NRM Party Primaries	39
<b>Table 21:</b>	Showing re-imburement for nomination fees of NRM flag bearers	39
<b>Table 22:</b>	Districts with Cases of Violence in the 2020 NRM Primaries	42

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## LIST OF FIGURES

---

<b>Figure 1:</b>		3
<b>Figure 2:</b>	Comparative Line Graph of Aspirants by Position by Gender by Positions	10
<b>Figure 3:</b>	Line Graph representing of Sources of Aspirants	12
<b>Figure 4:</b>	Pie Chart Indicating Political Party Affiliation of aspiring candidates monitored	13
<b>Figure 5:</b>	Observed Forms of Pre-campaign Spending	15
<b>Figure 6:</b>	Pie Chart Showing Proportionate Percentage of Pre-Campaign Expenses	16
<b>Figure 7:</b>	Proportionate Contribution to Pre-Campaign Expenses per Region	18
<b>Figure 8:</b>	Proportionate Contribution to Pre-Campaign Expenses per Region	19
<b>Figure 9:</b>	Top 10 Districts in Posting Campaign Spending Figures	19
<b>Figure 9:</b>	Comparative Line Graph of Sources/Percentage of Sources of Campaign Money	20
<b>Figure 10:</b>	Comparative Line Graph Showing Region Distribution in Pre-Campaign Spending	22
<b>Figure 11:</b>	Annual appropriation to Political Parties for 2 Financial Years (2019/2020 & 2020/2021)	24
<b>Figure 12:</b>	Showing Allocation of the Public Funds to Political Parties	25
<b>Figure 13:</b>	Distribution of sources of NRM funding	27
<b>Figure 14:</b>	Distribution of Political Party Spending on Delegates Conference	28
<b>Figure 15:</b>	DP Budget for Delegates Conference	29
<b>Figure 16:</b>	Expenses of NRM on the Delegates Conference	30
<b>Figure 17:</b>	FDC's Contributions to Flag Bearers	33
<b>Figure 18:</b>	NUP's Expenditure on the Vetting Exercise	35
<b>Figure 19:</b>	UPC's Estimated Expenditure on Delegates Conference	36
<b>Figure 20:</b>	Estimated Expenditure on Party Primaries	37
<b>Figure 21:</b>	Estimated Pre campaign expenditure of NRM	40

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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<b>ACFIM</b>	Alliance for Finance Monitoring
<b>ACCOB</b>	Anti Corruption Coalition of Busoga
<b>DP</b>	Democratic Party
<b>EC</b>	Electoral Commission
<b>FDC</b>	Forum for Democratic Change
<b>GRAMAC</b>	Greater Masaka Accountability Coalition
<b>HCI</b>	Human Capital Index
<b>HDI</b>	Human Development Index
<b>KACSOA</b>	Kapchorwa Civil Society Association
<b>KICK</b>	Kick Corruption Out of Kigezi
<b>LC</b>	Local Councils
<b>MACCO</b>	MAYANK Anti-Corruption Coalition
<b>MASH</b>	Mama Shelter for Hope
<b>MIRAC</b>	Mid-Western Anti-Corruption Coalition
<b>MofPED</b>	Ministry of Finance Planning and Economic Development
<b>MoLG</b>	Ministry of Local Government
<b>MP</b>	Member of Parliament
<b>NR</b>	National Resistance Movement
<b>NUP</b>	National Unity Platform
<b>RAC</b>	Rwenzori Anti-Corruption Coalition
<b>TAC</b>	Teso Anti-Corruption Coalition
<b>TACC</b>	The Apac Anti-Corruption Coalition
<b>UBOS</b>	Uganda Bureau of Statistics
<b>UNHS</b>	Uganda National Household Survey
<b>UPC</b>	Uganda People’s Congress
<b>WACSOFF</b>	West Ankole Civil Society Forum

Elections based on multi-party-political dispensation have become regular and institutionalized in Uganda since 2005 when political parties were allowed to function again. It was in 2006, Uganda held her first election under multiparty politics since 1986 when National Resistance Movement (NRM) took power and banned all political parties in favor of one-party system known as movement system. However, regular elections have not resulted into improved democratization partly due to the rising vice of commercialized politics. The volumes of money that flows in Uganda's politics is mindboggling and it is unclear where it comes from.

On January 14, 2020 Uganda will hold general elections for the 8th time since independence and the 4th since return of multiparty politics. The elections will be conducted under restrictions of COVID-19 standard operating procedures. Within the context of COVID-19, rights and freedoms of association, expression, and belonging that are foundational tenets of democracy are being sacrificed at the altar of preventing the spread of the pandemic.

The pre-campaign spending study interrogates the expenditure patterns of political aspirants before the official campaign period and the motivation behind the spending patterns. ACFIM set out to further study the manner in which political parties conducted their delegates' conferences and party primaries and how money influenced the outcomes in these processes; and how this will impact the 2021 general elections. Estimates of pre-campaign spending for political parties and aspirant were studied. Aspirants spent on community projects and personal support initiatives. Pre-campaign expenses were monitored for 939 political aspirants and 5 political parties at national level and 14,169 villages/cells out of national total of 70,626 villages. The villages represent a sample size of 20.06% of the total number of villages gazetted by Uganda national electoral commission.

### **1.1 Objectives of the Study**

The objectives of the study were;

- a. To establish the extent of pre-campaign spending by political aspirants
- b. To analyze the correlation between pre-campaign spending on outcomes of political party primaries.
- c. To establish the extent of spending by political parties on their internal processes (delegates conference and party primaries)
- d. To establish the correlation between political party spending and violence and its impact on 2021 general elections

### **1.2 Political Parties Politics within a COVID Context**

In July 2020, Parliament approved new guidelines for the conduct of political party primaries and election of its leaders, with the objective of curbing the rise of the Covid19 pandemic. Section 5 the Political Parties and Organization's (Conduct of Meetings and Regulations) 2020 empowered political parties to include; virtual meetings, phased elections and resolutions by circulation as an alternative to conventional primaries that crowd people. The regulation further empowered parties to override their Constitutions and opt for a method that is in tandem with observing the Covid19 health guidelines in selecting party officials and candidates.

Since 2006, political parties have been observed to use different strategies to select flagbearers including party primaries. Party Primaries is an internal process within a political party that is guided by the political party constitution and framework to which all members adhere. In most cases, the internal democratic processes within political parties mirror the character and mold of the party, and significantly represent the values and ideology of the party when in leadership. The rationale of political party primaries is to select candidates through a popular vote by the registered party members. In this way, party members vote to nominate flag bearers in what is known as closed primaries.

ACFIM monitored and documented the trends in pre-campaign spending by political parties and candidates, and interrogated its implication in determining election outcomes. In the absence of a law that mandates aspiring candidates to declare their campaign spending, ACFIM found it difficult to quantify how much was spent. Nonetheless, this report provides credible insight on the pre-campaign spending architecture ahead of 2021 elections.

### **1.3 Monitoring Approach and Scope**

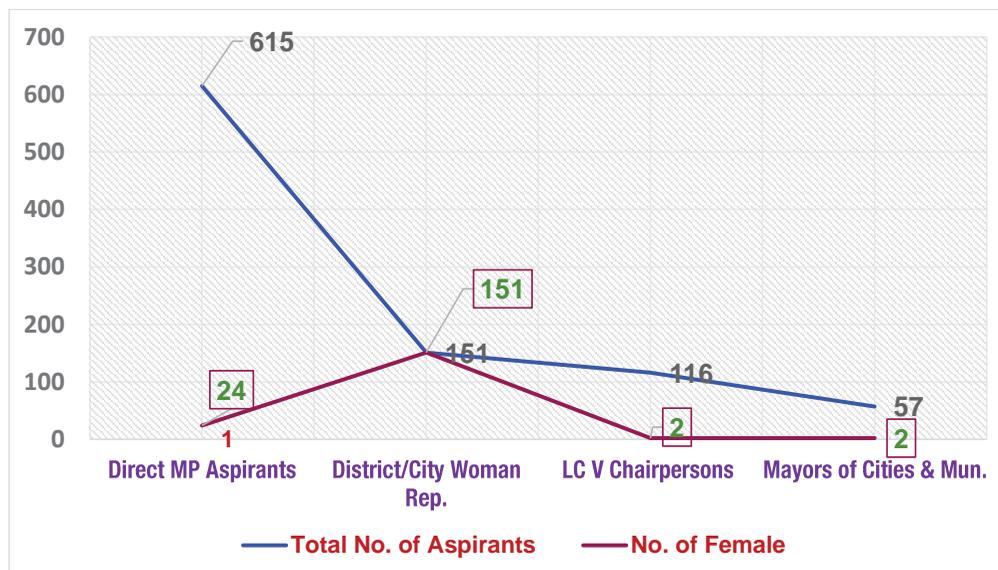
#### **1.3.1 Design and scope**

The study interrogated the extent and nature of pre-campaign expenditure by aspirants and incumbents that expressed interest to contest for electoral positions at Parliamentary and Local Government levels for general elections 2021. A cross sectional survey research design was used for the study. A structure questionnaire was used to collect data on identical study variables from 939 electoral aspirants from 70 electoral constituencies in 29 districts spread across 12 regions. The districts constitute 19.86 percent of the 146 district Uganda. The total number constituencies covered for directly elected members of parliament were 61 constituting 17.28 percent out of the 353 constituencies gazetted by Uganda's National Electoral Commission. Expenses were recorded for district woman representative position in 29 districts and 07 city woman representative races. The district woman representative races constituted 19.86 percent of 146 districts. The study also considered pre-campaign expenses for positions for LCV, mayors of cities and municipalities in 34 local governments, cities and municipalities. Pre-campaign spending estimates were recorded for common use projects and personal support initiatives in 14,169 villages/cells (20.06 percent) out of 70,626 villages (EC, 2020) in Uganda where ACFIM monitors are established. Field visits were conducted by campaign finance activities to establish expenses of projects aspirants had expended on 14,169 villages in the districts supported by ECCP project.

The community visits were used to establish the extent and scale of pre-campaign spending but also to establish disparities in the architecture of campaign spending across regions. The study recorded expenses made by potential aspirants or their agents between June 2019 and July 2020; period of 12 months before the active campaign period for political party primaries and national elections. An average each position in a specific constituency or electoral area was expressed for by 5 contenders. In total expenses for 939 participants were returned and considered in analysis. Aspirants considered

under the study were purposively identified for recording of pre-campaign expenses and interviews where appropriate.

**Figure 1:**



Source: Analyzed Data Sets and Campaign Finance Application (2020)

### 1.3.2 Data Collection Protocols

A structured questionnaire was used to collect pre-campaign spending data by political aspirants in 14,169 villages using a network of 159 campaign finance monitors based in 17 the ACFIM regional partners. Key informant interviews were conducted with academia to provide theoretical underpinning of the study variables. Data was collected on the following pre-campaign costs;

- a. Sources of campaign finance
- b. categories of projects
- c. cost centers (what do candidates spend on?)
- d. pre-campaign administration expenses
- e. pre-campaign events e.g., strategic planning and consultative meetings
- f. pre-campaign publicity and paraphernalia
- g. investment on social services and economic empowerment projects f) spending power of incumbents and spending power houses.

### 1.3.3 Data Entry and Analysis

Data was analyzed using the ACFIM Campaign Expenses Analytical Platform and Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS). ACFIM develop an online (ICT) based platform that is used of capture pre-campaign and campaign expenses. Its programmed to ensure reliability and validity of statically computation based on entries made. The platforms is coded and expenses are entered based on codes assigned. It generates summations, comparative spending figures and percentage based on spending categories. The plat is the first of its kind to be used to analyze campaign and pre-campaign expenses. Other non-campaign expenses were analyzed using SPSS. Analysis provides 96 percent level of confidence.

### 1.3.4 Regional and District Representation

Districts were selected in 12 out of the 19 sub-regions to ensure there is effective regional representation in data and analysis. In each district an urban and rural constituency were purposively selected to help analysis the spending dynamics of candidates in a rural and urban setting.

**Table 1: Regional and District Representation**

Region in Uganda	District/City	Constituencies
West Nile	Arua, Nebbi	Ayivu country, Arua City, Nebbi municipality, Okoro city, district/city woman representative positions
Bunyoro	Hoima, Kikuube	Hoima City, Kigorobya , Bugahya, Buhaguzi, districts/ city woman representatives
Teso	Soroti city, Katakwi, Bukedea	Dakabela, Usuk, Soroti city east, Soroti city west, Toroma, Ngariam, Bukedea, districts/city woman representatives
Lango	Apac, Lira, Lira city	Lira city east, Lira city west, Erute county, Apac Municipality and Kwanja county
Greater Masaka	Masaka, Ssembabule, Lwengo, Masaka City	Kyanamukaka, Kimanya-Kabonera, Bukoto West, Bukoto Mid-West, Mawogola North and Mawogola South, Masaka city, district woman representatives
Busoga	Jinja, Iganga	Iganga Municipality, Kigulu south, Jinja city east, Jinja city west, districts/city woman representatives
Acholi	Gulu City	Bardege-Layibi, Laro Pece, city woman representative
Ankole	Bushenyi, Sheema	Sheema Municipality, Sheema South, Igara west, Bushenyi-Ishaka municipality, district woman representatives
Kigezi Region	Kabale, Rukungiri	Rujumbura, Rukungiri Municipality, Ndorwa west, Ndorwa east, Kabale municipality Rukungiri and Kabale district for woman representatives)
Sebei	Kapchorwa, Bukwo	Kong'asis, Tingey, Too, Kapchorwa municipality, district woman representative positions
Rwenzori	Kasese, Kabarole , Byanyangabu	Bukhonzozo west, Kasese municipality, Burahya, Fortportal city, Bunyangabu
Kampala Metropolitan	KCCA, Wakiso, Mukono	Kawempe North, Kawempe South, Rubaga North, Rubaga South

*Source: ACFIM Campaign Finance Analytical Platform (2020)*

### 1.3.5 Political Parties

The political parties included in the scope of this report are those that have fielded candidates at Presidential, Parliamentary and Local Government elections for the 2021 national elections. These include; National Resistance Movement (NRM), Forum for Democratic Change (FDC), Alliance for National Transformation (ANT), National Unity Platform (NUP), Justice Forum (JEEMA), Uganda People's Congress (UPC) and Democratic Party (DP).

Money has since 2006 become the mainstay of Uganda’s electoral politics, determining electoral outcomes in over 85 per cent of the political positions. Political spending in Uganda is a continuous phenomenon that begins immediately after a winning candidate is sworn into office for a new electoral cycle.

Pre-campaign expenditure includes all expenses made by an aspirant in the process of testing the political waters and popularizing intension to offer him/herself for elections. Winners of electoral contests will begin to establish their political ground by implementing the campaign promises, servicing and paying the debts incurred during the just ended election campaigns. As soon as the elected leader assumes office, he/she begins to lay ground to win the next electoral term after 5 years because they want to “*keep power*”. Pre-campaign spending is undertaken for cardinal object of the incumbent politician to “*keep and consolidate power*” because power is for keeping. On the opposing side or new politicians, they require to “*capture power*” and venture into the helm of political leadership. In a political and electoral environment where there are blurred lines between commerce and politics, money influences the ability to keep and consolidate power or lose it.

