

**INFLUENCE OF POLITICAL FINANCE ON WOMEN'S LOCAL GOVERNANCE  
REPRESENTATION IN MBARARA DISTRICT, UGANDA**

**SHEILAH KOBUSINGYE**

**RS18M12/012**

**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES IN PARTIAL  
FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER  
OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND MANAGEMENT OF UGANDA CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY**

**April, 2025**




**UGANDA CHRISTIAN  
UNIVERSITY**

*A Centre of Excellence in the Heart of Africa*

## DECLARATION


I, Sheilah Kobusingye, declare that this thesis entitled 'influence of political finance on women's local governance representation: The Case of Rubaya Sub County' is my own original work and that it has never been submitted to any university or higher institution of learning for any award. Any works from other scholars have been acknowledged.

Signature:  \_\_\_\_\_ Date: 11<sup>th</sup> April 2025 \_\_\_\_\_

**SHEILAH KOBUSINGYE**

## APPROVAL

I, the supervisor, hereby confirm that this dissertation has met the accepted minimum research requirements and ethics, and is ready for examination with my approval.

Signed.......... Date.....14 April 2025.....

**DR. JOHN MARY KANYAMURWA**

**UNIVERSITY SUPERVISOR**

## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

This dissertation would not have been accomplished without the various forms of assistance accorded to me by different people whom I wish to acknowledge. I take this opportunity to first thank the Almighty God for His protection and provisions to whom I attribute all my successes in life. Further, in a special way my heartfelt gratitude goes to my supervisor Mr. John Mary Kanyamurwa, for the highly professional guidance, mentorship, positive criticism and support rendered to me at every stage of my progress while developing this thesis.

In a similar way, I would like to thank and express my sincere appreciation to all the Lecturers in the Department of Public Administration and Governance at Uganda Christian University. This is especially for all their valuable and critical reviews of my academic work in the early research drafts at the proposal stage which eventually shaped my work.

I wish to also extend my sincere thanks to my beloved family members my sisters Nuwagaba Suzan, Kabakama Precious and Mugumya K Joan. I similarly acknowledge my brothers Freeman Chrispus and Akampa Gad for their strong willingness to extend their financial support towards the completion of this thesis.

I am also profoundly indebted to my friends Proscovia Nsimiire and Astreede Agaba. My appreciation also goes to course mates in the same year, including Jackline Adot, Rev. Kusiima Enos, Ogotre Fred, Nakanjako Diana and Dinah Akello for their support and the team work they exhibited during the course of our studies.

Finally, I sincerely express my appreciation to my respondents for the precious time spared in answering my questionnaires and responding to the interviews. Without them, this research would not have been possible.

**May the Good Lord bless you all abundantly!**

## DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my beloved parents Mr. Dan Owomujuni and Mrs. Jovia Owomujuni for bringing me into this world and their endless efforts in my education.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

### Table of Contents

DECLARATION.....	i
APPROVAL.....	ii
DEDICATION.....	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	v
LIST OF TABLES.....	vii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	vii
LIST OF ACRONYMS.....	viii
ABSTRACT.....	ix
CHAPTER ONE.....	1
INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Background of the Study.....	1
1.2 The problem statement.....	5
1.3 The research objectives.....	6
1.4 Specific objective of the study.....	6
1.5 Research questions.....	6
1.6 The Study's Scope.....	7
1.6.1 Geographic Scope :.....	7
1.6.1 Content Scope:.....	7
1.6.2 Subject scope:.....	7
1.6.3 Time scope.....	7
1.7Justification of the study.....	8
1.8 Significance of the study.....	9
1.9 Theoretical framework.....	9

1.10: Conceptual framework .....	12
1.11 Definition of terms in the studyPolitical finance .....	13
CHAPTER TWO.....	14
LITERATURE REVIEW .....	14
2.0 Introduction.....	14
2.1 Political finance and women’s election in local governance settings .....	14
2.2 Nature of sources of political finance and effects on women’s grassroots politics .....	15
2.3 Nature of political finance sources in developing countries .....	17
2.4 Political finance models and women’s policy concerns in local governance .....	18
2.5 Political finance indicators and women’s policy interests at the .....	19
2.6 Political finance models and limitations in women’s policy representation issues .....	20
2.7 The ways Political finance challenges affect women’s political representation performance.....	25
CHAPTER THREE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY .....	34
3.0 Introduction.....	34
3.1 Research Design. ....	34
3.2 Area of study .....	35
3.4 Study population. ....	36
3.6 Determining the sample size. ....	37
3.6.1 The size of the sample. ....	37
3.6.1 Sampling strategy .....	37
3.7 Data Collection Methods and instruments.....	38
3.8 Interview .....	38
3.8.1The survey approach. ....	39
3.8.2 Data collection process .....	<b>Error! Bookmark not defined.</b>
3.9 Data Quality Control .....	<b>Error! Bookmark not defined.</b>
3.9.1Quantitative data quality control .....	41

3.10 Analysis of data.....	42
3.10.1 Qualitative content Analysis.....	42
3.10.2 Quantitative analysis.....	42
3.11 Ethical considerations.....	42
3.12 Methodological Limitations.....	43
CHAPTER FOUR.....	43
PRESENTATION OF FINDING AND ANALYSIS.....	43
4.0 Introduction.....	44
4.1 Response Rate.....	44
4.2 Demographic data of respondents.....	44
4.2.5 Political affiliation.....	47
4.3 Nature of sources for political finance that influence women’s local governance election experiences.....	48
4.4 Models of political finance supporting women’s policy concerns in local governance setting.....	55
4.5 Analysis of multiple regression.....	68
CHAPTER FIVE.....	70
DISCUSSION AND INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS.....	70
5.0 Introduction.....	70
5.1 Nature of sources for political finance that influence women’s local governance election experiences.....	70
5.1.1 Ways in which political financing challenges affect women’s political representation performance.....	<b>Error! Bookmark not defined.</b>
CHAPTER SIX.....	78
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	78
6.0 Introduction.....	78
6.1 Summary of Findings.....	78
6.2 Conclusions.....	79

6.2.1 Nature of sources for political finance that influence women’s local governance election experiences .....	<b>Error! Bookmark not defined.</b>
6.2.2 Models of political financing that support women’s policy concerns .	<b>Error! Bookmark not defined.</b>
6.2.3 Ways in which political financing challenges affect women’s political representation performance.....	<b>Error! Bookmark not defined.</b>
6.3 Recommendations .....	<b>Error! Bookmark not defined.</b>
6.4 The Study's Limitations .....	<b>Error! Bookmark not defined.</b>
6.5Areas for further research. ....	<b>Error! Bookmark not defined.</b>
REFERENCES .....	86
APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR RESPONDENTS.....	90
Interview guide for respondents. ....	95

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Sample size distribution .....	37
Table 2: Reaction time. ....	44
<i>Table 3:</i> Respondents' gender .....	45
Table 4: Respondents' ages .....	45
<i>Table 5:</i> knowledge on political finance .....	48
<i>Table 6:</i> Sources of political finance .....	49
Table 8: Awareness on political parties/women groups .....	50
Table 9: Influence of political finance sources on women's local governance representation. ....	51
Table 10: Reasons why sources of political finance influence women's local governance representation .....	52
Table 11: Extent of influence of source of political finance.....	53
Table 12: Women joining the local governance as a result of political finance from different sources .....	54
Table 13: Other factors influencing women to join local governance .....	54
Figure 6: Whether political financing can influence you to join local governance .....	55
Table 14: Forms of political financing models existing at local level which affects women's policy concerns .....	57
<i>Table 15:</i> Political finance models and women's policy concern .....	59
Effects of post elections financial support on women's legislative activities. ....	60
Figure 9: Responses on whether if political parties continue giving financial support to women after elections would directly affect their legislative activities .....	60
Figure 10: Other measures can be put in place to support women's policy .....	61
Table 16: Ways in which political finance challenges affect women's job performance in the setting of women councilors in Rubaya Sub County. ....	66
<i>Table 17:</i> Other factors affect women's performance in local governance and political representation in Rubaya Sub County?.....	67
Table 18: Ways of increasing women's political representation and their performance in local governance in Rubaya Sub County.....	68
Table 19: Regression analysis results.....	69

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Conceptual Framework for the research .....	12
Figure 2: Respondents' highest level of education .....	46
Figure 3: Political Affiliation .....	47
Figure 4: Knowledge of groups that finance women to participate in local governance ...	50
Figure 4: Rating of women's political representation performance in Rubaya Sub County	
Figure 5: Number of women forming part of local governance .....	62
Figure 6: A major obstacle for women aspiring to enter politics is a lack of access to political money. ....	65
Figure 7: Responses on whether if women are given equal financial resources like their male counterparts they perform better .....	66

## LIST OF ACRONYMS

ANT	Alliance for National Transformation
CAO	Chief Administrative Officer
CVI	Content Validity Index
FDC	Forum for Democratic Change
FPTP	First past the Post
GOU	Government of Uganda
NRM	National Resistance Movement
NUP	National Unity Platform
PAM	Public Administration and Management
RSC	Rubaya Sub-County
SOPs	Standard Operating Procedures
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Scientists
UCU	Uganda Christian University
USA	United States of America
UWESO	United Women Effort to Save Orphans
VSLA	Village Savings and Loan Association

## ABSTRACT

This study investigated the influence of political finance on women's local governance representation in Rubaya Sub County, Mbarara District, Uganda. The study's specific objectives were as follows: To find out the sources of political finance that influence women's governance elections in the sub-county of Rubaya. To establish the models of political financing that support women's policy concerns in Rubaya Sub County. To examine the challenges faced in political financing affecting women's political representation performance in Rubaya Sub County. Political finance had a significant role in influencing local governance dynamics and representation, particularly in relation to women's participation. Women's political source of funds is key information in describing their determinants of representation. Mixed methods research, which came into being as a result of a merger of qualitative and quantitative approaches, was adopted in an attempt to have an engagement with data from stakeholders like women aspirants, political parties, funders, and members of society.

The study explored and looked into political finance sources that have been financing women leadership elections in Rubaya Sub County. The study explored official and unofficial funds sources such as political party funds, private funds, and own funding. With respect to certain models of political finance, the study aimed at taking the influence of the models to the women's policy agenda and mobilization to their rightful position in the municipality. Some of the issues of female candidates in accessing political finance and their effects on political participation that were investigated here include inadequate finances, gender discrimination, unequal opportunity, and cultural limitations. The research findings on inclusive governance and gender equality since it reminded the women of Rubaya Sub County who had joined politics of the opportunities and what boundaries that placed them in. The research findings would be of utmost significance to policy makers, political parties, civil society, and other stakeholders in women's political empowerment and local government. The research will guide planning and policy formulation in women affairs in the political fundraising aspect, equal rights, and women's political participation in the Uganda Mbarara District local government.

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Background of the Study

With the emergence of elective politics around the globe, the need for political finance became significant as different parties and individuals competed for elective positions in the public realm at diverse levels in order to represent their interests at these levels (Norris, 2006; Weiner & Mayer, 2014). For women who have often historically been excluded from decision-making, from the household up to the highest levels of policymaking, the question of political finance to support their representation in politics has been much more intricate (Gretchen, 2007; Cheeseman & Dodsworth, 2019). Whereas scholars have mostly emphasized political finance for elections, vast areas such as political finance sources, its models, and the challenges encountered—particularly for women at the local level—still require more scholarly rigour (Dolan et al., 2019; Kendall, 2017; Cigane & Ohman, 2014). Indeed, whereas Ferguson's (1995, 2019) political investment theory, which guides this study, does not explicitly mention women, it reveals the centrality of political finance (measured in this study as nature of sources, models, and challenges) and women representation (analyzed from women's election experiences, policy imperatives, and representation performance) to boost representation irrespective of level (Muriaas & Wang, 2012; George, 2019).

The concept of political finance essentially focuses on all funds and resources that are raised, organized, disbursed, and spent for political activities to support competition to represent the population (Kurebwa, 2016; Ferguson, 1995; Cigane & Ohman, 2014). In the opinion of Kurebwa (2016), the diversity of purposes for such financial resources may entail funding for political contests during elections for a number of public offices, especially as administered by political candidates and parties. Nonetheless, while recent years have witnessed political reforms, including those targeting political finance, this area remains difficult to equitably regulate across the gender spectrum in developing countries (Weiner & Mayer, 2014; Norris, 2006; Cheeseman & Dodsworth, 2019). Thus, the reform of political financial arrangements remains very high on the political calendar in all democratic countries to promote representation diversity involving women at all levels (Mugisha & Barongo, 2000; Tripp, 2013).

Different researchers have investigated the practicalities involved in political finance and its effect on women's local governance representation engagements and outcomes (Dolan et al., 2019; Kendall, 2017; Muriaas & Wang, 2012). Some have found that political finance plays a critical role in deciding how much women's representation becomes effective, specifically where the sources for such financial resources are not compromising (Walecki, 2007; George, 2019; Cigane & Ohman, 2014). Prior research has noted earlier deviant and composite political finance trends that deempower the home-grown political aspirations of women (Weiner & Mayer, 2014; Cigane & Ohman, 2014). Others of theirs have built strong connections between political finance and women's politics since they aim to intrude into representational seats held in city councils by resident institutional organs and fiscal provisions (George, 2019; Dolan et al., 2019; Norris, 2006). Thus, inclusive local democracy requires visionary governments to make such data available as an endeavor to attain political finance determinants like sources, funding, and obstacles in local government (Araujo & Tejedo-Romero, 2016; Deb et al., 2003; Gretchen, 2007).

The same can be said for the Ugandan local democratic space, especially for poor rural women from the grassroot who would wish to voice Ugandan society in rural Uganda (Muriaas & Wang, 2012; Mugisha & Barongo, 2000; Deb et al., 2003). The perception of local representation demands an analysis of this concept in order to understand the local settings in which it is practiced and representation outcomes for women in such locations (Goetz et al., 2003; Tripp, 2013). Representation refers to the action of engaging in discourse or performing duties on behalf of an individual or group of persons so as to advance their interests (Cheeseman & Dodsworth, 2019; Araujo & Tejedo-Romero, 2016). It also means occupying a position that bestows an individual or a body the authority to speak on behalf of a given population (Norris, 2006; George, 2019). Women's political representation in local governance, therefore, means practical engagement in local politics in order to get involved in decision-making processes in their localities, particularly in competition for elective positions with male counterparts (Tripp, 2013; Muriaas & Wang, 2012).

This analysis, however, is silent on the practical realities that women are likely to face at the local level as they seek public office in elective politics (Dolan et al., 2019; George, 2019). In Uganda, while women are represented at the local level, including at the sub-county, this investigation scarcely highlights the concerns affecting women's representation, especially in relation to financial resources for women's local governance elections (Cigane & Ohman, 2014; Weiner & Mayer, 2014). Studies have indicated that a number of factors, including women's low levels of formal education—mostly acquired at lower levels of government—and their severe lack of resources to further their political aspirations, have an impact on women's presence in politics (Muriaas & Wang, 2012; Mugisha & Barongo, 2000; Deb et al., 2003). Scholars argue that the conditions for representation at this level are unlikely to favor the majority of women, who often have limited or no access and control over supportive resources (Norris, 2006; Dolan et al., 2019). Furthermore, evidence has raised the question of whether women in these local settings effectively fulfill their representation duties, especially given that in some cases, women have overly demanding representation loads (Araujo & Tejedo-Romero, 2016; Goetz et al., 2003; Ferguson, 2019). Understanding how these representational burdens affect women's policy and legislative influence at this level is critical. To strengthen women's representative capacity, local democracy, and the quality of local governance, it is imperative to comprehend these effects, especially in Uganda's local governments (Dolan et al., 2019; Tripp, 2013; George, 2019).

