



# Chapter 1

## Campaign Financing for Uganda's General Elections 2021

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# Chapter 1

## CAMPAIGN FINANCING FOR UGANDA'S GENERAL ELECTIONS 2021

This is the chapter that sets apart Alliance for Finance Monitoring (ACFIM) from other players in the field of election monitoring and observation. In the following sections, ACFIM presents the numbers of who spent what, where, when and how, and whether or not the spending impacted on the outcome of the 2021 general elections. The research team at ACFIM secretariat has invested considerable time in collating, independently verifying and triangulating the data which is presented under this chapter.

The findings presented in this report are based on an extended study that covered pre-campaign political spending and campaign related expenses incurred over a period of 15 months (November 2019-January 2021). ACFIM's task of monitoring and documenting campaign spending was made harder by the fact that candidates and political parties cared to conceal their spending through use of mobile money and working through agents who would move door-to-door at night. Thus, the figures reported in the following section, are only inclusive of the data that was observed, collected and validated by the campaign finance monitoring team. It is probable that the actual numbers of campaign spending were more than what met the eyes of ACFIM's trained and tooled campaign finance monitors on the ground.

### How much did Political Parties and Candidates Spend in 2021?

#### Politics has become a "Cash Cow"

The Political parties and candidates that participated in the 2021 general elections experienced the most expensive electoral campaign process in terms of campaign spending. In this report, Alliance for Finance Monitoring (ACFIM) reveals that the Political parties and candidates for Presidential, Parliamentary and Local Government elections of 2021 spent in 29 sample districts, a combined total UGX 796,361,212,687 (\$221.2 million). This is a conservative estimate as most of the campaign spending was concealed from the eyes and ears of ACFIM monitors on the ground. ACFIM findings indicate that spending started as early as November 2019 and went on through January 2021.

**UGX 796,361,212,687**  
spent in 70 Constituencies  
observed in 29 districts



When the spending sample is extrapolated to the entire country, the study estimates that a combined total of UGX 3,981,806,413,435 (US\$ 1,076,163,895.52) was pumped into electioneering activities for the 2021 general elections by political parties and candidates at Presidential, Parliamentary and Local Government elections in the 146 districts of Uganda over a period of 15 months, making 2021 general elections the most expensive. However, the figures being provided here are conservative estimates. In other words, money equivalent to 8.6 percent of the total national for Financial Year 2020/2021, was pumped into elections. The total national budget for FY 2020/2021 was 45.5 trillion.

**UGX 3,981,806,413,435 is projected as combined campaign spending in 146 districts by Political Parties and candidates for Presidential, Parliamentary and Local Government elections**

The main driving factors for this level of spending included among others; early commencement of political spending where by December 2019, electioneering activities had already intensified on the ground. The other factor is the COVID-19 pandemic whose attendant national lockdown necessitated aspiring candidates to invest in food supplies to their constituents. Conversely, the high number of candidates vying for electoral positions, and the people power effect as it were in central region, forced rival candidates to engage in over-the-top political spending. The question is where did this money come from? How did it impact on the volume of currency in circulation?

Most of spending on the ground was made during the unregulated pre-campaign period (i.e., before official nomination dates of October 12–13, and 15-16, 2020; November 2-3, 2021 for Presidential candidates). The populated data shows that by the end of December 2020 (a couple of weeks to Election Day), most candidates were already cash-strapped and struggled to find money for so called finishing<sup>1</sup>. This explains low low aggregated spending in January, 2021 which is not usual in comparison previous election in 2011 and 2016.

When asked by ACFIM research team to voluntarily declare the size of the war chest that they entered the political race with, most candidates said that they did not have the money from the start, but somehow, they managed to find it. There question is where did they find it and how do they plan to recoup it? The escalation in cost of political and electoral campaigns was attributed to key factors including;

1. The context of COVID-19 pandemic which predisposed candidates to the massive spending feeding voters under lockdown, donations to District COVID-19 Taskforces and out-door advertising.

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<sup>1</sup> Finishing is a campaign term used by candidates and agents to mean putting money aside for to be used on the eve of Election Day and Election Day. This money may be given to village coordinator



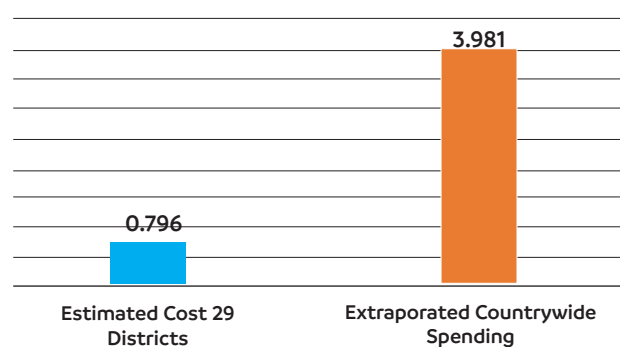
2. Conducting door-to-door vote canvassing where they came up-close-and personal with an electorate whose financial standing had been bartered and shattered by the COVID-19 lockdown. It made handouts (cash and in-kind) inevitable for aspiring candidates especially at the level of Member of Parliament.
3. Candidates were forced to hire and pay retainer fees to campaign agents to conduct door-to-door canvassing at village/ward level.
4. The consultative meetings with the electorate turned out to be costly as candidates had to meet the cost of transporting and feeding the participants.
5. The increased number of contestants on Member of Parliament races made the campaigns very competitive resulting in relentless spending. Statistics reveal that on average every parliamentary position had five contestants.
6. Money hungry campaign agents and managers who perceive general elections as a harvesting season. They fleeced candidates of huge sums of money.

The study denotes increased levels of civic awareness about the danger posed by monetised and commercialized electoral politics on Uganda's democratization process, and the need to prioritize the politics of ideology and service by the electoral candidates. Voters in the sampled rural constituencies admitted to demanding and or receiving money and/or groceries including alcohol in exchange for their vote. The common statements heard by the campaign finance monitors on the ground included such as "We do not feel you" meaning that on the ground you have not donated enough cash, groceries or community services. There is sense in which voters feel they have a right to be bribed.

### Estimated Country-wide Campaign Spending on 2021 General Elections

By extrapolation, the total estimated spending on the 2021 general elections by political parties and candidates on at Presidential, Parliamentary and Local Government levels during the extended period of 15 months (November 2019 – January 2021), is UGX 3,981,806,063,435 (\$1.106 billion) as illustrated in the figure below.

*Figure 4: Extrapolated National Spending on General Elections in UGX (trillions)*



Source: ACFIM Campaign Finance Analytical Platform (2021)



### Comparative Analysis of Spending between Electoral Cycles – 2016 and 2021?

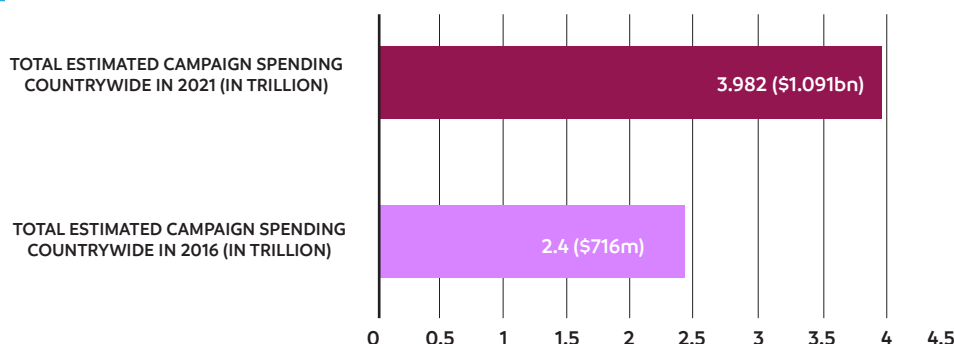
In 2016, analysis for ACFIM’s campaign finance database indicated a combined total of UGX 2.4 trillion (\$716 million) that was spent by political parties and candidates that participated in the general election. The 2021 general elections recorded a higher figure of UGX 3.983 trillion (\$1.091 billion) pumped into campaigns by political parties and candidates at Presidential, Parliamentary and Local Government electoral levels. The number of Parliamentary candidates who spent at least UGX 1 billion (\$273,973) and above, more than tripled in 2021. If government does not prioritize taking legislative and administrative measures to curb undisclosed, undeclared, unregulated and opaque campaign spending, 2026 the election campaigns will be even more expensive.

