

PRELIMINARY REPORT

**WHO WON THE CAMPAIGN
SPENDING WAR IN NOVEMBER
AND DECEMBER 2020?**



*Interrogating the influence of money
on the outcome of elections*

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2021

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1.0 Introduction

On August 6, 2020, ACFIM received from Electoral Commission the letter of accreditation for election observation 2020/2021 general elections in Uganda. The letter referenced as LEG 75/79/01 and signed by the Accreditation Committee Chairperson, was issued in response to the application for long-term observation of the electoral process in Uganda that ACFIM had submitted to the electoral management body on January 20, 2020. Accordingly, ACFIM developed a scope of the sub-regions and districts to carry out long-term monitoring and observation of electoral activities, including the pre-campaign period.

The overall focus of ACFIM in respect of the 2020/2021 general elections, was to monitor, document and publicize the sourcing and spending of campaign finance with a view of proposing feasible remedies for improving electoral integrity for sustainable democracy. Whereas money is essential and unavoidable part of modern-day elections, there is a sense in which the lack of legal safeguards to mitigate its toxic influence is undermining the fairness of campaigns. Similarly, creates an additional barrier for candidates from marginalized sections of the population such as women and youth.

This report highlights the findings of ACFIM with regard to spending by political parties and candidates for Presidential, Parliamentary and City Mayoral/District Chairperson election campaigns during the months of November and December 2020. It builds on an earlier report on pre-campaign spending that was released at the beginning of December 2020. The general observation was that candidates with deep pockets in the Parliamentary races were more visible on the ground and stood a better chance of winning elections than those who did not.

2.0 Background

ACFIM is a coalition of 18 national and subnational civil society organizations that banded together to constitute a citizens' platforms that advocates for openness, transparency and accountability in financing of Uganda's politics. As a coalition, ACFIM leverages on the presence of over 2,000 men and women on the ground in 14 subregions of Uganda, who among other responsibilities engage in monitoring electoral processes as well as carry out village based civic engagements for political and electoral accountability.

3.0 Context

Whereas most if not all the eyes of security institutions were on Presidential candidates in terms of ensuring that COVID-19 Standard Operating Procedures were observed, the candidates for Member of Parliament flew under the “radar” and thus rallies were observed as candidates moved village to village campaigning. In places where the party primaries for the National Resistance Movement had been intense, campaign spending was reported to be tamed and controlled. There were cases where some candidates dropped out of the races in favor of the frontrunners while a number of high-profile officials crossed over from opposition political parties to join the NRM. The general perception is that this was achieved through pay-offs and promises for high profile jobs in the next government.

4.0 Methodology

ACFIM employed two types of information collection techniques namely: observation/monitoring and key informant interviews with political party leaders at local level, candidates and campaign agents. Primary Information on candidates' spending was collected on the campaign trail and triangulated before being entered into a database where it was further cleaned and analyzed. A total of 147 locally recruited and meticulously trained ground monitors and media monitors leveraging on their familiarity with the local political context and situational awareness, were used to collect, verify, triangulate and enter data into the analytical platform. Selected Journalists were retained to further reinforce the information needed to provide a clear understanding of the extent of campaign spending and its effect on increasing the popularity of candidates.

The ground monitors used direct and indirect monitoring/observation techniques. Each of the ground monitors set up a functional network of informers within their constituencies who provided tips and vital information that was verified and triangulated for reliability and correctness. This was a difficult task because of the lack of standard provisions in Uganda's electoral laws that require political parties and candidates to declare sources of campaign money and report on campaign spending. The fact that it was a hybrid election where open air campaigns and processions were banned not least the curfew that remained in place, made the work of ground monitors even more difficult. Every constituency was covered by at least two ground monitors.

The media monitors dedicated several hours of the day listening into radio and watching television broadcasting to document campaign advertising by political parties and candidates. Once identified, the media

organizations were contacted for information about candidate/party spending. The information obtained was triangulated with rate cards and key informant interviews with campaign agents.

5.0 Scope

The scope of campaign finance monitoring covered 28 districts selected purposively from all the major geographical regions of Uganda. In every district, at least two constituencies were selected, one urban and the other rural. However, in the case of Kampala Capital City Authority, ACFIM covered all the five divisions namely Central, Kawempe, Makindye, Nakawa and Rubaga. The geographical scope is as follows:

Table 1: Monitoring scope

Sub-region	District	Constituencies
Kampala Metropolitan	Kampala	Kawempe South, Kawempe North, Kampala Central, Rubaga North, Rubaga South, Makindye East, Makindye West, Nakawa East, Nakawa West.
	Wakiso	Nansana Municipality, Kira municipality
	Mukono	Mukono municipality
Greater Masaka	Sembabule	Mawogola North & Mawogola South
	Masaka	Kimanya-Kabonera, Kyanamukaka
	Lwengo	Bukoto West
Greater Luweero	Luweero	Katikamu South, Katikamu North
	Nakaseke	Nakaseke North, Nakaseke South
Kigezi	Kabale	Ndorwa East, Kabale Municipality
	Rukungiri	Rujumbura, Rukungoro Municipality
Western Ankole	Bushenyi	Igara West, Bushenyi-Ishaka Municipality
	Sheema	Sheema Municipality, Sheema South

Sub-region	District	Constituencies
Rwenzori	Kasese	Kasese Municipality, Bukonzo West
	Kabalore	Fort Portal North Division, Fort Portal Central Division, Burahya
	Bunyangabu	Bunyangabu
Bunyoro	Hoima	Hoima City West, Hoima City East
	Kikuube	Buhaguzi County
Busoga	Jinja	Jinja South East, Jinja South West
	Iganga	Iganga Municipality, Kigulu South
Bukedi	Pallisa	Pallisa County, Agule County
Teso	Katakwi	Toroma County, Usuk County, Ngariam County
	Soroti	Soroti City West, Soroti City East, Dakabela County
Lango	Apac	Apac Municipality, Kwania County
	Lira	Lira City West, Erute South
Acholi	Gulu	Pee cee Larwo Bardege-Layibi
West Nile	Arua	Arua Central, Ayivu East
	Nebbi	Nebbi Municipality, Padyeri
Sebei	Kapchorwa	Kapchorwa Municipality, Tinge County
	Bukwo	Kongasi, Too County

5.1 Categories of Candidates Monitored

Table 2: Categories of candidates monitored

Category	Nominated candidates	%ge
Presidential Races	11	1.3
Direct Constituency MP	475	55.4
District Woman MP	157	18.3
City Woman MP	31	3.6
LC V Races	127	14.8
Mayors (City & Mun.)	57	6.6

6.0 Unprecedented Number of Political Party Participation in Elections 2021

The 2021 general elections drew participation of fourteen political parties namely;

1. National Resistance Movement (NRM)
2. Alliance for National Transformation (ANT)
3. Forum for Democratic Change (FDC)
4. Democratic Party (DP)
5. National Unity Platform (NUP)
6. Uganda People's Congress (UPC)
7. Justice Forum (JEEMA)
8. Peoples Progressive Party (PPP)
9. Ecological Party of Uganda (EPU)
10. Conservative Party (CP)
11. Social Democratic Party (SDP)
12. Forum for Integrity in Leadership (FIL)
13. Uganda Economic Party (UEP)
14. Congress Service Volunteers Organization (COSEVO)

7.0 Electoral Commission in Bumper Harvest

The Electoral Commission raised UGX 7.9 billion (\$2.7million) from nominations fees paid by nominated candidates for Member of Parliament and UGX 220 million (\$59,459) collected from Presidential candidates as nomination fees. The computation for Parliamentary candidates excludes positions for special interest groups which are subjected to an electoral college, namely; youth, workers, people with disabilities and the elderly. ACFIM understands that collections from nomination fees were deposited into the national consolidated fund.

