

Chapter 4

How the Banknote Controlled Voter Consent

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HOW THE BANKNOTE CONTROLLED VOTER CONSENT

How Money Was Used To Procure The Unopposed Status Of Parliamentary Candidates

In this chapter, ACFIM demonstrates the power of the Banknote in undermining political competition. There were 11 candidates who went through the Parliamentary Elections unopposed. At Local Government level, there were 07 unopposed candidates for District Chairperson. All the unopposed candidates were flag bearers of the National Resistance Movement (NRM) party.

It is perceived that going through an election unopposed is an indicator of political might which would increase the chances of "catching the eye of the President" to consider them for a Ministerial appointment. Below is a list of the Members of Parliament who went through the 2021 general elections unopposed.

No	Name of Legislator	Constituency	District
1.	Hon. Hilary Lokwang (Mr)	lk County	Kaabong
2.	Hon. Pius Wakabi (Mr)	Bugahya County	Hoima
3.	Hon. Anita Among (Ms)	District Woman MP	Bukedea
4.	Hon. Matia Kasaija (Mr)	Buyanja County	Kibaale
5.	Hon. Gyaviira Ssemwanga (Mr)	Buyamba County	Rakai
6.	Hon. Enock Nyongwe	Nakaseke North	Nakaseke
7.	Hon. Paparu Lilian Obare	District Woman MP	Arua
8.	Hon. Emely kugonza	Buyanja East	Kibaale
9.	Hon. Cuthbert Abigaba	Kibaale County	Kamwenge
9.	Hon. Mary Begumisa	District Woman MP	Ssembabule
10.	Hon. Frank Tumwebaze	Kibaale East	Kanwenge
11.	Hon. Jackson Kafuuzi	Kyaka County	Kyegeegwa

Table 17: Parliamentary Candidates that sailed through Unopposed

Local Government Candidates that went through Unopposed

At District Local Government level, the unopposed candidates included:

- 1. Adrian Ddungu Wasswa (Mr) Buvuma Districty
- 2. Herbert Happy Mayanja (Mr) Ibanda District
- 3. Moses Batwala (Mr) Jinja District,
- 4. Felix Mark Lochaale (Mr) Karenga District,
- 5. Rutetebya Mukago (Mr\) Kiruhura District
- 6. Asirafu Mambu (Mr) Koboko Distrist
- 7. Sylvester Agubanshongorera (Mr) Rubirizi District

Was Unopposed Status for Member of Parliament Candidates Merited or Purchased?

The study made an effort to establish the prevailing circumstances that enabled some candidates to go through unopposed, and how the withdrawal of challengers even after nomination, was achieved. The research team interrogated the hypothesis that being unopposed as Member of Parliament candidate was rather purchased than merited.

In the sections below, we present some of the constituencies where political candidates stood unopposed, and we make an attempt at analyzing the factors that helped them to achieve this.

1. How did the finance minister achieve unopposed Status?

The Minister of Finance, Planning and Economic Development Hon. Matia Kasaija faced a strong challenger in the race for who gets to represent Buyanja County constituency in the 11th Parliament. The fear was that if Hon. Kasaija were to lose the Parliamentary seat, he would most likely also lose his position in Government as Minister of Finance.

During the NRM party primaries (September 2020) the finance minister contested against Paul Kyalimpa and only won with a slim margin amidst allegations of blatant voter bribery, intimidation and threats towards his opponents. Whereas the minister won the party flag, Kyalimpa felt hard-done by and decided to contest against minister in the national elections and was duly nominated by the Electoral Commission.

However, the story changed when President Museveni called a meeting between Hon Kasaija and Mr Kyalimpa in Gulu where they allegedly resolved that Mr Kyalimpa withdraws from the race and leave Hon Kasaija unopposed. The resolution reportedly made serious concessions that that included fulfilling the 2016 promise of UGX 100 million when he pulled out of the race to leave Hon Kasaija sail through, and secondly, find a job for Mr Kyalimpa. In the middle of the election campaigns, it was reported in the national media that Kyalimpa had been appointed as the Deputy Executive Director of the Uganda Investment Authority (UIA), an agency directly under the supervision of Kasaija in his capacity as the of Finance, Planning and Economic Development.