**Table 3: Comparative Analysis of Campaign Spending between Electoral Cycles**

Total Estimated Campaign Spending Countrywide in 2016	Total Estimated Campaign Spending Countrywide in 2021
UGX 2.4 trillion (\$716 million)	UGX 3.982 trillion (\$1.091 bn)

Source: ACFIM Campaign Finance Databases (2016 & 2021)

**Figure 5: Illustration of Comparative Campaign Spending for General Elections 2016 and 2021 (in trillions)**



Source: ACFIM Campaign Finance Databases (2016 & 2021)

### What did Political Candidates Spend on?

Most of the spending went into voter inducement acts accounting for 28.1 percent of the total spending. In the context of this report, voter inducement refers to the acts of generosity done by aspiring candidates for the electorate with intent to lure and entice them for their vote or vote in a particular direction. In the context of this report, voter inducement took the form of cash donations and in-kind items including groceries in addition to community service goods such COVID-19 relief food supplies, grading community roads, extending electricity and water supply line to the electorate and credit facilities to women and youth group. Candidates spent on helping the youth in the acquisition of motorcycles which have become the dominant means of transport in Uganda, commonly known as bodaboda. Voter inducement is now the mainstay in Uganda’s electoral politics, yet it is actually a form of voter bribery. Voter bribery is illegal under the Presidential Elections Act (as amended) 2005 and the Parliamentary Elections Act (as



amended) 2005. Channeling campaign spending towards voter inducement is ethically wrong and it sends a negative signal to the electorate.

The second biggest category of spending was campaign administration costs accounting for 22.8 percent of the total expenses. This category included expenses like payment of rent for campaign coordination offices, allowances for staff and campaign agents, hire of motor vehicles to help in campaign coordination, and payment for venues where campaign meetings were conducted, and social media promotions among others. The rest of the spending went into campaign publicity, campaign paraphernalia, campaign events and Election-Day as illustrated in the table below:

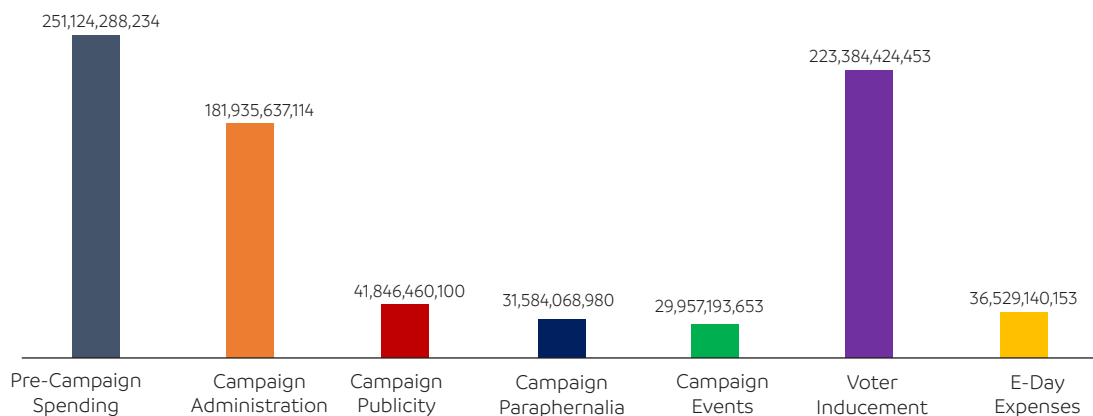
**Table 4: Apportioning how political Candidates Spend their Money**

Spending Categories	Minimum Spent	%age Allocation
1. Pre-Campaign Spending	251,124,288,234	31.5
2. Campaign Administration	181,935,637,114	22.8
3. Campaign Publicity	41,846,460,100	5.3
4. Campaign Paraphernalia	31,584,068,980	4.0
5. Campaign Events	29,957,193,653	3.8
6. Voter Inducement	223,384,424,453	28.1
7. E-Day Expenses	36,529,140,153	4.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>796,361,212,687</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: ACFIM Campaign Finance Analytical Platform (2021)

The bar graph below further illustrates that despite significant pre-campaign spending, there was more spending during the campaign period. It further illustrates that most of the spending by candidates on the campaign trail was directed towards of voter inducement and administration. It further means that if spending on voter inducement is eliminated or tamed, election campaigns would have been a lot cheaper and affordable.

**Figure 6: Overall Spending by Election Campaign Cost Centers Monitored**



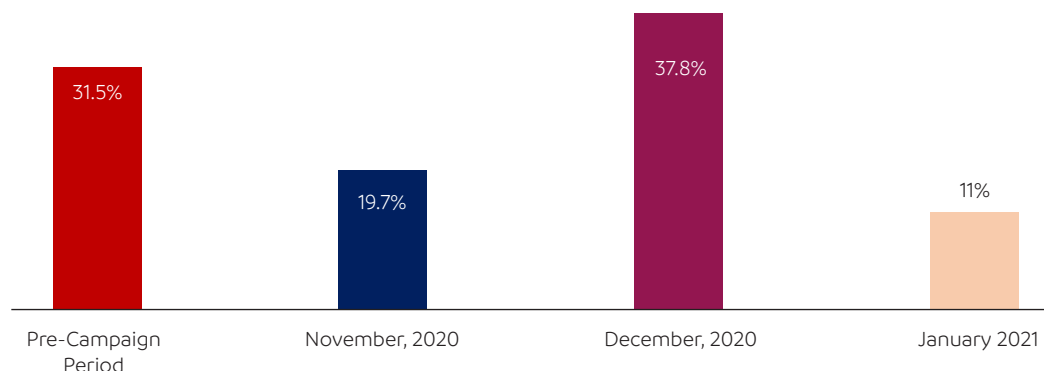
Source: ACFIM Campaign Finance Analytical Platform (2021)



## Analysis of Campaign Spending by Period of Time

Most of the spending representing 37.8 percent, was observed in the month of December 2020, followed by Pre-Campaign period (November 2019 – October 2020), accounting for 31.5 percent of the total observed spending by political parties and candidates. January 2021 which was the same month in which general elections were conducted, recorded the lowest observed spending accounting for 11.7 percent. Details are presented in the figure below.

Figure 7: Analysis of Graduated Campaign Spending (in UGX)



Source: ACFIM Campaign Finance Analytical Platform (2021)

## What Explains the Prevalence of More Spending in Pre-Campaign Period and in December 2020?

The pre-campaign period<sup>2</sup> is the period of time that in the context of this report spans at least 10 months prior to the official nomination date of candidates by the Electoral Commission for general election. By December 2019, vote canvassing activities had intensified on the ground with aspiring candidates already trying to outfox each other in terms of spending on projects in places of worship, youth projects, funerals and assisting parents with paying the bills of primary seven school leavers that were joining secondary school. This entailed buying scholastic materials and in some cases also paying school fees in order for aspiring candidates to appear to be nice. The outbreak of the global COVID-19 pandemic and its attendant preventive measure that included the notorious lockdown, further drive pre-campaign spending.

It was during the precampaign period that the costly primary elections of the NRM party were conducted country wide. At these primaries, the voting queues became voter auction grounds where the candidate who paid more, had the longest queue and thus declared winner. Conversely, December 2020 was also the month of the festive Christmas period when candidates had to demonstrate their affection for the electorate with Election-Day just weeks away (January 14, 2021). This was done through donations of cash and Christmas gifts including meat, food items, sauce pans and clothing among others. There was a crave by candidates to outfox each other in terms of demonstrating who cares the most about the electorate. Thus, the month of December 2020 opened up the floodgates of spending.

<sup>2</sup> For purposes of this report, Pre-campaign period refers to the months between November 1, 2019 and October 30, 2020.

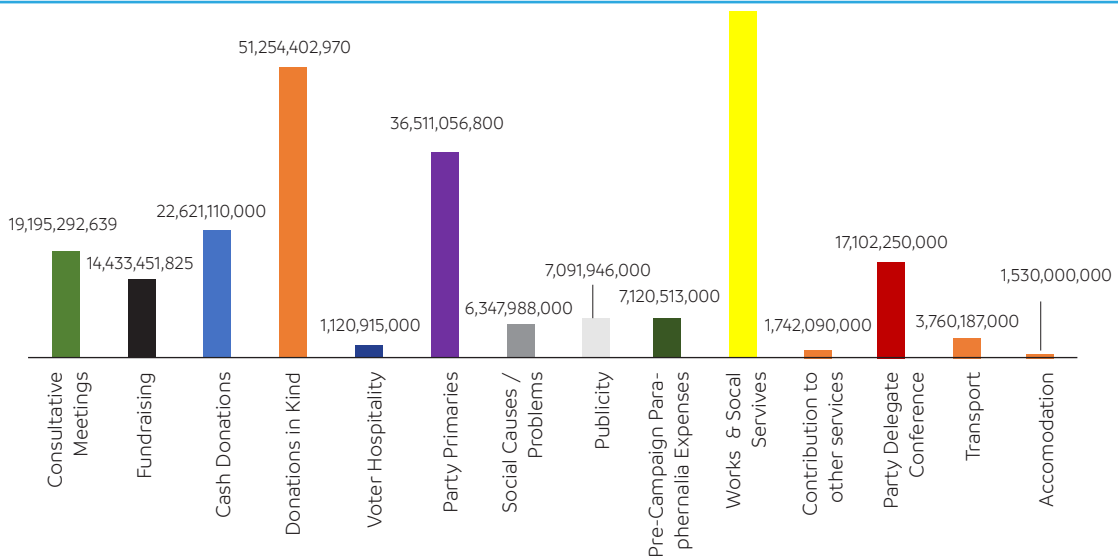


### What did Aspiring Candidates Spend on During the Pre-Campaign Period?

Most spending by aspiring political candidates during the campaign period was directed towards voter inducement. The most common was provision of works and social services. These included hiring of graders that opened up community roads, extension of supply lines for water and electricity to villages that did not have them and purchase of ambulances among others. The second most common category of spending was donations in kind namely; scholastic materials and/or payment of school fees for children joining senior one from primary school, payment of hospital bills, provision of food and grocery items among others. Other areas of spending included cash donations at community fundraising events, voter hospitality, publicity, campaign paraphernalia, transport and accommodation. Political party spending during the pre-campaign period was made towards organizing consultative meetings, party delegates' conferences and primary elections among others.