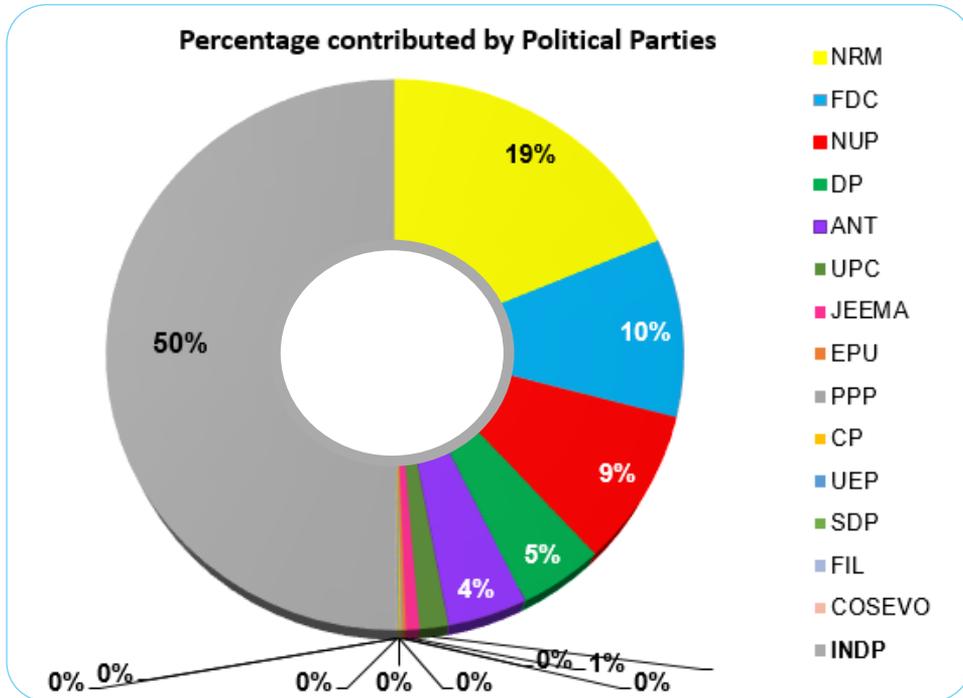
Table 3: Nomination Fees Contribution – Parliamentary only

No.	Party	Number	Amount	Total
1.	NRM	497	3,000,000	1,491,000,000
2.	FDC	280	3,000,000	840,000,000
3.	NUP	241	3,000,000	723,000,000
4.	DP	122	3,000,000	366,000,000
5.	ANT	115	3,000,000	345,000,000
6.	UPC	42	3,000,000	126,000,000
7.	JEEMA	19	3,000,000	57,000,000
8.	EPU	5	3,000,000	15,000,000
9.	PPP	3	3,000,000	9,000,000
10.	CP	2	3,000,000	6,000,000
11.	UEP	1	3,000,000	3,000,000
12.	SDP	1	3,000,000	3,000,000
13.	FIL	1	3,000,000	3,000,000
14.	COSEVO	1	3,000,000	3,000,000
15.	INDP	1334	3,000,000	4,002,000,000
	SUB-TOTAL	2664		7,992,000,000

The biggest contributor of nomination fees were independent candidates who were 1,334 in number, contributing a total of UGX 4billion (\$1 million) representing 50% of the total nomination fees collected. Among political parties, National Resistance Movement (NRM) contributed the biggest sum of UGX 1.49 billion for 497 candidates representing 19%, followed by Forum for Democratic Change (FDC) at UGX 840 million for 280 candidates

representing 10%, while National Unity Platform (NUP) came 3rd with a contribution of UGX 723 million for 241 candidates representing 9%.

Figure 1: Percentage contribution of nomination fees by political affiliation



7.1 Burgeoning Number of Independent Candidates at Parliamentary Level

The reality of having half of the candidates nominated for the Parliamentary races (1,334) standing as independents, casts questions on the direction Uganda's democratization process is taking. This begs the following questions:

- a. Do political aspirants still consider political parties as embodiments of political ideology and platforms for mentoring future leaders?
- b. Can multiparty political dispensation survive in the wake of growing number of candidates standing as independents?

Answers to these questions will be provided in the final monitoring report that will be released in May after the elected leaders have assumed their offices.

The fact that majority of candidates nominated for member of Parliament races went independent after their unsuccessful attempt to acquire their political party's flag, points to a possibility of waning trust in multiparty

democracy. There is a sense in which some political actors seem to believe that as long as one has access to reliable sources of campaign finance, he/she may not necessarily need a political party to secure electoral victory. Yet there are also cases where moneyed members of political parties subject the parties under captivity to the effect that even when they go against the party's rules, they cannot be sanctioned by the party systems. This is what some scholars refer to as big-man politics where a party member is larger than the party.

7.2 Public Financing of Political Parties

Analysis of the list of candidates nominated by the Electoral Commission for Member of Parliament reveals that new parties such as NUP and ANT fielded more candidates than the parties that benefit from government funding on grounds of being represented in Parliament. For example, NUP fielded more candidates (241) at Parliamentary level than the combined number of DP (122), UPC (42) and JEEMA (19). ANT which is a new party as well, fielded more candidates (115) Parliamentary level than UPC and JEEMA, for more than five years now, parties like UPC, DP and most recently JEEMA, have been benefitting from government funding which though shared on the basis of numerical strength, should have built capacity to field more candidates than they did.

The fact that new comers NUP and ANT who do not benefit from government funding at all yet they fielded more candidates, brings into question the yardstick used to determine which party should benefit from government funding and which one should not. The essence of political parties is to participate in political processes just as the essence of football teams is to participate in the leagues. The parties that field candidates in numbers that are above a certain threshold should directly qualify for government funding. In the same vein, individual candidates who perform above a certain percentage of total votes cast, should be entitled to a refund on their nomination fees.

8.0 Political Party Spending on Election Campaigns

8.1 The Spending War on Outdoor and Media Advertising among Presidential Candidates

The spending prowess of incumbent president Yoweri K. Museveni simply crowded out his competitors in respect to the war on outdoor advertising, and media advertising. Save for the two other frontrunners namely; Hon. Kyagulanyi Robert Sentamu and Patrick O.

Amuriat who rode on other structural factors to remain in the lime light. Kyagulanyi on the other hand was leading the charge on social media advertising and publicity but also maintained appearances through third-party spending on mobile.

8.2 Party Contributions to Flag Bearers’ Campaign Spending

The financial contribution of opposition political parties towards their flag-bearers’ campaign finance stopped at payment of nomination fees to the Electoral Commission save for DP and UPC that contributed printing of posters for their flag bearers. On the other hand, the NRM party went beyond nomination fees and contributed funds towards the campaign costs for their flag -bearers. However, the contribution was a just a drop in the ocean due to the high cost of financing an election campaign in Uganda.