Scholars have questioned whether certain political finance could potentially undermine women's ability to perform their local government representation jobs successfully, in addition to legislative and policy preferences. For example, key research has revealed that political funding facilitates women's recruitment in politics but likely undermines their personal and women interests they represent since they must follow the Political funders' political positions (Ragnhild, et al. 2019; Cheeseman & Dodsworth, 2019). Related literatureshows that while political funding is generally available in most countries, it overall elicits mixed effects on women's political interests as an incentive mechanism to increase their representation in politics. This findingis echoed by recent research conducted in Uganda (Mushemeza, 2019; Tripp, 2013; Muriaas & Wang, 2012; Goetz, et al. 2003).

Political financing remains a significant barrier to women's effective participation in governance globally, and Uganda is no exception. Despite the constitutional and legislative frameworks aimed at promoting gender equality—such as Article 32 of the 1995 Constitution and the Local Government Act—women continue to face systemic obstacles that restrict their political agency (Constitution of Uganda, 1995; Ahikire, 2007). Among the most pervasive of these challenges is the issue of political financing, which affects women disproportionately due to pre-existing socio-economic disparities (Tamale, 1999; International IDEA, 2016).

The high cost of running political campaigns has been well-documented in Uganda, where both national and local elections require significant financial outlays for activities such as transport, media, printing campaign materials, and voter mobilization (Kiiza, 2010; Makara, 2009). These costs are often beyond the reach of many female aspirants, particularly those from rural or economically disadvantaged backgrounds (Ahikire, 2007; Tripp, 2001). Although women in Uganda benefit from affirmative action provisions—such as reserved seats for female councillors—this does not mitigate the financial burden associated with campaigning, which remains largely individualized and privately funded (Tamale, 1999; Wang, 2013).

Furthermore, the lack of adequate support from political parties exacerbates this financing gap. Most political parties in Uganda tend to invest more in male candidates, perceiving them as more "viable" due to their stronger financial capabilities and networks (Goetz, 2003; International IDEA, 2016). This bias is further entrenched by weak enforcement of political finance regulations under the Political Parties and Organizations Act (2005), which offers minimal accountability and oversight, thereby enabling wealthier candidates to dominate (Kiiza, 2010; Transparency International, 2015).

In local governments, such as Rubaya Sub-County, the financial barriers faced by women are particularly severe. Women in these areas are often engaged in subsistence agriculture or informal labor, limiting their access to personal or donor

funding for political campaigns (Ahikire, 2007; Tripp, 2001). Without targeted interventions—such as campaign financing support, capacity building, and enforcement of equitable resource allocation—women’s political representation remains symbolic rather than transformative (Makara, 2009; Wang, 2013).

Therefore, given Uganda’s local governance framework, the relationship between political finance and women’s political representation at the local level is still debatable (Mushemeza, 2019). Regarding the impact of political funding on women’s representation, there is some room for debate. This is particularly the situation with women’s conditions in Rubaya Sub County where this study was conducted. This sub county located in Mbarara District is cited among the local governments that are grappling with ineffective women’s representation, high poverty rates, questions arising due to signs of unsatisfactory job performance in the indicators depicted in the ACODE administered score card reports for local governments (Bainomugisha, et al. 2017; Bainomugisha, et al. 2014). This is one of the reasons why, in terms of how it affects women’s local representation, the influence of political financing on female performance is problematic. In this study, the components of women’s representation and political finance that are absent are addressed.

## **1.2 The problem statement**

For ages, political finance has played a pivotal role in competitive politics. To promote women political representation, recent years have witnessed many developing countries building on decades-old political financial arrangements as instruments to make local democracy more inclusive. As such, a wealth of research has been produced regarding the importance of encouraging women’s representation both generally and in local governance political contexts (Ragnhild, et al. 2019; Gretchen, 2017; Weiner & Mayer, 2014). Scholars’ analyses have further revealed the active linkages between political finance and women’s representation processes as encountered in local governance (George, 2019). Nonetheless, while current information suggests a clear relationship between political finance and women’s local governance representation experiences, it hardly examines the nature, models and ways in which it influences women’s representation activities. Neither does current literature adequately examine the political finance influence on women’s local elections, their local policy concerns after elections nor representation challenges within the local governance structure.

Specifically, not much research has been conducted to properly understand how political finance impacts on women's representation activities as it may be obtained in Rubaya Sub County's local governance setting. The majority of prior academic research on the relationship between women's representation in local government and political finance has, in fact, been done in local governance institutions outside of Uganda (Dolan et al., 2019; Gretchen, 2017). While some research carried out in Uganda addresses how political finance affects women political representation, decision making and legislative limitations (Mushemeza, 2019; Bainomugisha et al. 2019), it hardly analyses financial flows during women's terms in office. Consequently, how political finance influences their local governance election experiences, their policy concerns and representation performance were established in this study.

### **1.3 The research objectives**

The general objective of the study was to assess the influence of political finance on women's local governance representation in Mbarara District.

### **1.4 Specific objective of the study**

- i) To find out the sources of political finance that influence women's governance elections in the subcounty of Rubaya.
- ii) To establish the models of political financing that support women's policy concerns in Rubaya SubCounty.
- iii) To examine the challenges faced in political financing affect women's political representationperformance in Rubaya Sub County.

### **1.5 Research questions**

- i) What are the sources of political finance that influence women's governance elections in the sub countyof Rubaya?
- ii) What are the models of political financing that support women's policy concerns in Rubaya SubCounty?
- iii) What are the challenges faced in political financing that affects women's political representationperformance in Rubaya Sub County?

## **1.6 The Study's Scope**

### **1.6.1 Geographic Scope**

The study was carried out in Western Uganda's Ankole subregion's Rubaya Sub County (RSC), which is part of the Mbarara District. Rubaya shares borders with the following areas: The East with Kiruhura District; the North with Kashari Sub County; the South with Kakiika and Biharwe Division; and the West with Rwanyamehembe Sub County. The sub county is the largest governance unit in the district, with 15 parishes and 148 villages. As the biggest sub county both in terms of size and population, the administrative with the highest total demographic proportion (UBOS, 2016). The farthest point of the sub county is located approximately 37 kilometers by road in the northwest of Mbarara City (see Appendix D). The considerations for the selection of this area were mostly based on population size, geographical location of the designated locations in a rural area in the district as well as the statistics which show that this sub county has one of the highest poverty rates (MDC, 2016). Therefore, Rubaya Sub County has the relevant population characteristics from which appropriate respondents in this study were drawn.

### **1.6.1 Content Scope:**

In Rubaya Sub County, Mbarara district, the study examined the sources of political finance that influence women's governance elections, the models of political financing that support women's policy concerns, the challenges faced in political financing affect women's political representation performance in Rubaya Sub County.

### **1.6.2 Subject scope**

The populace Politicians, technocrats employed by the RSC's technical wing, and a chosen group of residents comprised the study's scope.

### **1.6.3 Time scope**

The study covered the years 2016-2021, when the last dissertation was finished and turned in. This period, which included two terms of office, each lasting five years, is important to measure the impact of political funding on women's representation experiences in the RSC. The period helped to examine the nature of sources for

political finance, its models and the ways in which political finance-induced challenges affect rural women performance in RSC up to date. This time scope was appropriate to investigate women's local governance elections experiences, policy concerns and their representation performance in RSC.

### **1.7 Justification of the study**

This research is guided by the current debate on political finance and women's representation in local government and the political effects of that representation. Regarding how political finance affects women's representation in local governance settings, the discourse presents an ambiguous picture. Some studies indicate that political finance bolsters representation and strengthens local governance and vice-versa (Cigane & Ohman, 2014). Contrary research findings suggest that local governance can be strong even where there is no involvement and representation of women in politics (Jabeen, 2010). This unclear state of knowledge implies that there is need for more research on the influence of political finance on women's representation in local governance contexts. Again, such a picture implies need for more investigation to establish the particular context in which the interface between political finance and women's representation in local governance leadsto inclusive and quality governance conditions across gender groups. Examined from the perspective of rural areas such as those of RSC (proposed site of the study) where not much intellectual work has been done, is likely to contribute to rich theoretical outcomes and provide directions for further reform. As a result, this study filled in this information gap and added practical data from RSC to the body of academic knowledge already in existence. The knowledge correctly depicted the key dynamics in political finance (measured as sources, models and challenges) and women representation (elections, policy imperatives and representation performance) which likely apply to Uganda's local governance. The results particularly shaded light on the nature of influence of political finance on women's representation and how they exercise this representation in RSC.

From a public policy perspective as an aspect of Public Administration and Management (PAM), Policy makers and implementers in local governance can use the study's empirical findings as a foundation for reforming political finance in order to increase the representation of women in local governance. Such reforms

can further help to generate more equitable and gender sensitive re-distribution of societal resources. The findings can provide an insight into what women's representation dimensions need to be improved in order to make local governance processes more inclusive at the grassroots in terms of gender. Therefore, beyond contribution toward addressing women's representation shortfalls, relevant policy lessons can be generated to respond to the existing women representation challenges at the grassroots. This research can further provide the foundation for devising measures necessary to support women's-local leadership engagement whose structures are very often heavily dominated by men.

### **1.8 Significance of the study**

This study can add to the body of knowledge by providing empirical data regarding the impact of political funding on women's representation in local government. With reference to RSC and rural Uganda in general, the findings can be used by scholars to appreciate the nature of political finance sources, models, challenges, women local elections, policy imperatives and representation performance in rural contexts. In essence, the utility or real significance of the study can be the political and policy guidance that will emerge to help state officials at different levels to spearhead political finance and local governance reforms. Ultimately, the reforms can contribute to improving governance outcomes in a gender balanced manner. Most local governance units in Uganda and beyond can profit from the findings of this study to as a yardstick to understand on the influence of political finance on women's representation prospects in lower local governance settings.

### **1.9 Theoretical framework**

Ferguson's (1995) Political Investment Theory, which primarily addresses financial flows to various entities to fund political activities in a given setting, served as the foundation for this study. The theory makes a number of important assumptions. It asserts that financial resources also include contributions made by wealthy individuals, businesses, and foundations to political parties, pressure groups, and other organizations. Ferguson presents his idea, which draws inspiration from the US context, as both a complement to and a departure from the conventional views of democracy centered on the median voter. The theory's fundamental premise is that various political stakeholders experience distinct political outcomes as a result

of political financing. According to his interpretation, political finance is simply an important investment choice made by a number of motivated political players or individuals looking to influence politics at a specific moment in the hopes of earning "returns" on their capital.

While earlier political finance theories largely ignored the implications of this political reality, Ferguson makes it the basis of the Investment Theory of Party Competition, theorizing that if voters cannot bear the cost of becoming informed about public affairs they have little hope of successfully supervising government (Ferguson, 1983).

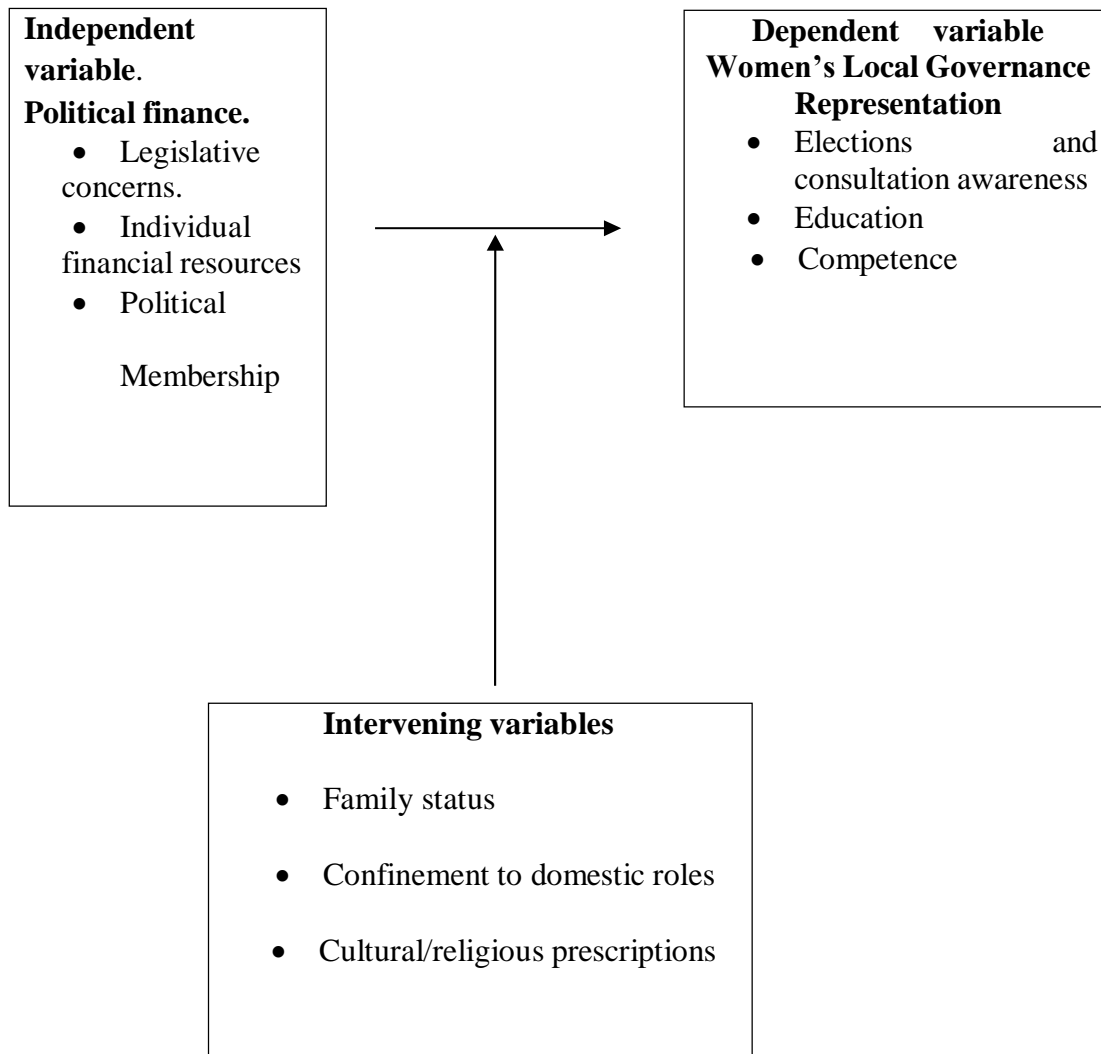
In his analysis, this is the window that political "investors" use to make donations to political entities at the service of society. Ferguson's political investment theory goes on to say that significant political investors, who typically have a legitimate interest in controlling state structures, define the genuine market for political parties. The fundamental tenet of the Political Investment Theory is that, because the average voter lacks the knowledge necessary to participate in politics, the interests of those who can, to their benefit, can influence the political system. As a result, the political investment theory goes on to say that political funders are best understood as investors who support political candidates who pledge to further their interests, as opposed to being viewed as just vote-getters.