The figure below presents a description of spending categories as observed during the pre-campaign period and the aggregated numbers of spending in the districts and by extension, constituencies covered by the study sample.

**Figure 8: Pre-campaign Spending Categories and Amounts Spent**



### Comparative Spending by Political Affiliation Disaggregated by Campaign Period

Aspiring candidates affiliated to the NRM party and independents who intended to contest on their individual merit, were documented to have spent more on popularising their candidature. There was a public perception that associated the NRM party with money and hence wherever they went whether it was funerals, fundraising for projects in places of worship, wedding meetings, village meetings or in trading centers where the youth often gather, the candidates aspiring under the NRM party faced more demands for money than their opposition counterparts. The table below provides a comparative analysis of how political/campaign spending, disaggregated by political affiliation.



**Table 5: Comparative Spending by Political Parties disaggregated by Campaign Period**

Political Affiliation	Pre-Campaign UGX	Nov. 2020 UGX	Dec. 2020 UGX	Jan. 2021 UGX	Totals UGX
FDC	371,819,899	53,663,333	592,971,016	546,516,517	1,564,970,765
DP	1,738,985,333	67,923,333	167,200,029	170,369,258	2,144,477,953
NUP	88,399,339	1,038,932,231	1,845,850,850	43,673,883	3,016,856,303
Independents	107,493,903,900	23,906,470,171	52,207,043,119	4,636,249,709	208,243,666,900
ANT	25,695,922	274,677,000	226,778,392	159,055,423	686,206,737
NRM	41,381,989,841	17,231,915,674	246,250,874,296	5,661,823,797	579,563,133,466
UPC	23,494,000	55,538,333	253,574,074	68,766,550	401,372,957
Others	–	243,537,338.0	355,383,997.0	234,373,739.0	833,295,074
<b>Totals</b>	<b>51,124,288,234</b>	<b>42,872,657,413</b>	<b>301,077,811,902</b>	<b>101,286,455,137</b>	<b>796,361,212,687</b>

Source: ACFIM Campaign Finance Analytical Platform (2021)

### Analysis of Campaign Spending by Political Affiliation

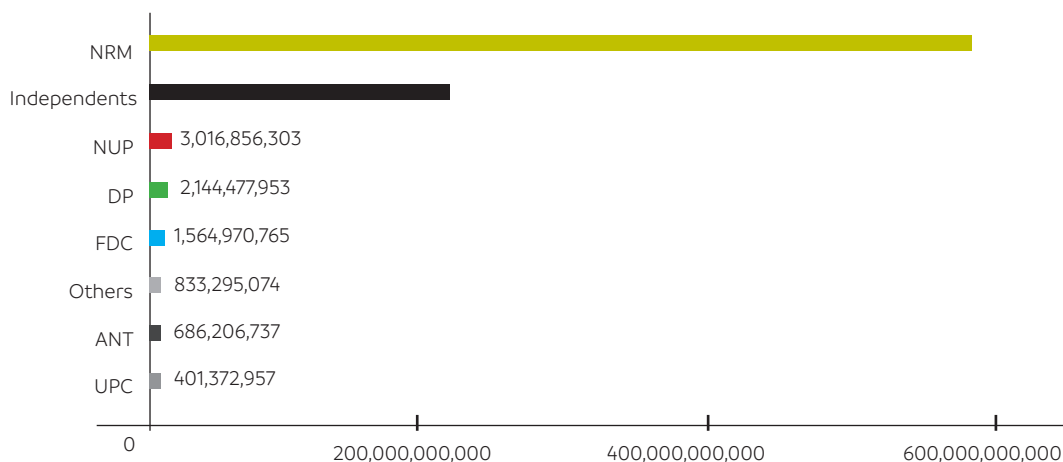
The NRM political party and its candidates spent more money than opposition political parties' candidates and independent candidates combined. It was noted that many of the independent candidates were also NRM-leaning.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Independent but NRM leaning refers to candidates who lost in NRM party primaries but felt the primaries were not free and fair, thus, went on to be nominated by the Electoral Commission as independent candidates to compete with the official NRM flag bearer in the same constituency.



It should be noted that whether they were NRM leaning or opposition leaning, independent candidates were the second biggest spenders in the elections second to the NRM as illustrated below.

Figure 9: Comparative Expenditure by Political Party (in UGX)



Source: ACFIM Campaign Finance Analytical Platform (2021)

Whereas candidates from opposition political parties like NUP, FDC, ANT, UPC, DP and others, were also engaged in ground spending of all manner because the nature of Uganda’s electoral politics demands so, they were easily outfoxed by their counterparts from the NRM party and independents.

### Analysis of Campaign Spending by Presidential Candidate

Whereas incumbent presidential candidate Gen. Yoweri Tibuhaburwa Museveni of the National Resistance Movement party (NRM) did not conduct open air campaigns but engaged more in meetings with party leaders and supporters at District/sub-regional levels, his spending still overshadowed his competitors. The second highest spending presidential candidate was Hon. Robert Kyagulanyi of the National Unity Platform party (NUP) followed by Hon. Patrick Amuriat of the Forum for Democratic Change party (FDC). Willy Mayambala and Nancy Kalembe spent the least as illustrated by the table and attended bar graph below:

Table 6: Expenses by Presidential Candidates

Presidential Candidate	Political Affiliation	Min. Spent ‘000 UGX	Percentage
John Katumba	Independent	253,838	0.12
Henry Tumukunde	Independent	236,798	0.11
Willy Mayambala	Independent	136,539	0.07
Robert Kyagulanyi	National Unity Platform (NUP)	3,756,623	1.80
Nancy Kalembe	Independent	230,206	0.11



Presidential Candidate	Political Affiliation	Min. Spent '000 UGX	Percentage
Yoweri Museveni	National Resistance Movement (NRM)	201,553,383	96.53
Joseph Kabuleta	Independent	222,972	0.11
Fred Mwesigye	Independent	176,258	0.08
Patrick Amuriat	Forum for Democratic Change	1,012,368	0.48
Gregory Mugisha Muntu	Alliance for National Transformation	456,373	0.22
Nobert Mao	Democratic Party	752,908	0.36
<b>Total</b>		<b>208,788,271</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Source: ACFIM Campaign Finance Analytical Platform (2021)

Much of candidate Museveni’s spending was done through third parties and it went into visible things such as hire of tents and chairs, food and drinks from meeting attendees, facilitation of entertainers, transport facilitation for party leaders travelling to participate in the meetings, cash donations to elders who would meet with the President and outdoor advertising, facilitation for journalists on his campaign trail among others. On the other hand, spending by other presidential candidates was more concealed save for that which went into outdoor advertising, fuel for vehicles of candidates and party officials on campaign trail, lodging/ accommodation, meals, and internet data for live broadcasts on social media among others. The graph below shows that candidate Museveni was the towering spender.

Figure 10: Comparison of Expenses by Presidential Candidates



Source: Campaign Finance Analytical Platform (2021)



### What did President Museveni Spend on?

Notwithstanding the difficulty in tracking spending by the incumbent presidential candidate on campaign trail, the following is are the minimum estimates.