In addition, there was a letter that was leaked on social media where Hon. Kasaija reminded the president to appoint Mr Kyalimpa as the Deputy Executive Director of UIA. Subsequent to his alleged appointment, Kyalimpa withdrew from the race leaving the finance minister Hon. Matia Kasaija unopposed as the candidate for Buyanja County constituency. This is a manifestation of how the NRM party has used money, positions and in some cases underhand methods to entice or cajole candidates out of the race to allow its flag bearers go through unopposed.

2. Buyanja East Constituency, Kibaale District

Earlier on, a new constituency had been curved out of Buyanja County in Kibaale District, ostensibly to remove competition from finance minister Hon. Matia Kasaija. This competition

was Dr. Emely Kugonza who was now handed the new Buyanja East constituency. He quickly aspired to become the first legislator for the newly created constituency.

As aspiring candidate, Dr. Kugonza ran a number of activities under a Community Based Organization called EMESCO. Activities included a school, hospital and other community development schemes. He further developed a community hospital, upgrading it to a health center four in Buyanja and offered bursaries and other scholastic materials to the needy members of the community that could not afford public or private school requirements. The electorate in Buyanja East Constituency revealed that Dr. Kugonza is a "generous" donor who provides money for all manner of community and personal needs including wedding parties and funerals.

With such spending in the newly created constituency, Dr. Kugonza raised the bar too high that he scared off any potential political challengers leaving him to stand unopposed and sail through easily as Member of Parliament for Buyanja East Constituency.

3. Sembabule Woman Member of Parliament Race

Sembabule District is predominantly a stronghold of the NRM Party. During the party primaries, Mary Begumisa was challenged by opportunistic aspirants who were more than happy to quit the race if their price was met. Her strongest challenger, Zaituni Babikora (Ms) – a member of National Unity Platform (NUP), is alleged to have agreed to a price of about UGX 150 million (\$40,000) to quit the race, with a UGX 30 million (\$8,200) advance payment. In a surprise turn of events, she wrote to the EC informing them of her withdrawal from the race. The other would-be candidates namely Pheobe Agnes Kwagala and Jovas Twongirwe had reportedly, already been compromised during party primaries. As a consequence, Begumisa was the only candidate nominated and thus unopposed.

4. Buyamba County Constituency Rakai District

In Buyamba County, businessman Gyaviira Ssemwanga stood unopposed after defeating incumbent Member of Parliament Hon. Amos Mandela in the NRM party primary elections. It is understood that while he was aspiring to become the next Member of Parliament for Buyamba county, Ssemwanga bought among other things, football jerseys, and footballs. He organized tournaments and donated UGX 2 million (\$548) in cash to each sub country team that emerged as winner.

It is alleged that Ssemwanga paid-off potential contestant Hon. Mandela and his popular supporters who received brand new motorcycles each to rally their undivided support. The NUP aspirant who had declared intentions to challenge Ssemwanga at the general election is said to have been paid off with about UGX 100 million and thus withdrew from the race. The payment is believed to have been done in installments where the recipient was given UGX40 million and later given the balance.

Semwanga donated cash amounting to UGX 3 million (\$821) to groups that were supporting him. These interest groups include women groups, community funeral groups, youth groups

which he claims are for purposes of developing the community. Some of the locals/electorate say this is a patronage scheme properly designed by the candidate to win favor from the voters.

Speaking to the Media after being declared unopposed, Ssemwanga revealed that he had a team of people who spoke to prospective candidates to drop their aspirations. "We told them that it would be better if they don't compete with us so that we can all together work for Buyamba," said Ssemwanga.

A report by Uganda Radio Network (URN) quoted Ssemwanga revealing that he had invested heavily in the constituency to the extent that it would have been very hard for anyone to defeat him. Notably, he had extended water to villages, donated ambulances, paid school fees for several needy children and other philanthropic activities which endeared him to the would-be voters. With this level of spending, he was enough to procure sole candidacy.

5. Kyaka County South, Kyegegwa District

Jackson Kafuuzi who is the Deputy Attorney General and the incumbent Member of Parliament, went through unopposed. After seconding the removal of "age limit" or the amendment of the constitutional provision Article 102(b) that removed the age cap for one to offer him/herself for nomination as presidential candidate in Uganda, thereby allowing President Museveni to contest for the 6th time, Hon. Kafuuzi was shortly appointed the Deputy Attorney General.

Hon Kafuuzi faced two formidable challengers in the NRM primaries but he was able to shake them off and win the election. It is alleged that one of the candidates that was likely to challenge him was paid at an alleged amount of UGX 200 million (\$54,000) and land near a refugee camp.