The political investment theory discusses the role of political parties, ordinary voters and wealthy investors. In regards to political parties, Thomas Ferguson, the actual rivalry between political parties comes from large capitalists who want to make investments to take control of the government (Ferguson, 2019, 1995, 1993). This is due to his belief that political parties should adopt stances that allow them to draw the funding necessary to conduct profitable campaigns in circumstances when money is a crucial factor. According to the theory, common voters have the ability to significantly invest in an electoral system. It also asserts that the electorate is simply too impoverished, not too foolish or worn out to dominate the political system. According to Ferguson, one of the factors wealthy investors are able to influence politics to their advantage is that much of the politically relevant information that is so expensive for ordinary citizens to acquire comes quite

naturally to businesses in the course of their daily operations. One strong argument the political investment theory makes is on the role of political parties, which in the Ugandan setting sponsor their candidates, including at the local level. But the question is: Are the political parties in Uganda able to sponsor all their candidates? If so, is the sponsorship adequate? These are some of the concerns this theory does not answer in light of poor conditions and limited education of most women at the local level in Uganda. In addition, while Thomas Ferguson's theory is relevant for this study, it has a few more weaknesses. It does not fully explain the situation in developing countries where there are very few wealthy investors and where small donors hardly exist. Finally, the theory does not specifically mention women. Overall, however, the theory's applicability to the study of political finance influence on women's representation in Uganda's local governance cannot be overemphasized. The linkages in the proposed study are summarized as depicted in Figure 1.

## 1.10: Conceptual framework

Figure 1: Conceptual Framework for the research



*Source: Based on researchers' conceptualization and design of the study*

The conceptualization of the study in Figure 1 showed that political finance had deeply entrenched implications and influenced women's local governance representation processes. Political finance was regarded as the independent variable and representation of women in local governance, as the dependent variable. The figure suggested that the dependent variable was affected by intervening variables in terms of government action, the global public and the open society. Political finance was investigated based on respondents' knowledge on Legislative concerns, Individual financial resources and Political Members. Women's local governance representations were measured in terms of their consultation awareness, Education and Competence. These measurements were

overall, these variables helped in determining the nature and scope of political finance' influence, how it practically affected women's representation and the ways it affected the women's public decision-making at the local level.

### **1.11 Definition of terms in the study**

**Political finance**  
According to this study, the concept of Political finance includes all monies raised and spent for political purposes in a given electoral cycle, normally 5 years. All elections for public posts managed by parties and candidates, as well as all political contests for voter participation, are examples of such reasons. These include nomination fees, campaign funds, field office management, legislative and residents' consultation support after elections. In this study, the concept was measured by focusing on the sources, its models and associated challenges.

### **Local governance**

The institutional and political mechanisms that are used to make and carry out decisions make up governance. At the local level, where governments engage with communities and residents on a daily basis through inclusive encounters between regular voters and local authorities, good governance is especially crucial.

### **Political representation**

Political representation refers to the action of politically engaging in discourse or performing duties on behalf of an individual or group of persons such as voters or political committees and groups so as to advance their interests as per this study. Representation also means the act of occupying a position that bestows an individual or a body with power to speak on behalf of a given population.

### **Women representation**

This study suggests that women's leadership and participation in local decision-making processes are equally important components of women's representation. In particular, this means that women are also compete in the directly elected positions with their male counterparts. This was measured through and women elections experiences, policy imperatives, legislative preferences and their representation performance.

Political finance models are frameworks and systems that analyse and regulate the funding of political activities, including election campaigns and political parties. These models aim to ensure transparency, accountability, and fairness in political finance, as well as to prevent corruption and undue influence.

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### **2.0 Introduction**

In order to determine the impact of political financing on the representation of women in local governance, this chapter evaluated empirical research. The goals of the study guided the arrangement of this chapter's subthemes. This means that the chapter discusses academic papers or earlier research on the factors being examined.

Nature of sources for political finance and women's local governance elections  
This section examined the major studies on the source of political finance and how it influenced women's elections. The discourse on the nature of sources of political finance was examined to identify the implications on the quality of local governance at the community level.

#### **2.1 Political finance and women's election in local governance settings**

Local government, being the nearest to the grass-root of society, including rural dwellers, has been described as the basic type of political arrangement where participatory democracy is characterized by good governance considerations can be achieved. But at this level of governance, women are significantly marginalized. Some of the current recent literature suggests that women at this level are subjected to tokenism where they do not enjoy real political power at this level of governance. This literature adds that society is denied the advantage of women's full potential as they are undermined by circumstances which may include culture, gender stereotypes, poverty and general powerlessness at the grassroots (Ilesanmi, 2018).

Furthermore, factors such as gender relations explain under-representation of women at the lower levels of governance and decision-making which results in governance deficits. This is so because such circumstances combined with the general limited education and poor access and control to resources by women create the conditions which make it difficult for this gender to be politically represented

at the lower levels of society (Ragnhild & Wang, 2012). Scholars posit that in order to effectively respond to such politically destabilization concerns by women, modern democratic systems of government which run on political party arrangements have put in place finance mechanisms. These analyses explain that the political financial measures are essentially for supporting candidates in competitive political races for representation of the population (Mlambo, et al. 2019; Hern, 2018; Kumar, 2016; Tripp, 2019). While these studies address the question of political finance, they hardly address how much financial resources are given to women or even which levels of political aspirants are financially supported join politics and represent their people. In the case of Uganda, Tripp (2001) addresses the political finance question but where women are discussed in general without specifically discussing the lower levels of governance, which the study explored.

## **2.2 Nature of sources of political finance and effects on women's grassroots politics**

While the discussion on political finance explores the government and donor sources, it is largely silent on the role of the role of ordinary voters, wealthy investors (foreign or domestic), corporations and individuals. Despite the reality of limited resources in most developing countries where Uganda is located, there is a likelihood that apart from government and donors there are other sources whose nature was explored by this study. Generally, in a study based on US politics, Gretchen (2017) argues that the nature of sources for political finance determine the quality and success of representation and governance outcomes. She adds that overall, those sources that sponsor candidates have socio-economic and political interests which they normally wish to advance through campaign donations. In her opinion, such interests, some of them from corporations and rich investors may undermine politicians' representation interests.

More relevantly, she reveals that in light of women not having adequate financial resources, some political finance sources have a compromising nature. Dolan, et al. (2019) adds that this source of political finance is likely to affect more female political representatives in their quest for power than their male colleagues since they inherently command less financial resources in most countries around the world, Uganda inclusive. However, these are realities expected to obtain at the

local level, but which are insufficiently examined in recent literature, specifically on the effect of political finance on women's representation processes which begin with their election.

Recent scholarship has specifically organized the sources of political funding in three categories. First, there are scholars who identify political parties as the major source of funding the world over. These scholars posit that political parties provide the broadest support to candidates as long as they subscribe to the party ideology (Weiner & Mayer, 2014). Most relevantly, this perspective on political finance identifies political parties as the most common sponsors of women candidates. The challenge with this discourse is that most discussion on women sponsorship in election emphasizes support funds for nomination and campaigning but is mostly silent on how this source shapes women's elections at the local level.

Second, and related to political parties, recent literature has also identified legislative caucuses, which may be willing to work across parties or push campaign finance reforms for supporting women's political representation in politics (Araujo & Tejedo-Romero, 2016). One key issue raised about such caucuses as source for political finance is that the financial resources are purely for electoral purposes. However, how such funds affect women's elections at the local level is a gap that needs to be filled in this research. The key issue is whether political finance from legislative caucuses reaches the local level or is simply dedicated for national politicians.

A study carried out across many developing countries revealed that women's groups, particularly those with experience in advocating for women's political rights, were also sources for political finance to support power ambitions of women desirous to promote key women interests (Cigane & Ohman, 2014). Nonetheless, this source of political finance has been primarily associated with global donors who support such women's groups. Manning (2014) emphasizes that the women politicians sponsored by such groups are normally hard liners who never compromise on their positions, yet politics remains a give and take process. To him therefore, this source of political finance might help elect women but its nature makes it difficult for women to work with other lawmakers on key policies.

This study will however be interested in exploring if their local women candidates who are sponsored by such women groups and how this financial support influences their electoral experiences. There are further studies that have acknowledged the private sector as a source of funding. The researchers raise the issue of its vested interest in a well-functioning, stable and inclusive democracy. The challenge is that many of the democracies in developing countries are not inclusive with women in need of financial support to effectively represent their interests at the local level. The second challenge with this literature is that it hardly discusses the aspect of its nature and how it is likely to affect women's local elections.

### **2.3 Nature of political finance sources in developing countries**

The nature of political sources has also been specifically discussed focusing on developing countries. The review further concentrates on Uganda, examining the influence of political finance on women's elections. In this regard, Cheeseman and Dodsworth (2019); Endela (2012) and Ssenkumba 2008 specifically examine the question of political finance sources. A general point that is discussed by these studies is that developing countries have very few sources of political finance owing to the widespread poverty in these countries. These researchers further argue that political finance sources are generally reserved for every competitive political races in the face of limited of limited financial resources. Cheeseman and Dodsworth (2019) contend that African democracies fail women in politics by not providing them adequate financial resources since they stand a disadvantage in most of these countries in terms of lesser resource access and control than their male counterparts.

These studies accordingly help point out that the lack of adequate political financial support in most of these democracies undermines the quality of governance. Ssenkumba (2018) specifically discusses political party funding in Uganda whose known source of funding is from the Uganda government and the donors. However, all these studies scarcely examine the issue of the nature of funding. While it is known that the funding of political parties by government might not give them conditionality's or control the outcome of representation outcomes, donors might covertly do so, likely controlling the way African politics operate

without due regard to domestic conditions.

Senkumba (2008) further states that there were no provisions in the political parties funding law that required the parties to treat women and men candidates equally in financial terms, and improved financial oversight overall. The study reveals that there are also no provisions for the number of women specified in the law to benefit from the political party funding (GOU, 2020). Consequently, the study notes that some party activists called for additional financial assistance to women candidates, either from the government or approached different actors from the general public. In other words, availability of political funding and access to sufficient funding was a problem for both women and men but much more pronounced for the former candidates. But Ssenumba's (2018) study found out that the male candidates were given preference for funding provided by their political parties and that it was also easier for them to raise funding from outside the party arrangements. Many reported how men are accepted more easily in a political context; with some voters needing additional persuasion to acknowledge a woman as a candidate just as most global findings reveal (Sindhuja & Murugan, 2017). In these circumstances, this study explored the nature of political funding source, how much it was on average, its adequacy and its influence on women elections at the local level, overall.

#### **2.4 Political finance models and women's policy concerns in local governance**

Political finance models have been described as arrangements or the forms, arrangements in which political finances are organized in different countries, right from the national level (the source); to the recipients, normally the political parties or individuals in some cases (Smith, 2015). The nature of the political funds or component elements constitutes what Smith (2015) identifies as some of the key aspects of political finance. In the opinion of Pasquale (2016) the political finance models are the consistent, characteristics or features of the finances, style of finance administration by the political parties which largely determine who accesses the finance, in most cases disadvantaging the weak in society. In a way, this scholarly opinion points to women politicians as the disadvantaged, likely to miss out on political finance due to their subordinate position in societal spaces for decision making to formulate policies supportive to their interests.

## **2.5 Political finance indicators and women's policy interests**

A number of studies have investigated the influence of political finance on political processes, including legislative ones (Gretchen, 2017; Weiner and Mayer, 2014; Hern, 2018; Endela, 2012; Jabeen, 2019). Specifically, Weiner and Mayer (2014) and Hern (2018) report that political finance directly affects legislative activities both in national assemblies and local legislatures. A common finding in both studies is that most political finance targets election cycles, specifically funding candidates' electoral activities. The studies however explain that beyond elections, there is need for well-funded arrangements to support legislative activities, where cherished issues are legislated into policy to improve the communities they serve. In particular, Hern (2018) emphasizes the issue of durable financial arrangements to support policy development that begins with research, monitoring, evaluation and existing policy assessment. She reveals that these processes are significant and must be efficiently carried out, but need legislature and party or candidate sustainable funds to continuously undertake them. In her analysis, the challenge is that most women in developing countries are never fully in command of adequate resources to support policy development that address women and development concerns.

Joining the discourse on the interface between political finance and women's policy concerns, Kurebwa (2016) reports that for women councilors in rural Zimbabwe, it was difficult for political parties (whether the ruling or opposition) to support their political activities beyond the election processes. In his view, this was due to the limited funds parties held at their disposal. Yet, in his analysis, rural women councilors operating at the grassroots had very limited financial resources and were, indeed, too poor to raise their own funds which would go into legislating their concerns into policy.

This perspective is shared by Norris (2006) whose research found out that most legislative bodies in the developing world hardly afforded adequate funds to support post-election cycle activities. This study further underlines the political limitations that undermine women's efforts to legislate their interests into policy. Whereas most of this literature appropriately discusses the interface between political finance and women's policy concerns, they do not bring out the details of the perceived linkages. Besides, most of the literature addresses itself to national

legislatures rather than women in local governance contexts, specifically in rural areas like RSC.

## **2.6 Political finance models and limitations in women's policy representation issues**

A close examination of key studies reveals that political finance models in elective politics primarily refers to the conditions or circumstances in which political finance is provided. These may include the political, socio-economic, legal, policy, regulatory framework which may exist in a given country at a particular time. Smith adds that the political finance models usually further comprise institutional characteristics of the receiving organizations, the goals and objectives as well as the sizes of the organizations (political parties) and their political considerations or calculations and strategies in the course of competing for representative politics (Smith, 2015).

The idea of representation can be seen as an attempt by elected officials or other public figures "to build more inclusive, deliberative and engaged relationships with the public" (Orr and McAteer, 2024). These scholars believe that "as a political principle, representation is a relationship through which an individual or group stands for, or acts on behalf of a larger group of people." If there is proof of local consultation, participation in decision-making, and formulation of local policies supported by the elected council members, representation is said to have occurred.

A key point that emerges in the debate on political finance models is the structure or model in which decisions concerning political funding distribution for competitive political representation are made. Political finance models begin to matter in this discussion where they support or undermine the aspirations of key demographic groups which yearn for representative political involvement. In this respect, Ferguson (2019) has argued that the in racial and gender-preference dominated societies, political finance models are in most cases unsupportive of the minorities who seek representation in politics. In the case of the USA, the scholar argues that the models of political finance are most often against the minorities who prominently include women, people of color and sexual minorities.

What is clear in this analysis is that the repeated unsupportive models of political finance undermine the political minorities' efforts for fair representation in politics as well as policy advancement in favor of their cherished interests. This happens because even where few of them are elected, small numbers in democracy are not good enough to make decisions and vote on them because they lost in fair votes. In addition, the minorities, especially women politicians do not have adequate financial resources for investment in extra resources for gender sensitive policy development.

This discussion is relevant to Uganda's political landscape where the political finance models are in favor of men who head the political structures and make the final decisions. The challenge emerges in light of ever-scarce funds, which suggests that even when women receive party funding; this was not adequate for them as they did not have other funds to top up. The situation was worse in local governance, on which current literature was mostly silent, and where the limiting socio-economic conditions are not helpful to rural women.