### 2.1 The Yardstick used by the Electorate to measure performance of a Politician?

The study denotes that the electorate is re-defining the roles of politicians. Whereas the roles of political leaders particularly a Member of Parliament, are well documented in the law books, the interpretation of the electorate about the purpose of a political leader, is at variance with the law. The yardstick of the ordinary Ugandan voter, does not consider legislation, budgeting, oversight and presentation, but it considers service provisioning and investment in social support initiatives. The study established the following as the new socially constructed roles of elected or electable leaders;

- a. Ability of the aspirant to give direct cash to as many voters as possible.
- b. Amount of money given as social contribution at funeral, wedding and birthdays.
- c. Personal social support initiatives e.g., school fees and medical bills.
- d. Contributions to religious institutions and
- e. Number of social service projects e.g., roads, economic empowerment and health facilities established in the constituency.

This has compromised the performance of the members of Parliament in the national legislature<sup>1</sup> and but also district councils are now seen as havens of self-seeking leaders than service to the electorate. If elected leader wins electoral races, the costs would be recovered lawfully through salaries, allowances and incentives and unlawfully through political corruption and tenderpreneurship<sup>2</sup>. It is noteworthy that the use of private money to finance electoral politics is Uganda in a country where the electoral laws are devoid of campaign finance disclosure provisions, is one of the major drivers of political corruption. In an ideal political environment, a good candidate/aspirant is one that has a) a good message, b) financial resources for allowable campaign expenses c) structures on ground and d) ideology. Commercialisation of politics has contributed significantly towards getting political merchants into politics and by extension,

<sup>1</sup> Africa Leadership Institute (2020), Members of Parliament Score Card, Kampala Uganda

<sup>2</sup> Politicians that peddle influence acquisitions of public contracts using their positions to influence processes

bad leaders into the political and electoral arena where political campaigns and deliberations are equated to “*market place economics*” of willing buyer, willing seller.

This report makes an attempt to track pre-campaign spending by political parties and candidates including party primary elections. It makes a comparative analysis of urban and rural constituencies and analyses the spending variations based on the demographic disparities across regions. It analyses how the emergency of COVID-19 and the challenges presented have influenced pre-campaign expenditure. Pre-campaign spending takes many forms including but not limited to; social service provisioning, political advertising<sup>3</sup>, media campaigns and direct monetary or physical support to the individuals or groups.

## **2.2 The blurred Lines between the State and NRM Party**

When it comes to the incumbent party, it is difficult to separate the NRM party from the state in functionality and financing. Over the years, the mass party has leveraged on the state resources both fiscal and institutional to finance party activities. The fusion of NRM with the state makes it practically impossible for state resources not finding their way in financing party activities. For instance, when President Yoweri Museveni hosts the NRM MPs at State House which is supported by the national budget, the costs are incurred during that partisan activity are passed on to the Ugandan taxpayer.

## **2.3 Extent of Pre-campaign Expenditure**

Whereas the scope of this report covers a period on 16 months prior to the official commencement of election campaigns (July 2019 – October 30, 2020), ACFIM monitors reported that aspiring candidates started much earlier spending on social projects in their respective constituencies. Yet for the incumbent office bearers, constituency spending continues throughout their tenure in office as they get inundated with phone calls from their constituents for financial assistance to address all manner of personal problems and needs.

This study establishes that political spending starts in the immediately after swearing in winners of electoral races for a new term. Incumbents will spend to “*keep power*” while losers and new aspirants will spend with hope to “*unseat the incumbent*” in the next election. There is a sense in which as a consequence of an inherent lack of clarity of ideology and democracy principles among the electorate and political aspirants, using of money has become the preferred mode of canvassing for votes.

## **2.4 Highly Monetized Pre-Campaign Trail**

Monitoring findings indicate that the pre-campaign trail was high monetized and that money determined electoral outcomes in over 85 per cent of the party primary races. Reports submitted by campaign finance monitors on the ground indicated that most of the spending by individuals aspiring for electoral positions was directed to voter inducement activities and items. The remaining spending went into areas like campaign administration, publicity and advertising. Specifically, aspiring candidates invested in social service provisioning and economic empowerment schemes including but not limited to: purchase of ambulances and community commuter buses, grading of feeder roads, renovation of water sources, provision of credit facilities for various community groups, scholastic materials and payment of school fees for voters’ children that joined senior one and senior five in February 2020.

The COVID-19 pandemic and the resultant national lockdown put a new dimension on pre-campaign spending. Suddenly, aspiring candidates and to a larger extent the incumbents, had to spend on

<sup>3</sup> Political advertising is advertising whose central focus is the marketing of ideas, attitudes, and concerns about public issues, including political concepts and political candidates.

procurement of food items (mainly posho) which they either donated directly to their constituents, or delivered it to the national and district COVID-19 taskforces.

## 2.5 Regional Variations in Pre-Campaign Spending

It has been reported in the preceding sections of this report that most of the pre-campaign spending by aspiring candidates went into goods and services with a view of inducing voters to cast their ballot in the direction indicated by the provider of the money, gift or social service. ACFIM has observed a stunning variation per region, in the nature and caliber of inducement provided by candidates. Whereas in western and central Uganda, candidates were observed to provide physical community benefit goods such as grading of community roads, extension of electricity and water supply lines to the villages, and construction of houses for the vulnerable members of the community among others, in northern and eastern Uganda the candidates are providing mostly intangible services such as payment of school and medical fees, contribution to funeral costs and personal support. The common denominator across all regions is provision of ambulances and credit facilities to groups of women, youth, market vendors, and artisans among others. This points to the differences in voter profile and vulnerability to bribery. Because of the regional disparity, aspiring candidates in western and central Uganda spent much more than their counter parts in northern Uganda. Sheema, Kabale, Bushenyi, were ranked at the top of pre-campaign spending while Bukwo and Kapchorwa sit at the bottom of the pre-campaign spending list.

## 2.6 Why invest in politics?

Politics is currently one of the best paying disciplines in Uganda. For example, a councillor at Kampala Capital City Authority whose qualification is a mere advanced certificate of education (the equivalent of high school) earn more than the Inspector General of Police (IGP) while a Member of Parliament whose minimum qualification is senior six (high school) certificate, earns a lot more than a medical consultant at the National Referral Hospital and more than a professor at Makerere University. As a consequence, the penchant for politics has heightened. Uganda has 1.5 million elective positions. Interviews with the selected members of electorate and aspiring candidates revealed that politics is increasingly being perceived as a lucrative form of employment and platform for self-enrichment. As such, candidates stake anything and everything to enter the political club explain the higher expenses.

## 2.7 Market Politics

ACFIM studies reveal that competition for political positions greatly transformed into a do-or-die affair when political parties were allowed to operate and compete, opening electoral politics to the carnalities of money and violence. Political Parties and candidates outspend each other turning elections into a 'market' – A market where voters sell their votes to the highest bidder. Money, guns and goons have become the common currency of the market extending their influence from the national elections to the party primaries

## 2.8 Public Financing

The financing of political parties and organizations for their day-to-day activities and participation in elections remains challenge. Political parties in opposition are grappling with the difficulty in raising enough income to carry out the activities that are needed to build vibrant internal systems. Without a strong financial muscle, they find it difficult to field candidates on different electoral positions across the country. Financing election campaigns remains a daunting task. More so, the functionality of political parties as a vehicle of quality democracy has hinged on the framework that finances political party activities.

## 2.9 Inability of Political Party Systems to Sanction Members that Finance them

It was observed that political parties are surviving on the funds from a few individual members that finance them. These individuals who bankroll political parties enjoy such a privileged position that they are almost above the law, they cannot be sanctioned by the party's disciplinary system even when they commit punishable acts.

In circumstances where individual party members heavily contributed to the party, it was because they expect a return on their investment. They expect the party to bail them out when financially stricken, or finance their political ambitions. In Uganda, being an MP comes with many benefits such as access to state resources, business opportunities, protectionism and preferential treatment including, access to campaign financing. This is an opportunistic relationship between political parties and their members driven by commercial interests.

## 2.10 Lack of Openness in Financing Political Party Activities

Political parties are the wheels upon which democracy moves, and to execute this fundamental role, they require financial resources to perform their functions. Money is the all-important oil that keeps the party machinery going, yet it can also become an avenue for derailing the same democracy they ought to move forward. In some cases, money can be used to place the political into captivity. This is why countries require vibrant legal framework to insulate political parties from these unwanted situations.

Whereas the Political Parties and Organization's Act (as amended) 2005 requires political parties to submit to the Electoral Commission annual returns including their audit report, from where the interested citizens can request and gain access to, it is almost impossible to get this information from the electoral management body. As such it is difficult to tell the sources of party finances save for the media reports some of which cannot be independently verified.

The law permits political parties to raise funds from a number of sources albeit with a ceiling on how much one party can raise from a single source. The Political Parties Organization Act puts a cap of UGX 400 million that can be raised from a single source. Political parties in Uganda thrive on funds from various sources the most commonly known one being member contributions, donations, and public funding that is appropriated from the national budget annually. The issue is lack of openness, transparency and accountability in utilization of these funds. The key questions that beg answers are: Aside from membership contributions and public financing, how else do political parties in Uganda get money? How much do they get? When? How do they spend it? How much do they spend?

The study established that a number of political parties receive funds from anonymous sources that are categorized as 'well-wishers' and 'friends' of the parties both within and outside Uganda. These financing entities prefer to remain anonymous for fear of political persecution. Anonymous

## 2.11 Domineering Party individuals

The study observed that all the political parties studied had individuals significantly financing them to the extent of the political party being dependent on these individuals. The danger in this has been the likelihood of these individuals wielding a lot of power and influencing party decisions. These individuals tended to become stronger than the party to the extent that the party system and structures were subject to their interests and decisions. In NRM, the president who is also the chairperson of the party carries a demi god status having the final say on all party issues.

### 3.1 Composition of Aspiring Candidates Covered

On 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> November 2020, 11 candidates were nominated to contest for President of which only one was female. Others include; special interest groups like the youths, differently abled persons, workers, elderly and Uganda People's Defense Forces (UPDF). During the political party primaries, NRM had over 1,124 contestants for direct MP seats and 5245 contestants for district and city woman representatives. Democratic Party (DP), has over 290 flag bearers for MP positions.

The general elections 2021 have set a record for having the biggest number persons aspiring for elective positions. ACFIM attributes this in part to:

- Highly incentivized political positions
- Viewing politics as a source of employment
- The increasing appetite for political participation especially among the youths, and persons wanting to use politics to raise their popularity and use this as an opportunity for other ventures.
- Persons with money who know that they can buy their way to the political apex. Such aspirants do not have a history of political participation but just emerge and use their business acumen and popularity to try a hand in politics. They use money to induce voters to skew voter disposition.

Others categories of aspirants studied were; district/city women representatives at 16.08 percent (151), LC V Chairpersons at 12.25 percent (116) while mayors of cities and municipalities attributed 6.07 percent (57) of the total number of respondents. The proportionate representation per category of respondents in term of number and percentage is indicated in the comparative table below;

**Table 2: Electoral Aspirants by Positions**

Position	No. of Respondents per category	%age of Total Sample
Direct MP Aspirants	615	65.49
District/City Woman Representatives	151	16.08
LC V Chairpersons	116	12.35
Mayors of Cities and Municipalities	57	6.07

*Source: ACFIM, Campaign Finance Analytical Platform (2020)*

### 3.2 Gender Dynamics and Political Participation

Electoral politics in Uganda is masculinized with men dominating the direct constituency positions while women are often pushed to the affirmative positions. The size of the campaign budget and access to campaigns plays a significant role in determining the electoral results especially and Parliamentary level. Analysis s indicated that that only 0.03 percent (24) of the total of aspirants covered under ACFIM's monitoring scope, were female! There were only 2 females aspiring for District Chairperson (LC V) positions and only two contestants for position of mayor for cities and municipalities of which one

4 NRM Electoral Commission

5 Ibid

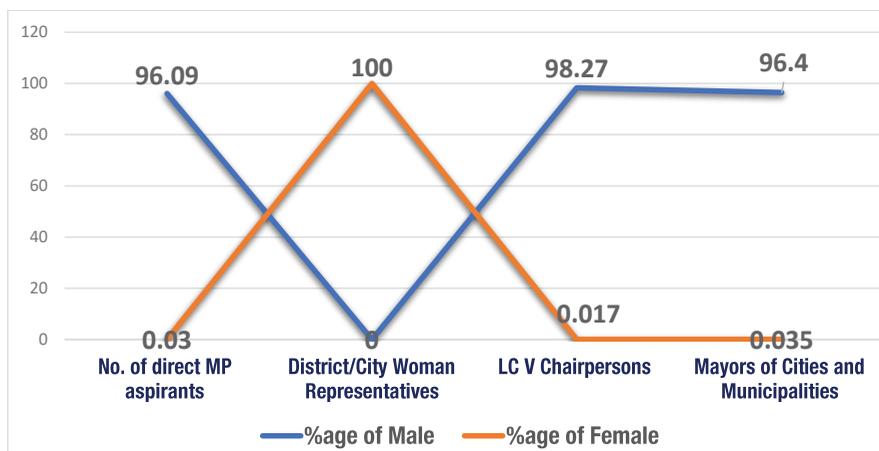
candidate is contesting for Kampala Capital City Lord Mayor. This imbalance in gender participation in Uganda elections is attributable in part to lack of access to campaign money, and in part to stereotypes in society that discriminate against women.

**Table 3: Analysis of Respondents by Gender**

Positions	No. of Contestants	No. of Male	No. of Female	%age of Male	%age of Female
No. of direct MP aspirants	615	591	24	96.09	0.03
District/City Woman Representatives	151	00	151	00	100.0
LC V Chairpersons	116	114	02	98.27	0.017
Mayors of Cities and Municipalities	57	55	02	96.4	0.035

Source: Analyzed Data Sets (October, 2020)

**Figure 2: Comparative Line Graph of Aspirants by Position by Gender by Positions**



Source: Analyzed Data Sets (2020)

### 3.3 Politics of Inclusion: Youth Raising the Bar

Reports from ACFIM monitors point to the growing interest of the youth to participate in elective politics as candidates, different from 2016 general elections when most of them were merely campaign agents and cheerers of older political candidates. The comparative number of youth aspirants increased in relation to environment of previous electoral cycles at the same time of political activity. Analysis indicates that out of 615 aspirants that aspired for direct MP seats, 28.5 percent were under 35 years. At district/city woman representation and local council V, analysis indicates that 17.5 percent and 11.0 percent were under 35 respectively. In 2015, less than 10 percent of the aspirants were below 35 years. This could be attributed to increasing awareness of the youths to actively participate in the country's governance processes. The study denotes a growing vote of no confidence among the youths for the old guards to steer Uganda's electoral governance processes and service delivery. Critical analysis of the political developments suggests that whereas, the youth are not ready to take on top level governance and policy engagement due to limited civic organizing, they have demonstrated that they need to be brought closer to the altar of political and policy discussions because of their numerical strengths. Over 65% of Uganda's population is below 35 years.

**Table 4: Comparative Figures of Aspirants below and Above 35 Years of Age**

Positions	No. of Aspirants	%age (18-35)	Above 35
Direct MP Aspirants	615	28.5	71.5
District/City Woman Rep.	151	17.5	82.5
LC V Chairpersons	116	11	89
Mayors of Cities & Mun.	57	5	95

Source: Analyzed Data Sets (2020)

### 3.4 Occupations of Political Aspirants

There is a growing dash for active civil servants and business sector to join elective politics and the impetus for doing so may rest entirely on the growing perception that politics is quite lucrative. Civil service and businesses combined had a proportionate share of 43.41 percent of the aspirants (21 percent are former civil servants while 22.7 percent are business persons) Contests that were characterized by civil servants and business were comparatively commercialized. Vivid examples were cited in Bushenyi District Woman Member of Parliament, Sheema South and Sheema Municipality constituencies in Ankole sub-region; Bukoto west, Bukoto south and Sembabule in Greater Masaka sub-region and Arua municipality among others.