**Table 7: Disaggregation of Candidate Museveni’s Expenditure by Spending Category**

Cost Centre	UGX in Billions.	Percentage
Pre-Campaign	31.1	15.5
Election-day	18.2	9.0
Voter Hospitality	51.7	25.7
Campaign Events	15.1	7.5
Campaign Admin.	42.1	20.9
Paraphernalia	15	7.5
Publicity	28	13.9
<b>Totals</b>	<b>201.2</b>	<b>100.0</b>

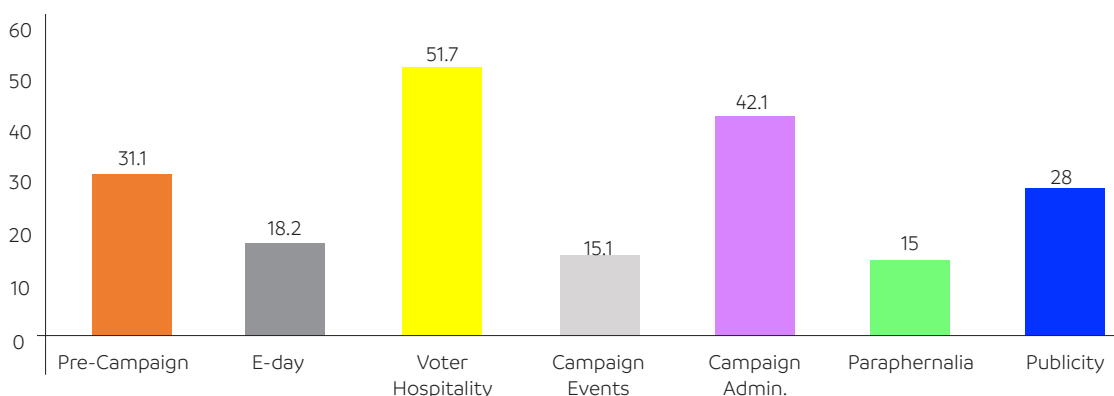
Source: ACFIM Campaign Finance Database (2021)



One of Candidate Museveni’s convoys during the campaign period

The figure below presents a graphic analysis of incumbent presidential candidate Yoweri Museveni’s spending.

**Figure 11: Disaggregation of Campaign Spending by Candidate Museveni in Billions (UGX)**



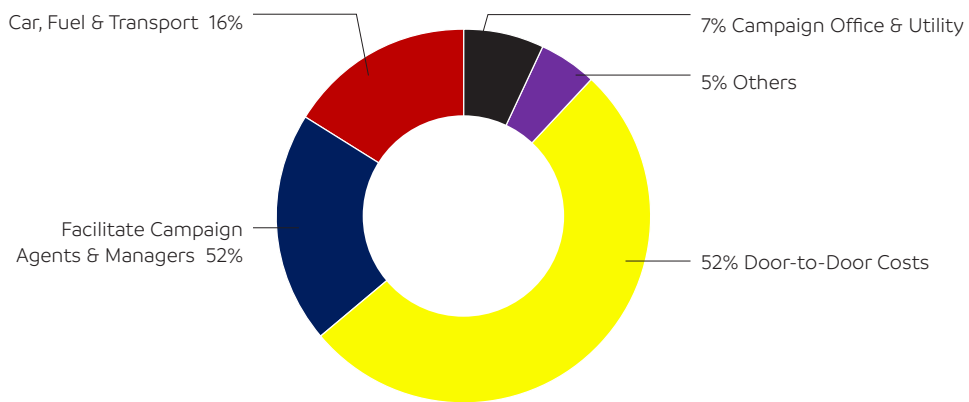
Source: ACFIM Campaign Finance Database (2021)



### What Constituted Campaign Administration for Candidate Museveni

Door-to-door campaign strategy proved to be the most expensive campaign approach. The approach was coined as a containment measure for COVID-19 to avoid voter crowding. Analysis indicated that 52% (UGX 21.7bn) of campaign administration constituted financing door-to-door campaign costs including travels, direct handouts, airtime in the over 14,000 villages studied. This was followed by the elaborate campaign structure of the NRM candidate from district to village level. NRM had a structure of 30 agents per village during the campaign. The figure below illustrates the percentage distribution of the candidate's spending on campaign administration.

Figure 12: Percentage Allocation of Campaign Administration Expenses



Source: ACFIM Campaign Finance Platform (2021)



NRM supporters welcoming candidate Yoweri Museveni during the campaign period



## The Power of Incumbency

Under the current constitution that was promulgated in 1995, Uganda has held six national elections (1996, 2001, 2006, 2011, 2016 & 2021) and all of them have resulted in re-election of the incumbent President, Yoweri Kaguta Museveni. This situation has created a perception that the incumbent is unwinnable and this is the antithesis of the democratic principle of level playing field. The power of incumbency is buttressed by the fact that Gen. Museveni has mastered the art of staying in the game and play at his own tempo without allowing to get played by his challengers. At the root of his game is the power of money in politics.

It was observed that wherever he went, the incumbent President Museveni either launched something or donated something and it was unclear whether he was doing this in his capacity as President or as a Presidential candidate. Below are some of the photographs that attest to this statement.





Commissioning the road works



Mukono



Opening Soroti Market



*Opening Busia Central Market*



*Opening Kasese central market*



*Opening Kasese Central Market*





### Candidate Nobert Mao's Campaigns

The Democratic Party (DP) presidential flagbearer, Hon. Nobert Mao was one of the under resourced presidential candidates. ACFIM monitors established that the branded vehicles he used on his campaign trail were donated by friends and took them back after the campaigns. As such, Mao's visibility was dismal throughout the election campaign. Nonetheless, he is estimated to have spent at least UGX. 752,908,222 (\$203,488) on his campaign trail. Below are some of the pictures of his branded campaign vehicles.



DP presidential candidate Hon. Nobert Mao on one of his campaign events addressing the electorate



## Candidate Robert Kyagulanyi's Campaigns

The National Unity Platform (NUP) party presidential flagbearer, Hon. Robert Kyagulanyi Sentamu a.k.a Bobi Wine was the second biggest spender after incumbent candidate Yoweri Tibuhaburwa Museveni of the NRM party. As “commander in chief” of the people power movement which took the campaigns by storm, most spending for Kyagulanyi went into campaign administration and publicity especially online. The data from ACFIM database puts Kyagulanyi’s spending on the campaign train at UGX 3,756,623,922 (\$1.02 million). The photo below shows candidate Kyagulanyi’s campaign procession through the countryside.



*Candidate Robert Kyagulanyi Sentamu standing in the front white SUV, waving at his supporters as his procession overtakes other vehicles to get to the next campaign destination*

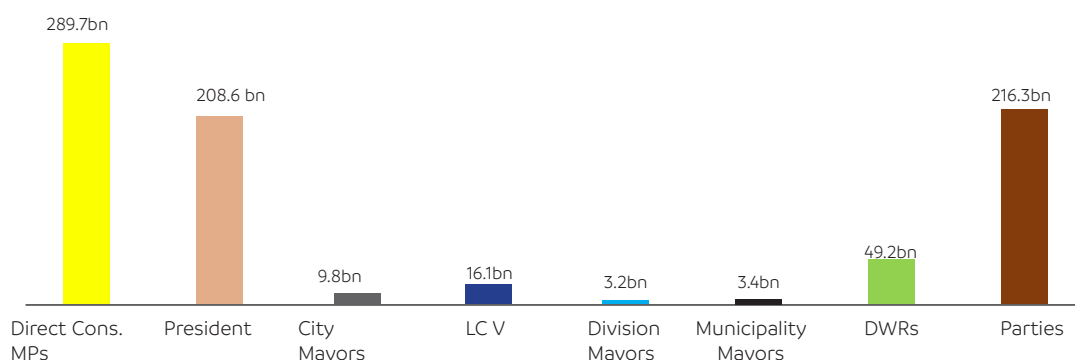
## Analysis of Campaign Spending by Electoral Level

The combined spending by candidates who competed for the position of direct constituency Member of Parliament was more than the spending documented from candidates that contested on other electoral levels. This may be attributed to the competition caused by the record number of 2,259 candidates that were successfully nominated by the Electoral Commission to vie for the 353 direct constituency Parliamentary seats available. These men and women were observed engaging in ground “spending wars” to outfox each other. The second biggest spending electoral level was Presidential and this was in part due to the high stakes that go with that position and in part due to the unrivalled spending power of incumbent candidate, Gen. Yoweri Kaguta Tibuhaburwa Museveni.

The electoral level that posted the lowest spending figures was Division and Municipality Mayors. This is largely attributable to the fact that these lower Local Government positions are less coveted because of the perceived low financial returns. The table below presents analysis on how much was spent by candidates at the different electoral levels in the general elections 2021.



Figure 13: Comparison of Expenses by Presidential Candidates (in billion UGX)



Source: ACFIM Campaign Finance Platform (2021)

### Average Spending by Category of Candidates by Electoral Level

The average expenditure per candidate that participated in the race for direct constituency member of Parliament was UGX 511 million (\$141,944). Spending at this level ranged between UGX 70 million for the lowest spender and UGX 3.5 billion for the highest spender. Conversely, candidates for District Women Representative for Member of Parliament spent on average UGX 256 million (\$71,110), while each candidate for City Mayor spent on average UGX 125 million (\$34,944). In Kampala the national capital, the average cost of campaigning for the position of City Division Mayor was UGX 498 million (\$135,555). At the level of Municipality Mayor, the average candidate is estimated to have spent at least UGX 61 million (\$16,944). Candidates for District Chairpersons are estimated to have spent on average UGX 103 million (\$28,611).