A significant body of research has been carried out to investigate how the political finance models interface with women's policy concerns in most countries around the world. In investigating political finance, most studies identify repeated models or regular modes of policy management, transmission and selection of part or independent transmission that remain predictable from election cycle to election cycle. These studies further identify models in political finance that denote regular and sustainable arrangements which the same criteria for selecting beneficiaries is not only repeated at regular intervals over time but also the same officials. Accordingly, these studies identify political male candidates as the dominant beneficiaries, suggesting that fewer women would be represented in politics at diverse levels. This analysis further implies a connection between political finance models and women's policy concerns since for them to legislate women-specific interests into policy, they need first to get into legislative bodies in appreciable numbers (Kendall, 2017; Tolley, 2011; La Raja & Schaffner, 2017; Melanee and Bodet, 2013; Butler, 2011; Lovise & Muriaas, 2017).

Discussing the causes and consequences of women's political representation,

Kendall (2017) argues that while cultural factors and male chauvinism were among the leading factors which undermined female political representation in politics, the unfair distribution of available scarce financial resources was much more detrimental. Indeed, he states that there was a verifiable pattern, almost followed from electoral term to another across countries, where women did not receive equal treatment in this regard. A point is also made on the unfair resource sharing with women politicians as a result of which they missed opportunities for advancing gender-related legislations and policy. This analysis suggests that as a result of an unfair pattern of political finance, which is in favour of men in most countries, women are unable to work on significant women-friendly policies since their legislations need more numbers in legislative bodies.

To this discourse La Raja & Schaffner (2017) reports that the highly unequal campaign finance models led to political polarization that caught weak political actors in the middle such as women. These scholars further found out that since the campaign funds were largely administered by men who also heavily dominated these structures, the emerging models of support to women were not fair. In their view, the relevant models of male dominated resource management and decision making were key in undermining women-friendly policy development. The scholars describe situations where women were provided with lesser amounts of campaign funding to reserve as much financial support to male counterparts running in highly competitive legislative races. Gretchen (2017) agrees with this perspective, arguing that the low but increasing number of women in politics brings forth two dimensions.

According to this research, one of these was that women still encountered many challenges undermining their quest for equal representation in politics, with clearly identifiable models of financial resource structures and systems highly tilted in favor of men. Indeed, according to the study findings, all the plans, guidelines and strategies were simply designed to favor men against women, a setting that denied women equal representation in national and local assemblies. The second perspective that emerges from Gretchen's (2017) research is that women never find adequate sources of financial support outside the formal for their candidacies which essentially hampers their policy goals in politics.

Scholars have further observed specific models or plans used in diverse political finance arrangements to guide its administration, remittal processes and time frame differences in the way political finance structures handled this kind of support (Melanee and Bodet, 2013). These scholars observe that some of these practices were responsible for the slow advancement of women's interests, supposed to be legislated into policy. This a point of agreement with Butler (2011) who argues that the existence of models of gender discrimination was part of the factors that undermined women's representation in legislatures, including those in at the local level. The scholars added that women have made tremendous progress on many fronts in recent decades; gender discrimination perseveres in many societies around the globe. The findings showed that there was evidence of flagrant violations of women's rights, including the right to participate and represent others in politics at different level. He, thus, argued that whereas there were perceptions of women's roles evidently codified by legal statutes in some cases, women were still undermined by many factors which were quite related to the debate on political finance.

Most of these elements were both socio-economic and political in nature, involving women's limited or not educated at all, did not own land, earned less than men and were not protected from violence, leading to socio-economic instability. Weiner and Mayer (2014) report on related findings and agree that there are deep-seated socio-economic factors which undermined women's opportunities to represent their areas in politics to advance their interests through favorable policies. In their view, the socio-economic factors are associated with political finance because the models of political finance observable in political structures have roots in these societal aspects that also determine societal perceptions. Ultimately, however, these factors contribute to the dynamics that undercut chances for political representation and gender-sensitive policy development (Lovise & Muriaas, 2017; Butler, 2011).

In the case of Uganda, many scholars have discussed the key elements in the interface between political finance models and women's policy interests in local governance. Most of the current studies in this category bring out different

perspectives in this relationship as elaborated in this review (Mushemeza, 2019; Goetz, et al. 2003; GOU, 2020; Muriaas & Wang, 2012; Deb, et al. 2003; Lambright, 2011; Hern, 2018; Jossefsson, 2014). According to Mushemeza's (2019) findings suggested that local governments likely present an easy entry point for women in politics, but explained that appropriate financial resources are not available to support women's representative processes in local governance. His argument, supported by Goetz, et al. (2003) is that the poor conditions at the local level, in general do contribute to women's failure to influence gender-sensitive policy in the local councils.

Furthermore, GOU (2020) outlined the political finance policy rationale, regulations for political parties to receive, accountability requirements and the criteria for dividing the political resources among the political parties with members in Parliament. The challenge with this statutory document is that it is silent on gender considerations which are left to the political parties to handle. Neither does the political party funding policy clearly provide perspective in which political finance models affect women's opportunities to improve gender-friendly policies at the national nor the local governance councils. Hern (2018) and Lambright (2011) examine the experiences of local women in politics where they were expected to embrace the learning process to acquire skills. In their analysis, these would be the assets that could drive them into experienced legislators to effectively represent their constituents into contributing to the launching of policies that are gender conscious.

However, the scholars also observe that the scarcity of political finance at the local level robs them of such an opportunity which would have contributed to policy development favorable to women's concerns in local governance. These scholars conclude their analysis pointing out that although many feminists in local governance have found motivation for meaningful representative politics and change in policy that favors women issues, this was likely to be hampered by low resources at the local level. It should be observed, however, that the studies on Uganda hardly provide the detailed insights into the political finance models which undercut the ability for women councilors at the local level to play a leading role to shape policies which support women's interests. This is the interface that this

study is proposed to examine in RSC.

The foregoing analysis is an examination of the influence of political finance models on women's policy interests at diverse levels of political representation. Whereas this review has identified several perspectives on political finance models and how they influence women's policy agenda as they play their roles in representative politics, most of the evidence presented is at the national level. This leaves a knowledge gap at the local level where most women are poorer and have even much less access to political resources to supplement those officially provided by the political system. This study is proposed to investigate the political finance models that obtain at the local level and how they influence the policy interests or concerns of the women in Uganda's local governance setting.

Key perspectives emphasized that the debate on political finance models and policy advancement of women's political and legislative concerns are that their analyses are made in general terms. The central focus was on describing what the political finance models were and much less on how they impact women's policy interests. What is more, most of the relevant literature reviewed in this section was more focused on women's national governance issues rather than local governance policy issues which the proposed study intends to address.

Consequently, their key discussions need to be investigated further to establish how they apply in particular local level contexts such as that of RSC. This knowledge gap will be addressed in this proposed study.

## **2.7 The ways Political finance challenges affect women's political representation performance**

An appreciable amount of research has been conducted challenges in women's political representation performance. Indeed, diverse studies conducted on women's challenges and their efforts to effectively represent their localities have shown that their effects are immeasurably deep. These studies add that depending on different contextual factors and personal and unique experiences in legislatures and the community level, there could be another layer of finance-related challenges that women face (Krook, 2020; Kurebwa, 2016; Norris, 2006; Araujo &

Tejedo-Romero, 2016; Muriaas, et al. 2019; Bainomugisha, et al. 2014; Kendall, 2017; Bainomugisha, et al. 2019). However, whereas these studies examine substantial elements of both political finance challenges and women's political representation performance none of them extensively analyses the ways in which political finance challenges affect women's job performance in the setting of women councilors in RSC.

Krook (2020), for example, conducted his study to analyze the effect of *violence against women in politics*, assessing their overall performance in their legislative duties. Firstly, he observes that in circumstances where it is ascertained that a woman was likely to have more money in an election or even beyond the election cycles, violence was likely to be visited on them. He explains that the violence was mostly in terms of physical harm, stage-managed accidents, damaging romours and complete sabotage of women's legislative work. However, while this research enumerates ways in which violence was used to undermine women's political representation performance, it does not plainly explain the financial challenge roots of the violence. The analyzed violence would appear mostly to dwell on the work of common thugs who undermine legislators for political reasons. Nonetheless Krook (2020) ably links the violence against women with the consequent poor political representation indicators.

Related findings from Kurebwa's (2016) conducted in Zimbabwe reveal that these there were direct political finance-related challenges which affected women's representation performance. The scholar reports that in the first place there were instances where men mostly received as much as three times what women received in terms of political finance from their political parties. She, thus, argues that whereas these distribution disparities were at the level of elections, they continued to affect women's political representation performance due to women's financial instability compared to their male counterparts.

Equally important, Kurebwa's (2016) examines what she calls reasons in favor of women's representation in politics, explaining that the highly unequal socio-economic men and women's relationships were a political issue that women had to sort out at the legislative level, working with allies. The scholar observes that discussion is warranted on the subject of women's political representation because men dominate modern sector, women continued to work in "traditional" or "subsistence" sectors. She went on to say that the lack of female representation in modern economic sectors was detrimental to women's rights. Performance in legislatures was their effort attempted to catch up with men who in any case were already a step ahead in terms of what political finance they received from political structures. The scholar concludes her submission on the link between political finance-related challenges by highlighting the political participation of women was need to protect their interests, needs, and concerns. Their own contribution was incorporated into the policy-making process. This however was being frustrated by their comparatively poor performance in terms of accomplishing their political representation roles (Bainomugisha, et al. 2014).

According to academics, women can contribute significantly to local politics as a result of their unique interests in local government Kendall (2017) and Bainomugisha, et al. (2019) argue, for example, that due to the inherent resource disparities and the challenges in the political finance decidedly in favor of men, women were mostly unable to undertake all their legislative roles. The basis of their arguments is their consideration that the setting of politics constituted by an enumeration of the most significant contextual factors of the political systems, such as geographic patterning, economic structure, transportation and communication models, sociological structure and minorities, cultural models, values and value systems, and the record of social change are all controlled by men and favor men. Bainomugisha, et al. (2019) in this regard presents evidence where some women at the local level represent more than one parish as a result of the quotas allocated to them at this level. Due this factor, the scholars aver that without additional political finance, there was no way the poor women operating in rural areas were expected to fulfill their representation roles at the council level.

Finally, emphasizing the relationship between political finance challenges and women's representation performance at council level, the scholars point out that the performance of the legislative system needed further analysis. Their perception of such performance was supposed to be in terms of stability, adjustment, change, work conditions, relationship between formal and informal processes, and manifestations of instability and stability; which according to the scholars were literary against the women. The key knowledge gap in this literature it is failure to identify the ways in which political finance challenges define women's political representation performance.

According to Mlambo & Kapingura (2019) socio-economic status of women, to a greater extent, played a significant role in enhancing their participation in politics, where crucially they are involved in decision-making bodies. Socio-economic the status of women, to a greater extent, played a significant role in enhancing their representation in politics where they participated in decision-making bodies. The scholars added that women lacked the economic base which would enhance their political representation and performance in these bodies (Norris, 2006; Araujo & Tejedo-Romero, 2016). In the perspective of these scholars, the lack of an economic base for women is not only a factor in their election to the legislative bodies but also their performance while in these structures. The questionable legislative performance was due to other factors the need for them to take care of their homes' economic stability which they try to balance with political representation duties, ending up failing in both. Thus the comparatively lower performance of women was the attempt to balance domestic economic stability concerns and the interests they have in the public domain.

Quite relevant are studies that identify financial resources as specific ways that explain how political finance-associated challenges affect their political representation performance (Dolan, et al. 2019; Tripp, 2013; Kangas, et al. 2015). These studies emphasize that lack of financial resources effectively limits women from joining representative politics given the costs associated with elections. Tripp (2013) in particular reveals points out that access to power tends to emerge from familial, communal and economic linkages, and these factors may help explain

models of women political representation in many developing countries.

Tripp (2013) explains further that women lack the economic resources which would enhance both their election to public decision-making bodies and support their performance in national and regional assemblies. Therefore, an important way in which to explain how political finance challenges influence women's political representation performance is to identify the economic limitations and their scope. This thinking is shared by Cheeseman & Dodsworth (2019) whose analysis suggests that the lack of an economic standing for women to participate in representative politics was clearly one way of identifying the issues in the relationship between political finance challenges and relatively less representative performance for women in the developing countries. The ways for political finance challenges affect women's political representation performance is further explained by scholars who argue that the constraints presented by resources distribution in society were the real ways through which to understand the limitations of women in their roles as representatives in parliaments and councils.

In the perspective of some scholars, the structure of parliaments and regional councils, the networks cultivated over the year and political experience were profound factors which explained the ways in which women representatives in politics did pull off less than the expected results in their performance of legislative duties (Shvedova, 2005). Sindhuja and Murugan (2017) add that women politicians, especially in the developing countries, have numerous challenges related to political finance. The scholars identify these as including targeted expert advice women particularly need to political strategists and financial advisors both during elections and when they in the august houses.

As a general requirement, women just as men do need to make party contributions and election deposits. They add training costs such as public speaking, fundraising, fundraising items, guest speakers, message crafting and speechwriters and suitable professional clothing, most of which might not be applicable to their male counterparts. In their arguments, these requirements are just a few ways in which political finance challenges specific to women affect their political representation

performance. In other words, women legislators incur far more costs than men in their attempt first to get elected and secondly to fulfil their representative roles in politics.

To these women politicians, specific requirements are childcare costs and extra support for other household duties women politicians were responsible for, which have a strong link with political finance and their performance in decision making bodies (Kurebwa, 2016; Cigane & Ohman, 2014). Cigane & Ohman (2014) address the topic of mobility in particular, noting that considerable financial investments may be necessary in certain situations, especially in nations with inadequate transportation systems and in locations where female councilors may face particular difficulties. A further concern raised by earlier research is women's security in the face of violence or the fear of violence, which may likewise be more acute for women than for males in representative politics. While describing the difficulties with political financing, some academics note that the media, Other required political costs where women politicians were expected to compete with men on what appeared to be a level playing field were monitoring and research, press materials, media responses to unfair political attacks, outreach to secure interviews, and the purchase of time for campaign spots. It's crucial to remember that these political expenses frequently represent a significant financial burden for both developed and developing nations (Kendall, 2017; Manning, 2014; Komath, 2014).

A politician must expend genuine costs for the purpose of doing research and data collecting on constituencies, campaign issues, and other candidates in order to ensure efficiency in legislative bodies at all levels. These expenses must be incurred both during election seasons and for the duration of the representative term of office. Besides and public encounters with constituents and contributors comprise some of the highest spending categories. Strategic public outreach through participation in sporting, charitable, cultural, and social activities may also be necessary in some nations (Sindhuja & Murugan, 2017; Kangas, et al. 2015). In the case of Uganda, Bainomigisha, et al. (2014) reveals that if a politician does not attend burials, weddings, where they announce their contributions, their political

careers might come to an abrupt end. In their observations, the scholars point out that while both men and women politicians are expected to meet these costs, for the latter it adds a political finance challenge to already oversized burdens that pull-down women in their political representation performance in lower councils. Thus, in many significant ways these factors explain the political finance challenges presented and how they interface with women's election and political representation performance as well.

According to studies conducted on Ugandan literature, political finance issues make it difficult for female politicians to carry out their roles as political representatives and, as a result, they are unable to effectively participate in efforts to improve their conditions through decision-making (Tamale, 2019; Mijail & Kwesiga, 2002; Bainomugisha, et al. 2019; Tripp, 2001; Matembe, 2010; Muriaas & Wang, 2012; Mushemeza, 2019). Several studies raise the challenge for women's consultation costs, with these analyses showing that, consequently, it had increasingly become difficult for the women representatives to elicit the participation of their constituents in their legislative work. To these scholars, women had turned their constituents into passive participant because they were unable to reach them in person. This type of political participation, they argued was the kind where citizens would simply be told what was going to happen or had already happened. According to these studies, this is what happened in most rural areas where the citizens did not provide their views but simply took information from their representative (Matembe, 2010; Muriaas & Wang, 2012; Mushemeza, 2019).