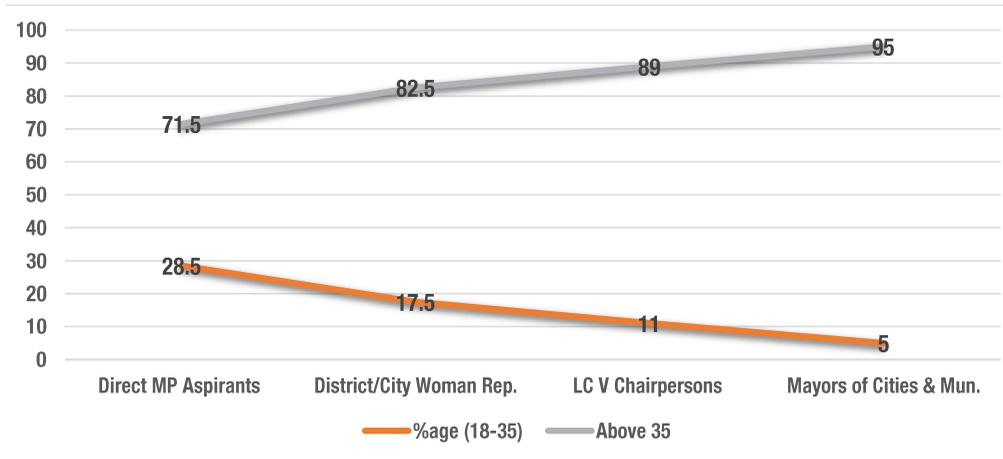
Incumbents at Parliamentary, City Division Mayor and District Chairperson (LC V) contributed 16.08 (151) of aspirants surveyed. Those who were returning to the political arena having lost out during the previous election (2016) accounted of 27.36 percent of the total monitoring sample. These actually contributed the largest proportionate percentage.

**Table 5: Occupation of Aspiring candidates**

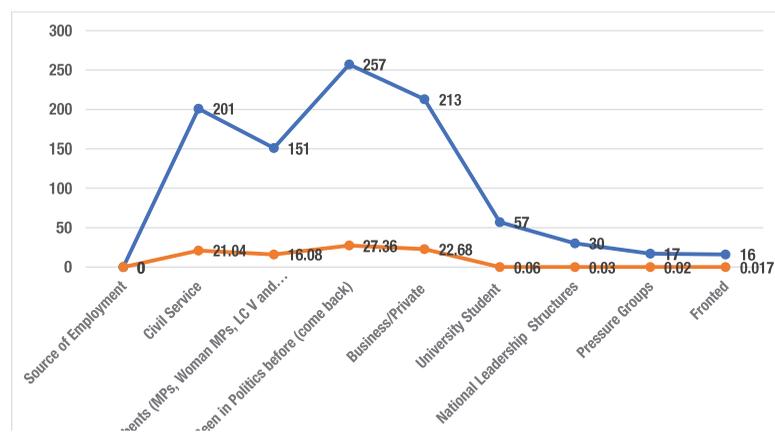
Source of Employment	No. of Contestants	%age of Total Sample
Civil Service	201	21.04
Incumbents (MPs, Woman MPs, LC V and Mayors)	151	16.08
Been in Politics before (come back)	257	27.36
Business/Private	213	22.68
University Student	57	0.06
National Leadership Structures	30	0.03
Pressure Groups	17	0.02
Fronted	16	0.017

Source: Analyzed Data Sets (2020)

**Figure 3: Line Graph representing of Sources of Aspirants**



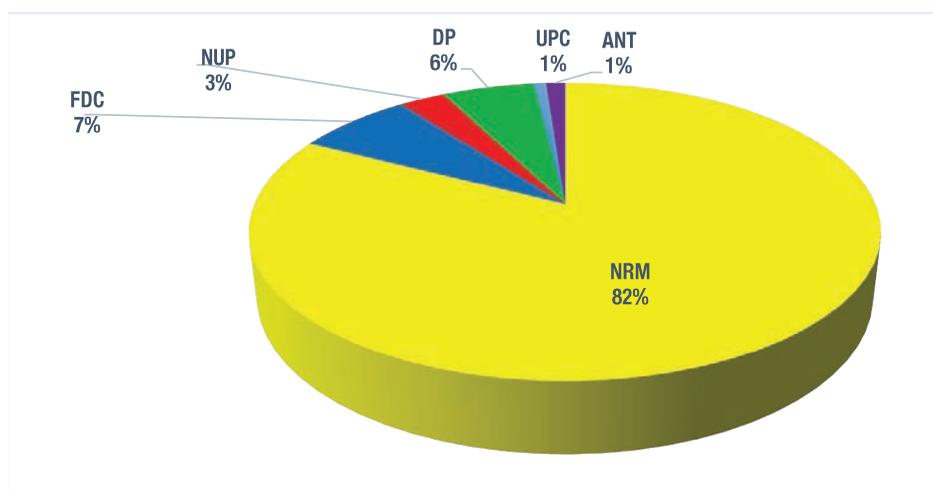
Source: Analyzed Data Sets (2020)



### 3.5 Political Party Affiliation

Most of the aspirants whose expenses were recorded belonged to the ruling NRM party representing 82 percent (775) of the total aspiring candidates. This is because NRM is the only political party that planned to and conducted meaningful primary elections. Others were FDC at 7.0 percent, and DP at 6.0 percent. National Unity Platform (NUP), Uganda People Congress (UPC) and Alliance for National Transformation (ANT) shared 4.0 percent of the aspirants. This explains why aspiring candidates from the the NRM party accounted for the the biggest proportion of pre-campaign spending as will be illustrated in the subsequent sections of this report.

**Figure 4:** Pie Chart Indicating Political Party Affiliation of aspiring candidates monitored



Source: Analyzed Data Sets (2020)

### 3.6 Media Spending on a Hybrid Election Campaign

Following the nomination of candidates for Member of Parliament races, owners of radio and television stations revised their advertising rates upwards targeting the anticipated demand for political advertising. Women aspirants interviewed indicated that cost of conventional media platforms had become too high for them to afford. Aspirants reported cases of “media buy-out” especially on radio where moneyed and popular politicians deliberately worked with media houses to restrict air space to competing aspirants. Politicians who owned radios denied access to aspirants in different political camps despite having ability to pay for space. Women relied on media generosity to be invited as panelists where they are required to pay user fees.

#### 4.1 Distribution of Pre-Campaign Expenses

Campaign finance monitors on the ground reported that aspiring candidate started spending early on and that by December 2019, spending had intensified. Analysis indicates that significant expenditure went into livelihood development and social services, school fees, medical bills and social contributions. Other spending went into economic empowerment programmes targeting the youths and women in village based voluntary saving and loan schemes (VSLA's) and (SACCOs), groups and associations. Analysis indicates that the largest proportion of pre-campaign expenses were devoted to socio-economic empowerment ventures. Like establishment of financial inclusion schemes, self-help products, VSLAs and skills development for the women and youths. Investment financial and livelihood projects reaffirm the vulnerability of the electorate and the deliberate efforts of the aspirants to fix the social service gaps for the persons they represent.

Further analysis indicated the aspirants spent over UGX 76 bn in 16 months on Economic empowerment schemes focused on raising household income and unemployment especially among the women and youths. Economic enhancement programming was a major campaign cost in central and western parts of Uganda based on data analyzed. Women and youths were targeted because of their large demographic advantage and swing vote positions in voter processes. Economic empowerment expense accounted for over 30.1% of the total pre-campaign expenditure.

##### ***91 percent-Percent of Expenses on Voter Inducement***

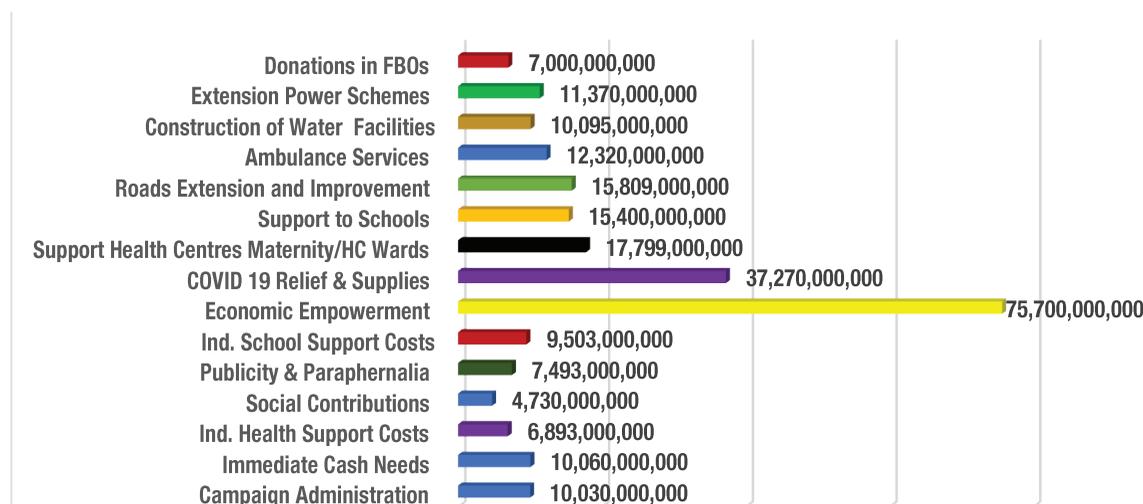
Aspirants equally spent over UGX 37 bn on COVID 19 relief aid and livelihood support during the emergence lockdown between March and July 2020. The micro and macro economy contracted, aggregate demand and supply was low due to limited economic production processes. The electorate was desperate in need of any form of survival. In all the 29 districts monitored, COVID expenses constituted 14% of total pre-campaign expenditure. Aspirant equally spent on social service provisioning including support to schools at UGX 15.4 bn, extension or improvement of road network UGX 15.8 bn, support to health facilities at UGX 17.9 bn and extension of power lines at UGX 10.09 bn. Provision is branded ambulances and ambulance services was identified as a major cost centre to mainly publicize the aspirants in the constituency than value addition to health services.

Aspirants were also found to spend heavily on campaign administration and publicity. These are allowable costs of campaigns and the foundational tenets of democracy allow candidates to popularize their candidature. The hybrid campaign model alludes that aspirants are massively spending on media and campaign paraphernalia. Generally, the direction of pre-campaign expenditure tends towards service delivery re-affirming the complementary role of aspirants in supporting the state to reduce poverty in the community. However, it also indicates that electable leaders are deviating from legal and constitutional mandates to social constructed roles by the electorate. Whether, the services result into impact generates a discourse for further research. Findings do not provide evidence whether the established projects provide longterm improvement in the constituency but rather fix short-term needs of the electorate. It is challenging to establish project that last beyond the active political terms of the aspirants or elected leaders.

**Figure 5: Observed Forms of Pre-campaign Spending**

Category of Expenses	Amount	%age Distribution
Campaign Administration	10,030,000,000	3.99
Immediate Cash Needs	10,060,000,000	4.00
Ind. Health Support Costs	6,893,000,000	2.74
Social Contributions	4,730,000,000	1.88
Publicity & Paraphernalia	7,493,000,000	2.98
Ind. School Support Costs	9,503,000,000	3.78
Economic Empowerment	75,700,000,000	30.10
COVID 19 Relief & Supplies	37,270,000,000	14.82
Support Health Centres Maternity/HC Wards	17,799,000,000	7.08
Support to Schools	15,400,000,000	6.12
Roads Extension and Improvement	15,809,000,000	6.29
Ambulance Services	12,320,000,000	4.90
Construction of Water Facilities	10,095,000,000	4.01
Extension Power Schemes	10,095,000,000	4.52
Donations in FBOs	7,000,000,000	2.78
	251,472,000,000	100.00

Source: Analyzed Data Sets (October, 2020)

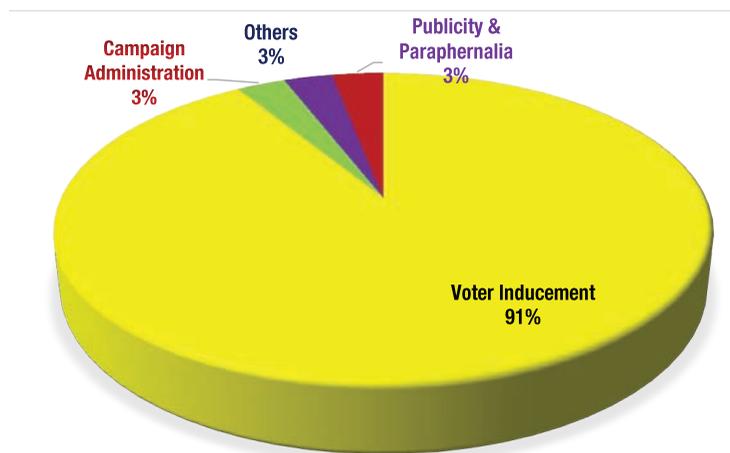




#### 4.2 Proportionate Distribution of Pre-Campaign Expenses

Analysis indicated that 91.0 percent of the expenses were used to induce voters to support particular candidates.

Figure 6: Pie Chart Showing Proportionate Percentage of Pre-Campaign Expenses



In the context of the study voter inducement included all those activities, project costs and expenses aspirants incurred to win the support of the electorate. These expenses included; a) Investment in socio-economic services e.g. roads, water facilities, construction of classrooms and health facilities, economic empowerment projects for youths and women b) fundraising activities and c) personal support services to individuals and families e.g. medical bills, schools fees.

**Table 6: Direct MP and District/Woman MP Representatives**

Campaign Administration	765	100.00
Social Contributions	731	91.77
Immediate Cash Needs (Donations)	705	92.03
Economic Empowerment	675	88.12
Publicity & Paraphernalia	673	87.87
Ind. Health Support Costs	651	84.98
Support to Religious Institutions & Faith-Based Organizations	568	74.14
Ind. School Support Costs	567	74.02
COVID 19 Relief & Supplies	407	53.13
Support Health Centers Maternity/HC Wards	352	45.95
Construction of Water Facilities	346	45.16
Support to Schools	321	41.90
Roads Extension and Improvement	246	28.85
Ambulance Services	176	22.97
Extension Power Schemes	78	10.18

\*Multiple Responses Allowed

*Source: Analyzed Data Sets (October, 2020)*

### 4.3 Money as a Perceived Game-Changer

Analysis indicates that 89.7 percent (842) of the aspiring candidates believed that money is the optimal campaign strategy to win an electoral contest. Aspirants associate the propensity to spend on poverty trends and challenges presented by COVID 19. Spending on pre-campaign activities mostly went into facilitating voter inducement, campaign administration and publicity. Findings reveal a growing perception among aspiring candidates that ideological clarity per se is not enough to convince the voters to support your candidature. This had been exacerbated by the COVID 19 pandemic which has made some sections of electorate economically vulnerable and dependent on handouts provided by political leaders. This situation made them more susceptible to manipulation and bribery.

Most campaign expenses were directed to areas centers that aimed at improving or bringing closer social services and economic empowerment schemes. Others spent on personal social needs of electorate such as payment of school fees and medical bills. Between March and July 2020, pre-campaign costs shifted to provision of food rations and other life support mechanisms to the electorate occasioned by COVID-19 lockdown after effects. Because the social welfare interventions from the government were slow, aspiring political candidates were seen as immediate option for social welfare.