But there are also other factors such as advice from elders, religious leaders and opinion leaders advised against other aspirants to challenge the incumbent since he was already a minister and the very first person to be appointed in such a position from the area.

6. Bukedea District Woman Member of Parliament Representative

Incumbent Woman Member of Parliament representing Bukedea district, Hon. Annet Anita Among, went through unopposed to join the 11th Parliament where she became Deputy Speaker and later on Speaker. However, sources in Bukedea point to two factors that facilitated her unopposed status namely; money and use of state apparatus to coerce opponents.

Her would be main challenger was nominated by the Electoral Commission, but was denominated a few hours later after her principle nominators turned against her. The perception on the ground in Bukedea is that they were compromised by Hon. Among after paying them UGX 40 million each (\$10,800) to withdraw their signatures. However, the study team could not independently verify this allegation.

However, it is likely that since incumbent candidate Hon. Anita Among had been spending significantly on community projects, donating cash generously to youth leaders and other Local Government aspiring candidates, potential challengers were scared off.

HOW PEOPLE POWER DEFEATED MONEY POWER IN CENTRAL REGION

The triumph of candidates that held the flag of National Unity Platform party (NUP) and rode on the popular people power movement, neutralized the power of money in politics. Most of these candidates beyond raising nomination fees and putting up a handful of campaign posters whose quality left a lot to be desired, were not visible during the campaign period because they lacked funds to organise campaign events. Yet, at the end of the day, they polled the highest numbers of votes in central region.

It was a demonstration that alongside a system of commercialized politics there can be a parallel system propagated by the power of the campaign message and can be voted into office on the basis of how their campaign message resonates with the electorate. Whereas the highest figures of campaign spending were observed and recorded in central region as presented in earlier sections of this report, the power of money was defeated by the mantra – "people power our power".

The most outstanding NRM political heavyweights with big spending power were politically out-muscled by NUP. These included: Minister of Trade, Hon. Amelia Kyambadde who lost to musician Kiyaga Hillary alias Hilderman (Mawokota North), Hon. Ruth Nankabirwa, who at the time was the Government Chief Whip lost to a less known Kaaya Christine Nakimwero (Kiboga Woman MP), and Minister of Agriculture Hon. Vincent Bamulangaki Ssempijja lost to Francis Katabaazi Katongole (Kalungu East). Others included the then State minister for Youth and Children Affairs, Hon. Florence Nakiwala Kiyingi who lost to little known Veronica Nanyondo (Bukomansimbi Woman MP), flamboyant State minister for Water, Hon. Ronald Kibuule with all the resources and state machinery lost to Abdallah Kiwanuka (Mukono North), Hon. Chrysostom Muyingo, the State Minister for Higher Education lost to NUP's Robert Ssekitooleko (Bamunanika), and State Minister for Primary Education, Hon. Rosemary Sseninde lost to Betty Ethel Naluyima (Wakiso Woman MP).



Supporters of the NUP party / people power movement in Central Region

In addition, the Minister for Lands, Housing and Urban Development, Hon. Beti Namisango Kamya lost to NUP's Abubaker Kawalya in Rubaga North. Former Police spokesperson and Minister for ICT and National Guidance, Hon. Judith Nabakooba was defeated by Bagala Joyce Ntwatwa (Mityana Woman MP). In Nakaseke Central, powerful and monied Hon. Syda Bumba with all the financial might lost to NUP's Allan Mayanja Ssebunnya.

At Presidential level in central region, the NUP candidate Hon. Robert Kyagulanyi Sentamu defeated incumbent candidate President Yoweri Museveni. Kyagulanyi polled 62% of the total votes cast while Museveni polled 35.9%. It was the NRM party's worst performance in the region since the return to multiparty politics. Overall, NUP won more seats than the rest of the political parties that fielded candidates in central region. Where the money factor for long dictated voting patterns and decided electoral outcomes in the previous elections including in the opposition strongholds, this time money was of no consequence.

Whether it was a political wave as some political analysts have described it, or it was the nature of the campaign message that resonated with the people, or maybe other factors at play, the success of NUP in central region is a demonstration of how "people power" defeated "money power" in 2021 general elections. It also rekindles hope that the practice of commercialized politics can actually be curbed and decisively defeated if the electorate so decided. And once this happens, the penchant to spend on election campaigns will be checked.