This scenario paints a picture on the ways into which political finance challenges undermined the women's political representative performance in Uganda. As a result, political finance challenges, people participated less through participation by consultation because the women representatives were economically challenged to carry out consultations (Matembe, 2010; Tripp, 2001). These studies demonstrate that there was direct linkage between political finance challenges and women's representation performance in legislative councils. For the women councilors operating in the local governance system, there were challenges that defined the burdens the women councilors were experiencing at this level

(Bainomugisha, et al. 2019). While this data provides yet another way to understand the political finance challenges at the local level, it hardly plainly provides the scholarly linkage between political finance challenges and women's representative performance, which will be further explored in the local governance context in RSC.

Overall, previous studies recognize the linkage between political finance challenges and the representative performance in public decision making. This research is, however, largely hushed on the specific ways political challenges undermine women's political representative performance in specific contexts, and certainly not in the setting of RSC. This is the silence that justifies this research which is proposed to understand this relationship. Besides, the studies do not bring out the criteria for political presentative performance, which the proposed research will explore. In general, these prior findings indicate were however, mostly obtained from regional, continental and national level settings; with obvious gaps about local governance settings. The few studies such as that one of Tolley (2011) was focused on local governance, was carried out in Canadian municipalities. The proposed study will examine the key relationships in a rural local governance setting of RSC. In addition, the Ugandan studies similarly largely emphasize national level analyses, with the relevant ones not clearly bringing out the expected linkages. Thus, these studies need to be corroborated within the local governance context of Uganda. This study is intended to conduct this validation using RSC study.

In summary, the available research indicates that the majority of the effects of issues related to political financing on women's political representation outcomes are negative. In particular, the reviewed studies indicate that women in legislative bodies are hampered by inadequate political finance beyond the political parties they belong to. They further indicate that although the legislatures provide measured facilitation to the women to undertake their legislative and constituency work, this financial emolument was never adequate for majority of the women in comparison to their male counterparts who were able to count on other financial resources they controlled over and above what the legislative bodies offered. Accordingly, the political finance-related challenges, such as their inadequacy, affected women's representation performance in legislative bodies differently

from the way it did to men, with the former coming off with generally poor political representation performance indicators. However, the majority of the analyses that are currently available on the relationship between women's representation performance in terms of carrying out their governance duties and challenges related to political finance are not very clear in elucidating how these challenges affected women's representation performance; instead, they are largely focused on the national level. Furthermore, this study is partially intended to fill the vacuum left by the pertinent literature review in this proposal, which does not explicitly explore the specifics of this influence on women's political representation performance in the unique setting of RSC.

## CHAPTER THREE

### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

#### 3.0 Introduction

The methodology for the study on the impact of political finance on the representation of women in local governance is presented in this chapter. It addresses the broad methodological issues that the study is expected to face as well as the research design, survey population, sample design, data collection process, research instruments, data processing, and data analysis.

#### 3.1 Research Design

A case study research design was employed to carry out the investigation. According to Yin (2013), a case study is a type of research design that uses multiple sources of information to enable an empirical assessment of a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context. This design is useful where research study is to aid the researcher in gathering information regarding some bounded phenomenon, i.e., target variables or its characteristics. Research object may be individual human being, group, society, administrative area, region, or some other bounded phenomenon (Yin, 2013). Data were collected in Rubaya Sub-County case study (RSC) with the view to determine the nature and scope of political finance sources' influence on women's life throughout the period of local government elections and on political funding of women's policy issues trend, and political finance issues' influence on women's performance in the political representation and participation stages. Rubaya Sub-County was selected since it's a typical local government and one could easily trace it in Uganda where one could have an opportunity to conduct research like this. It was thus selected for case study since there are fewer local governments and already there is the political situation among women politicians. The case study research design provided quantitative and qualitative data through collection and analysis procedures as desired by Gorard's (2013) pragmatic position in favor of the use of mixed methods for wider and more comprehensive analysis. The data was gathered using research tools including:  
Qualitative interview schedules amidst extensive information gathering among

incumbent politicians of long standing.

Semi-structured informant guides such as

Quantitative questionnaires for general public opinion that is systematic.

Availability of such tools, Leedy & Ormrod (2013) and Sileyew (2019) author, is all a matter of nature of data to be collected. Statistical data were gathered in this research among voters and general public mainly through questionnaires for statistical analysis of trend and perception of women towards politics. These can be attained on the grounds of descriptive statistics on which range estimation and size of various variables and regression analysis can be deduced for application. The influence of political financing on the success of women in politics can be established with this.

Qualitative data was gathered from key informants such as women politicians, local government officials, community leaders, and political party representatives. These participants were selected because of their insider knowledge of political financing mechanisms, which might not be accessible to the general population. The qualitative data was analyzed using content analysis as described by Creswell (2013), to provide deeper contextual understanding and validate the quantitative findings.

### **3.2 Area of study**

The study was carried out in Western Uganda's Rubaya Sub County, Mbarara District. Although Rubaya shares a northern boundary with Mbarara City, where peri-urban features may be observed, the area is primarily rural. Because of its size (see Appendix D), diverse background, and potential influences on the dynamics of women's political representation, Rubaya Sub County was chosen for examination because it accurately captures the political, socioeconomic, and cultural setting of the district. Furthermore, according to recent assessments, there may be insufficient performance and circumstances for women's political representation in Rubaya, one of the local governments (Bainomugisha, et al. 2019; Matembe, 2010). The aforementioned elements provide a conducive research environment for the study, which examined the impact of political finance on the representation of women in local governance processes within the RSC's lower local government.

### **3.3 Sources of Information**

In order to fully address the study's aims, primary and secondary sources of information were used in turn. In order to measure those aspects of the study that could not be quantified, such as nature, elements of perceptions and opinions in regard to the variables, key informants who provided qualitative responses and survey participants who completed the quantitative questionnaire were the primary sources of data. Election reports, district records, sub-county inventories of political financing, and women's involvement in politics in Mbarara District were used as secondary sources of information. The main information focused on the role played by political funding and women's political representation in local government. This is due to the fact that appropriate insights into the relationships between political finance and women's representation in local government were only possible with the participation of participants. The primary information was acquired with the use of secondary data.

### **3.4 Study population**

A study population is defined by academics as the complete number or universal set of all participants who can realistically or conceivably participate in a study as useful data sources and to whom the study's conclusions can thus be applied (David, 2017). The study population included all of the female council members of RSC, as well as members of the subcounty political and technical personnel, leaders of the local political parties, women's organizations, and locals. The subcount population was assessed by MDC (2016) to be 31, while the overall number of stakeholders was projected to be 116. These were the study's responders as a result.

### **3.5 Eligibility Criteria**

#### ***Inclusion***

Voters of Rubaya sub county who will be 18 years and above

The heads of the political and technical leadership of RSC

All lady councilors of RSC lower local government

All district politicians directly in charge of sub county affairs

District political party leaders for all registered political parties in Uganda.

Women organizations based in Mbarara District

All sub county officials who will have been in office for one year and above

**Exclusion**

All district and sub county officials who had worked for less than one year

All non-voters and residents below 18 years of age

All district officials who were not directly in charge of sub county affairs

**3.6 Determining the sample size.**

**3.6.1 The size of the sample.**

A sample is the portion of a study population that will be used for data collection, according to academics. Additionally, the term "sample size" refers to the total number of participants in the study. In the case of quantitative research, Bryman et al. (2008) clarify that the sample size should be statistically representative in order to enable the generalization of the study's findings to the overall population. The statistically representative sample size for this investigation was 108, as established by the Yamane (1967) formula as follows:

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N (e^2)}$$

Where n is the sample size, N is the population Size and e is the level of significance

$$= \frac{147}{1 + 147 (0.05^2)}$$

= 108 respondents

**Table 1: Sample size distribution**

Respondents	Population	Sample size	Sampling techniques	Data collection tool
Residents	100	76	Simple random sampling	Questionnaire
Women Organizations	14	11	Purposive sampling	Interview guide
District political party officials	7	4	Purposive sampling	Interview guide
District officials	15	6	Purposive sampling	Interview guide
Sub county Officials	5	5	Purposive sampling	Interview guide
Lady councilors	6	6	Purposive sampling	Interview guide
<b>Total</b>	<b>147</b>	<b>108</b>		

**3.6.1 Sampling strategy**

A sampling strategy refers to the technique(s) used to select the respondents needed to provide data on the identified problem (Bryman et al., 2008). Simple random sampling and purposive sampling were utilized in the proposed study, though a variety of probability and non-probability sampling approaches might be used to choose the subjects. The respondents that supplied data for this study were chosen using these two methods. The final result for the probability sampling technique, which employed simple random sampling, was quantitative data. Using this method, citizens were chosen at random to submit information on the impact of political funding on the representation of women in local governance. Using the non-probability sampling technique, respondents were chosen based on their suitability, accessibility, availability, and willingness to offer the necessary qualitative data (Creswell, 2013). It was chosen for this investigation since it was necessary to choose the pertinent respondents who should not have their offices' worth of data excluded from the study. Purposive sampling was used to choose district political party officials, district officials, sub-county officials, and female council members, while simple random was used to sample inhabitants at random.

### **3.7 Data Collection Methods and instruments.**

The strategies used by researchers to get information from respondents are known as data collection methods. The interview and survey techniques outlined by Bryman et al. (2008) were applied in this investigation. The data for the study was methodically gathered using these techniques.

### **3.8 Interview**

According to Creswell (2013), this approach entails a planned conversation between the researcher and the respondents in order to gather information necessary to develop a more comprehensive and in-depth understanding of the impact of political finance on the representation of women in local governance from the viewpoint of the pertinent interviewees. An interview can be conducted over the phone, via Skype, via video conference, in writing, or verbally in person. Verbal or written interviews with study participants based in the targeted area and Sub County were utilized to gather data for this research. In the event of an interview, all applicable

Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs) imposed by the government to stop the disease's spread were scrupulously adhered to due to the COVID-19 pandemic. The interview format was determined by the respondents' preferences as well as the ideal conditions for adhering to the COVID-19 SOPs while gathering data. To facilitate the interview process, a suitable interview schedule was created and implemented (Creswell, 2013).

### **3.8.1 The survey approach**

Using this technique, cross-sectional quantitative data were gathered all at once in the way that Creswell (2013) explained. A questionnaire that was sent to grassroots respondents who were registered voters in the study area made this strategy easier to use. They were asked to read questions in questionnaire and answer accordingly (Gorard, 2013). Data used in this research were collected from respondents of all of the groups identified in section 3.6.1 through the above process. Such data were collected using a self-completion questionnaire constructed against research questions.

### **3.8.2 Data collection process**

Data collection for the research involved both qualitative and quantitative data collection methods required in the mixed methods research design. Further data on political financing and women's representation in Rubaya Sub-County can be collected by the researcher. The first visitation to the sub-county was already made before data collection in order to establish contact with the leaders for the first time, become acquainted with the area, and obtain any necessary permission. Ethical clearance and consent of the participants were also sought to consolidate research under a single umbrella of requirements of research ethical standards. Quantitative data were gathered using guided questionnaires from the sampled 31 Rubaya Sub-County voters.

Questionnaires were randomly stratified sampled across the same figure on gender and geographical locations. Questionnaires questioned political disposition regarding women, economic issues to women candidates, and

expenditure of money in decision-making while in polling booths. Questionnaires helped to give a general perspective and extent of political finance issues among the women of the city government. In-depth key informant interviews and in-depth interviews helped to provide qualitative information. The key informants were electoral officials, party officials, women politicians, and civil society organizations. The key informants gave qualitative information on political finance regimes, regime-level concerns, and party-level traditions which impact the role of women's participation. Semi-structured interview of non-elected and elected women politicians was used with the aim of uncovering their everyday experience of campaigning and seeking funds.

Field notebooks, tape recorders, questionnaires, and interview guides were used as the data collection and recording instruments. A mixed-method design provided room for chances of triangulation of data sources, thus validity and credibility of results were enhanced. Quantitative data gave quantitative trends, whereas qualitative description offered richness and depth to the study's. 3.9 Data Quality Control Qualitative data quality control Qualitative data gathered from woman councillors, sub county leaders, district leaders and district political party leaders were qualitative. Such data quality was therefore preserved by keeping it at arm's length.

As Leung (2015) finds, qualitative data validity is preserved by ensuring that the data is made to pass the following standard requirements, i.e., credibility, transferability, dependability, and conformability.

Credibility in this research was established by developing an interview schedule, using it to gather data, and analyzing and interpreting data honestly and concisely.

An interview schedule was designed for gathering information needed as the research administrator of research questions related to political finance and its influence on representation of women at the local level of government.

Whereas asking such questions and leaving the respondents free to answer the research problem without fear or worry, rapport-building skills were employed in asking such information. All the answers were read literally and marked and all of them were proofread to render them quotations without losing sense and then

all of them were read objectively—i.e., neither in biased, negative nor positive direction. Why the answer given was exactly the material which were given and discussed. Transferability was attained by linking findings to literature and theory explained hereinbelow in a bid to make them comparable and thus generalizability to other local government stakeholders. Dependability was attained by data collected being taken back to participants in a bid to facilitate interviewed responses collected to be matched with response given per each research variable. Conformability was obtained by means of debriefing session in which the interviewees were revealed some of the results emerging and asked whether they can still view the same as at the initial stage, and whether there is bias and assumption in the results.

### **3.9.1 Quantitative data quality control**

Examining the validity and reliability of the questionnaire data allowed for the determination of its quality. According to Leedy and Ormrod (2013), validity is the extent to which a research tool measures what it was intended to measure. The content validity test, criterion validity, construct validity, and other techniques can be used to measure it. In this study, the validity of the questionnaire data was established using the content validity approach. This method establishes the validity by confirming whether the content of a research tool is accurately measuring the concepts being measured (Leedy & Ormrod, 2013). This accuracy of the designed questionnaire items was confirmed by the relevant respondents and requesting them to rate each item as either relevant (R) or irrelevant (IR). The following formula was used to calculate the questionnaire's content validity index (CVI) based on the ratings:

CVI =  $\frac{\text{The quantity of pertinent items (R)}}{\text{Total number of questions (R + IR) in the questionnaire}}$ .

Since the computed CVI was higher than 0.7, the questionnaire was deemed legitimate.

The degree to which a research tool evaluates a concept consistently across several samples is known as its reliability (Collis & Hussey, 2014). An instrument's reliability can be determined using a variety of methods. To determine the reliability of the questionnaire in this study, the Cronbach Alpha internal consistency method was employed with the help of the SPSS software.

### **3.10 Analysis of data.**

#### **3.10.1 Qualitative content Analysis.**

Qualitative data was analyzed using qualitative techniques, which included the directed qualitative content analysis involving thematic analysis complemented by the narrative technique. It involved transcribing all the responses through playing and replaying the recorder, listening to them and typing them word by word into a word document. After transcribing all the data, editing was applied to eliminate the unnecessary text and retain only that which summarized the substance and meaning of the data accurately (Baxter & Jack, 2008). The substance was reported as a theme and backed by the retained text as a narrative quoted directly into the findings. Thereafter, intellectual interpretative skills were engaged to develop themes out of it (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). The developed themes were categorized according to the following categories:

- i. The nature of sources for political finance used in promoting women's local governance elections capabilities in the sub county of Rubaya.
- ii. Political financing models influence women's policy concerns in Rubaya Sub County's local governance setting.
- iii. Ways in which political finance challenges affect women's political representation performance in Rubaya Sub County.