It is safe to argue that the NRM Party outspent all the other political parties that participated in the election. As a consequence of this, the party fielded candidates on all electoral positions countrywide and in some instances, their candidates stood unopposed.

Because money is an essential and unavoidable part of modern-day elections, it has become another barrier for candidates from opposition political parties to identify and build a solid base of candidates to be fielded across the country at different electoral levels. Reports from ACFIM monitors on the ground point to the reality that the political party and/or candidates with deep pockets stand a better chance of winning elections than those who do not. However, there are also other structural and ideological factors that can determine the outcome of elections.

8.3 NRM Party Contributions to Flag Bearers’ Campaign Spending at different electoral levels

Table 4: NRM Contribution to party flagbearers

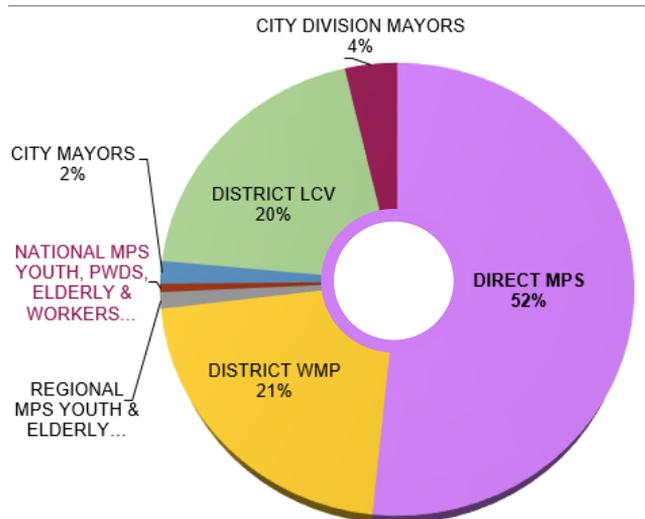
NRM CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTION TO FLAG BEARERS BY DEC.2020			
Position	Number	Contribution to each duty bearer	Total Amount
Direct MPS	351	40,000,000	14,040,000,000
District MPS	146	50,000,000	7,300,000,000
Regional MPS, Youth & Elderly	8	60,000,000	480,000,000

NRM CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTION TO FLAG BEARERS BY DEC.2020			
Position	Number	Contribution to each duty bearer	Total Amount
National MPS Youth, PWDS & Elderly	4	80,000,000	320,000,000
City Mayors	11	60,000,000	660,000,000
District LCV	135	50,000,000	6,750,000,000
City Division Mayors	25	20,000,000	500,000,000
Sub-Total			30,050,000,000

8.4 Proportion Distribution of NRM Party Campaign finance Contribution to Flag-bearers

The biggest proportion of NRM party spending on contribution towards campaign costs for her flag-bearers was taken by candidates for direct Member of Parliament, constituting 52% of the overall party spending on this budget item. Contributions towards flag-bearers for District Woman Member of Parliament accounted for 21% ahead of flag-bearers for District LCV Chairpersons across the country at 20%. By December 2020, the party had not released campaign contributions towards candidates contesting in special interest group elections.

Figure 2: Distribution of NRM Party Campaign finance contribution to flag-bearers



8.5 Other Parties' Contributions to Flag Bearers

Other political parties also made contributions towards the campaign finance of their flag bearers at different electoral levels, the difference was in degree. These parties included NUP, FDC, DP, ANT, UPC, JEEMA, EPU, PP and SDP among others. Details of these will be contained in the final report that will be released in May 2021.

9.0 Gender Perspectives of Nominated Candidates for Presidential and parliamentary Elections

Electoral spaces in Uganda continue to be masculinized. At presidential level, only one out of eleven nominated candidates was female while the rest were male. The percentage representation of female candidates at presidential level was thus 9%. However, when it came to the direct constituency seat for Member of Parliament, the percentage representation of women dropped to 4.2%. ACFIM identifies the lack of access to campaign funds as one of the main barriers to women's full and equal participation in political processes as candidates and as elected representatives. In the Final Report, ACFIM will interrogate how political finance impacts women's ability to successfully run for office in Uganda.

9.1 Did Campaign Spending Influence Outcomes for Presidential and Parliamentary Races?

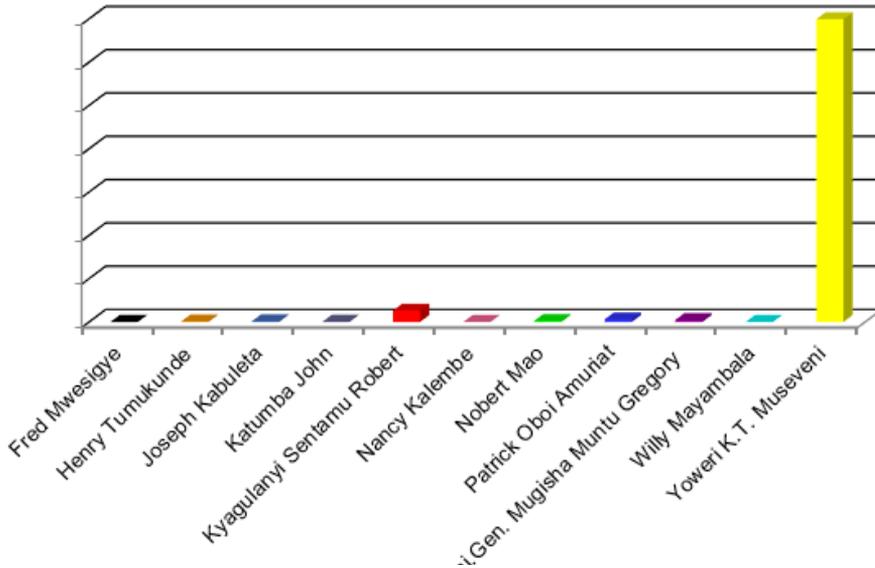
9.1.1 Presidential

At presidential level, incumbent candidate Yoweri Kaguta Tibuhaburwa Museveni dwarfed the rest of the candidates in terms of campaign spending. He was eventually declared by the Electoral Commission as winner of the January 14, 2021 election. ACFIM believes that if the coin was to be flipped to the effect that the funds available to candidate Museveni are given to another candidate, the story would have been different. In the context of commercialized electoral politics, money is an essential and unavoidable part of winning elections, and it created an additional barrier for other presidential candidates to impose themselves in the electoral arena. ACFIM refers to the unrivalled spending power of incumbent candidate Museveni as an additional barrier because there are other structural barriers.

One such structural barrier is use of the state's security apparatus and repressive machinery that blocked other presidential candidates from accessing campaign venues, radio stations, arrested and detained

presidential candidates, as well as shot at and killed protestors on streets of Kampala and other cities/towns. The illustration below shows how candidate Museveni's spending power towering over and above all the other candidates in the race.