However, there were also cases of candidates whose spending stood out at Local Government level. These included among others; incumbent Kampala City Lord Mayor Hon. Elias Lukwago (Mr) whose minimum spending is estimated at UGX 400 million (\$113,600), Ibrahim Kitatta (Mr) for Lwengo District Chairperson spending UGX 450 million (\$127,840), and Jemimah Tumwujukye (Ms) for Sheema District Chairperson spending UGX 250 million. The table below presents the analysis of candidates' spending by electoral level.

Table 8: Average Spending by Category of Candidates by Electoral Level

Positions	Min. Est. Spend (UGX. bn)	Average
Direct Constituency MPs	289,184,430,501	511,830,850.44
City Mayors	9,891,369,221	125,207,205.33
LC V	16,181,054,964	103,724,711.31
Division Mayors	3,292,689,129	43,324,856.96
Municipality Mayors	3,489,260,700	61,215,100.00
District Woman Rep.	49,251,745,489	256,519,507.76

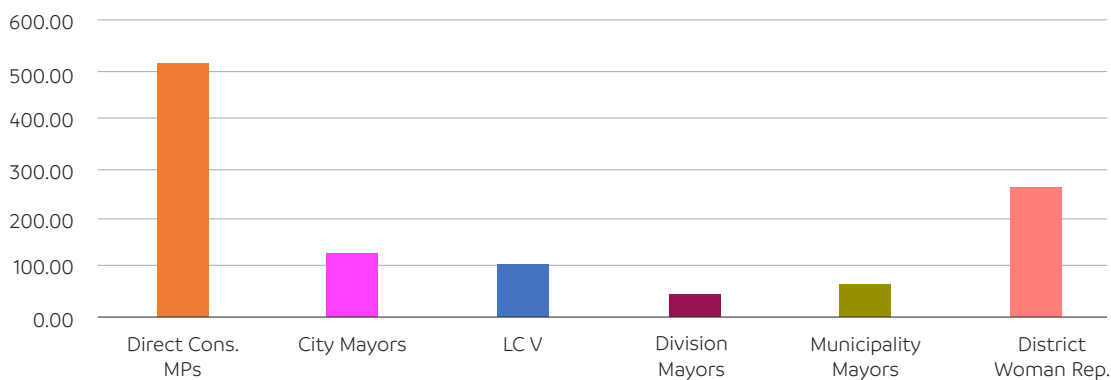
Source: ACFIM Campaign Finance Platform (2021)



At the Member of Parliament level there were candidates who took the ‘ground war’ on campaign spending to a different level. In the western region (including Ankole, Kigezi, Tooro and Bunyoro) there were numerous candidates whose observed ground spending is went over and above the one billion shillings (\$284,090). One of the most outstanding spenders was candidate Dickson Kateshumbwa who the defeated incumbent legislator and minister, Hon. Elioda Tumwesigye for the Sheema Municipality seat.

Candidates for District Woman Representative (DWR) in Parliament in the same region severally spent over UGX 500 million.

**Figure 14: Illustration of Average Spending by Category of Candidates by Electoral Level**



Source: ACFIM Campaign Finance Platform (2021)

In central Uganda, candidates’ expenditure was estimated to have gone upwards of UGX 878 million (\$250,000) for direct constituency MP and UGX 587.9 million (\$167,329) for DWR respectively. These were observed in the race for district women representative for Wakiso and Lwengo districts and direct constituency races for Nakaseke central, Sembabule North, Bukoto central and Bukoto west constituencies among others. In Eastern Uganda, the spending kings were in Iganga Municipality, Budiope East and Soroti City West. In northern Uganda, it was the constituencies of Erute South and Lira district women representative that had big spenders.

The table below highlights some of the moneyed candidates whose spending on the campaigns went over and above one billion shillings.



**Table 9: Candidates whose spending went over UGX 1 billion**

Snr	Candidate	Political Affiliation	District	Constituency	Amount expended	Electoral Outcome
1	Akurut Viola Adome	NRM	Katakwi	Katakwi	1,344,925,917	Lost
2	Among Anita	NRM	Bukedea	Bukedea	2,541,332,000	Won
3	Betty Kanya	NRM	Kampala	Rubaga North	1,029,198,120	Lost
4	Betty Aool Achan	FDC	Gulu	Gulu City	1,143,238,000	Won
5	Cheptoris Sam Mangusho	NRM	Kapchorwa	Kapchorwa Municipality	1,706,457,980	Won
6	Dr. Elioda Tumwesigye	NRM	Sheema	Sheema Municipality	1,731,341,500	Lost
7	Edward Ssekandi Kiwanuka	NRM	Masaka City	Bukoto Central	1,777,185,000	Lost
8	Eng. Bategana Yorokamu Katwiremu	NRM	Sheema	Sheema South	1,572,912,500	Lost
9	Engola Sam	NRM	Lira	Erute South	2,937,524,500	Lost
10	Jimmy Akena	UPC	Lira City	Lira City East	1,310,570,000	Won
11	Kateshumbwa Dickson	NRM	Sheema	Sheema Municipality	3,413,592,500	Won
12	Katusiime Annet Mugisha	NRM	Bushenyi	Bushenyi	1,701,610,500	Won
13	Lubangakene Ceasor	NUP	Gulu	Laroo-pece	1,124,331,000	Lost
14	Mary Kabanda	DP	Masaka City	Masaka City	1,013,135,500	Won
15	Mayanja Sseremba Godfrey	Independent	Masaka City	Bukoto Central	1,050,575,000	Lost
16	Mbogo Dastun Eddy	FDC		Mukono Municipality	1,049,104,000	Lost
17	Mugema Peter Panadol	NRM	Iganga	Iganga Municipality	1,693,064,000	Won
18	Munyangwa Mubarak	FDC	Kampala	Kawempe South	2,310,326,980	Lost
19	Muyanja Mohamad	NRM	Lwengo	Bukoto County West	1,290,843,000	Won
20	Nambi Faridah	NRM	Kampala	Kampala	1,647,463,286	Lost
21	Namujju Cissy Dionizia	NRM	Lwengo	Lwengo	1,556,605,500	Lost
22	Ogwang Peter	NRM	Katakwi	Ngariam	1,802,516,600	Won
23	Rosemary Sseninde Nansubuga	NRM	Wakiso	Wakiso District	2,206,178,900	Lost



Snr	Candidate	Political Affiliation	District	Constituency	Amount expended	Electoral Outcome
24	Sabila Nelson	Independent	Bukwo	Kongasis	2,096,862,000	Lost
25	Saida Bumba	NRM	Nakaseke	Nakaseke Central	1,851,099,400	Lost
26	Shartsi Musherure Kuteesa	Independent	Sembabule	Mawogola North	1,139,023,000	Won
27	Dr. Aceng Ruth Jane	NRM	Lira	Lira City	1,280,434,500	Won

Source: ACFIM Campaign Finance Platform (2021)

### Analysis of Campaign Spending by Geographical Region

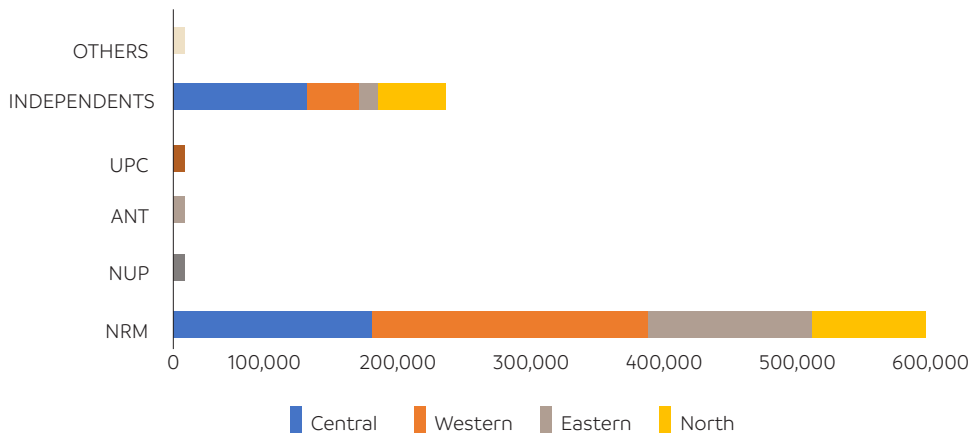
Central region posted the highest figures of observed and documented campaign spending by political parties and candidates across all electoral levels, followed by west, east and north (West Nile, Lango and Acholi sub regions). There were regional disparities in terms of nature of spending. For example, in west and central regions, candidate spending largely went into tangible community infrastructure such as grading community roads, constructing bridges, extending supply lines for water and electricity, while in east and northern regions candidate spending was channeled into soft areas such as payment of schools fees, medical bills, and other personal problems. This should not mean that east and north regions did not have cases of physical infrastructure. In Kumi County, the winning candidate Okaasai Sidronius Opolot who nicknamed himself “Action-man” during campaigns, opened up and graded community roads including the road to one of his closest competitor’s parents, Simon Peter Obilan.