#### **3.10.2 Quantitative analysis.**

The research's quantitative data was coded and entered into the statistical analysis program Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) to be analyzed. The results were then given in forms that were clear and concise. After that, a descriptive analysis was carried out to produce frequencies and summary statistics (percentages) that were used to characterize the types of political finance sources that impact women's experiences in local governance elections, the political finance models that influence women's policy concerns and the ways in which issues related to political finance impact women's performance in political representation. Multiple linear regression analysis was also done in the study. Determining the dependent and independent parties' relationship was made easier thanks to this.

### **3.11 Ethical considerations**

In line with current ethical considerations, effort was made to seek approval of this

research from relevant offices. In order to introduce the researcher to the Chief Administrative Officer (CAO) of the Mbarara District, a letter of introduction was also needed from the head of Uganda Christian University's (UCU) Department of Public Administration and Governance (PAG). The letter was used to request access to the respondents, who were based in a variety of districts and sub counties, from the CAO. It also used to obtain the informed consent of the respondents prior to requesting that they submit the necessary data. The goal of the study and the significance of the respondents' involvement were explained to them in order to get their agreement. By requesting them not to divulge their names and by presenting the data they were given without disclosing their identities, the respondents were given the assurance that all of their comments would be kept anonymous. Additionally, the respondents were made aware that their participation in the study was entirely voluntary and that they might revoke their consent at any time for any reason.

### **3.12 Methodological Limitations**

The validity and impartiality of the respondents' answers may be impacted by their probable misunderstanding of the study's purpose, particularly since the survey addresses a topic related to gender representation that most respondents may be reluctant to discuss for private reasons. However, efforts were made to diminish this skepticism by assuring the respondents that their responses were kept confidential and none of them were ill-treated because of the data they had provided. Respondents may also be difficult to get given their reported irregular availability at work. This limitation was however, minimized by meeting each respondent at the time when they were available at work. Financial limitations were also faced as the study was solely based sponsorship by the researcher. The cost of travelling to RSC and motivating those respondents who were conditioned their participation to money is likely to be too high for the researcher to afford. This limitation was reduced by explaining to respondents that the researcher was just a student who was not financially well off.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **PRESENTATION OF FINDING AND ANALYSIS**

#### 4.0 Introduction.

This chapter presents the conclusions drawn from research on the impact of political financing on the representation of women in local administration in Uganda's Rubaya Sub county Mbarara district. This chapter includes the results of the study on the respondents' demographics, the types of political finance sources that affect women's experiences in local governance elections, and the connection between women's policy concerns in Rubaya Sub County and political finance models.

The data in this chapter were displayed using the interview guide and questionnaire survey. Graphs, frequency tables, percentages, ranking criteria, and descriptive statistics were used to display the data. This summarizes and presents the data in a form that is more comprehensible and meaningful.

#### 4.1 Response Rate.

The respondents were given research tools by the study, and the data in Table 2 illustrates the response rate.

**Table 2: Reaction time.**

Instrument	Target respondents	Actual Response Rate	Response Rate
Questionnaire	76	76	100%
Interviews	32	32	100%
Total	108	108	100%

Source Primary Data (2021):

Table 2 demonstrates that all intended respondents answered the survey questions. This suggested that the study had a high response rate, which allowed the researcher to provide specific study findings. Since face-to-face interviews were used with all respondents, it was inferred that the data the researcher supplied could be analyzed with great quality.

#### 4.2 Demographic data of respondents.

The study deemed pertinent demographic attributes to be gender, age, educational attainment, marital status, and political affiliation. This attribute was important to

consider because the purpose of study was to obtain non-gender biased results however much the study was focusing on women governance.

**Table 3: Respondents' gender**

Gender	Frequency	percentage
Male	37	37.4%
Female	62	62.6%
<b>Total</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Source: Primary data, 2021

Table 3 shows that 37.4% of respondents were men and 62.6% of respondents were women. The female respondents constituted the larger proportion of the sample since the study was about the women political representation, the presence of male respondents suggests that both forms of gender participated in the study. Therefore, the views of both were covered in the study as far as how the political finance influences women representation in local governance.

### Respondents' Age

The age of respondents selected for the study was above 18 years since they were the eligible voters according to the constitution of Uganda.

**Table 4: Respondents' ages**

Years	Frequency	Percentage
Below 25years	02	2.02%
26-30 years	40	40.41%
31-35 years	24	24.24%
Above 35 years	33	33.33%
<b>Total</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Source, Primary data as of 2021.

Table 4 reveals that 40.41% of participants were in the 26-30 age range. 24.24% of the respondents were between the ages of 31 and 35, 33.33% were over 35, and 2.02% of the respondents were under 25. Thus, the results indicate that most of the responders were younger—below 35 years old. Because young people make up the

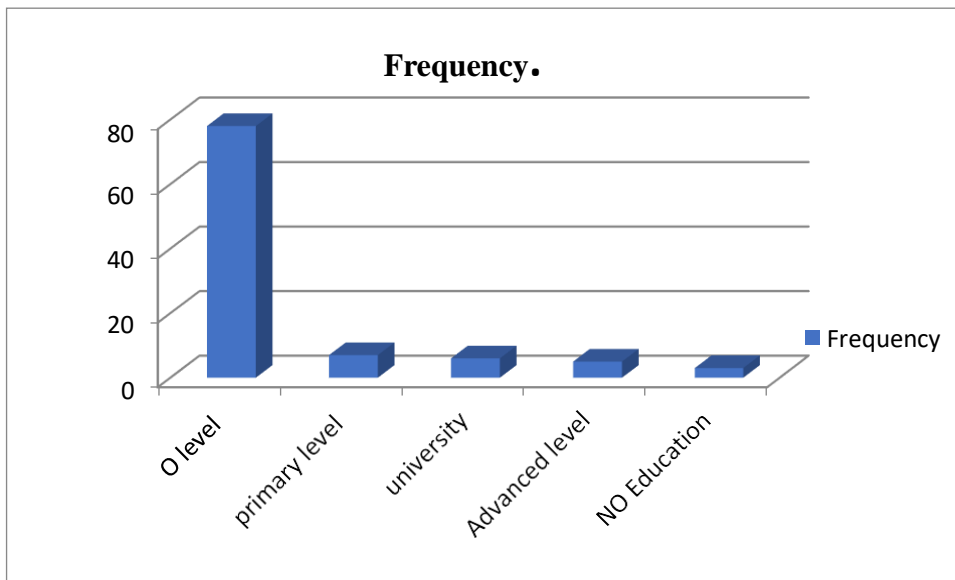
majority of the population in Uganda, the study's responses constitute an excellent sample of people in their most active and prevalent age groups.

### Education Level

The researcher also discovered that it was critical to examine the respondents' educational backgrounds because this directly affected the politicians' knowledge and abilities in achieving predetermined goals.

The table below shows the respondents' educational backgrounds. Figure 2 displays or demonstrates the age-related findings of the respondents.

**Figure 2: Respondents' highest level of education**

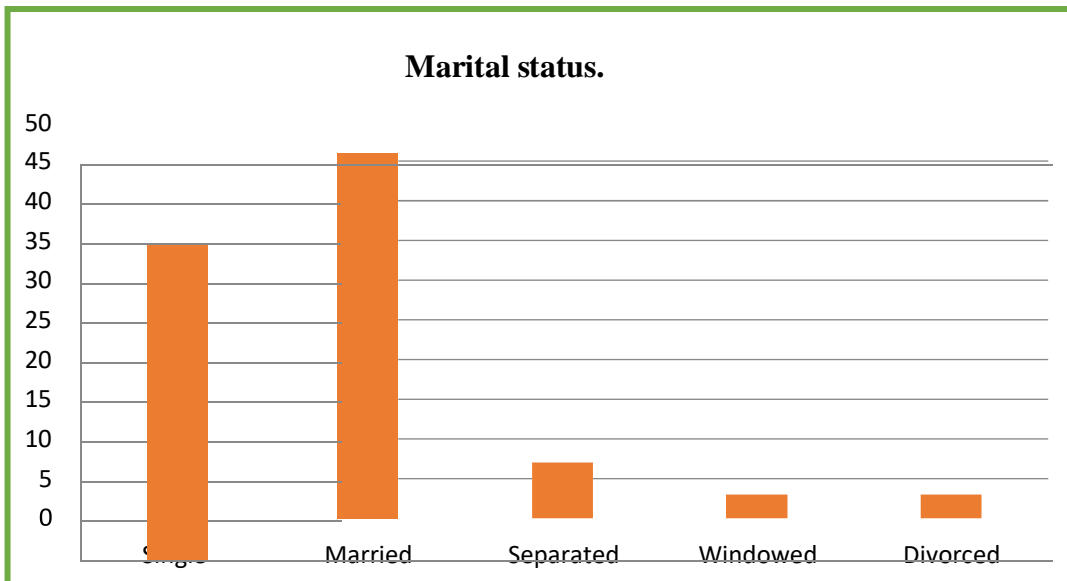


**Source: Primary data, 2021**

Figure 2 shows that 78% of respondents had O level credentials and 11% had primary level qualifications. University degrees were held by 6% of respondents, postgraduate by 4% of respondents, and no education background was held by 1% of respondents. This suggested that the majority of responders were literate and knowledgeable about the topic being investigated.

### Marital status

This attribute was considered because it directly influences women participation in political activities. **Figure 3: Marital status**



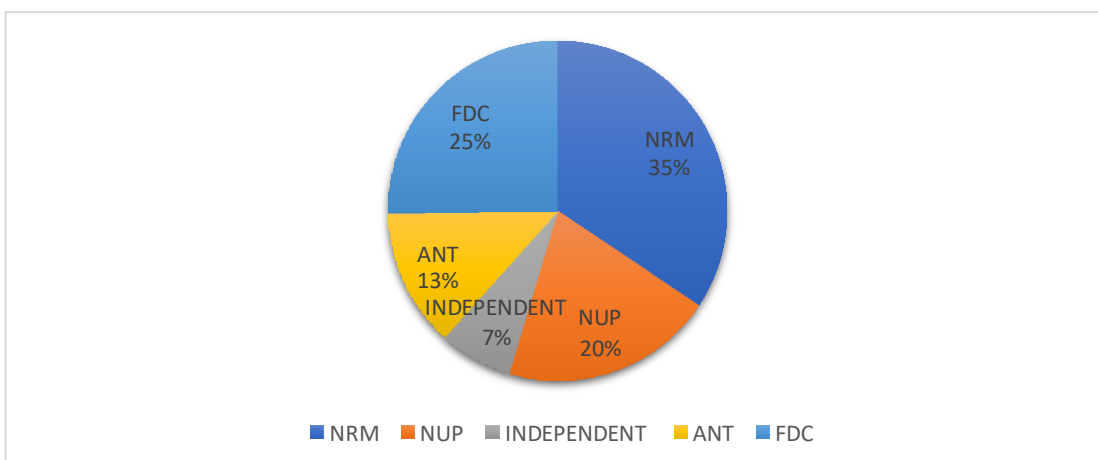
Source: Primary data, 2021

The results showed that 46.41% of respondents were married, 40.41% were single, 7% were separated or widowed, and 3% were divorced. The higher percentage of married respondents may have resulted from the local church's devotions and culture, which respect marriage.

#### 4.2.5 Political affiliation

This was important because political parties formally participate in the nomination of candidates and financing them.

**Figure 4: Political Affiliation**



Source, Primary data as of 2021.

The study's conclusions show that 35% of respondents, or the majority, were connected to NRM. This was demonstrated by the results of the most recent elections, in which the NRM women candidates in Rubaya Sub County prevailed. Twenty percent of the respondents were associated with NUP, thirteen percent with ANT, twenty percent with FDC, and seven percent were independent. This suggested that the majority of respondents were members of the nation's political parties.

Nature of sources for political finance that influence women's local governance election experiences  
 The first objective was to determine the nature of sources for political finance that influence women's local governance election experiences in the sub county of Rubaya. The findings on this objective were obtained basing on responses to generated questions in this section.

#### Knowledge of political finance among respondents

Since political finance is likely to have an impact on female political representatives in their pursuit of power, respondents were asked if they had knowledge of the topic. Funding political activities is a crucial component of guaranteeing good governance.

**Table 5: knowledge on political finance**

Category	Frequenc y	Percent
Yes	64	59.2%
No	44	40.7%
<b>Total</b>	<b>108</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Source: primary data 2021.

Table 5 shows that 40.7% of respondents lacked understanding about political financing, compared to 59.2% of respondents who were knowledgeable about the topic. One of the responders to a key informant interview with the women's groups expressed sadness when asked about the idea of political finance:

*Understanding political financing is a challenging task. Even in nations where information from public and private sources is generally very transparent, knowledge regarding political financing is not comprehensive throughout society or over time. Politicians, election officials, and the general public are currently paying more and more attention to the issue of political fundraising, with a focus on ensuring that all political candidates, regardless of gender, have equitable access to and distribution*

*of financial resources (Interview with women groups, June 20, 2021).*

### Sources of political finance

Respondents were asked about the different sources of political finance considering certain factors which included availability and accessibility of political finance and the conditions set by different sources. All these have direct influence on women who intended to join politics during their electoral processes and campaigns.

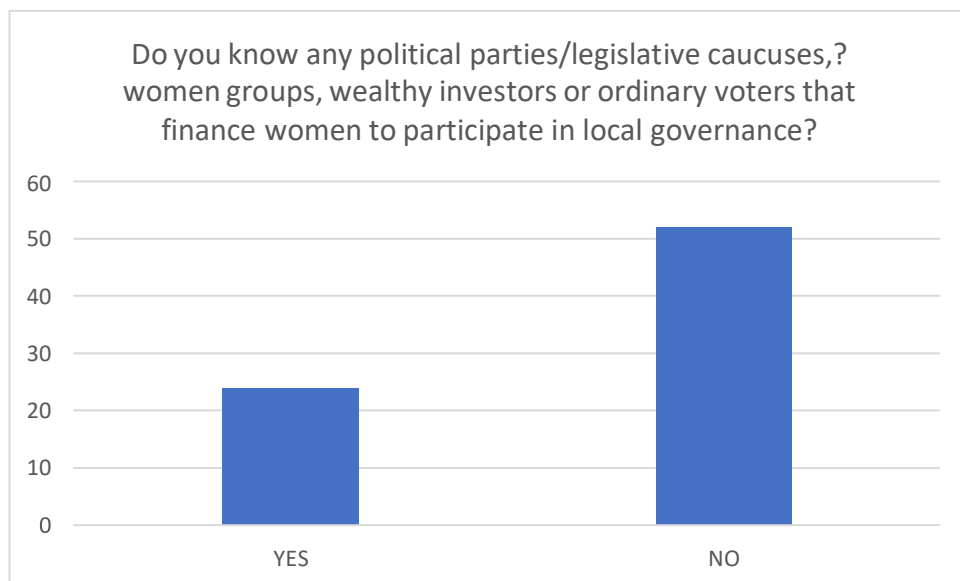
**Table 6: Sources of political finance**

Responses	Frequency	Percentage
Political parties	66	61.1%
Women's groups	12	11.1%
Ordinary voters	20	18.5%
Investors	10	10%
<b>Total</b>	<b>108</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source, Primary data 2021.