### 4.4 Aspiring Candidates Dropping out of Race

ACFIM monitors reported cases of some aspiring candidate who after “testing the waters” particularly with the economic hardships that resulted from the COVID-19 lockdown measures, dropped out of the races. The reasons for this include to failure to sustain spending pressure and the economic hardships that came with COVID-19 pandemic. When COVID 19 presented in March 2020, expressions of interest to contest proportionately reduced due to movement restrictions and catapulting of voter demands during the national lockdown. Reports indicated that 123 aspirants did not make to party primaries. At

the level district/city woman representation 49 dropped while at LC V and mayoral contests, a total of 47 aspirants dropped.

Aspirants that dropped out of races associated it to sky-rocketing campaign costs in terms of candidate’s campaign administration and advertising and facilitating livelihood demands of the electorate. Others factors included; failure to obtain nomination fees especially for those who belong to the NRM party and had expressed interest to run for the position of MP. Others asserted that they had been muzzled out by the spending power of incumbent office bearers. Most incumbents used money as their preferred campaign weapon to silence and neutralize potential challengers. In Bushenyi district for example out of 8 aspirants with interest for district woman representative 5 made it to the party primary elections. In Sheema district, only 3 out of 8 that has aspired, were nominated. In Lira, only 2 aspiring candidates were nominated for City woman MP. There was a correlation between cost of pre-campaign spending and dropping out of electoral races at all levels.

**Table 7: No. of Aspirants who Withdraw Based on Cost of Spending**

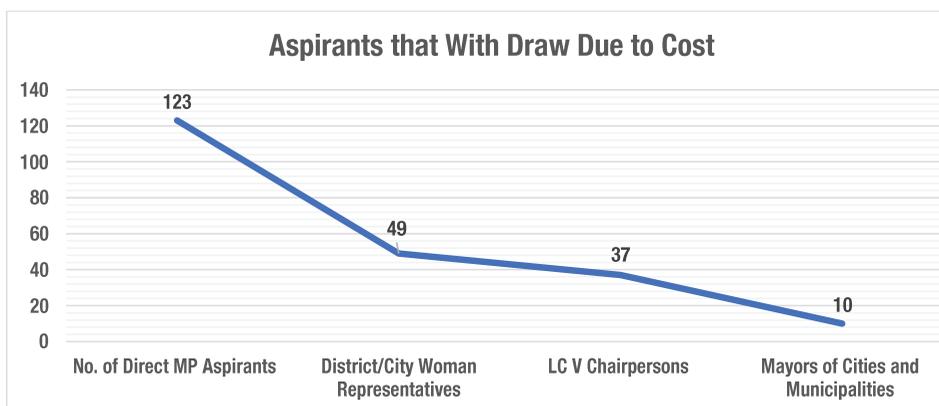
Positions	At Nomination
No. of Direct MP Aspirants	123
District/City Woman Representatives	49
LC V Chairpersons	37
Mayors of Cities and Municipalities	10

Source: Campaign Finance Monitors

#### 4.5 Ranking by Region and District on Pre-Campaign Spending

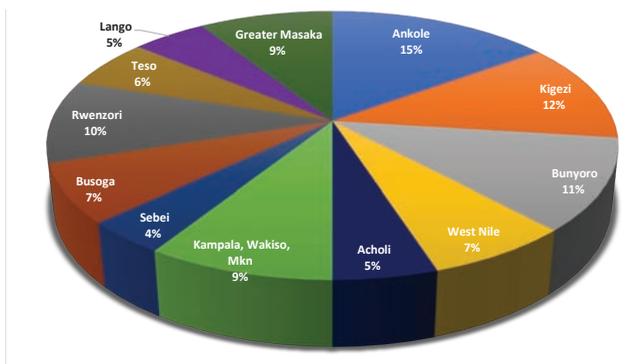
Ranking the regions and district was based on the aggregate of total expenses and category of projects, services and activities invested in by the candidate. As indicated earlier western regions contributed the highest proportion and percentage of pre-campaign expenses because aspirants invested in high value social service and economic empowerment projects. These included Ankole (15.0 percent), Kigezi (12.0 percent), Bunyoro (10.0 percent) and Rwenzori (Rwenzori at 10.0 percent) in a pecking order. Whereas greater Masaka alone has 9.0 percent contribution, if combined with Kampala, Wakiso and Mukono the two make aggregate of 18.0 percent. Kampala, Wakiso and Mukono are given special status in this analysis because of the population factor. Lango (5.0 percent) Acholi (5.0 percent) and Sebei (4.0 percent) were ranked last.

**Figure 7: Proportinate Contribution to Pre-Campaign Expenses per Region**

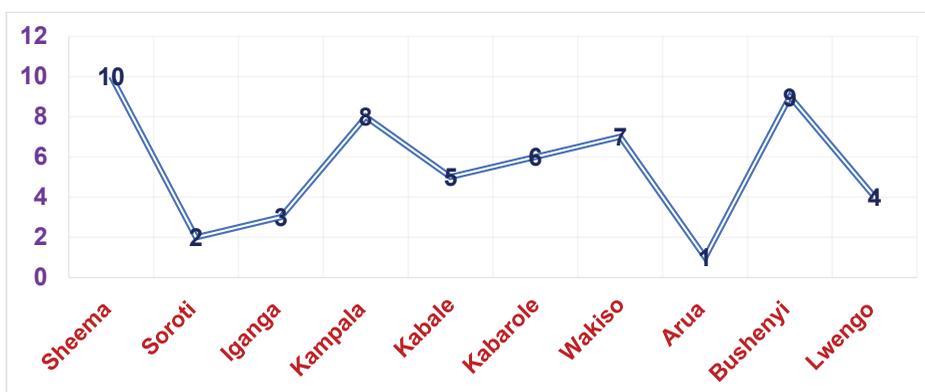


Source: Analyzed Data Sets and Campaign Finance Application (2020)

**Figure 8:** Proportinate Contribution to Pre-Campaign Expenses per Region



**Figure 9:** Top 10 Districts in Posting Campaign Spending Figures



Source: Analyzed Data Sets (2020), Campaign Finance Application



Example of the donations made by some of the donations made by one of the candidates aspiring in Lwengo District

#### 4.6 Sources of Funds for Pre-Campaign Spending

The highly commercialized nature of Uganda’s electoral politics demand that candidates require to have reliable financing options/sources for pre-campaign and campaign activities. The need to identify financing options arose out of the increasing cost of contest especially at all electoral levels not least the lower local government electoral races.

Analysis indicated the following sources;

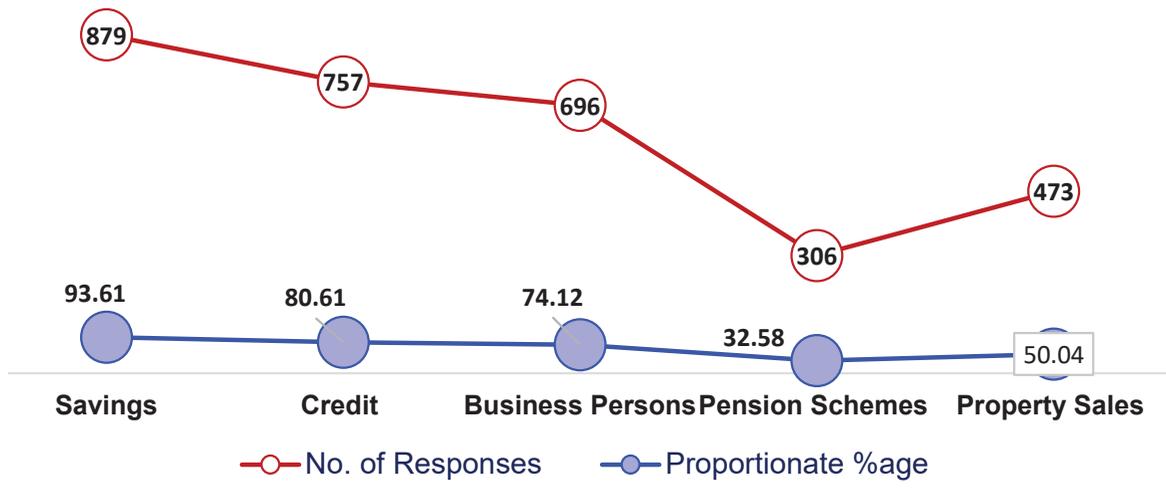
**Table 8:** Financing Options for Pre-Campaigns

Source of Campaign Money	No. of Responses	Proportionate %age
Savings	879	93.61
Credit from Financial Intermediaries & Lenders	757	80.61
Business Persons	696	74.12
Pension Schemes	306	32.58
Property Sales	473	50.04

\*Multiple Responses Recorded of 939

Source: Analyzed Data Sets (2020)

**Figure 9:** Comparative Line Graph of Sources/Percentage of Sources of Campaign Money



Source: Analyzed Data Sets (2020)

### 5.1 Disparities in Voter Expenses

ACFIM has established regional variations in campaign spending with candidates in the western and central regions comparatively spending much higher than those in northern, eastern and West Nile. Analysis of electoral expenses indicated that 91 percent of the expenses observed went into activities that were clearly aimed at inducing voters and skewing voter their feelings to favor a particular candidate on Election Day. Voter inducement in the context of this report refers to the direct material stimulus targeted to the electorate either as individuals or in small groups, with the aim of luring them to vote for the generous candidate that provides the donations in cash or kind. The donations of every kind from aspiring candidates to the electorate, went with a tag; “will you support me!”

### 5.2 Variations in categories of Expenses according to Regions

The regional disparities were visible based on goods and services invested in by the aspirants. In western and central Uganda aspirants invested in physical goods such as grading community roads, extending electricity and water supply lines, building and/or repair of boreholes, construction of classrooms and laboratories and purchase of ambulances among others. Others included establishment and facilitation of economic enhancement schemes like the informal village based voluntary savings and loan associations (VSLA) and the slightly more organized Savings and Credit Co-operatives (SACCOs) are community membership-based financial institutions that are formed and owned by their members in promotion of their economic interests.

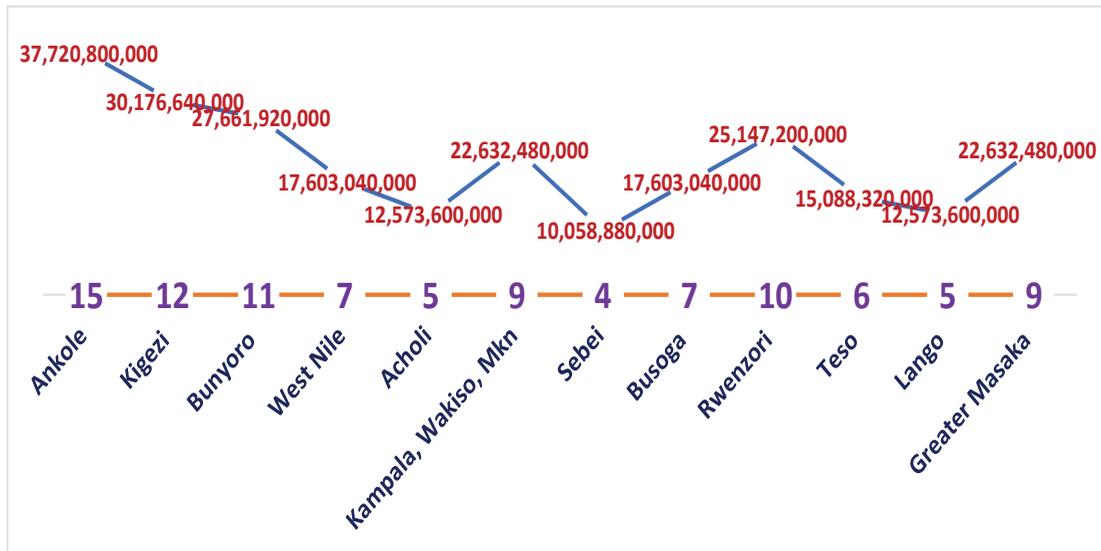
In northern and eastern Uganda, aspiring candidates were reported to be spending on support to tuition and school fees, medical bills, scholastic needs and contributions to funeral expenses among others. However, purchase of ambulances as a community good, is a common campaign expense across all regions of Uganda.

**Table 9:** Variations in Voter Expenses

Region	Total Expenses	Percentage Distribution
Ankole	37,720,800,000	15
Kigezi	30,176,640,000	12
Bunyoro	27,661,920,000	11
West Nile	17,603,040,000	7
Acholi	12,573,600,000	5
Kampala, Wakiso, Mkn	22,632,480,000	9
Sebei	10,058,880,000	4
Busoga	17,603,040,000	7
Rwenzori	25,147,200,000	10
Teso	15,088,320,000	6
Lango	12,573,600,000	5
Greater Masaka	22,632,480,000	9

Source: Analyzed Data Sets and Campaign Expenses Application (2020)

**Figure 10:** Comparative Line Graph Showing Region Distribution in Pre-Campaign Spending



Source: Analyzed Data Sets (2020)

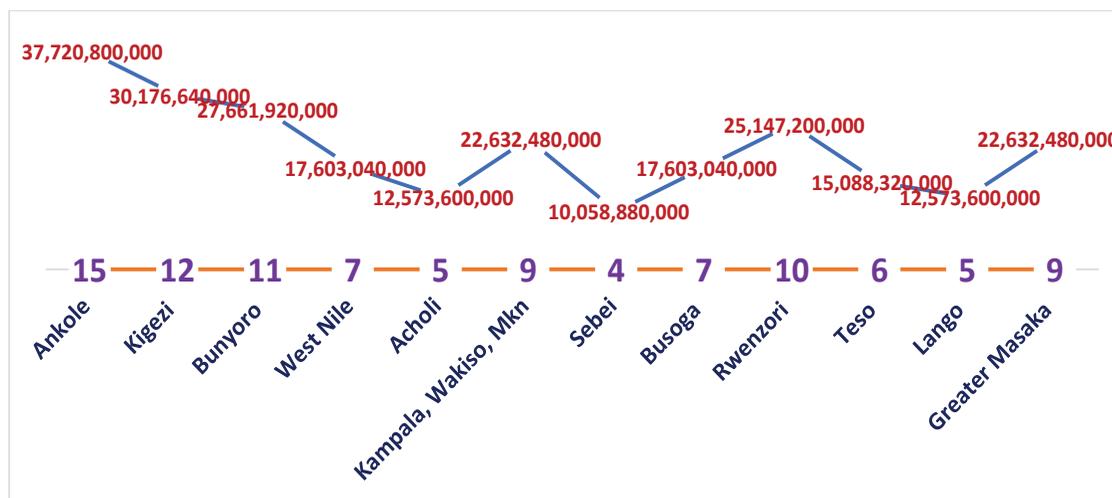
### 5.3 Increasing Interest in Politics

There are up 1,500,000 elective positions to be filed by March, 2021. Interviews with randomly sampled aspiring candidates reveal that the impetus for pursuit of electoral politics is not to serve but to achieve self-enrichment. Majority of the aspiring political candidates are either former political losers, former civil servants or business persons.