There were common denominators in spending across all regions which included purchase of ambulances, motorcycles (bodaboda), provision of credit facilities to groups of youth and women, as well as cash contribution to projects in places of worship namely churches and mosques. Others included; establishment and facilitations of economic enhancement schemes like SACCOs and VSLAs for women, men and youths.

Increased transparency and better public knowledge about the source of campaign money can help inform the electorate to make the correct voting decisions. The NRM candidates spent slightly more money in western region than they did in central region. ACFIM further noted that out of the 20 political parties that participated in the elections, only UPC and UEP failed to field candidates in central region.

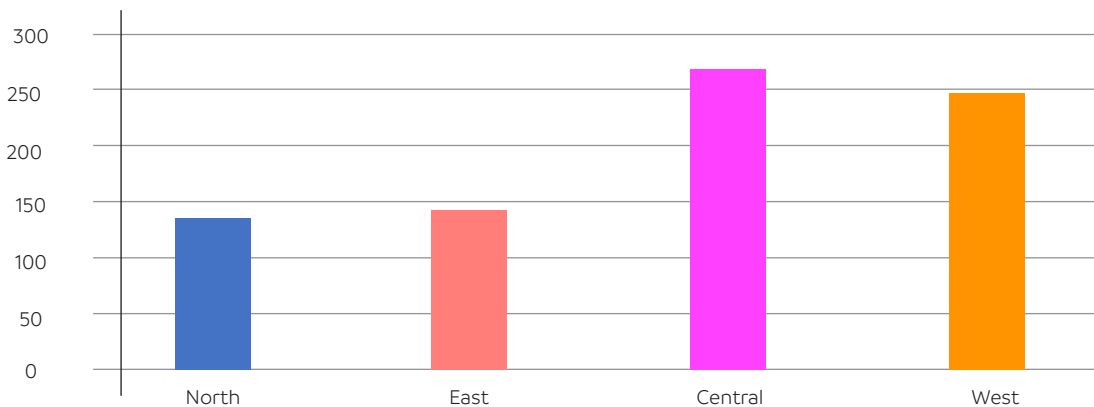


Figure 15: Analysis of Campaign Spending by Political Affiliation by Region



The high spending in central region is largely attributed to the strong challenge posed by the “people power” movement of the National Unity Platform (NUP) whose ever-growing influence forced competing candidates from rival political affiliations, to spend more on the ground in order to counteract the gravity of power of NUP. Nonetheless, in the end it was people power that overpowered money power in most of the constituencies in central region as in most of the constituencies it was NUP candidates that emerged victorious. Western region, was largely a stronghold of the NRM party and recorded the second highest figure of campaign spending followed by eastern and northern as illustrated below.

Figure 16: Campaign Spending by Geographical Region (in billions UGx)



Source: ACFIM Campaign Finance Platform (2021)



It cost a candidate in central and western three times more in aggregated spending to contest for similar position that it cost in north, eastern regions as illustrated in the following four tables below.

**Table 10: Comparative Expenditure by Political Affiliation in Northern Uganda**

Political Affiliation	Amount Spent	Percentage
FDC	383,069,877	0.3
DP	921,308,330	0.7
NUP	767,744,678	0.6
Independents	49,457,177,176	36.0
ANT	143,793,076	0.1
NRM	85,075,528,575	62.0
UPC	296,697,255	0.2
Others	237,343,933	0.2
<b>Totals</b>	<b>137,282,662,900</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: ACFIM Campaign Finance Analytical Platform (2021)

**Table 11: Comparative Expenditure by Political Party in Central Uganda**

Political Affiliation	Amount Spent	Percentage
FDC	153,920,000	0.06
DP	867,308,330	0.32
NUP	1,517,311,225	0.56
Independents	107,423,648,630	39.93
ANT	304,310,293	0.11
NRM	158,658,981,684	58.97
UPC	5,639,936	0.00
Others	123,536,389	0.05
<b>Total</b>	<b>269,054,656,486</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: ACFIM Campaign Finance Analytical Platform (2021)

**Table 12: Comparative Expenditure by Political Party in Eastern Uganda**

Political Affiliation	Amount Spent	Percentage
FDC	574,060,888	0.4
DP	171,308,330	0.1
NUP	515,900,200	0.4
Independents	13,103,432,807	9.2
ANT	133,793,076	0.1





Political Affiliation	Amount Spent	Percentage
NRM	127,896,988,872	89.7
UPC	6,268,297	0.0
Others	238,167,530	0.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>142,639,920,000</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Campaign Finance Analytical Platform (2021)

**Table 13: Comparative Expenditure by Political Party in Western Uganda**

Political Affiliation	Amount Spent	
FDC	453,920,000	0.18
DP	184,552,963	0.08
NUP	215,900,200	0.08
Independents	38,259,408,287	15.4
ANT	104,310,293	0.04
NRM	207,931,634,335	84.05
UPC	-	-
Others	234,247,222	0.1
<b>Totals</b>	<b>247,383,973,300</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Campaign Finance Analytical Platform (2021)

### Analysis of Campaign Spending by Parliamentary Independent Candidates by Geographical Region

The combined number of independent candidates that were nominated for Member of Parliament races was 1,334 out of a total number of 2,664 candidates, constituting 50%. The Eastern region produced the highest number of independent candidates, accounting for 37 percent of the total number of independent candidates nominated to contest for Member of Parliament followed by north, west and central as illustrated below.

**Table 14: Distribution of Independent Candidates by Geographical Region**

REGION	Distribution by Region
CENTRAL	263
EAST	497
NORTH	294
WEST	280
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,334</b>

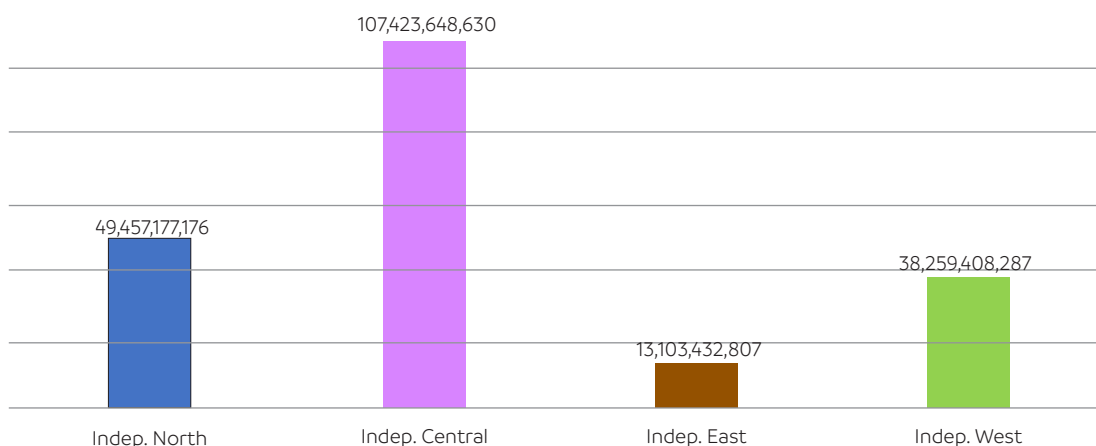
Source: Campaign Finance Analytical Platform (2021)



## How Did Independent Candidates Spend by Region?

Whereas eastern region had the highest number of independent candidates nominated (497) representing and central region had the least number of independent candidates nominated (263), it was in central region that independent candidates were observed to spend the more on the campaign trail. Yet, western region comprising Ankole, Kigezi, Bunyoro, Tooro and Rwenzori together have more districts (38) and by extension more constituencies (91), while central region has 17 districts and 78 constituencies. The biggest spenders in central region were candidates holding the NRM flag followed by the independent candidates.

*Figure 17: Spending by Independent Candidates by Region*



Source: Campaign Finance Analytical Platform (2021)

## Spending Competition between NRM-leaning Independent and NRM Flagbearers

There was competition in spending between independents that has lost the NRM party primaries and the NRM flag-bearing candidates. Cases in point included but were not limited to the following: Elioda Tumwesigye (Ind.) v Dickson Kateshunbwa in Sheema Municipality, Prof. Kabwegyere (Ind.) v Prof. Mushemeza in Sheema South constituency, Hon. Maj. Jessica Alupo (Ind.) v Violet Adome Akurut in Katakwi District Women Representative, Tindyebwa Brian Kusingira (Ind.) v Betty Kamya in Rubaga North constituency, Shartsi Musherure v Sodo Kaguta in Mawogola North, Cedric Babu v Mohammed Nsereko (Ind.) in Kampala City.

The independent candidates used money as their only weapon to challenge the official NRM flag bearers who enjoyed the support of the party. In central region the independent candidates faced tough competition from not only the official NRM candidate but also from the “people power” movement. This situation prompted further spending by independent candidates in central region. Unfortunately, the influence of NUP candidates proved so strong that it transcended the power of money.