Table 6 shows that 61.1% of respondents stated unequivocally that political parties are the main providers of political funding in Rubaya Sub County, followed by regular voters (18.5%), women's organizations (11.1%), and investors (10%). It is important to acknowledge that additional sources of political money were identified during the investigation and are included in Table 7.

**Figure 5: Knowledge of groups that finance women to participate in local governance**



**Source: Primary data, 2021**

51% of the respondents were not aware of any political parties/legislative caucuses, women groups, wealthy investors or ordinary voters that finance women to participate in local governance. This is because political candidates rarely release financial information to the public, 49% of the respondents were aware Respondents who had knowledge of political parties/legislative caucuses, women groups, wealthy investors or ordinary voters that finance women to participate in local governance were further asked to mention them. This is because the study intended to know the criteria being used

**Table 8: Awareness on political parties/women groups**

Responses	Frequenc y	Percentag e
=UWESO	10	9.3%
FINCA	02	1.8%
SACCOs	28	25.9%
FDC	12	5.5%
Trade unions	06	5.6%

**Source: primary data, 2021**

46% of the respondents showed that NRM was the leading political party in financing women to participate in local governance in Rubaya Sub County. This is because NRM finances all its flag bearers' country wide irrespective of their gender. Others that finance women to participate in local governance include 25.9% of the respondents showed that SACCOs which give in form of loans, 5.5% of the respondents showed that FDC which is also a political party, 5.6% of the respondents showed trade unions, 9.3% of the respondents showed UWESO and 1.8% of the respondents showed FINCA.

*In the recent concluded elections, NRM party released funds to support its flag bearers in various districts, constituencies and local councils. The funds are to facilitate candidates in carrying out wrap up mobilization operations for themselves. (Interview with district party official, 20 June 2021).*

#### **Influence of political finance sources on women's local governance representation.**

Source of finance in politics was an important element in defining the quality of representation, citizen perceptions towards their leaders and standards of accountability and transparency. Respondents were asked about the Influence of political finance sources on women's local governance representation and responses are shown in table 9.

**Table 9: Influence of political finance sources on women's local governance representation.**

<b>Do such sources of political finance influence women's local governance representation</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Yes	86	79.6%
No	22	20.3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>108</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

**Source: Primary data, 2021**

Table 9 shows that 79.6% of respondents agreed and 20.3% disagreed that the sources of political money affect the participation of women in local governance. This is because political representation has costs incurred for example campaign funds and well facilitated candidates always have higher chances of winning.

Source of political finance is essential in influencing the women’s local governance representation particularly by affecting women candidates in electoral processes. In Uganda politics have been highly monetized and to win an election you need a need funds

**Table 10: Reasons why sources of political finance influence women’s local governance representation**

Why do sources of political finance influence women’s local governance representation?	Frequency	Percentage
Uganda’s politics is highly monetary	50	46.3%
Funding them empowers women	8	7.4%
Women are naturally considered inferior	3	2.7%
Gives women chance to stand for political offices	5	4.6%
Need to keep ideologies of the ruling party	3	2.7%
Works as door opener to the women interested in political activities	13	12%
Voters need money to vote	20	18.5%

**Source: Primary data, 2021**

46.3% of respondents said that Ugandan politics have been heavily influenced by money, 7.4% of respondents said that funding them empowers women, 2.7% said that women are inherently inferior, 4.6% said that it gives women the opportunity to run for political office, 2.7% said that it must uphold the party's ideologies, and 12% said that it serves as a gateway for women who are interested in getting involved in politics. 18.5% of those surveyed said that voting requires money. This suggested that in order to finance their election campaigns, political contenders must look for funding. Voters need money in order to cast their ballots in favor of you. Additional factors influencing the presence of women in local governance are the necessity to uphold the party's ideology and the funding that enables women to be empowered and run for office.

**Table 11: Extent of influence of source of political finance.**

To what extent does the source of political finance mention	Frequency	Percent
High	60	55%
Moderate	32	29%
Low	16	16%
<b>Total</b>	<b>108</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Source: Primary data, 2021

As shown in the above table, 55% of respondents said that sources of political money had a significant impact on the participation of women in local governance, 29% said they had a moderate opinion, and 16% said they had a low opinion. This suggests that money has influenced Ugandan politics and that politician's need money to run their campaigns in order to win. As a result, a political candidate will undoubtedly be influenced by whoever can provide their funding.

In an interview with one of the respondents, it was found out that:

*Contesting elections is extremely expensive and the need for money excludes many prospective women candidates. The lack of an economic base has been a factor in their participation or lack of it in politics because the cost of campaigning is very high. (Interview with women groups, 20 June 2021).*

#### **Women joining the local governance as a result of political finance from different sources**

Political finance has made it easier for more women to enter the political sphere because of the enormous impact that money has had on elections, campaigns, and the political participation of women in local government.

**Table 12: Women joining the local governance as a result of political finance from different sources**

Have women in your area joined the local governance as a result of political finance from different sources?	frequency	Percentage
Yes	80	74.1%
No	28	25.9%
<b>Total</b>	<b>108</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Primary data, 2021

74.1% of the respondents indicated that women in Rubaya Sub County have joined the local governance as a result of political finance from different sources. 25.9% of the respondents disagreed since there are other factors like the affirmative action.

Other factors influencing women to join local governance

The potential and talents of women, as well as women in leadership roles, are becoming more widely acknowledged. Respondents were asked to identify other factors influencing women to join local governance other than political financing.

**Table 13: Other factors influencing women to join local governance**

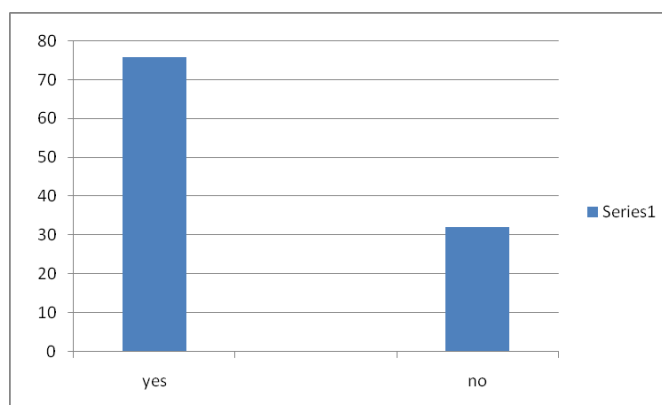
What are the other factors that have influenced women to join local governance?	Frequency	Percentage
Need to elevate their status	19	17.5%
Women emancipation	20	18.5%
Poverty alleviation	8	7%
Family background	6	5.5%
Affirmative action	22	20%
Religion and culture	10	9.2%
Ability and potential	13	12%
Financial stability	10	9.2%

Source: Primary data, 2021

20% of respondents said affirmative action had encouraged women to participate in local government in Rubaya Sub County; 17.5% said they needed to improve their status; 18.5% said they wanted to see women emancipated; 7% said they needed to alleviate poverty; 5.5% said they had a family background; 9.2% said they were aware of religion and culture; 12% said they were capable and potential; and 9.2% said they were financially stable. This suggested that policy allows women to occupy specific roles without having to compete with men for those roles.

**Figure 6: Whether political financing can influence you to join local governance**

Do you personally feel with political financing from the different sources you can ably join the



Source, Primary data, 2021.

32% of respondents disagreed with the statement that political financing continues to be a significant obstacle for women seeking positions in local government, particularly in party primary elections, which was agreed upon by 76% of respondents. Party primaries are extremely costly and discourage women from participating because they frequently call for large amounts of independent finance. Women's involvement in local governance will therefore rise in the presence of diverse funding sources.

**4.4 Models of political finance supporting women’s policy concerns in local governance setting.**

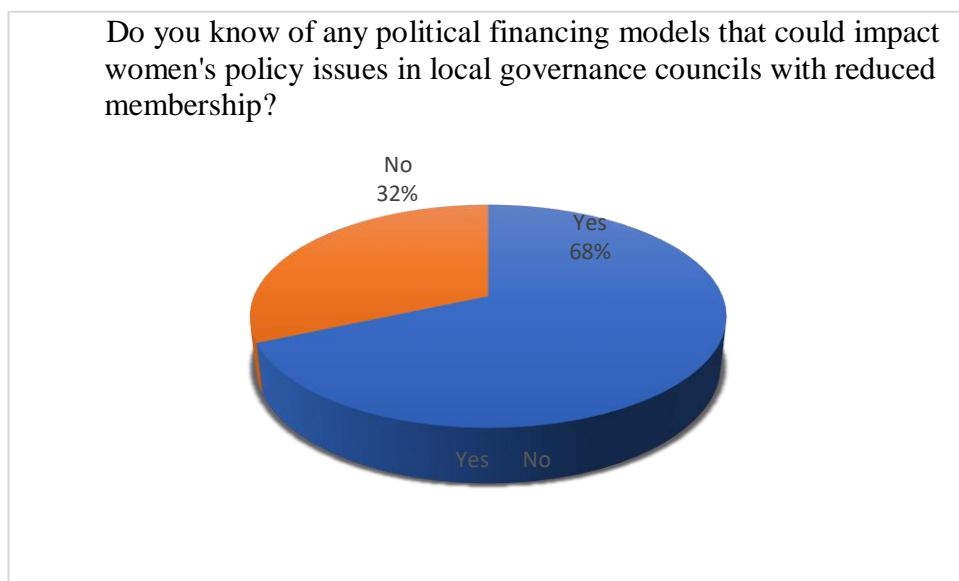
The study's second goal was to identify political finance models that address women's policy issues in Rubaya Sub County. The impact of political funding models on women's legislative activity as well as potential policy interventions in favor of women's policy

issues were posed to the respondents. Using the same approach, descriptive statistics and directed qualitative analysis of the interview responses, findings under this objective were established as shown below:

Awareness of political finance models that is likely to affect women’s policy concerns in lower local governance councils

Political finance models are frameworks and systems that analyse and regulate the funding of political activities, including election campaigns and political parties. These models aim to ensure transparency, accountability, and fairness in political finance, as well as to prevent corruption and undue influence. When questioned about political financing models that could impact women's policy concerns in lower local governance councils, respondents were asked if they were aware of them.

**Figure 7: Knowledge on political finance models that could impact women's policy concerns in lower local governing councils**



Source: Primary data, 2021

32% of respondents disagreed with the statement that 68% of respondents knew about political financing models that influence women's policy concerns in lower local government councils. This implied that Women politicians always miss out on political finance due to the decision making in formulating policies supportive to their interests

is limited.

*Female candidates face hostilities in trying to access campaign funds especially in the context of commercialized political environment. The financial setback is ultimately the primary reason Rubayasub county is still witnessing low participation of women in active politics (Interview with women groups, 20 June 2021).*

Forms of political financing models existing at local level which affects women's policy concerns

Political financing models play a very vital role in women's policy concerns.

Therefore, this was very important to establish whether there exist forms of political financing which affect women's policy concern in Rubaya Sub County.

**Table 14: Forms of political financing models existing at local level which affects women's policy concerns**

In which form do the political finance models exist at the local level?		
Male domination of decision-making structures		
Access and control of political finance bodies by men		
Vast female information gaps on availability of political finance		
Inequalities in political funds provided to men and women in politics		
Lack political financial support to women for consultation of voters after elections		
Male control of legislative business in lower councils		

Extra male political finance connections and opportunities than those for women		
Bigger women's areas for representation compared to those of men		

Source: Primary data, 2021

33% of the respondents indicated male domination of decision-making structures, 2% of the respondents indicated Access and control of political finance bodies by men, 15% of the respondents indicated vast female information gaps on availability of political finance, 25% of the respondents indicated Inequalities in political funds provided to men and women in politics, 4% of the respondents indicated Lack political financial support to women for consultation of voters after elections, 5% of the respondents indicated Male control of legislative business in lower councils, 9% of the respondents indicated Extra male political finance connections and opportunities than those for women, 3% of the respondents indicated Bigger women's areas for representation compared to those of men. This implied that Males still feel superior compared to the women hence end up formulating policies and making decisions that are in favour of their interests.

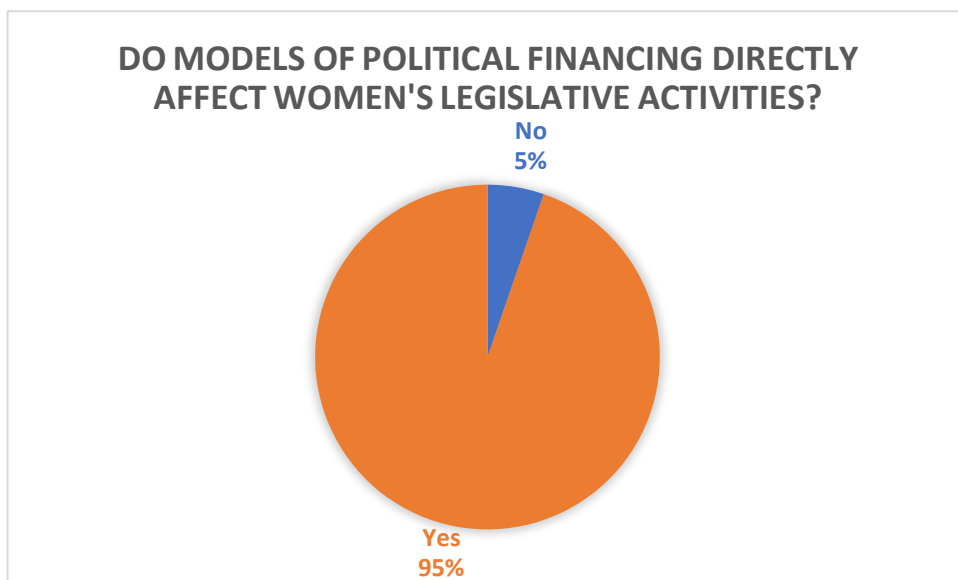
One of the interviewed respondents had this to say:

*Unsupportive models of political finance undermine the women's efforts for fair representation in politics. In Rubaya Sub county, political finance models are in favour of men who head the political structures and make the final decisions. (Telephone Interview with lady councillor, 20 June 2021).*

### **Effects of political financing models on women's legislative activities.**

Legislative activities mainly mean participation in policy discussion of any subject matter during legislative sessions. These activities are affected by models of political financing and they include budgeting and resource allocation, project monitoring and evaluation.

**Figure 8: Whether models of political financing directly affect women legislative activities**



**Source: Primary data, 2021**

95% of respondents, or the majority, felt that political financing models have a direct impact on the legislative activity of women. This is because models of political financing play a critical role in running of political offices. Flagbearers of different political parties must put the ideology of the party first before their voters’ concerns or else will be considered rebel legislators.

**Political finance models and women’s policy concern**

Politicians are currently concerned with women's policies for a variety of reasons. Political finance models and their impact on women's ability to effectively compete for elected office are among the most frequently discussed topics.