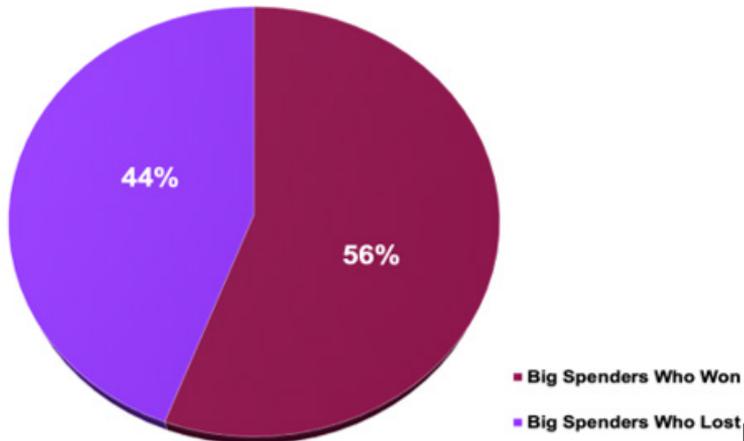
Figure 3: Unrivalled spending power of candidate Yoweri K. Tibuhaburwa Museveni



9.1.2 Parliamentary – Direct constituencies

At parliamentary level, money determined the winner of the direct constituency Member of Parliament elections in 56% of the constituencies ACFIM monitored. However, in 44% of the cases, money did not work as there were other structural factors that influenced electoral outcomes. ACFIM monitoring scope covered 29 districts spread out in 14 sub-regions of Uganda.

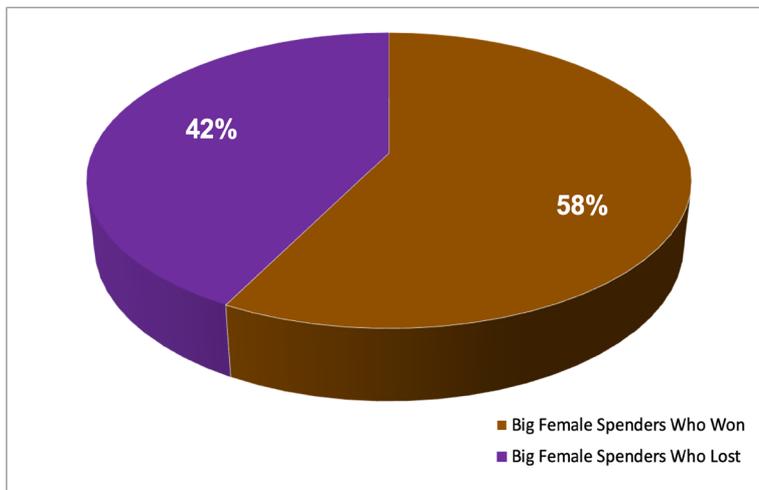
Figure 4: Percentages of big spenders that won or lost the election



9.1.3 Parliamentary – District Woman MP

The same case went for the District Woman Member of Parliament races where again the influence of money was even bigger. ACFIM analysis shows that big spenders went on to be declared winner in 58% of the districts monitored. Money appears to have been slightly more effective in the races for district woman Member of Parliament (58%) than in the races for the direct constituency members of Parliament (56%) which are largely dominated by men.

Figure 5: Percentages of big spenders that won or lost the race for District Woman Member of Parliament



9.1.4 Parliamentary – Special Interest Group Elections

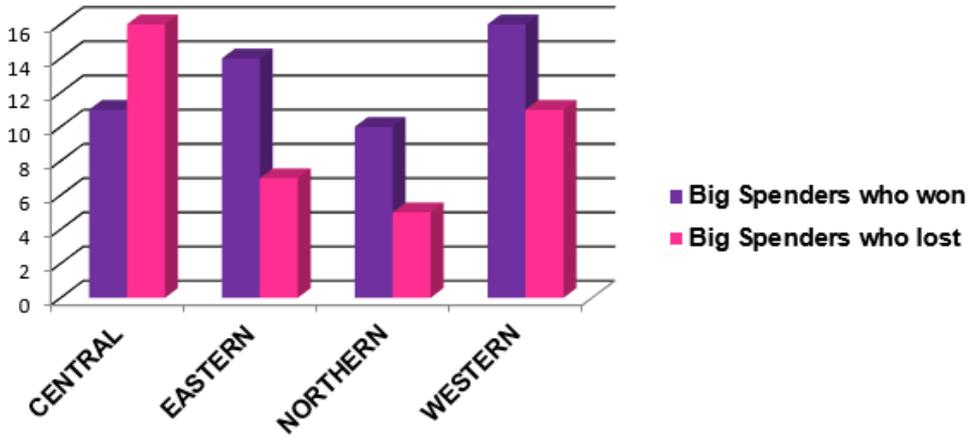
The special interest group races which are conducted through a college electoral system were all swept by NRM party candidates. The college elections have over the past three electoral cycles become replete with voter bribery. In these elections' money does not just talk, it shouts. ACFIM monitors reported that the resounding wins of NRM flag bearers were achieved largely through money.

9.1.5 Regional disparities

Across the geographical regions, whereas campaign spending largely influenced electoral outcomes by determining the winners of elections in Eastern, Northern and Western regions of Uganda, in central region the reverse was true. The subsequent figure demonstrates that central region recorded the biggest number of big spenders who lost the election while other regions recorded fewer cases of big spenders who lost the elections.

In other words, in most of the cases, the candidates who were observed to have spent more are the same ones that went on to be declared winners.

Figure 6: Regional Analysis on influence of money on electoral outcomes



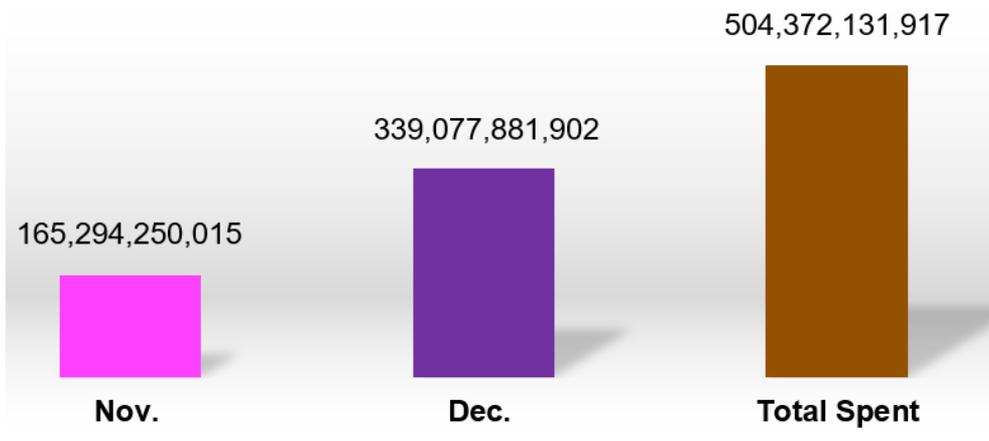
There are a number of factors to explain why voters in central region were able to transcend money in making electoral decisions, but two factors stand out. The first is the neutralizing power of National Unity Platform when the electoral symbol – umbrella, is all that mattered. The second is the amendment for Article 102(b) that removed age limit from the constitution, allowing president Museveni to run for a 6th term. Voters were more than happy to punish the incumbent candidates that had voted for the removal of that article.