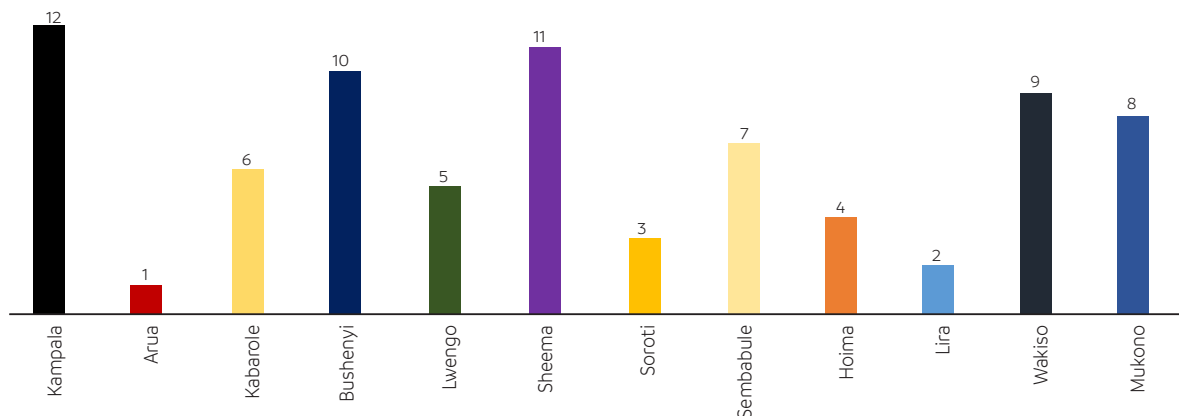


## Analysis of Campaign Spending by District

Kampala, Wakiso and Mukono districts (which are also lumped together as Kampala Metropolitan), were home to high spenders especially by candidates from the NRM party and independents. Some of these candidates employed costly strategies such as paying monthly retainer fees over 2-3 months, to campaign agents at ward/village level to carry out door-to-door vote canvassing, and there was no mechanism of monitoring their performance.

Among the rural districts, Sheema and Bushenyi posted the highest campaign spending figures. Sheema and Bushenyi were followed closely by Sembabule district. This was largely a consequence of the “spending wars” between candidates that were observed in Sheema Municipality, Bushenyi-Ishaka and Mawogola North constituencies. Analysis also indicated the Arua, Lira and Soroti ranked lowest on them continuum. The bar-graph below illustrates it further.

Figure 18: Campaign Spending by District



Source: ACFIM Campaign Finance Analytical Platform (2021)

In Bushenyi and Sheema districts, most of the spending was observed during the pre-campaign period especially in the lead up to the NRM party primaries. Aspiring candidates like Hon. Mary Karoro Okurut, Anne Mugisha and Dickson Kateshumwa are estimated to have spent in excess of UGX 1 billion during the pre-campaign period. ACFIM monitors in these districts reported incidences where Hon. Mary Karoro and Anne Mugisha who competed in the NRM party primaries for Bushenyi District Woman MP Representative, donated cash ranging between UGX 1 million and UGX 2 million to each of the 578 villages that make up the district. This money was shared as follows: village youth group (UGX 500,000), village women group (UGX 500,000) and Mwezikye group (UGX 500,000). The candidates further donated cash and items to places of worship in addition to the campaign administration costs.



Candidate Anne Mugisha (wife to the Executive Director, National Water and Sewerage Corporation) was reported to have donated goats to youth in every village, contributed UGX 300,000 to village savings associations, and donated an ambulance to Kabushaho Medical Centre. Some of her spending was channeled through Community Welfare Association, a local community-based organisation (CBO) established to serve as a special purpose vehicle for popularising the political ambitions of Ms Anne Mugisha. All this spending was observed and documented during the pre-campaign period. Anne Mugisha beat Mary Karooro during the party primaries and went on to win the Parliamentary seat as Bushenyi District Women Representative in the 11<sup>th</sup> Parliament. This study deduces argues that money was the key factor in securing her win.

### **Analysis of Campaign Spending by Constituency**

Rubaga North constituency in Rubaga Division, Kampala Capital City, was the most expensive constituency in terms of campaign spending in comparison with spending in other constituencies. Statistics reveal that Rubaga North had the biggest voting population for a single constituency in 2021 and also had the highest number of candidates nominated for Member of Parliament (14 candidates). This was in addition to the nine that competed for Kampala District woman representative all of whom also spent significantly in Rubaga North.

Among the leading observed spenders was Hon. Betty Kamyia (NRM and also Minister for Kampala), Abubakar Kawalya (NUP and also Speaker Kampala Capital City Authority). Having Hon. Betty Kamyia, Abubakar Kawalya and incumbent MP Moses Kasibante running neck to neck, spurred the candidates into a “spending war”. Rubaga North constituency is home to villages like Kasubi, Kawaala, Nakulabye, Nabulagala, Masanafu, Lungujja, and Lungujja whose resident we still reeling for the economic effects of the extended COVID-19 lockdown. Among the rural constituencies, Sheema Municipality posted the highest observed spending in a rural constituency.

### **Analysis of Campaign Spending by Gender**

Electoral spaces in Uganda have continued to be masculinised. At Presidential level, out of the 11 candidates only one was female. At Parliamentary level, out of the 2,696 candidates that were nominated on directly elected and district/city women representative seats in Parliament, 787 were female. From the 787 nominated female candidates, 653 consisted those under the affirmative seat of District/City Women Representatives. Further analysis reveals that only 134 representing 6.6 percent female candidates were nominated to contest with men on direct elected parliamentary positions. The total number of directly elected Member of Parliament positions available is 353.

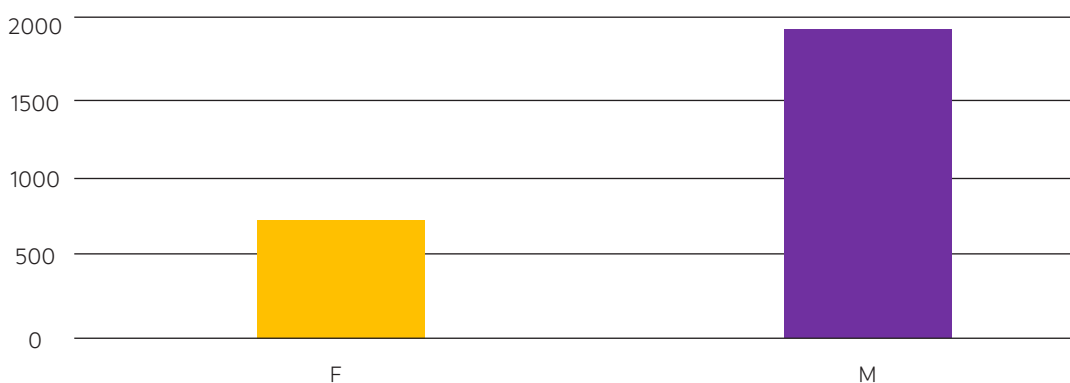
In terms proportional analysis, only 29.2 percent of the candidates nominated by the Electoral Commission for directly elected and district/city women representatives’ parliamentary positions, were female. Interviews with female candidates revealed that lack of access to campaign finance is one of the top three barriers to women participation in electoral processes



as candidates. The table below presents the number of female and male candidates nominated for Parliamentary races.

GENDER	Count of Name
Female	787
Male	1,909
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2,696</b>

Figure 19: Illustration Gender Disparities of Candidates Nominated for MP races



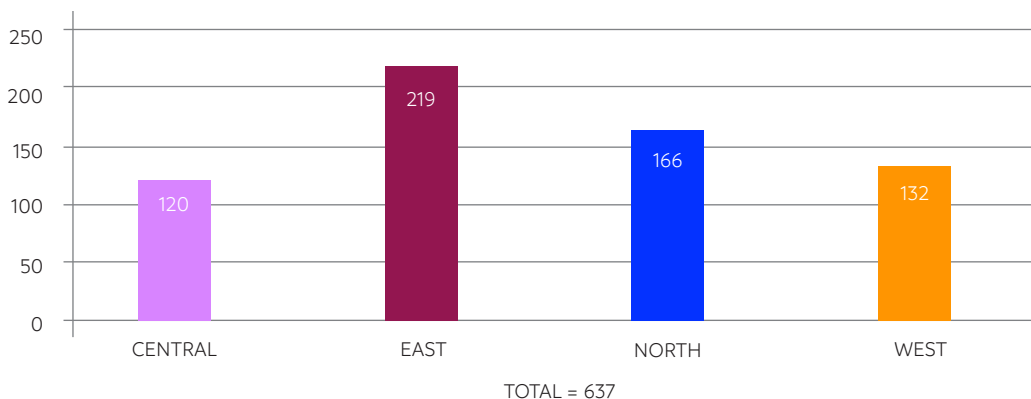
Source: ACFIM Campaign Finance Analytical Platform (2021)

### Distribution of Female Candidates by Region

Eastern region had the highest number of female candidates nominated for Parliamentary races (219) followed by Northern region (166) and western region (132). Central region had the smallest number of female candidates nominated on Parliamentary seat (120). The most feasible argument for why central region had the smallest number of female candidates compared to other regions is because it is more costly to contest in central region. The cost of elective politics is much higher in the central regions than it is in other regions of Uganda. The regional disparities in number of female candidates nominated for the 2021 general elections is illustrated below.