**Table 10:** Indicating Former or Present Sources of Employment of Politicians

Source of Employment	No. of Contestants	%age of Total Sample
Civil Service	201	21.04
Incumbents (MPs, Woman MPs, LC V and Mayors)	151	16.08
Been in Politics before (come back)	257	27.36
Business/Private	213	22.68
University Student	57	0.06
National Leadership Structures	30	0.03
Pressure Groups	17	0.02
Fronted	16	0.017

Source: Analyzed Data Sets (2020)



### 5.3.1 Political Comeback

Aspirants who were once politicians and were either defeated previous electoral cycles constituted the largest number of aspiring candidates for the 2021 general elections at Parliamentary and city division/municipal level. These made-up 27.4 percent (257) of the total sample.

### 5.3.2 Businesspersons Become Politicians

Analysis indicated many emerging cases of private and business persons but politically active (follow and/or participate in political debate) that were springing up into political contest. They are aware that politics rides along money. These constituted 22.68 (213) percent the political aspirants. Insights shared during interviews point to the fact that politics is being viewed as both a lucrative business and a platform that can be used to advance business interests.

### 5.3.3 From Civil Service to Politics

Analysis indicated that 21.04 percent (201) of the aspirants had been or were civil servants awaiting to formally resign from their civil service positions. There is also an emerging trend of early retirement from civil service (at very senior level) and venturing into highly risk elective politics. There is also a segment of wealthy retired public servants (senior citizens) are metamorphosing themselves into the political limelight at national level probably “to remain relevant “on the table of national policy decisions. The common characteristic of these emerging politicians is that their pre-campaigns are smeared with excessive spending.

### 5.3.4 Political Showbiz

There is a category of political merchants whose intention for participation in elective politics is not to win electoral races but strategic positioning for any possible buy-out from strong political candidates, visibility for job opportunities and elevation of social status. Such candidates came into electoral without possible financing options or ideology. Many of these would later drop before political party primaries elections or nomination dates for the national election.

# 6.0

## POLITICAL PARTY SPENDING ON PRIMARY ELECTIONS

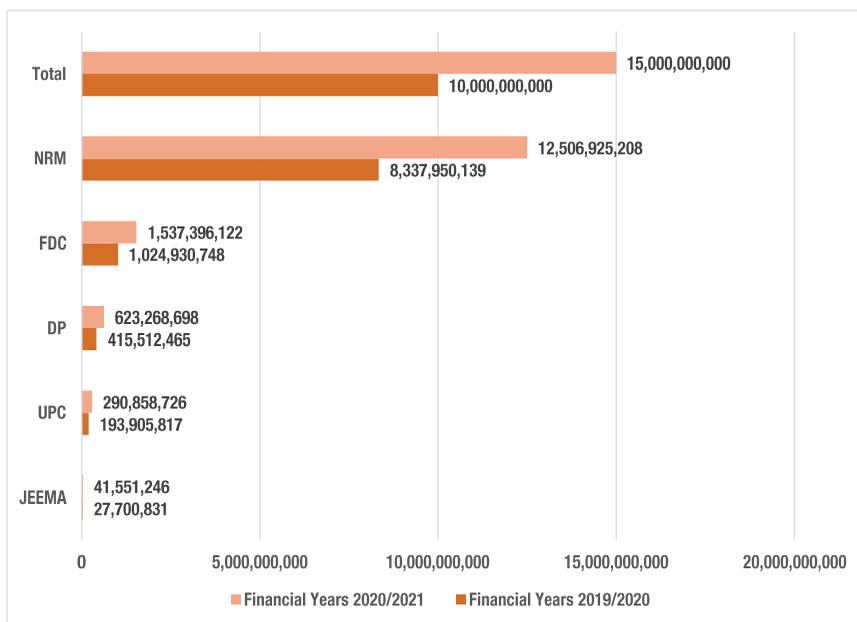
### 6.1 Public Financing of Political Parties and Organizations

The Political Parties and Organizations Act (as amended) 2005, provides for public financing of political parties and organizations in two ways namely; a) in respect of day-to-day running, and b) in respect to election campaigns. The formular for appropriating the public financing on political parties and organizations, is well stipulated in the law. It states: Government shall contribute funds or other public resources towards the activities of political parties or organizations represented in Parliament in accordance with the following principles—

- a. registered political parties or organizations shall be funded by Government under this Act in respect of elections and their normal day to day activities;
- b. in respect of elections, Government shall finance political organizations and parties on equal basis;
- c. in respect of normal day to day activities, funding shall be based on the numerical strength of each political party or organization in Parliament;

Since financial year 2014/2015, political parties represented in Parliament have been benefitting from public financing. The Ministry of Finance Planning and Economic Development has consistently ignored the section of the law that enjoins it finance political parties in respect of elections and chosen to only release funds in respect of day-to-day running of the parties, and the formular applied is that of numerical strength in Parliament which gives the incumbent NRM party a lion’s share of the funds. The funds are through the Electoral Commission (EC).

**Figure 11: Annual appropriation to Political Parties for 2 Financial Years (2019/2020 & 2020/2021)**

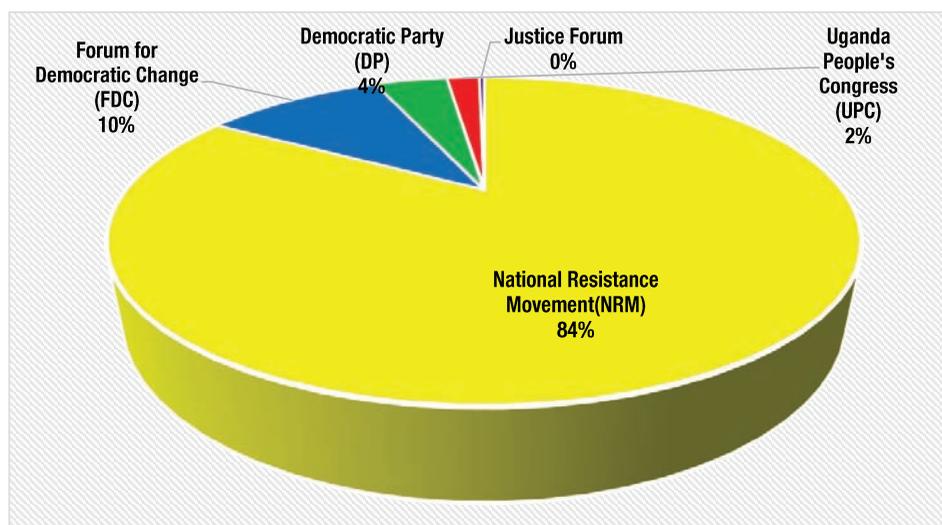


Source: Electoral Commission (2020)

### 6.1.2 Implications of the current political party financing context

In the Financial Years 2018/2019 and 2019/2020, political parties were allocated UGX 10 billion and in FY 2020/2021 during the election year, the allocation EC increased the sum to UGX 15 billion.

**Figure 12:** Showing Allocation of the Public Funds to Political Parties



Source: Analyzed Data Sets (2020)

### 6.1.4 Other sources of political party financing

The Political Parties and organizations Act (as amended) allows political parties to access funds from local and external sources, but puts a cap on how much a political party can access from a single source. Political parties are free to raise funds from own members. For example, Members of Parliament remit a monthly fee to their parent political parties as a percentage of their monthly earnings.

**Table 11:** Membership Annual Fees Structure for Political Parties

No.	Party	Amount
1	NRM	Free
2	FDC	5000
3	NUP	1000
4	DP	5000
5	UPC	5000
6	JEEMA	5000
7	ANT	3000

Source: Secondary Data

### 6.1.5 Opacity surrounding political party financing in Uganda

Whereas in context, political parties in Uganda thrive on member contributions in form of membership fees, donations, and public funding. The Political Parties Organization Act (2005) permits political parties to fundraise but with restrictions on sources<sup>6</sup> and puts a cap of UGX 400 million from foreign sources.

<sup>6</sup> Non Ugandan citizen, Foreign Government, Foreign NGO

Political parties receive funds from anonymous sources that are categorized as ‘well-wishers’ and ‘friends’ both within and outside the country. These financing entities prefer to remain anonymous for fear of political persecution especially those financing opposition political parties. The category of well-wishers included businessmen and individuals who believe in the ideals and aspirations of the party. For instance, National Unity Platform (NUP), has more than 60% of their funding coming from foreign sources in form of donations. These are the chapters in UK and US that believe in what NUP has called the ‘struggle’.

The Uganda People’s Congress (UPC) also gets 40% of its resources from friends and well-wishers living abroad. Whereas the study was able to establish that majority of opposition parties are financed by foreign sources in significant amounts, respondents maintained the anonymity of these sources and the amounts on grounds of protecting their funders from political persecution. Parties like FDC and JEEMA shared that majority of their local financiers have been persecuted through unfair taxation, threats and trumped-up charges. The ruling party is the biggest beneficiary of contributions in form of donations from well – wishers that mainly comprise of business community in Uganda.

Within the context of current political party financing architecture, transparent and accountable use of these resources by the party leadership structures remains questionable. Cases of corruption and abuse of resources have underlined the internal wrangles within political parties. President General Nobert Mao and UPC’s Akena have all been accused at some point of failing to account for resources. NRM Secretary General, Justine Lumumba has also been accused of failing to account for party resources at some point by some secretariat staff in 2016.

## **6.2 Sources of Political Party Financing**

Information on sources of political party funding in Uganda is not publicly declared, and hence shrouded in opacity. The Political Parties and Organisations Act (as emended) 2005 provides for openness and transparency in sourcing and spending political party financing, but these provisions are not rigorously enforced. The Electoral Commission is mandated to make publicly available this information after political parties have made annual returns, but ACFIM has on several occasions requested and not been granted access to these documents. The political parties represented in Parliament namely; NRM, FDC, DP, UPC and JEEMA, benefit from public financing from the national budget with the funds shared on basis of numerical strength in Parliament, but the Ugandan tax payer does not get to know how these funds are utilized by the political parties and how it is accounted for.

### **6.2.1 Democratic Party**

ACFIM learned that in addition to public financing, DP sourced her pre-campaign finances from development partners such as the National Institute for Multi-Party Democracy (NIMD), Konrad Adeneur Stiftung (KAS), contributions from the party’s Members of Parliament, membership fees and contributions from friends of the party.

### **6.2.2 National Resistance Movement**

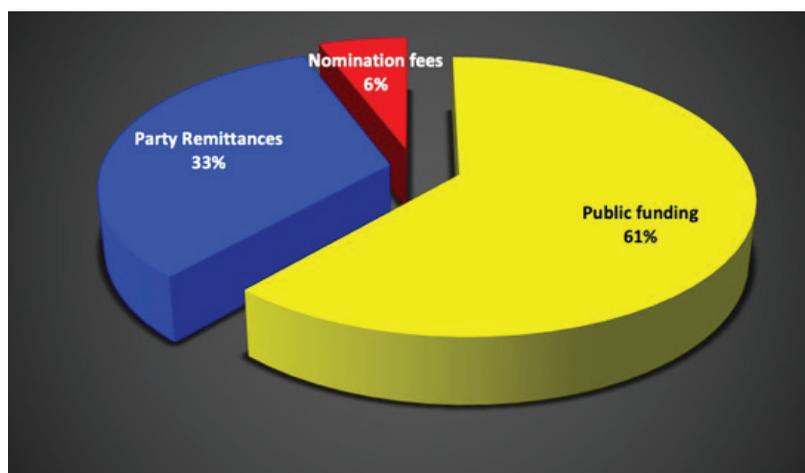
NRM enjoys a big number of MPs and the President of Uganda, who make monthly financial contributions of 20% of their salary to the party’s treasury. The NRM party further takes a lion’s share of the public funding to political parties receiving 83.4% of the total budget allocated. The party also gets contributions from business persons that are referred to as ‘friends and well-wishers’ of the party but this is not disclosed to the public. The study couldn’t establish how much NRM mobilises from friends and well-wishers of the party.

**Table 12:** Showing estimates of NRM funding sources

Source of Money	Amount
Public funding	41,689,750,695
Party Remittances	22,076,000,400
Nomination fees	3,898,500,000
Contributions from party well wishers	undisclosed
<b>Total</b>	<b>67,664,251,095</b>

Source: Analyzed data sets (2020)

**Figure 13:** Distribution of sources of NRM funding



Source: Analyzed data sets (2020)

### 6.2.3 Justice Forum

JEEMA’s main sources of funding include public funding, contributions from well-wishers and friends of the party who are mainly individuals from the business community in Uganda and those living in diaspora. Other sources include the annual membership fees where every member pays UGX 5000.

### 6.2.4 FDC Financing Party Activities

FDC’s party’s main funding has been coming from government funding and monthly contributions of party members especially MPs and party leaders, government funding basing on numerical strength and donations from both within Uganda and outside Uganda. FDC has had challenges in fundraising resources from its flag bearers in Parliament in form of monthly contributions from their salaries. On many occasions, a significant number of MPs have refused to remit monthly contributions to the party to run its party activities. Ordinarily, the Leader of Opposition and Commissioners contribute UGX 700,000 each, while chairpersons of committees remit UGX 500,000. Shadow ministers are expected to remit UGX 450,000 and MPs to contribute UGX 400,000. If all MPs of FDC were diligently paying their monthly fees, the party annually would collect a minimum of UGX 220 million.

### 6.2.5 National Unity Platform

ACFIM has established that the National Unity Platform (NUP) party runs a public fundraising campaign dubbed “Muda-ku-Muda @10K We Can”. This fundraising initiative requires every party member, supporter or well-wisher to contribute at least 10,000 shillings and above including items in kind. The fundraising

drive that was launched in August 2020 is aimed at soliciting financial support from all party members and friends for the forthcoming general elections. The campaign’s target is to mobilise UGX 1.17 trillion to support NUP flag bearer Robert Kyagulanyi Ssentamu’s presidential campaigns. The money was to facilitate selected NUP candidates that are financially struggling with campaign paraphernalia, transport and access to media.

**6.2.6 Alliance for National Transformation**

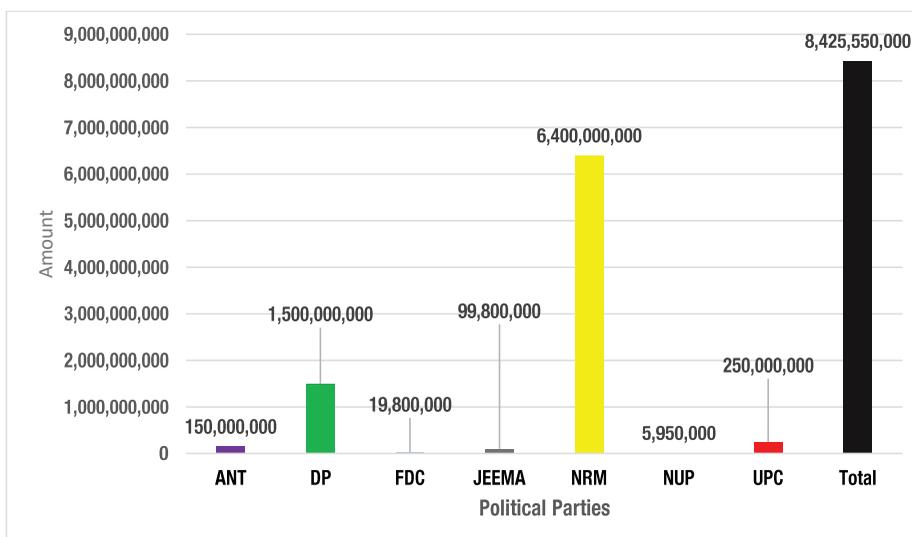
The Alliance for National Transformation Party sources its funding from party members, friends and well-wishers.