10.0 Analysis of Campaign Spending in November and December 2020

10.1 Comparative Spending by Month

Political parties and candidates spent more money in December - UGX 339 billion (\$92.9 million) than they did in November – UGX 165.2 billion (\$45.2 million) as illustrated below.

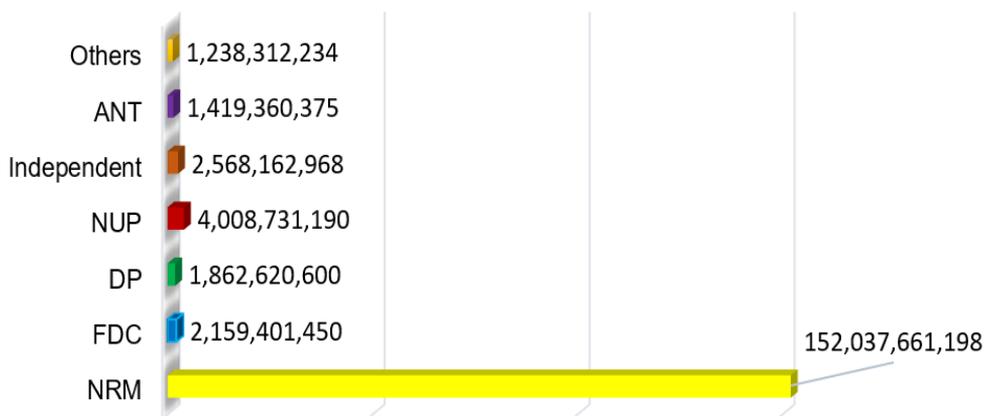
Figure 7: Comparative Spending in November and December 2020



10.2 Comparative Spending by Political Affiliation

The National Resistance Movement (NRM) party dwarfed the rest of the political parties in terms of aggregate spending in November 2020. With such spending, the NRM candidates were able to achieve presence and visibility at different electoral levels. They dominated the airwaves on radio and television as much as they also dominated the physical spaces. The figure below illustrates the extent to which NRM spending towered over and above her challengers.

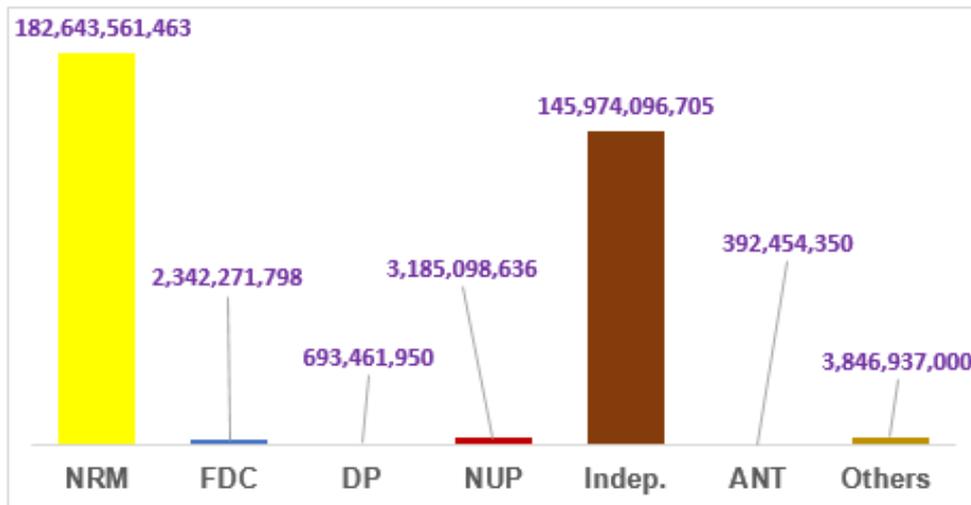
Figure 8: Comparative Spending by political affiliation in November 2021



10.3 Comparative Minimum Spending by Political Affiliation in December 2020

In December 2020 the aggregate spending for political parties and candidates went up especially towards the festive season (Christmas). Notably, the independent candidates stepped up their spending and the campaigns gained momentum. Within the ranks of political parties, the NRM party's outlier spending was maintained as illustrated by the figure below:

Figure 9: Comparative Spending in December 2020



10.4 Why More Spending in December?

There are a number of factors to explain why campaign spending increased in the month of December 2020, these include but are not limited to the following:

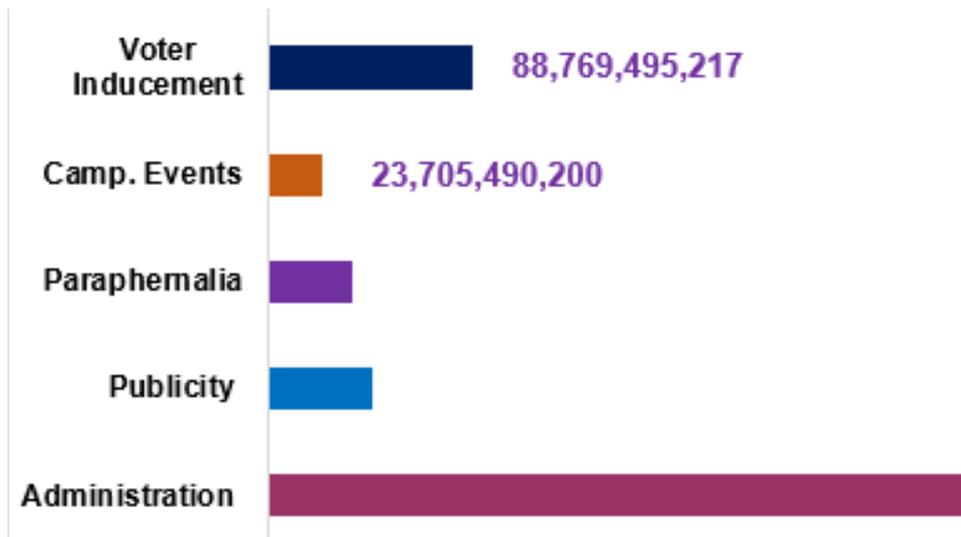
- Increasing cost of campaign administration
- Increase in voter inducement
- NRM releases money for Door-to-Door
- NRM contributions to party flag bearers
- Candidates capitalizing on Christmas break to reach out the voters.

10.5 Where did Political Parties and Candidates Campaign Money Go?

Most of the campaign spending by political parties and candidates was directed towards campaign administration, followed by voter inducement activities. In the context of this report, campaign administration refers to the activities that facilitate the coordination of a political campaign's operations such as advertising, polling, getting out the vote (selling the candidature to voters) and other activities supporting the effort.

Conversely, voter inducement refers to the techniques and strategies used by candidates and/or their agents to gain the heart of voters through use of donations, gifts or cash handouts during election campaigns. Voter inducement has been a recurring practice during election campaigns most predominantly in rural constituencies.