The Power of the NUP Umbrella Symbol

Some daring voters later told the former State Minister for Primary Education, Hon. Rosemary Sseninde that her losing was not because they did not like her because they do, but it was because she did not have the Umbrella as a symbol for her candidature. Umbrella was the symbol on NUP/people power, our power political movement. Such was the power of NUP's political symbol – the umbrella. In central region, voters cared less about the names of the candidates but only looked for the umbrella and voted for it. In Makindye East, in Kampala Capital City, for example, the electorate did not even know how the winning candidate for the Parliamentary seat, a one Dick Nyeko, looked like.



This is a photo of a Local Government election ballot paper whereby when one of the voters did not see the umbrella, he/she decided to draw one and voted for it instead of voting for either of the three vying candidates. Such was the power of NUP in the 2021 general elections. There was a case in Bukoto West, Lwengo District (central region), on the position for district councilor where one of the voters upon realizing that the ballot paper did have a NUP candidate, decided to draw the NUP symbol (umbrella) and voted for it. Of course, this became a spoiled ballot paper. This electoral position was won by the NRM candidate, but the intention and message of the vote on the ballot paper was clear.

The surprising triumph of NUP in central region further demonstrated that political parties have a future in Uganda's democratization process. This is because the NUP supporters were only after the political party symbol and not the individual. One can also argue that based on the learning from NUP and its people power message, the political parties that came before NUP have failed to coin messages that resonate with the needs and aspiration of the electorate. For example, since Uganda's population is almost 81% agricultural, of which majority are female⁶, the Farmers' Party should have been the most powerful in terms of commanding a huge following, instead the reverse is true.

The behavior of voters in central Buganda making electoral decisions based on support for NUP as a party regardless of the quality of the candidate, demonstrated the rootedness of NUP which enabled the party to defeat and subdue money as a factor in determining Uganda's electoral outcomes. Many less known NUP candidates like Nyeko Derrick (Makindye East), Kagabo Twaha (Bukoto South), Nakaziba Suzan Mugabi (Woman MP Buvuma District) and Matovu Charles (Busiro South) among others, were among those who benefited from the situation where people power towered over money power.

In the case of Kagabo Twaha (Bukoto South), ACFIM established that it was a group of voters that went to his home and informed him that he was leading the vote tallying at the District Tally Centre, something he least expected and was visibly surprised with the news. Powerful and well-resourced NRM political candidates like Faridah Nambi (Kampala Central) Peter Sematimba (Busiro North), Nassur Gadaffi (Katikamu North), and Hajji Abbas Kiyimba (Bukoto South) fell one by one at the hands of less known and strapped NUP candidates. The umbrella had such a strong influence on electoral out comes in central region that it also did not spare the monied independent candidates. The campaign mantra was, "vote for the umbrella". It didn't matter whether one was the best candidate, what mattered was the symbol of the umbrella on the ballot.

The resolve from the voters to throw their weight behind NUP was also seen during campaigns as majority of the NRM candidates to counter NUP dominance and loyalty, opted to use money. During campaigns, NUP candidates relied on the power of the umbrella wave as they couldn't outmuscle NRM financially. Candidates like Shamim Malende (Kampala central), Kazibwe Bashir Mbaziira (MP Kawempe South) and Nkunyingi Muwada (Kyadondo East) among others relied on the NUP wave to win their constituency seats.

⁶ Uganda Bureau of statistics, May 2020: Annual Agriculture Survey 2018 Statistical Release, accessed at: https://www. ubos.org/wp-content/uploads/publications/Annual%20Agricultural%20Survey%202018%20Statistical%20Release%20 May%202020.pdf

THE INTERSECTIONALITY BETWEEN PRIVATE SECTOR AND ELECTORAL POLITICS

The private sector was a major source of campaign finance for political parties and candidates that participated in the general elections 2021. Business companies made campaign finance donations at different electoral levels namely; Presidential, Parliamentary and Local Government. Most of the campaign finance donors were anonymous and the amounts contributed were undeclared.

It is the interpretation of the authors of this report that the continued state of undeclared, unregulated and opaque campaign financing as it were in the 2021 general elections has the potential to groom the political corruption into the monster of state capture by a "cabal" of monied godfathers, selfish businessmen and criminal networks. In other words, monetization and commercialisation of politics can beget state capture. Obviously, the campaign finance benefactors are often motivated by the expectation of a financial return on their investments. Members of Parliament become prisoners of the sponsoring individuals, interest groups or corporate organizations and this is detrimental to Uganda's sovereignty.