**6.3 Political Party Spending on Delegates Conferences**

The Political Parties and Organization Act (as amended) 2005 provides for internal organization of political parties within which the executive committee of the political party or organization is elected. Specifically, Section 10 (2) provides that “Every Political Party or Organization shall elect such a person as may be determined by members of the political party or organization as members of the executive committee of the political party or organization with due consideration for gender equity.” This provision compels political parties elect their leadership structures. Sub-section 3 provides for the election of members of the executive committee to be conducted at regular intervals not exceeding 5 years. This is in line with the constitutional term of 5 years. As such the law requires all political parties to conduct delegate’s conference to elect party leaders for a term of not exceeding 5 years including selecting party flag bearers to compete for the different political positions. The Political Parties and Organization Act 205 (Amended) subject political parties to internal democratic processes in identifying and electing office bearers and flag bearers.

Out of the 7 political parties<sup>7</sup> participating in the 2021 elections only 5 conducted delegates’ conference. These included: NRM, DP, UPC, NUP and JEEMA. The Forum for Democratic Change (FDC) and Alliance for National Transformation (ANT) conducted council and district meetings as an equivalent to the delegates meeting. All together the political parties spent an estimated bare minimum of UGX 8 billion.

**Figure 14: Distribution of Political Party Spending on Delegates Conference**



Source: ACFIM Analysis

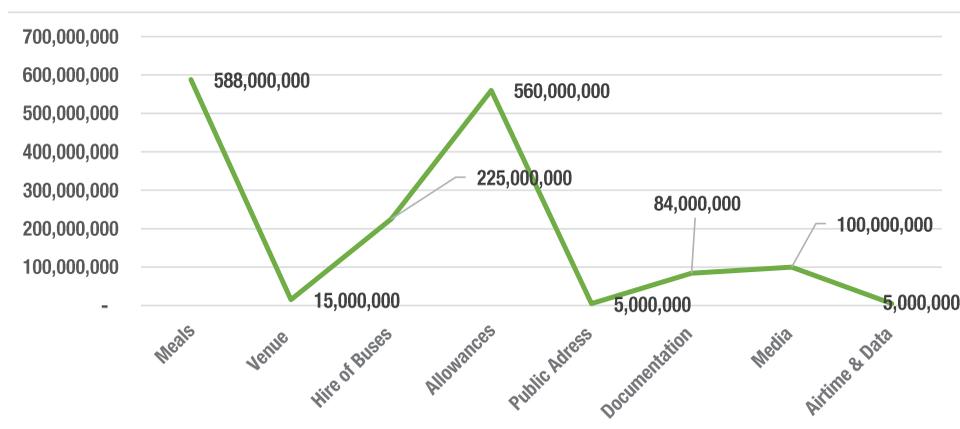
<sup>7</sup> NRM, FDC, DP, UPC, NUP, ANT & JEEMA

The study established that NRM was the highest spending party on delegates conference (UGX 6.4 billion), followed by DP (UGX1.5 billion). The least spending party was NUP having spent UGX 5.9 million.

### 6.3.1 The Democratic Party (DP)

The Democratic Party (DP) spent over UGX 1.5 billion to conduct a three-day national delegate’s conference in Gulu to elect the party president flag bearer and the National Executive Committee (NEC) leaders.

**Figure 15: DP Budget for Delegates Conference**



Source: Interview with DP Official.

Feeding the delegates took the lion’s share of UGX 588 million, followed by payment of allowances given to delegates (UGX 560 million). Each of the 2,800 delegates was facilitated with an allowance of UGX 200,000. The party hired 50 buses to transport delegates at a cost of UGX1.5 million each for 3 days, amounting to UGX 225 million. The publicity expenses cost the party UGX 100 million.

#### 6.3.1.1 Party Spending on Nomination of Flag Bearers

The Democratic Party fielded a candidate for President and 146 flag bearers for the position of Member of Parliament. The party paid the nomination fees for all its flag bearers and provided each with 3000 posters hence spending a minimum of UGX 525.6 million on this undertaking.

**Table 13: Showing DP’s expenditure on MP nomination fees and contribution to posters**

Item	No of flag bearers	Units	Fee/cost	Amount
Nomination fees	298	1	3,000,000	894,000,000
Posters	298	3000	200	178,800,000
<b>Total</b>				<b>1,072,800,000</b>

Source: Interview with DP delegate

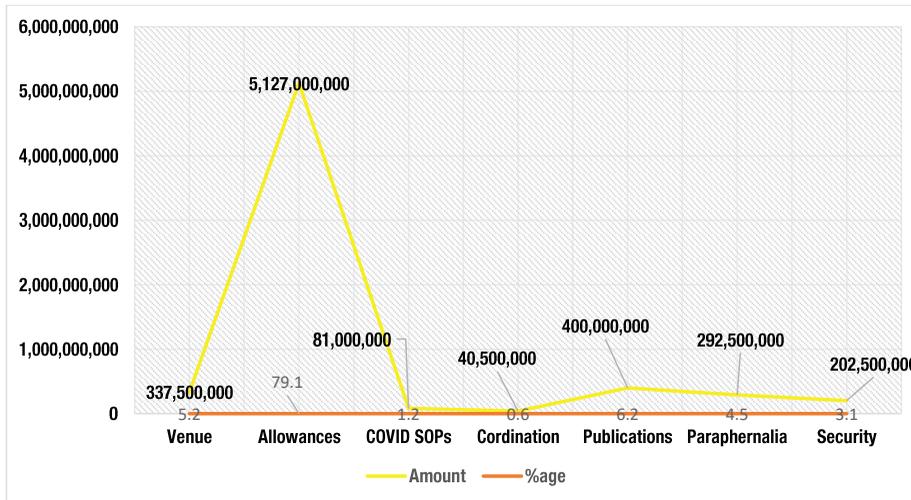
### 6.3.2 The National Resistance Movement (NRM) Party

In August 2020, the NRM held a party delegates conference ahead of the 2021 elections to elect the Central Executive Committee (CEC). Apart from the ring-fenced position of national chairperson who is also party flag bearer and the incumbent President Yoweri Museveni, the remaining positions are open and contestable. These include: first national vice chairperson, second national vice chairperson (female)

and the six regional vice chairpersons representing Kampala, Central, Western, Eastern, Northern and Karamoja were contested.

The delegates’ conference was decentralized by region (central, western, eastern and northern) and conducted simultaneously but coordinated virtually, and was broadcast live on selected national television stations. Information obtained from the NRM secretariat indicates that the party ostensibly spent up to UGX 6.4 billion to organize and conduct the delegates conference.

**Figure 16: Expenses of NRM on the Delegates Conference**



Source: Analyzed data sets (2020)

Information available to ACFIM indicates that payment of delegates’ allowances took the biggest percentage (79%) of their total budget for the delegates conference. The conference was understandably attended by 1,500 delegates and each delegate was paid UGX340,000 as allowance. Production of publications documenting the NRM milestones, NRM roadmap, NRM constitution, the Secretary General’s report and a compilation of the National Chairman key speeches accounted for 6% of the budget. UGX 292million was spent on party paraphernalia for the conference in form of party branded masks, accreditation tags, notebooks, pens, pocket folders and party flag. To observe SOPs, the party utilized 1% of the budget (UGX 81 million) to buy sanitizers, soap, paper towels for the different regionalized meeting venues.

### 6.3.2.1 Money Galore in the Race for CEC Positions

The NRM party runs a decentralized structure reflected in its policy organs, administrative organs, special organs and the and the caucuses. A candidate contesting for a CEC position is expected to sell his/her candidature to all those structures including the District Executive Committee comprising seven members. There are also special organs which include; elders league, entrepreneurs league, institutions league, veterans league, historicals’ league, women league, workers league, youth league and, people with disabilities’ league. Each of these special organs, have a 10-man member committee. Central Executive Committee (CEC) candidates convened meetings at districts and regional level in which they met delegates from these various structures in bid to popularize their candidature and secure support. At the district, the candidates met the District Executive Committee.

The campaigns for the party’s CEC positions were in all form and manner characterized by massive spending especially on positions that attracted stiff competition like 2nd National Vice Chairperson, Vice Chairperson Eastern and Vice Chairperson Northern. In total 27 candidates contested for the positions

of; first national vice chairperson, second national vice chairperson (female) and the six regional vice chairpersons representing Kampala, central, western, eastern, northern and Karamoja.

**Table 14: CEC candidates and their nomination fees**

Sn	Name	Position	Region	Nomination Fees
1	Yoweri Kaguta Museveni	National Chairperson	National	10,000,000
2	Haj. Moses Kigongo	1st National Vice Chairman	National	5,000,000
3	Francis Babu	1st National Vice Chairman	National	5,000,000
4	Kefa Mafumu	1st National Vice Chairman	National	5,000,000
5	Rebecca Kadaga	2nd National Vice Chairperson	National	5,000,000
6	Persis Namuganza	2nd National Vice Chairperson	National	5,000,000
7	Jane Amongi Okili	2nd National Vice Chairperson	National	5,000,000
8	Deborah Kinobe	2nd National Vice Chairperson	National	5,000,000
9	Abdul Nadduli	Vice Chairperson Central	Central Uganda	2,500,000
10	Godfrey Kiwanda	Vice Chairperson Central	Central Uganda	2,500,000
11	Twaha Kiganda Sonko	Vice Chairperson Central	Central Uganda	2,500,000
12	Ensi Egumire Kibedi	Vice Chairperson Central	Central Uganda	2,500,000
13	Sam Engola	Vice Chairperson Northern	Northern Uganda	2,500,000
14	Jacob Oulanya	Vice Chairperson Northern	Northern Uganda	2,500,000
15	Samuel Odong Eledo	Vice Chairperson Northern	Northern Uganda	2,500,000
16	Godfrey Nyakaana	Vice Chairperson Kampala	Kampala	2,500,000
17	Salim Uhuru	Vice Chairperson Kampala	Kampala	2,500,000
18	Singh Katongole	Vice Chairperson Kampala	Kampala	2,500,000
19	Mike Mukula	Vice Chairperson Eastern	Eastern Uganda	2,500,000
20	Sanjay Tana	Vice Chairperson Eastern	Eastern Uganda	2,500,000
21	Simon Peter Alepa	Vice Chairperson Karamoja	Karamoja	2,500,000
22	Jimmy Lokumu	Vice Chairperson Karamoja	Karamoja	2,500,000
23	Maj. Gen Mateyo	Vice Chairperson Western	Western Uganda	2,500,000
24	Rogers Tuguire Bifa	Vice Chairperson Western	Western Uganda	2,500,000
25	Chris Baryomunsi	Vice Chairperson Western	Western Uganda	2,500,000
26	Shaban Bantariza	Vice Chairperson Western	Western Uganda	2,500,000
27	Emmanuel Kisembo	Vice Chairperson Western	Western Uganda	2,500,000
	<b>SUB-TOTAL</b>			<b>92,500,000</b>

*Source: NRM Secretariat (2020)*

### 6.3.2.2 Spending on CEC

To understand the spending during CEC, the study examined the spending patterns looking at the major cost incurred by the candidates namely; spending on district delegates and media

CEC candidates spend on the following:

- Nomination fees
- Delegates allowances (inclusive of transport refund)

- c. Venue for the meeting
- d. Accommodation for delegates
- e. Meals/Refreshments for delegates
- f. Coordination
- g. Transport

The biggest expenditure a CEC candidate incurred was on the allowances of delegates that they convened during the campaign process. On average each meeting convened by the candidate was attended by a minimum of 100 delegates. The average amount of allowance given to delegates was Ugx100,000. On average, a candidate met not less than 1000 delegates across the 14 sub regions of Ankole, Kigezi, Bunyoro, Rwenzori, Lango, Acholi, Karamoja, West-Nile, Sebei, Bugisu, Bukedi, Teso, Busoga and Buganda, which amounted to spending a minimum of UGX 100 million on facilitating delegates.

The hot contests between Speaker of Parliament Hon Rebecca Kadaga and Hon. Persis Namuganza for the position of second national vice chairperson; between Captain Mike Mukula and Sanjay Tana for vice chairperson Eastern; between Chris Baryomunsi and Major General Matayo Kyaligonza for vice chairperson Western; and between Hon. Sam Engola and Deputy Speaker of Parliament Hon. Jacob Olanya for vice chairperson Northern, spurred an increase in spending including running prime time campaign adverts on leading national television stations.

#### 6.3.2.3 Joint Campaigns Lessened Cost Burden on Aspirants

ACFIM observed formation of alliances between some aspirants during the CEC campaigns. These alliances helped candidates to share costs incurred on meeting delegates. The most notable alliance observed was the one between Captain Mike Mukula, Sam Engola and the Speaker Rebecca Kadaga. The alliance between Mukula and Kadaga was observed in the joint delegates meetings held in Bunyoro region (Hoima). In Acholi sub region, Kadaga, Mukula and Engola held joint campaigns while meeting delegates in Gulu. In the sub regions of Lango and West Nile, Mike Mukula and Sam Engola jointly met delegates in Lira and Arua respectively. These alliances in part helped the candidates to leverage resources and partly contributed to candidates defeating their closest opponents. The speaker Rebecca Kadaga defeated Persis Namuganza, Captain Mike Mukula won Sanjay Tana, while Sam Engola defeated Jacob Oulanya

#### 6.3.3 The Justice Forum (JEEMA) Party

Justice Forum (JEEMA) conducted their national delegate's conference on which an estimated UGX 100 million was spent. This delegates conference resolved to extend the tenure of current party leaders to two and half years. The funds were spent on among other things hiring venue, payment for meals and refreshments, hiring transport refund for delegates, hiring tents and chairs, and public address system. Delegates were facilitated with a transport refund of UGX 100,000. The delegates conference attracted approximately 500 delegates. The biggest cost item in the budget of the delegates' conference was facilitating delegates with allowances which accounted for 70 per cent of the entire budget. Each delegate received an allowance of UGX 100,000. The second biggest expenditure (25%) was on meals given to the delegates. JEEMA did not carry out party primary elections understandably because of financial constraints. Flag bearers were either selected or appointed by the party's leadership.

#### 6.3.4 Forum for Democratic Change Party

Forum for Democratic Change (FDC) party held party primaries in selected districts where they had strong competition between candidates such as Kalaki, Ngora, Busia, Mbale city, Rukungiri, Kasese,

and Jinja city constituencies among others. Elsewhere, the party used the District Executive Committees to vet and appoint flag bearers. The National council comprising of membership of all FDC Members of Parliament, District LCV chairpersons serving and FDC party District chairmen endorsed party flag bearers. In some of the districts the party’s flag bearers stood unopposed. The party held an extraordinary national council meeting at their offices – Najjanankumbi that cost approximately UGX 20 million shillings. The party also facilitated the two presidential flag bearers namely; Waswa Biriggwa and Patrick Amuriat to traverse the country campaigning among delegates. FDC further spent on payment of nomination fees for all their flag bearers.

### 6.3.4.1 Contribution to Party Flag Bearers

The Forum for Democratic Change fielded a Presidential flag bearer and 316 candidates for Member of Parliament races. The party has spent close over UGX 1.3 billion shillings on contributions towards nomination fees and printing of posters for the candidates.

**Figure 17: FDC’s Contributions to Flag Bearers**



Source: Analyzed data sets (2020)

### 6.3.4.2 Extra Ordinary National Council Meeting

Forum for Democratic Change convened an extra ordinary council meeting to endorse Patrick Oboi Amuriat (POA) as the presidential flag bearer 2021 for the party. The party spent close to UGX 20 million shillings.