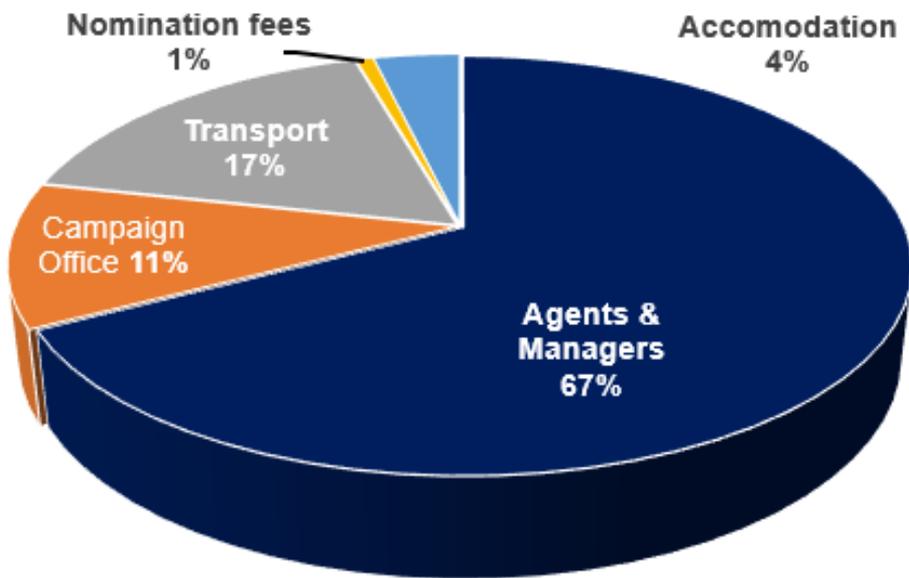
Figure 10: Most Dominant Categories of Campaign Spending



10.6 Analysis of Campaign Administration Expenses

Most of the spending on campaign administration went in the direction of facilitating campaign managers and agents. These are the men and women who moved door-to-door canvassing for votes. The second most expensive campaign administration item was transport. Transport expenses covered the cost of hiring campaign vehicles including publicity tracks and purchase of fuel.

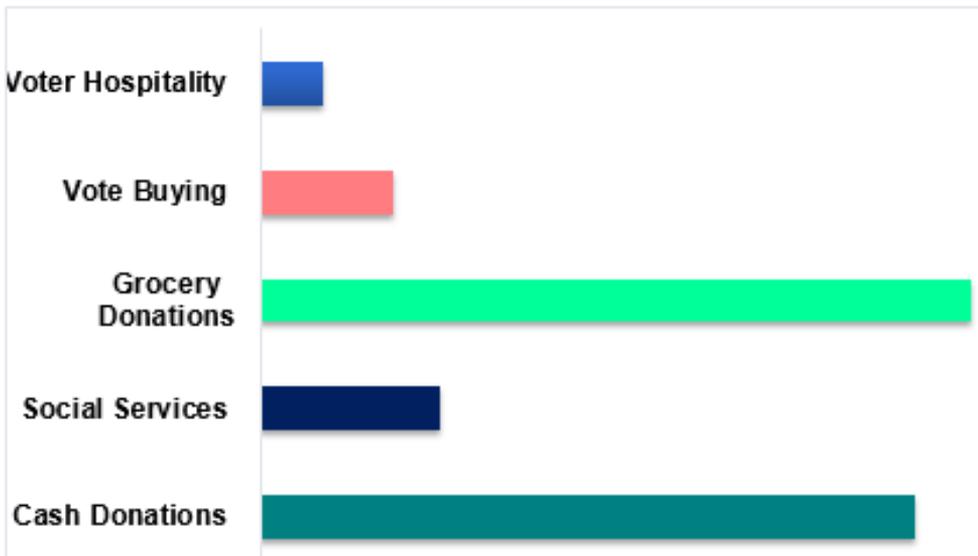
Figure 11: Analysis of Campaign Administration Expenses



10.7 Analysis of Voter Inducement Expenses

Most of the spending on voter inducement went into purchase of grocery items, followed by cash donations. Groceries included sugar, soap, salt, and cooking oil among others. The figure below demonstrates this analysis.

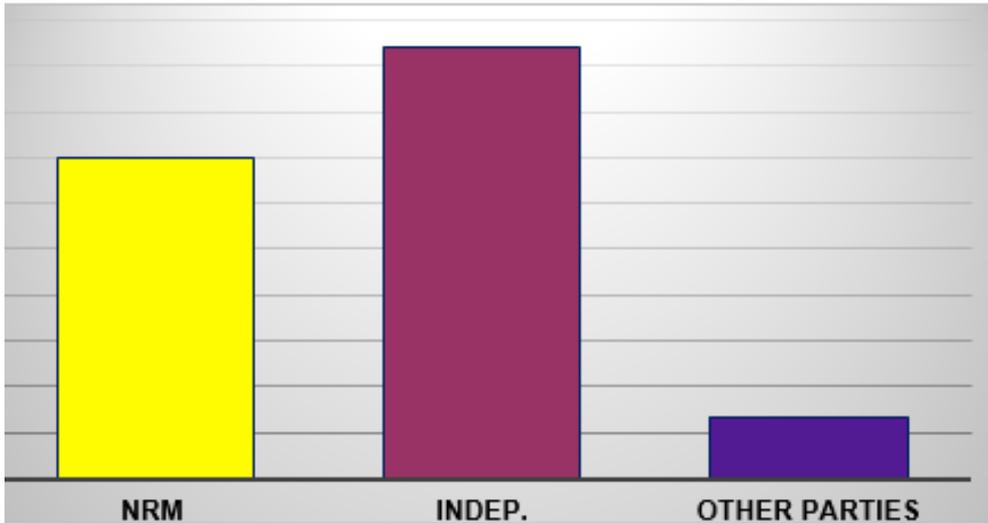
Figure 12: Analysis of Voter Inducement Expenses



10.8 Voter Inducement by Political Affiliation

Independent candidates were observed to engage the most in inducing voters especially in the races of Parliament. The independent candidates were followed by flagbearers of the NRM party.

Figure 13: Spending on voter inducement by political affiliation



10.9 Spending on Campaign advertising and Publicity

In view of the COVID-19 pandemic, political parties and candidates spent massively on campaign advertising and publicity. Most of the spending went into radio followed by television, as illustrated by the figure below.