Region	Count of Name
Central	120
East	219
North	166
West	132
<b>Total</b>	<b>637</b>

Figure 20: Distribution of Female Candidates by Region



Source: ACFIM Campaign Finance Analytical Platform (2021)

### Female Candidates Shunned Political Parties

Further analysis reveals that most of the female candidates who stood for District Women Representative shunned political parties and stood as independent candidates (47%).

**Table 15: Analysis of Political Affiliation of Nominated Female Candidates**

PARTY	Count of Name	Percentage
ANT	19	2.9%
DP	26	4%
FDC	72	11%
Independents	312	47.8%
JEEMA	6	0.9%
NRM	146	22.4%
NUP	59	9%
UPC	13	2%
TOTAL	653	100

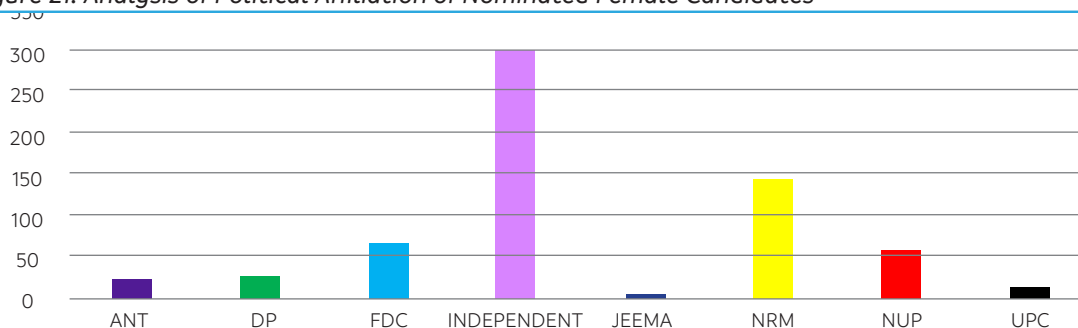
Source: ACFIM Campaign Finance Analytical Platform (2021)

### Majority of Female Contestants Stood as Independent Candidates

The party that fielded the biggest number of female candidates was NRM representing 22.3% followed FDC at 11% and NUP at 9%. The figure below further illustrates this analysis.



Figure 21: Analysis of Political Affiliation of Nominated Female Candidates



Source: ACFIM Campaign Finance Analytical Platform (2021)

### Why Did Female Candidates Shun Political Parties?

During the post-election Focus Group Discussions with female politicians who participated in the 2021 general elections (winners and losers), it was revealed that women shunned political parties because of the unethical practices that are known to exist within the parties. Among them, political parties have identified particular women they support and field as candidates thus locking out many and sometime better female politicians. Second, there is a growing practice of demanding for sexual favours in exchange for the party flag which many women find demeaning and unethical. This explains why many of the young and progressive women preferred to stand as independent candidates rather than agreeing to be turned into sex objects by the so-called godfathers who manage and/or own the political parties. Thus, political parties are standing out as a major barrier and perhaps also 'killer' of women participation in politics as candidates.

*(For more on this argument refer to the chapter on: Gender Dynamics and Women Participation in Elections) on page 111*

### Disparities in Campaign Spending by Gender

Male candidates as expected, eclipsed their female counterparts in all forms of ground spending on publicity, outdoors advertising, voter inducement activities, campaign administration and campaign paraphernalia. Ground spending by male candidates accounted for 89 percent of the total campaign spending at Presidential, Parliamentary and Local Government electoral levels, while spending by female candidates accounted for a paltry 11%. The table below provides the details.

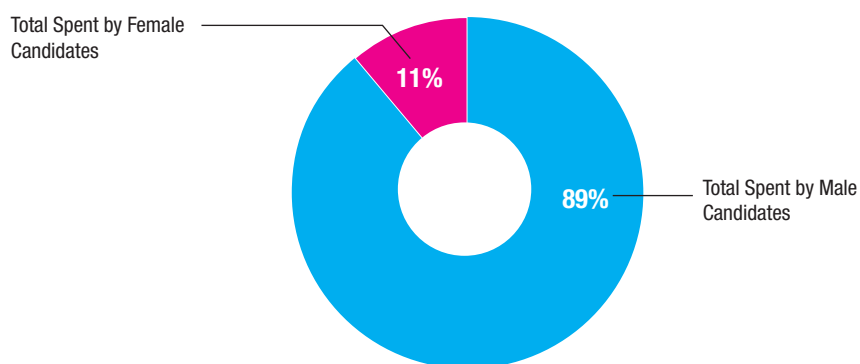


**Table 16: Gender Disparities in Campaign Spending in UGX**

Gender	Amount	Percentage
Total Spent by Female Candidates	61,338,885,539	11
Total Spent by Male Candidates	518,739,936,308	89
<b>Total Campaign Costs by Candidates</b>	<b>580,078,821,847</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Source: ACFIM Campaign Finance Analytical Platform (2021)

**Figure 22: Campaign Expenditure by Gender**



Source: Campaign Finance Analytical Platform (2021)

### Access to Campaign Finance and the Declining Numbers of Women on Ballot Papers

Whereas money is an essential and unavoidable part of politics, it is a big barrier to women to participate in elections as candidates. The few women that competed with men on direct constituencies for Member of Parliament and Local Government positions during the 2021 general elections, shared the view that access to resources made the voices of the male candidates, louder than the voices of female candidates. Men enjoy greater opportunities and ability to fundraise and stand a better chance of winning elections than the women. To be nominated as candidates for 2021 elections, most of the female candidates revealed that they had to wait a long time until they felt they were financially capable of bearing the campaign expenses. Government of Uganda has not done enough to address the barrier of campaign finance to women participation in electoral politics. The starting point for any such effort would be by developing a stand-alone law to regulate money in elections campaigns as well as other administrative measures.





## The Female Candidates Who Stood out on Outdoor Advertising

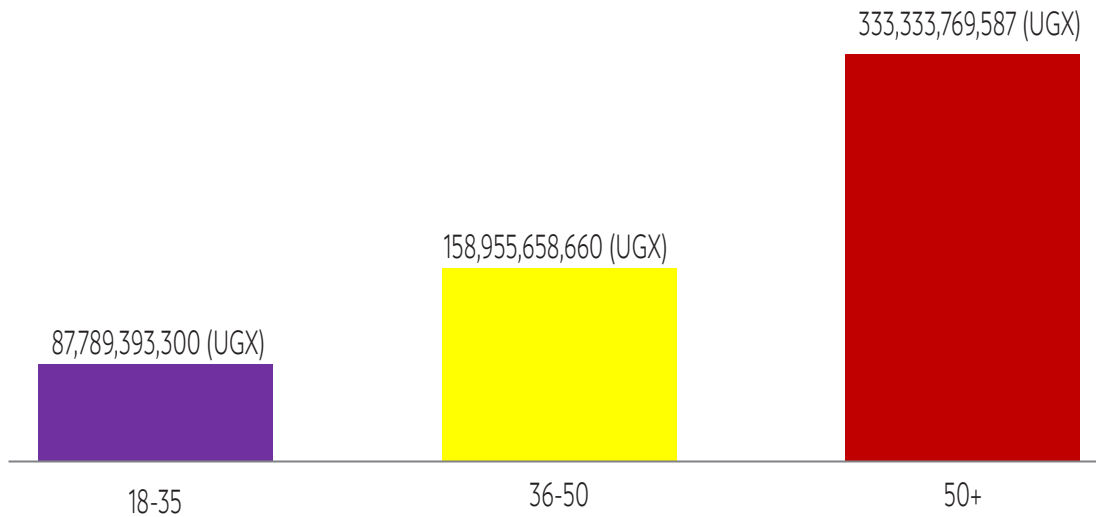
There were a few female candidates that stood shoulder to shoulder with male counterparts in terms of spending on outdoor advertising, community donations and size of campaign agents among others. Unfortunately, many of them failed in the election, losing to candidates who spending towards voter inducement. Below are some of them.





## Analysis of Campaign Spending by Age

The leading spenders on the ground were candidates aged 50 years and above accounting for 57% percent of the total observed campaign expenditure. These were followed by candidate aged between 36 years and 50 years, accounting for 27% of the total observed ground expenditure. Youths aged between 18 years and 35 years were the lowest spenders.



Source: Campaign Finance Analytical Platform (2021)