**Table 15: Showing Breakdown of Spending on Extra Ordinary Council Meeting**

No	ITEM	Number	Amount	Total
1	Tents hire	5	500,000	2,500,000
2	Hiring chairs	400	500	200,000
3	Public Address	1	1,000,000	1,000,000
4	Pens	400	500	200,000
5	Notebooks	400	1000	400,000
6	Tags	500	200	100,000
7	Stationery of program and report	350	500,000	500,000
8	Printing of T-shirts	500	15,000	7,500,000
9	Tea breakfast	400	6000	2,400,000

No	ITEM	Number	Amount	Total
10	Refreshments(Sodas and water)	400	1000	400,000
11	lunch (Meals)	400	12,000	4,800,000
	Total			19,800,000

Source: Analyzed data sets (2020)

### 6.3.5 Alliance for National Transformation

Alliance for National Transformation (ANT) called off its National Delegates Conference after failing to secure clearance from the Electoral Commission. The party instead held regional delegates meetings in 14 regions to endorse General Muntu as the Presidential flag bearer and identify flag bearers for other political positions. ANT spent an estimate of Ugx 150 million on the regional meetings. The study established that regional delegates meetings proved to be cheaper than the planned national delegates conference reducing significantly the planned expenditure from UGX 500million to UGX 150million.

*“We asked candidates to facilitate themselves for the district meetings that were vetting flag bearers. This reduced the costs the party incurred on the meetings.”* Hon Alice Alaso-Finance & Administration

Alliance for National Transformation (ANT) has fielded up to 130 candidates across all political positions and contributed nomination fees at parliamentary level to only those candidates that were financially struggling. The study couldn't verify how many candidates received contributions for their nomination fees.

### 6.3.6 National Unity Platform (NUP)

The National Unity Platform (NUP) considers the meeting in which the party changed its name from National Unity, Reconciliation and Development Party to National Unity Platform (NURDP), and its leadership from Moses Nkonge Kibalama to Robert Kyagulanyi Ssentamu as its delegates conference. It was during that meeting that the party leadership endorsed Hon Kyagulanyi Ssentamu as its presidential flag bearer and adopted a new party symbol and color. The delegates' conference was held at Kakiri Gardens Hotel in Wakiso at an estimated cost of Ugx 6,000,000.

**Table 16:** Showing Breakdown of Spending on Delegates Conference

No	Item	Unit	Unit cost	Amount
1	Venue	1	500,000	500,000
2	Public Address System	1	500,000	500,000
3	Meals Refreshments	50	15000	750,000
4	Transport refunds	50	50,000	2,500,000
5	Advert for delegates conference	1	1,500,000	1,500,000
6	Coordination	1	300,000	200,000
	<b>Total</b>			<b>5,950,000/=</b>

Source: Analyzed data sets (2020)

#### 6.3.6.1 The vetting system of NUP

The National Unity Platform (NUP) used the vetting system to select its party flag bearers for the different political positions. The justification was, that NUP was a young party, without established national party structures to conduct party primaries. The NUP vetting exercise attracted 653 candidates out of which 427 flag bearers were endorsed to contest for various parliamentary positions across the country. The

election management committee that handled the vetting exercise considered the academic qualifications of the aspirants, loyalty to the party, capacity to mobilise support for the party and ability to fund own campaigns including contribution of the aspirant to the struggle of the party, among others.

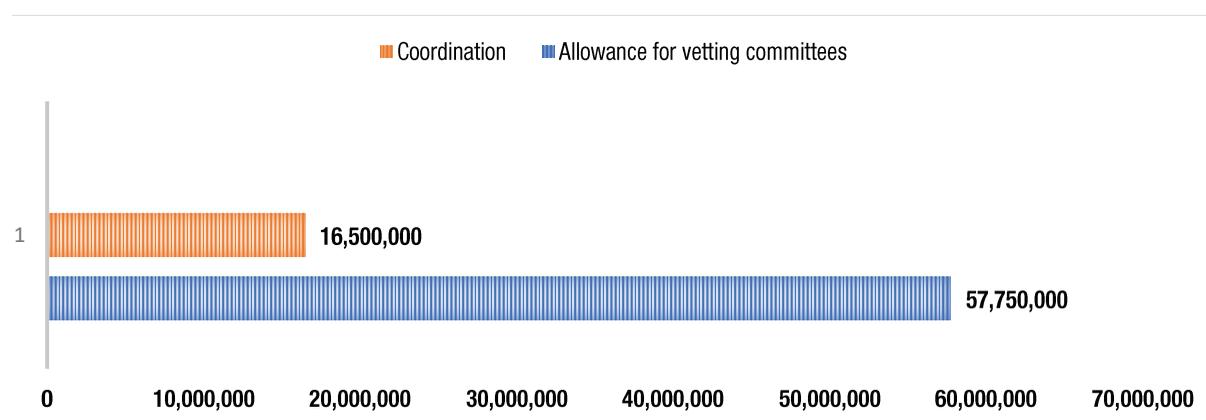
The vetting of party flag bearers was structured from the district level up to the constituency level.

**Table 17: NUP vetting structure**

Level	No of vetting committees
District	146
Constituency level	19
<b>Total</b>	<b>165</b>

Source: Analyzed data sets (2020)

**Figure 18: NUP's Expenditure on the Vetting Exercise**



Source: Interview with NUP delegate (2020)

Each vetting committee comprised 5 – 7 members and each member, was facilitated an allowance of UGX 10,000 per day for 7 days. Every vetting committee was allocated Ugx 100,000 for coordination of the exercise.

### 6.3.6.2 Participants petition NUP over the vetting process

ACFIM established that the vetting exercise though a cheaper option compared to conducting party primaries, was a subjective process, prone to human bias. It requires an elaborative selection criteria and guidelines. Success of the process is highly dependent on the integrity of the personnel. By the end of the NUP vetting exercise, the election management committee had over 100 petitions with allegations of bribery and sextortion.

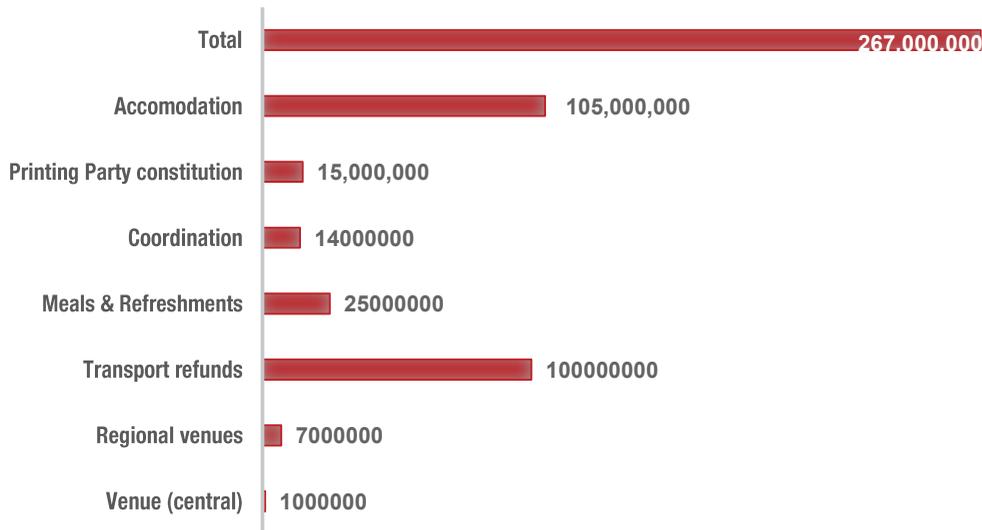
### 6.3.6.3 NUP's contribution for nominations fees.

By the time of this report, the NUP fundraising drive had raised an estimated Ugx 171 million. National Unity Platform only managed to have 240 nominated MPs out of the 427 endorsed aspirants since majority failed to raise the required nomination fees. The party couldn't contribute nomination fees for all its flag bearers and could only support a few mainly from western and northern districts that had majority of the aspirants financially constrained. The study couldn't establish the number of NUP candidates that received party contribution for nomination fees and the total cost incurred by the party on nomination fees for its flag bearers.

### 6.3.7 Uganda People’s Congress (UPC)

Uganda People’s Congress spent an approximate of UGX 250million on delegates conference to endorse party flag bearers, the party president, and approve the party manifesto 2021-2026. UPC was part of the 4 parties<sup>8</sup> that benefited from the NIMD support under the Political Parties Capacity Support Project. All parties under the IPOD were given support to a tune of UGX 100 million each towards strengthening their internal democratic processes.

**Figure 19: UPC’s Estimated Expenditure on Delegates Conference**



Source: Interview with UPC Official (2020)

#### 6.3.7.1 UPC contributions to flag bearers

The party contributed nomination fees for its parliamentary flag bearers. UPC has 47 nominated MPs.

**Table 18: UPC’s Contribution to Nomination Fees of MPs**

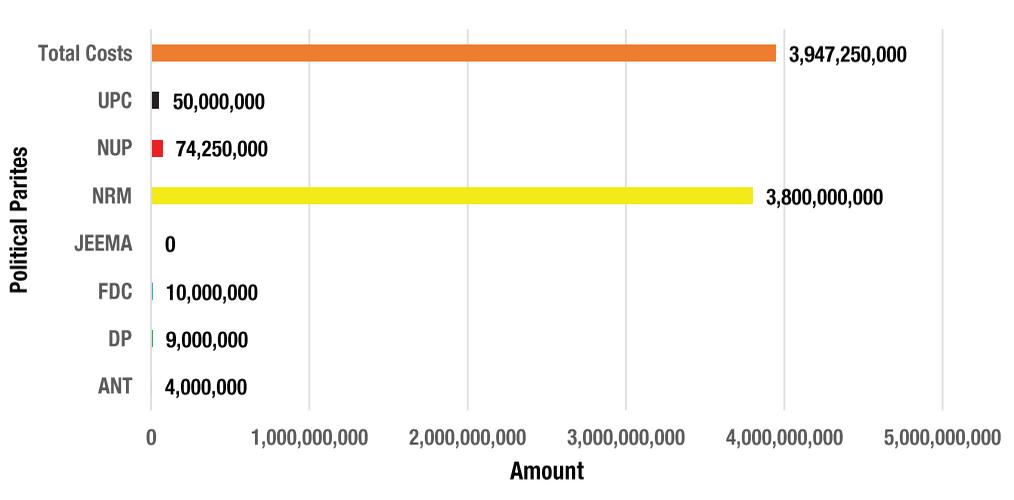
Item	No of flag bearers	Fee	Total Amount
Nomination fees (MPs)	47	3,000,000	141,000,000
Total			141,000,000

Source: Analyzed data sets (2020)

8 DP, UPC, JEEMA, FDC

Out of the 7 political parties studied only 5 conducted party primaries and these included: NRM, FDC, UPC, DP and ANT. Apart from NRM whose party primaries were highly contested, FDC, DP, UPC and ANT only held party primaries in places where there were more than 2 aspirants contesting for the same positions and failing to agree on single party flag bearer. The study reveals that consensus through dialogue was applied by most political parties to field one candidate and avoid spending on organizing party primaries. This approach proved cost effective as most political parties had their flag bearers elected unopposed. The study established the bare minimum total cost incurred on party primaries by political parties was UGX 3.9 billion. It is thus deduced that political parties spent much less in organizing party primaries compared to 2015.

**Figure 20: Estimated Expenditure on Party Primaries**



Source: Analyzed data sets (2020)

### 7.1 The competition in UPC stronghold districts

The party primaries of UPC were held mainly in districts from Lango and Teso sub region. All the districts of Lango which included; Amolatar, Alebtong Dokolo, Lira, Kole, Apac, Oyam, Otuke and Kwania attracted more than one candidate contesting for the same positions. In Teso region, it was the districts of Amuria, Katakwi and Soroti where primaries were held.

The party primaries cost UPC an estimate of UGX 50 million. The money was mainly spent on voting materials and, supporting party Electoral Commission and Regional structures to conduct the party primaries. The party also supported a dialogue team comprised of party cabinet members to reach out to the contesting aspirants in bid to convince the weaker candidates to step down and allow the stronger ones be the flag bearers.

The study couldn't establish the budget breakdown for this exercise but observes that the party spent the money on facilitating members of the party Electoral Commission (EC), Regional structure and the dialogue team with transport, accommodation, meals and a modest allowance.

## 7.2 ANT holds party primaries in four districts

Apart from the districts of Gulu, Mbarara, Ntungamo, and Kamwengye, in the rest of the places where ANT fielded candidates, they were elected unopposed as flag bearers. The party expenses were only on facilitating a maximum of 2 party EC officials and the interim district structures where the primaries took place. The party spent not more than Ugx 4 million on the district primaries.

## 7.3 FDC district party primaries

The Forum for Democratic Change (FDC) held party primaries in districts that attracted more than one candidate vying for the party flag for the same position. Some of these districts included; Ngora, Busia, Mbale, Jinja, Rukungiri, Kasese. It cost FDC an estimate Ugx 10 million to hold the district party primaries.

## 7.4 DP Party Primaries

The Democratic Party conducted party primaries in the six districts of Mukono, Wakiso, Kalungu, Masaka, Paliisa and Gulu. The party facilitated each district with Ugx 1.5 million to organize party primaries and choose a flag bearer. The party primaries were organized through the district delegates structure in the aforementioned districts. The money was spent on facilitating district delegates, a National Executive Committee member to supervise the primaries, meals and refreshments, coordination and hiring of venue. In total DP spent not less than Ugx 9 million on party primaries.

## 7.5 Party Primaries of NRM

The study observed that NRM primaries to elect flag bearers were in all form and manner characterized by money, impunity and violence. Momentarily candidates and the electorate forgot all about COVID-19 restrictions, and open voter bribery and rigging was witnessed. Incidents of violence in districts like Sembabule, Isingiro, Ntungamo, Mbale, Namutumba among others were reported resulting to people getting wounded and in unfortunate extreme cases killed.

The highly competitive race for being a party flag bearer for NRM attracted 2054 candidates contesting for the positions of District Woman MP, Constituency MP, Special Interest Groups (SIGs) MP and District Chairpersons out of which only 35 were elected unopposed<sup>9</sup>.

**Table 19: Showing the positions contested for and number of contestants in the NRM Primaries**

No	Position	No of contestants
1	District Woman MP	584
2	Constituency MP	1112
3	SIG MP	46
4	District Chairpersons	312
	<b>Total</b>	<b>2,054</b>

Source: Analyzed data sets (2020)

<sup>9</sup> Jacob Oulanyah (Omoroto county), Dr. Jane Ruth Aceng (DWR Lira City), Ronald Kibuule (Mukono North), Vincent Bamulangaki Ssempiija (Kalungu East), Haluna Kasolo Kyeyune (Kyotera County), Freddie Ruhindi (Nakawa East), Amelia Kyambadde (Mawokota North), Lydia Mirembe (DWR Butambala), Fred Badda (Bujumba), Aida Nabaigga (Kalangala), Hillary Lokwang (Ik), Makumbi Henry Kamyia (Mityana South), Anita Among (Bukedea woman), Adoia Hellen (Serere Woman), Amiga Leah Jesca (Soroti woman), Bhoka Didi George (Obongi County), Anywar Ricky Richard (Agago West), Lapolo Mariea Shaka (Gulu city woman), Kenneth Ocen Obwat (Nwoya East), Gerald Nangoli (Elgon North), Emely Kugonza (Buyanja East), Bismark Bidondole Muhammad (Jinja East North), James Olobo (Kioga North), Awor Betty Engola (Apac woman), Benson Ogwang Echonga (Maruzi county), Chono Patrick Okello (Maruzi North), Jimmy Okello (Apac municipality), Sam Engola (Erute South), Acon Julius Bua (Otuke East), Ssozi Abas (Mukono municipality), and Robert Asiimwe (Kimanya Kabonera in Masaka City).