Figure 14: Analysis of spending on campaign advertising and publicity

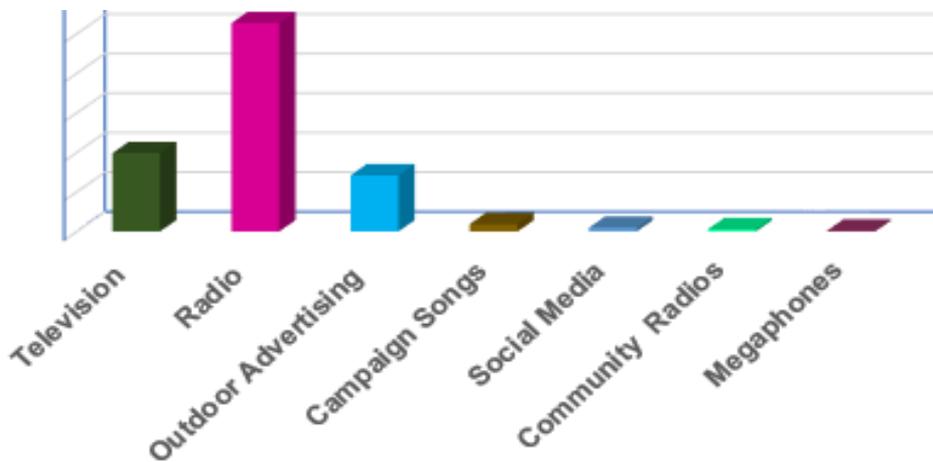
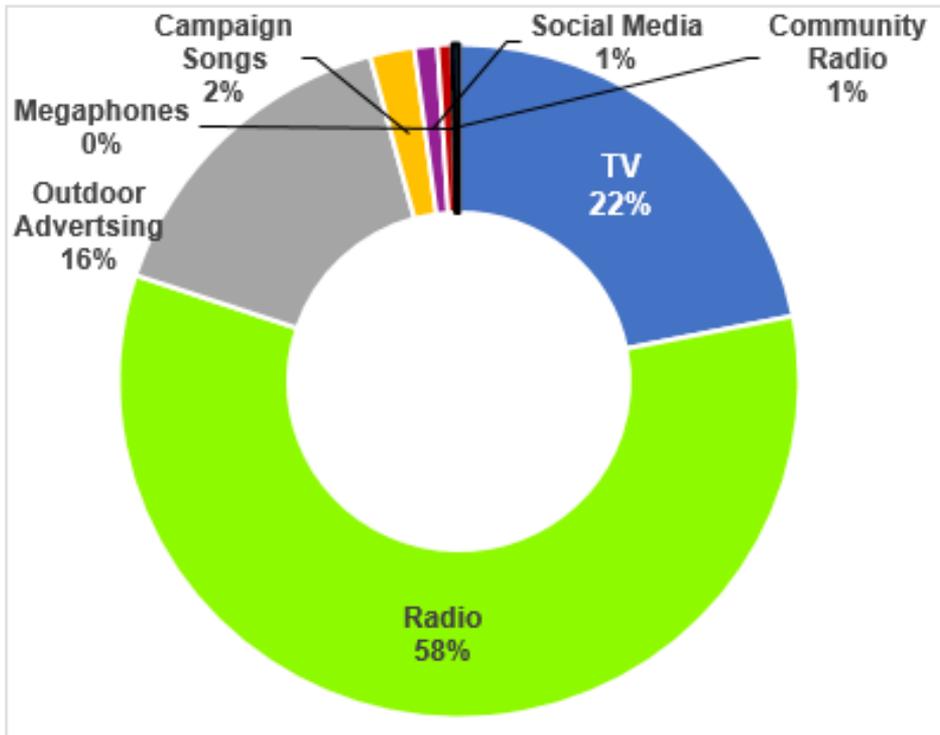


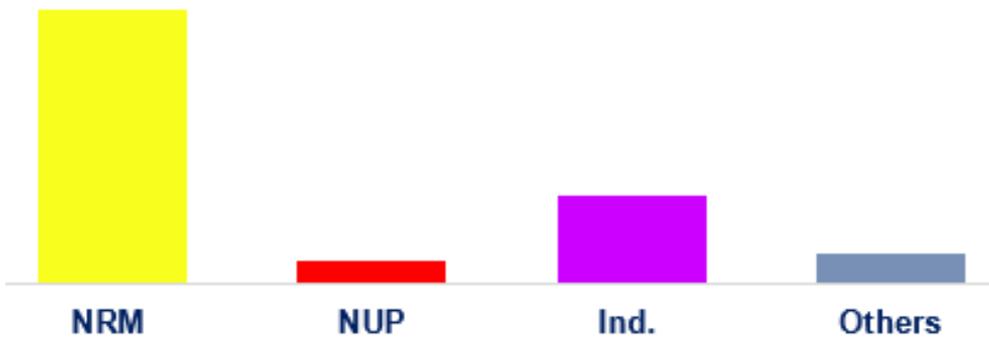
Figure 15: Percentage Spending by Media Type



10.10 Media Spending by Political affiliation

The NRM party and its flag bearers at Presidential and Parliamentary races spent more on media than other political parties and candidates in the same races. The second ranking big spenders on media advertising were independent candidates while NUP party and its candidates followed in third place, as illustrated in the figure below.

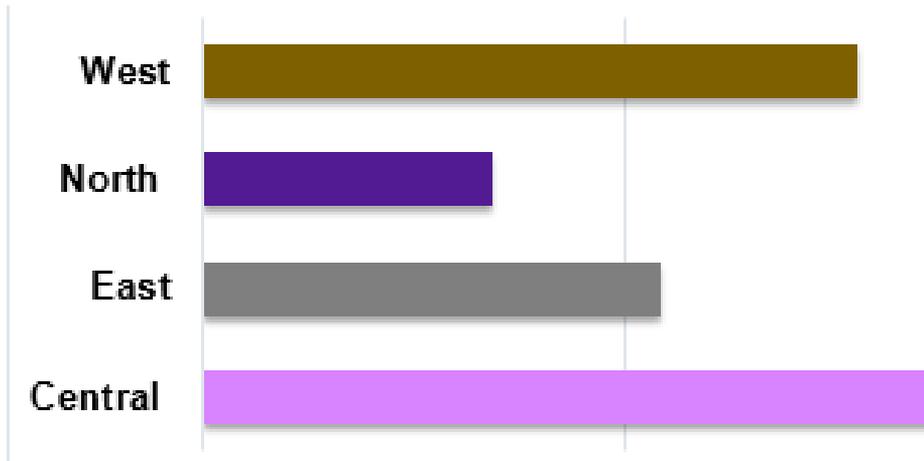
Figure 16: Media Spending by Political affiliation



11.0 Campaign Spending by Region

Most of the campaign spending in November and December was observed in central region, followed closely by the western region. Northern region which comprises West Nile, Acholi, Lango and Karamoja sub-regions, recorded the least campaign spending figures during the months under review.

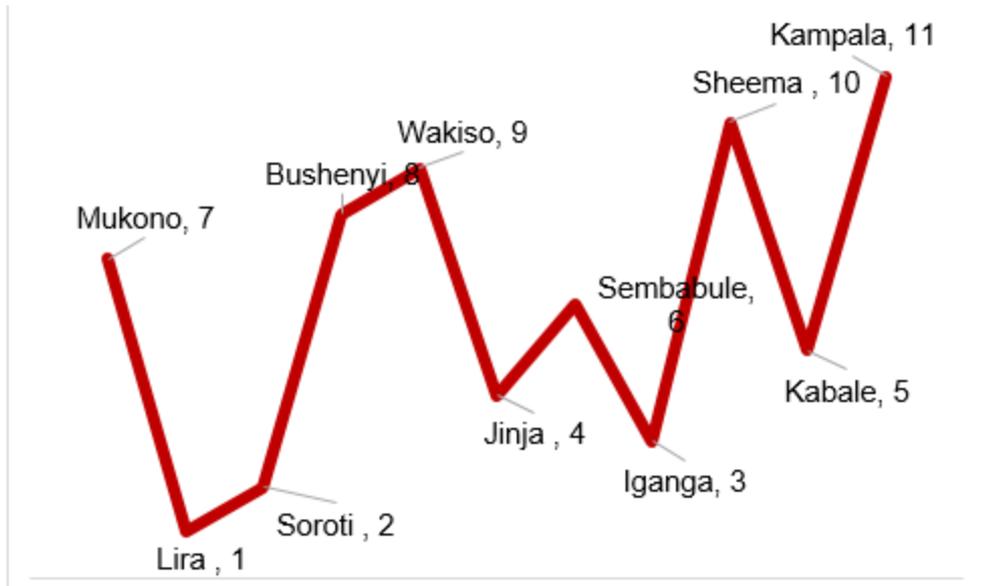
Figure 17: Media Spending by Region



11.1 Campaign Spending by District by Rank in November and December 2020

This section ranks in pecking order, the top 11 districts where the highest campaign spending figures were posted. The district which posted the highest figures in terms of campaign spending was Kampala, followed by Wakiso. These two districts are urban and constitute the biggest part of Kampala Metropolitan area. Sheema district in Ankole sub-region, western Uganda came third. However, Sheema stood out as the rural district that posted the highest records in terms of campaign spending, followed by Bushenyi and Mukono districts. The figure below puts this in perspective.