Interviews with the selected wealthy businessmen revealed that the business owners do not like necessarily like general elections because they are a target of political parties and candidates for campaign financing. There is a feeling among business owners that one must give to the ruling party and that giving to the opposition parties and/or candidates is "dangerous." On the other hand, there was a growing number of businessmen and women who went into electoral politics – some won while others lost.

Private companies with running government contracts at the time of the election campaigns, made significant campaign finance contributions to the ruling NRM party, an act that could be interpreted as ethically improper. However, there is no provision in the companies Act or electoral laws, that bans companies with running government contract from making campaign donations to the party or incumbent candidate.

Opposition candidates that interacted with this study revealed that wealthy local businessmen were reluctant to make donations to opposition candidates rather than the flag bearers of the NRM party.

The Incumbent Party as a Target of Campaign Finance Benefactors

The incumbent political party is understood to have many friends and well-wishers in the private sector who contributed handsomely towards the party's campaign war chest. There is a possibility most of the campaign finance benefactors to the NRM were motivated by quid pro quo reasons.

When private money and/or money from private interests is allowed to gain unfettered entry into election campaigns, political corruption and its attendant negative effects on democratic progression will follow. In Uganda, wealthy interests have been allowed to unduly influence politics resulting in co-optation of elected political parties/leaders. Unregulated and opaque private money in politics creates a system that is open to abuse by businesses and individuals who contribute money in return for influence. The downside is that it breeds a disconnect between electors and elected officials, thus, resulting in a system that stacks the deck in favour of a small number of deep-pocketed donors.

This study infers that the outcome of Uganda's general elections of 2021 was largely a reflection of the power of money. However, there were also other factors such as religion, ethnicity, NUP effect, electoral malpractices and gender contributed to the electoral outcomes. Right from the pre-campaign period through party primaries and the general elections, banknotes (and they were mostly brand-new notes), were used to control voter consent in most geographical regions, compromising the decision of voters and ultimately determining the outcome of the elections. Candidates with more money had more campaign agents, were more visible on the ground, enjoyed more publicity and made more generous donations to the electors which translated into votes. The losing candidates who interacted with this study, argued that if they had had more money, they would have won the election.

Big spenders such as Dickson Kateshumbwa in western Ankole, Hon. David Bahati in Kigezi, Shartsi Musherure in Sembabule, Hon. Peter Mugema Panadol and Moses Magogo in Busoga, Otukol Sam in Pallisa, Okaasai Sidronius Opoloti (Action Man) of Kumi, Hon. Anita Among of Bukedea and Obongo Shaderick of Lira and Atiku Benard of Arua among others, crowded out the competitors and either won or went through unopposed. Random interviews with voters on why some candidates lost revealed that it was because "they did not inject in enough money into the campaigns". To put it differently, "money talked and, in some constituencies, it actually shouted".

It started with the primary elections of the National Resistance Movement (NRM) party where voters queued-up behind posters of their preferred candidates. At the voting queue, whoever had more money controlled the numbers on the queue, and the candidate with the longest queues carried the day. The rampant and blatant vote buying from NRM primary elections, spilled over into the general elections.

During campaigns for general elections in some constituencies especially in western, central and eastern regions of Uganda, the NRM flag bearers found it costly because of the general perception that the NRM is a wealthy party with unlimited campaign money, and hence its flagbearers were expected to have more money to spend. Thus, wherever they campaigned, the electorate was observed to demand and want more in terms of cash, groceries or community services.

On the other hand, independent candidates faced a burden of their own. Running for political office without a political party meant that they had nothing to promise except to throw donations to the electorate. These donations included cash, groceries and community services. In the western and central regions of the country, independent candidates spent dearly on hiring road equipment to open up community roads, construct bridges, as well as extend electricity and water supply lines to the electorate. The electorate repaid the favor by electing

most of the high spenders to political office, with the exception of Buganda, where the wave of "people power" neutralized the "power of money."

Analysis of electoral results from the regions where ACFIM deployed Campaign Finance Monitors revealed that with the exception of the central region, big money candidates, especially at Parliamentary level, won elections. However, there were also some notable upsets where the biggest spender was trounced by the second or third spending candidate. The observation here is that even where the leading spender lost, what made the difference between the winning candidate and losing candidate was in the degree of spending.