### 7.5.1 How much did the NRM Spend on Party Primary Elections?

In 2016, the NRM Electoral Commission chairman, Dr Tanga Odoi revealed that the party spent at least UGX 5 billion to hold its primaries. The study through interviews indicates that the 2020 NRM party primaries cost the party much less. The reduction in the cost was due to the less costs associated with the method of lining up as opposed to secret ballot that the party used in 2015. The study established that the party didn't have to incur costs related to organizing a secret ballot such as; printing of ballot papers, ballot boxes, transportation of voting materials to different venues, security for voting materials among others. The study couldn't establish exactly how much NRM EC spent on organizing party primaries.

### 7.5.2 Financing NRM Party Primaries

Part of the money that was used to finance party primaries came from the nomination fees collected from aspirants.

**Table 20:** Showing nomination fees collected from the NRM Party Primaries

Sn	Position	Nomination fee	No of nomination forms picked	Total Nomination fees collected
1	Presidential flag bearer	10,000,000	1	10,000,000
2	District Woman MP	2,000,000	584	1,168,000,000
3	Constituency MP	2,000,000	1112	2,224,000,000
4	SIG MP	2,000,000	46	92,000,000
5	District Chairpersons	1,000,000	312	312,000,000
	<b>Total</b>			<b>3,806,000,000</b>

Source: Analyzed data sets (2020)

### 7.5.3 Party Contribution to Nominations Fees of Flagbearers

The NRM reimbursed all the elected flag bearers their nomination fees paid during party primaries. The party paid an estimated UGX 1.7 billion to 660 party flag bearers for the position of directly elected MPs and LCVs including City and Division Mayors.

**Table 21:** Showing re-imbusement for nomination fees of NRM flag bearers

Sn	Position	Number of flag bearers	Nomination fee	Amount
1	Presidential flag bearer	1	10,000,000	10,000,000
2	Constituency MP	353	2,000,000	706,000,000
3	District Woman MP	146	2,000,000	292,000,000
4	SIG MP	15	2,000,000	30,000,000
5	District Chairpersons	146	1,000,000	146,000,000
	<b>Total</b>			<b>1,184,000,000</b>

Source: Analyzed data sets (2020)

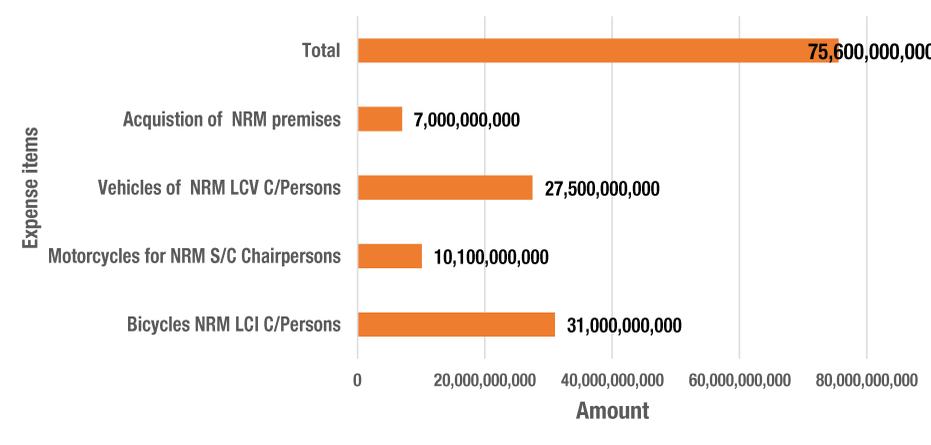
## 7.6 NRM in Own Spending League

When it comes to spending on pre-campaign activities, the NRM's spending power is unmatched by any of the political parties participating in the electoral arena. The party leads while other just follow as "also participants". The party has spent an over UGX 100 billion on buying, bicycles for all NRM village

chairpersons, motorcycles for sub county chiefs/municipal divisions, buying the premises that currently host the party headquarters on Kyadondo road, buying motor vehicles for NRM district chairpersons, among others.

The spending by NRM even before the official start of the campaigns already indicates which party will take lead in political party spending during 2021 elections. The unregulated campaign spending of the NRM party is already not levelling the playing field, favoring the well-resourced incumbent party in visibility and fielding of political candidates with significant potential to influence electoral outcomes.

**Figure 21: Estimated Pre campaign expenditure of NRM**



Source: Analyzed data sets (2020)



Bicycles for NRM’s village voter mobilization. Photo: Courtesy of New Vision News paper

### **8.1 NRM Party primaries**

Party primaries, particularly in NRM, have been getting more commercialized and equally violent with every election cycle. In 2010, 2015 and now 2020, NRM party primaries have been in all manner and form underpinned with violence and excessive use of money. In 2015, the party primaries were violent marred with scenes of blood, teargas, fist fights and unfortunately killings. The mess in the 2015 primaries such as missing ballot papers at polling stations, late voting in most districts, candidates' names missing on ballot papers, and the voters register being in shambles precipitated arguments in favor of lining up in the consequent 2020 primaries. This was to address the transparency and accountability gaps that consistently bedeviled NRM primaries. The 2020 NRM primaries proved the argument wrong. They were more chaotic with escalated violence and use of money. Again, the NRM voter register was at the center of the chaos.

### **8.2 The disputed voter register**

The woes of NRM's messed up party register can be traced as far back as during the tenure of former premier and Secretary General Patrick Amama Mbabazi. In 2010, NRM under the supervision the Secretary General Amama Mbabazi undertook a horrendous task of registering all its members. The party relied on state structures Gombolola Internal Security Officers (GISOs) and active elected politicians to provide registrars – who were mostly their supporters. The registration exercise drew contestations and was the center of dispute as some GISO's were accused of working for some political camps to deny registering party members belonging to rival camps. The process was marred by lots of discrepancies, including the registration of ghost members, names of strangers and deliberate omission of some of the party's supporters. At that time, NRM was boasting of nine million members. In 2015, NRM attempted to clean up the register to avoid the repeat of 2010 but the same problems of missing names of party members from the register and inflated party register persisted. In 2020, the party found itself at cross roads with unresolved problems of a party register that has missing names of party members.

### **8.3 Party Chairperson's Directive on NRM's party primary**

One the eve of party primary elections, President Museveni, who is also the NRM national chairman directed that all party members with cards but not necessarily in the party register be allowed to vote in the party primaries. By this directive, the party chairperson unilaterally overthrew the party's voter register, hence opened the flood gates for vote rigging. The directive of the President though made in line with Article 14 (f) of the NRM Constitution, that enjoins him to offer guidance to the organs of NRM, undermined the integrity of the voting process for the party primaries. It became the trigger of violence and vote rigging that characterized the NRM party primaries.

**Table 22:** Districts with Cases of Violence in the 2020 NRM Primaries

Sn.	Districts	Constituencies	Candidates involved
1	Namutumba	Bukono	Persis Namuganza Vs Emma Maganda Katoko
2	Mbale	Mbale DWR	Lydia Wanyoto Vs Connie Nakayenze Galiwango
3	Katakwi	Katakwi DWR	Jessica Alupo Vs Violet Akurut Adome
5	Isingiro	Isingiro South	Lt. Col. Bright Rwamirama Vs Dr. Posiano Mugenyi
6	Sembabule	Mawogola North Mawogola West	Shartsi Musherure Vs Sodo Kaguta Hanifa Kawooya Vs Joseph Ssekabito
7	Bushenyi	DWR	Mary Karoro Okurut Vs Annet Mugisha
8	Ntungamo	Rushenyi county	Mwesigwa Rukutana Vs Naome Kabasharira

*Source: Analyzed data sets (2020)*

In all the selected districts where violence broke out during NRM primaries, it involved candidates in a showdown for supremacy in spending to secure the NRM party flag. The mainly affected constituencies involved candidates perceived to be political heavy weights. The most outstanding case was in Sembabule, Mawogola North where Sam Kuteesa's daughter Shartsi Musherure faced off with the President's young brother Sodo Aine Kaguta. Others included state minister for lands, Persis Namuganza in Namutumba (Bukono constituency), state minister for labour, Mwesigwa Rukutana, Ntungamo in Rushenyi county, Jessica Alupo, former minister for Education in Katakwi, Lt. Col. Bright Rwamirama in Isingiro south constituency, Dr Elioda Tumwesigye (Minister for Ministry of Science, Technology and Innovation) in Sheema municipality and, Mary Karoro Okurut (Minister in-charge of general duties) in Bushenyi among others.

#### 8.4. Regional perspectives

The study observed that in the western region, in the districts of Sheema, Bushenyi, Ntungamo, Isingiro and Kabale where electoral violence broke out, contestants outspent each other in bid to carry the NRM flag. The do or die contest in the party primaries specifically in the western region is partly due to the party dominance in the region to the extent that being a flag bearer is as good as 'almost' being the MP or LCV elect. The study observed that contestants 'pulled all the stops' including spending excessively to become flag bearers. In a winner takes it all situation, violence was inevitable as candidates out marshaled each other to obtain the party flag. In Sheema Municipality, the contest between Dicksons Kateshumbwa (new entrant) and Dr Elioda Tumwesigye (incumbent) was characterized with massive spending and violence, so was the case in Bushenyi between Mary Karoro Okurut (incumbent) and Annet Mugisha (new entrant). In Ntungamo, there was of excessive spending and violence including the ugly scenes involving the Deputy Attorney General Mwesigwa Rukutana (incumbent) allegedly pointing a gun to people believed to be belonging to the rival camp of Naome Kabasharira.

The study deduces that the manner in which NRM party primaries turned out to be monetized, violent with incidences of open voter bribery give an insight into how the 2021 elections will span out. The argument is that, the general elections are being organized under the auspices of the same party in power that demonstrated violent and monetized elections within its party. The study concludes that what happened in the NRM primaries mirrored what to expect in the 2021 general elections.

### 9.1 Conclusions

Covid-19 pandemic affected political party funding negatively given that majority of the parties especially in opposition rely on party donations from both within and outside Uganda. The economic meltdown as a result of Covid-19 reduced funding streams from both corporate and individual donations that political parties receive. The restrictions and guidelines that were instituted to control the spread of the Covid-19 affected the manner in which political parties conducted their party primaries and delegates conferences. The financing challenges faced by political parties especially in the opposition has limited their participation in the 2021 elections with likely implications of the electoral outcomes.

Financing political parties within the context of Uganda is still a challenge. Although the current Political Parties Organisations Act (as amended) 2005, provides for public funding of political parties during elections and routine party activities, its application has only been limited to financing day to day party activities on basis of numerical representation in parliament. This has favored the incumbent NRM party with majority representation in parliament, denying opposition political parties public funding to participate in elections as required by law.

There is lack of transparency and openness when it comes to financing political parties in Uganda. Majority of the political parties especially in opposition prefer to keep their sources of funding anonymous for fear of victimizing their funding sources. The fusion between the state and the NRM makes it difficult to separate party resources from state resources. The opaqueness in the funding sources for political parties gives room for illicit political party funding which is not only bad for democracy but also compromises the sovereignty of the state.

The ruling NRM party has since the return to multi-party politics employed violence and money as tactics to subdue and weaken opposition political parties. The same tactics that have proved effective for the party, are now being applied by the party members against each other in party primaries. This explains why the NRM party primaries since 2010, 2015 and now 2020 have all been marred with violence and unregulated use of money. The difference in 2020 was in the magnitude and the open voter bribery witnessed. NRM party primaries have tended to mirror what happens in the general elections.

There is a direct relationship between excessive spending and violence in electoral processes. Violence is often triggered by electoral malpractices financed by candidates to win elections at all costs. Incumbents and political heavy weights like serving ministers seldom resist the temptation of using state resources including security forces for political advantage against their political rivals. Where money fails to secure an outright win, violence is employed as an alternative or a counter measure by a candidate with less money in do or die contest.

## 9.2 Recommendations

The study proposes the following recommendations;

### Recommendations to Political Parties

Political parties need to deliberately invest in building structures from grassroots to the national level, and strong systems in order to attract genuine members that will grow the party. It's through party memberships that political parties can be self –sustaining by first fundraising from within their membership both fiscal and non – fiscal resources. To date many Ugandans don't belong or associate with political parties and still vote individuals not parties. On the other hand, political parties have failed to sell their vision and ideology to the public to attract membership. Political parties must address this gap by aggressively reaching out to the public and recruit members.

Political parties should diversify their funding sources and not rely on public funding which is barely sufficient to run party activities and compete in elective politics. Beyond membership fees and donations, the political parties can diversify into income generating activities within the confines of the law. To date Uganda has 26 political parties and Organisations, and majority are in limbo without financing and are hardly known to the public because they don't have structures.

### Recommendation to Electoral Commission

The Electoral Management Body should implement in totality the provision of public financing of political parties as embedded in the Political Parties Organization Act 2010 (amended). Specifically, section 14(b) of the amendment which provides for government financing political organizations and parties on equal basis in respect to elections. Public funding of political parties to participate in elections gives the parties an opportunity to fairly compete in the electoral process.

The Electoral Commission should make publicly accessible (also in line with the Access to Information Act 2005), information on how Government financing to political parties has been utilized and accounted for by the recipient political parties since the enactment of the amended PPOA Act (2010)

### Recommendation to Government

The NRM led government should put in place a conducive environment that allows political parties to fundraise resources from within Uganda without victimizing these sources. This will protect the politics and sovereignty of Uganda from illicit funding and foreign interests

### Recommendation to Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs

The Ministry should consider enacting a comprehensive election campaign finance law to legislate on the mandatory disclosure of campaign sources (income) and expenditure, capping the contribution and spending limits, and reporting. This will protect political parties from unnecessary campaign spending, promote transparency and accountability in the electoral processes. All the electoral outcomes of 2001,2006,2011 and 2016 have fallen short of integrity standards partly due to the excessive use of money in the electoral processes specifically election campaigns.

### Recommendation to National Resistance Movement (NRM)

The ruling party should strive to set the required acceptable standards in managing party primaries. The basis for this call is due to expectations the public has from the party in power and responsible for organizing national elections. Internal party processes of NRM speak to and mirror what happens during the national election processes. It is important for the party to demonstrate through its internal

democratic processes like party primaries and delegates conference, the capacity and commitment to deliver free and fair elections. NRM should address the inherent problems of use of money and violence to determine electoral outcomes both within the party and in national elections.

### **Recommendation to Civil Society Organizations**

Conduct civic engagement to empower the electorate to participate meaningfully in the electoral processes. The voters should be helped to recognize the power they have with their ballot and connect their electoral choices to their welfare and well – being. The electorate should be mobilized to make informed decisions and choices for their leaders and consequently hold them accountable on their mandate and integrity. Civil society should facilitate processes and be the catalyst that leads to this civic empowerment and civic consciousness. Civil society should point out the wrongs taking place within the internal political party processes that compromise the integrity the electoral outcomes and work with political parties to strengthen their internal party democratic processes.





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33 Lumumba Avenue, Interservice Tower, Floor 1

P. O. Box 372016, Kampala

**Email:** [acfim@politicalfinanceafrica.org](mailto:acfim@politicalfinanceafrica.org)

**Website:** [www.politicalfinanceafrica.org](http://www.politicalfinanceafrica.org)