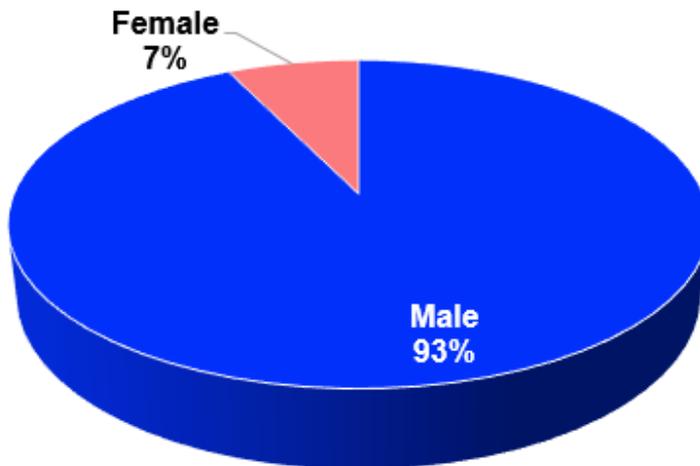
Figure 18: Campaign Spending by district by ranking



Campaign Spending by Gender Analysis

There were significant differences in access to campaign funds and patterns of spending between male and female candidates. These differences have been documented and will be presented as a chapter in the final report on campaign financing for general elections 2021. The figure below shows that male candidates crowded out their female counterparts in terms of campaign spending.

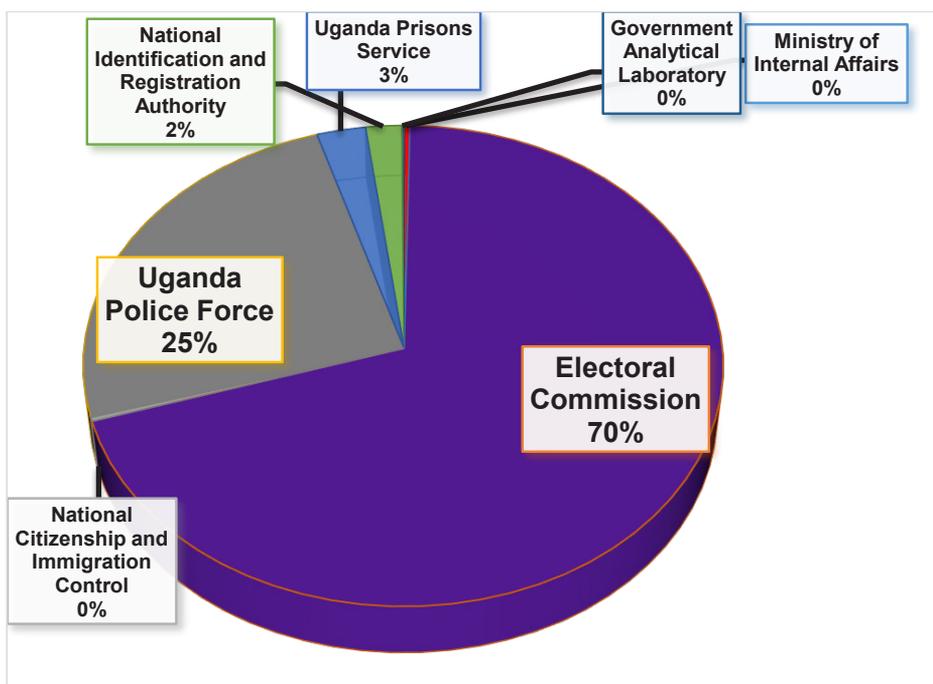
Figure 19: Campaign Spending by Gender



12.0 The Cost of Elections to the Ugandan Tax Payer

Government spending on election related activities by November 2020 was recorded at UGX 456.87 billion (\$125.2 million). The bulk of the money was spent by Electoral Commission – UGX 274.11 billion (\$75.1 million) representing 70%, followed by Uganda Police Force – UGX 154.79 billion (\$42.4 million) representing 25%.

Figure 21: Government Spending in November 2020 by Agency



Source: Civil Society Budget Advocacy Group (CSBAG)

The total budget allocation to the various Ministries, Department and Agencies involved in preparation and conduct of 2021 general elections was UGX 1,255.73 billion (\$344.03 million). By November 2020, the total amount budgeted and released for election roadmap activities in Financial Years 2019/2020 and 2020/2021 was UGX 1,073.42 billion (\$294.08 million).

The rest of the public funds allocated to election financing were spent by Ministry of Internal Affairs, National Citizenship and Immigration Control, Uganda Prisons Service, National Identification and Registration Authority, Department of Government Analytical Laboratory as follows:

Table 5: Analysis of Government Spending on Elections by November 2020

	Government Entities	budget for FY2019/20 & 2020/21	Releases by Nov, 2020	Total Expenditure by Nov. 2020
1.	Ministry of Internal Affairs	6.48	2.36	1.82
2.	Electoral Commission	657.04	536.82	274.11
3.	National Citizenship and Immigration Control	7.98	2.04	1.90
4.	Uganda Police Force	326.72	191.01	154.79
5.	Uganda Prisons Service	40.01	20.27	11.35
6.	National Identification and Registration Authority	33.06	14.96	12.22
7.	Department of Government Analytical Laboratory	2.15	0.96	0.67
	Total	1073.44	768.42	456.87

Source: Ministry of Finance Planning and Economic Development

The budget of the Electoral Commission includes the money allocated to finance political parties represented in Parliament which in this case was UGX 15 billion (\$4.1 million). It was shared among the NRM, DP, UPC, FDC and JEEMA political parties using the formula of numerical strength.

Public spending on the Police in November 2020 – the first month of general campaigns, went into purchase of tear gas cannisters and payment of allowances for officers that were deployed to keep law and order.

The secret known is that keeping law and order also included blocking certain presidential candidates from accessing campaign venues, dispersing opposition supporters with tear gas, and sometimes shooting live bullets in the air, as well as beating up of journalists covering opposition presidential candidates. This was a common occurrence that was reported by the media and ACFIM observers on campaign trail.

The total cost of the 2021 general elections to the Ugandan tax payer will be presented in the final report that will be launched in May 2021, after the elected leaders have assumed their offices.

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Published by **ACFIM**

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P. O. Box 372016, Kampala

Email: acfim@politicalfinanceafrica.org

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