In the table below, ACFIM Monitors tracked 118 big spenders across all the geographical regions. In western, eastern and northern regions of Uganda, the big spenders won the election in 71.4 percent of the electoral positions monitored/sampled. It was in central Uganda where the winning rate for big spenders was low (39.2 percent), and this was a consequence of the neutralizing effect of the people power, our power political movement. Where the big spender was also the incumbent but lost the election, it was partly because of how he/she voted during the amendment of Article 102(b) of the Constitution that removed the age limit clause which allowed incumbent President Yoweri Museveni to contest for a 6th term as president.

The bar graph below demonstrates that big spenders largely won the elections in western, eastern and northern regions of the country, except the central region.

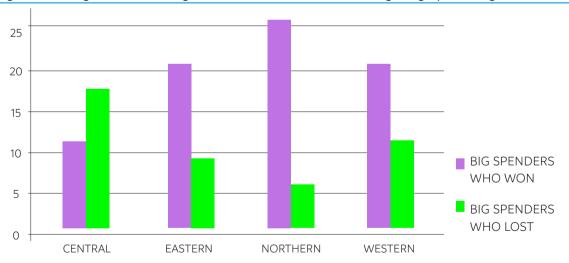


Figure 30: Analysis of How Money Influenced outcome of Elections by Geographical Region

Source: ACFIM Campaign Finance Analytical Platform (2021)

Monetised and Commercialised Politics caused Ideological Distortions

The excessive money that flowed during the campaigns for the 2021 general elections may have in one way of the other created an ideological distortion within the electorate. There was a sense in which it perplexed, confused and perhaps also disturbed the minds of voters in deciding who to cast the ballot for. Distortion of ideology happens when all of a sudden the poor electorate are inundated by cash and in-kind donations from candidates and political parties. It is the general observation of this study that the result of the 2021 election was less of a reflection of the will of the people, but more of a reflection of the power of money and perhaps also the might of the security forces.

It became common practice for leaders, candidates and supporters of opposition political parties alike, defecting to the NRM on the promise of pecuniary rewards. Some candidates even withdrew from the race to leave NRM flagbearers unopposed with money believed to have been a key factor in taking such decisions.

There were pockets of campaign agents who stood by the pathways to polling stations bribing voters with cash. Cases on turnout buying where voters demonstrate reluctance to go to the polling station until they are given "something" were not uncommon across the country. There were voters who put themselves up for sale to any last-minute candidate that provided last minute cash, and they were mostly youth.



Kasigwa Angalia (right) poses for a photo with President Museveni after crossing over from NUP to NRM. Photo courtesy of Nile Post.

The popular acceptance of vote buying as a normal practice during elections by political parties, candidates, campaign agents and the electorate, is in itself wrong and must be purged from Uganda's elections. The practice was observed at all electoral levels, the only difference was in scale and magnitude of the practice. When money becomes the major motivation for participation in elections, the democratic principle of representation is defeated.

The NRM party's behavior of buying or promising to buy supporters of the National Unity Platform (NUP) party in the ghetto and other regions creates a democratic stumbling block. There were several reports of NUP members who defected to the NRM after being promised or offered monetary rewards including promises of jobs in government institutions. Godwin Kasigwa Angalia, the NUP Coordinator for the Bunyoro sub-region, shocked the party by defecting to the ruling National Resistance Movement and being received by President Yoweri Museveni.

On December 15, 2020, online newsmagazine and other media outlets reported that a team of 120 NUP members in Nwoya district crossed over to NRM on the promise of jobs and money⁷. They were reportedly led by Bosco Ocitti Lawino, the former Coordinator and Registrar of NUP in Nwoya District, northern region, who came guns-blazing

Within three days of the general election, a group of over 300 NUP party supporters and city riot commanders moved over to the ruling NRM party and were paraded at Kololo Airstrip in Kampala, where they were met by Rt. Hon. Prime Minister Dr. Ruhakana Rugunda. According to ACFIM Monitors, the promise of jobs and money was the primary motivator for these cross-overs.

Actions like these are deliberately intended to weaken opposition political parties and create the undesirable situation of a dominant and imperious political party towering over and above other political parties. Dominant political party systems create democratic distortions. Leveraging the power of money to manipulate individuals' electoral consent to join the NRM party on the promise of jobs and money is a clear sabotage of democracy's core concept of fair electoral competition.

⁷ Accessed from: http://nilepost.co.ug/2020/12/14/nwoya-nup-registrar-crosses-with-120-others-to-nrm-days-afternup-mp-flag-bearer/