**Table 15: Political finance models and women’s policy concern**

Responses	S. A	A	N	D	S. D
The political finance models are in favour of men who head the political structures that make the final funding decisions.	26.3%	47.4%	10.5%	15.8%	0%

Political finance models are unsupportive of the women who seek representation in politics.	15.8%	57.9%	7.9%	18.4%	0%
Unsupportive models of political finance undermine the women's efforts for fair representation in politics.	15.8%	63.2%	10.5%	10.5%	0%
Women politicians do not have adequate financial resources for investment in extra resources for gender sensitive policy development beyond elections.	26.3%	44.8%	9.3%	8.1%	11.5%

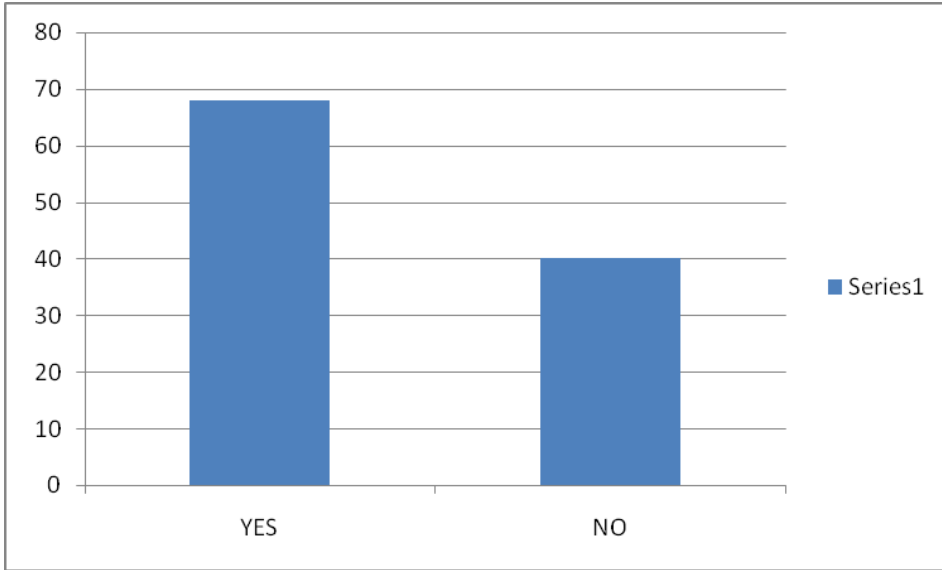
**Source: Primary data, 2021**

Of the respondents, 10.5% were unsure, 47.4% agreed, 26.3% strongly agreed, and 15.8% disagreed with the statement. Men who lead the political organizations that decide how much money to allocate are favored by the political finance models. 15.8% of respondents strongly agreed, 57.9% agreed, 7.9% were unsure, and 18.4% disagreed with the statement. Models of political finance do not encourage women seeking political representation. 15.6 percent of respondents strongly agreed, 63.2 percent agreed, 10.5 percent were unsure, and 10.5 percent disagreed with the statement. The attempts of women to achieve equitable participation in politics are hampered by unsupportive political financing structures. Of the respondents, 26.3% strongly agreed, 44.8% agreed, 9.3% were unsure, 8.1% agreed, and 11.5% disagreed. For the purpose of developing gender-sensitive policies after elections, female politicians lack the financial means to invest additional funds.

#### **Effects of post elections financial support on women's legislative activities.**

Women legislators face gaps in financial resources that prevent them executing their legislative activities effectively. Legislative activities like implementation of projects need financial resources.

**Figure 9: Responses on whether if political parties continue giving financial support to women after elections would directly affect their legislative activities**

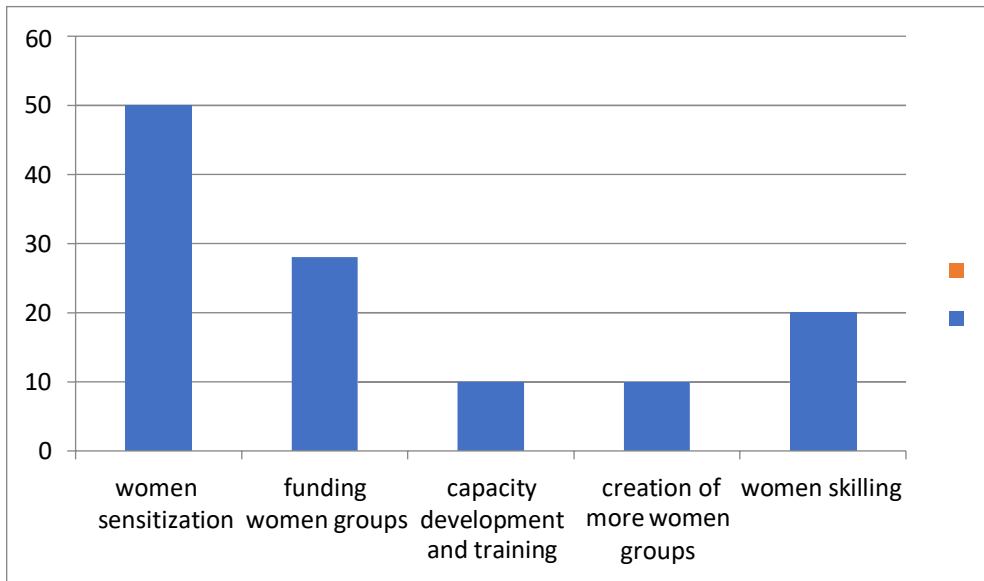


**Source: Primary data, 2021**

68.4% agreed and 40% agreed that political parties' legislative activity would be directly impacted if they continued to provide financial support to women following elections. Women political leaders would be visiting their voters frequently and even start up projects in their different areas which would benefit the community.

Other measures that can be put in place to support women's policy concerns  
 Other than models of political financing, respondents suggested other measures that can be put in place to support women's policy. These measures include: sensitization of women, funding women groups, capacity development and training. When women are included in decision making structures, their concerns will be addressed.

**Figure 10: Other measures can be put in place to support women's policy**



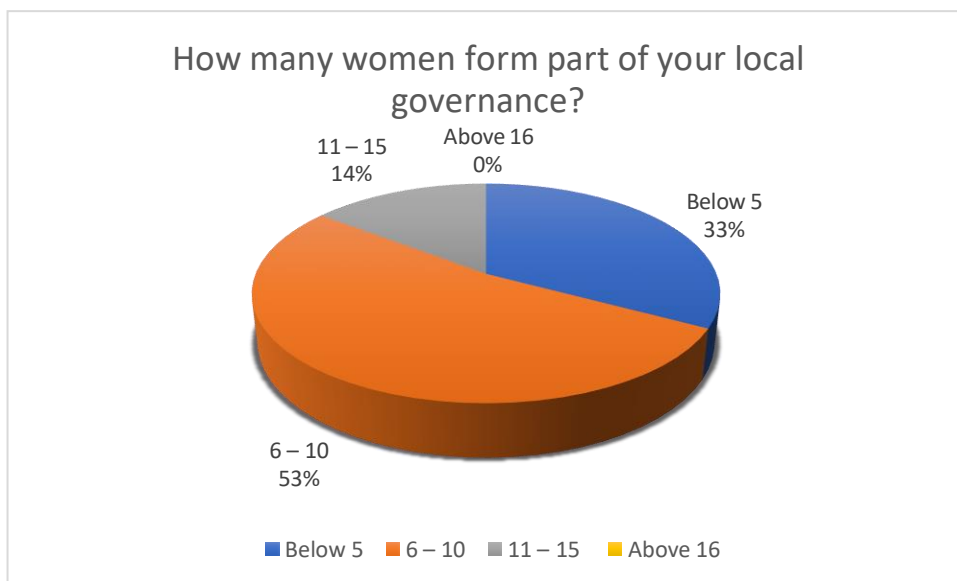
**Source: Primary data, 2021**

50% of the respondents indicated women sensitization, 28% of the respondents indicated funding women groups, 10% of the respondents indicated capacity development and training and creation of more women groups respectively while 20% of the respondents indicated women skilling. The study found that, despite their established ability to effect change and lead, as well as their right to equal participation in democratic governance, women remain underrepresented in both the civil service and as voters. This is because of unsupportive models of political finance undermine the women’s efforts for fair representation in politics. These unsupportive models include men dominating decision making structures hence not favoring the interests of women.

### **Examining effects of challenges associated with political financing**

The study’s third goal was to investigate how political financing in Rubaya Sub County affects women's political representation performance. This goal was accomplished under the following part.

**Figure 11: Number of women forming part of local governance**



**Source: Primary data, 2021**

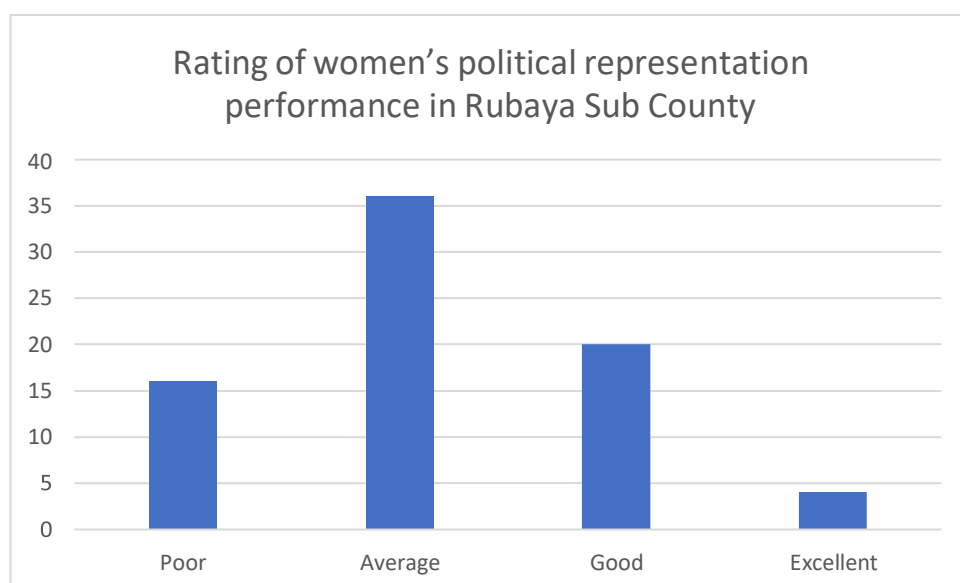
The majority of respondents, or 86% of the sample, said in the above figure that women involved in local administration in Rubaya Sub County are below the age of 10, while 14% are above the age of 10. Not just in Rubaya Sub County, but globally as well: women continue to be underrepresented in local government. According to one of the respondents:

*Women underrepresentation in political offices is due to a number of factors which include; women unwillingness to compete, voters are biased against female candidates and lack of funds to facilitate their campaigns (telephone Interview with lady councillor, 20 June 2021)*

### **Women’s political representation performance rating in Rubaya Sub County**

Women’s political representation in Rubaya Sub County was assessed by asking the chosen respondents to rank the performance of women’s political representation in this area. Their performance is average, as seen in figure 12, according to a descriptive examination of their responses.

**Figure 12: Rating of women’s political representation performance in Rubaya Sub County**

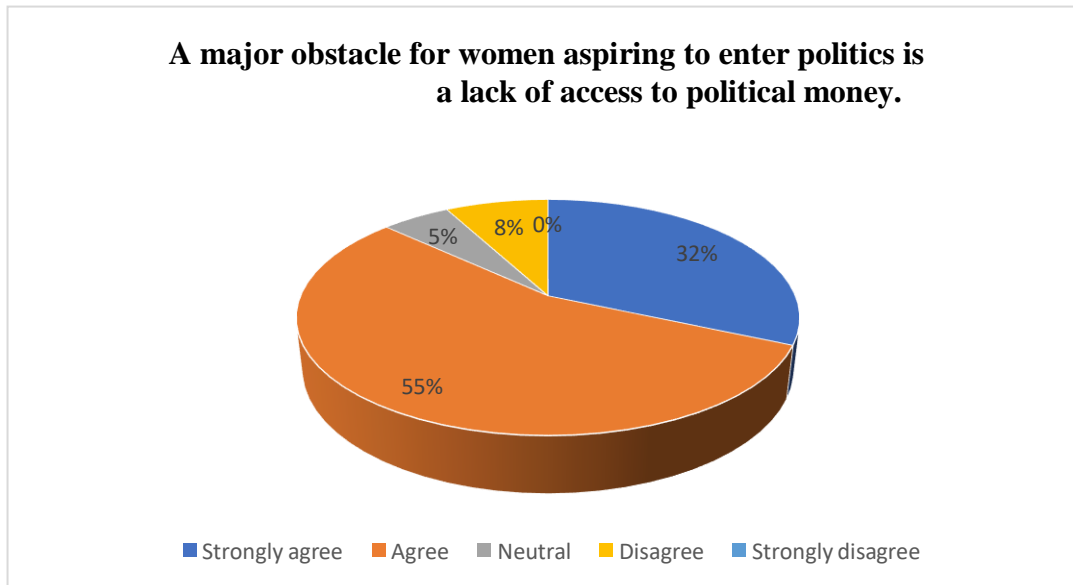


**Source: Primary data, 2021**

The study's conclusions showed that Rubaya Sub County's women's political representation performance is generally assessed at 47.3%. A multitude of factors, including but not limited to political money, contribute to this. Just 5.2% of women have demonstrated excellence in political representation.

*Lack of access to political funding presents a huge challenge to women seeking to enter political life today. Only 7 women hold seats in Rubaya sub county and political finance is one of the key stumblingblocks towards a unequal representation of women in political decision making (Interview with lady councillor, 20 June 2021)*

**Figure 13: A major obstacle for women aspiring to enter politics is a lack of access to political money.**

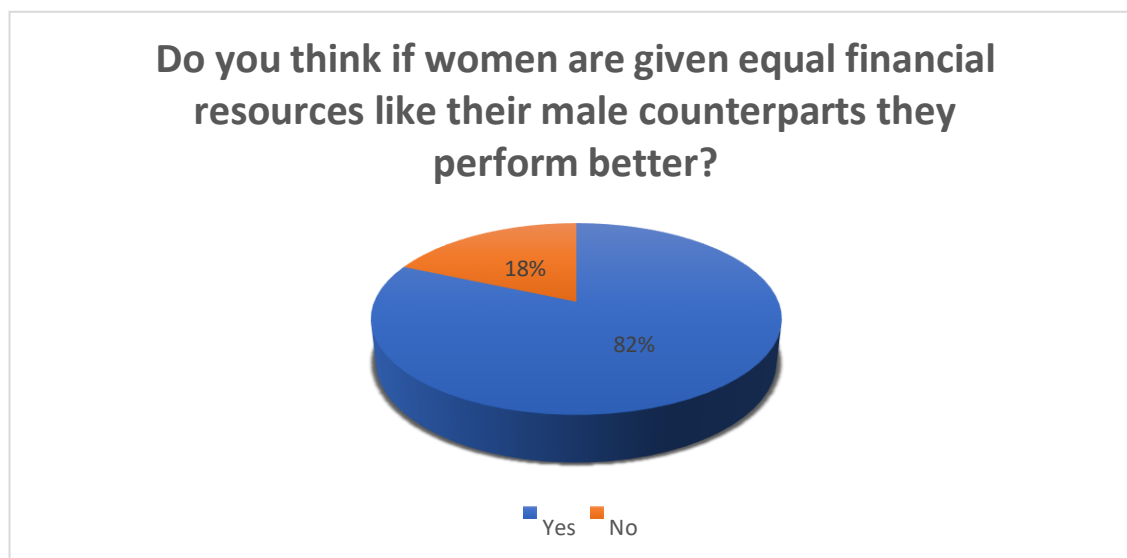


**Source: Primary data, 2021**

Respondents agreed that lack of access to political funding presents a huge challenge to women seeking to enter political life in Rubaya Sub County as indicated in the figure above with the highest percentage of 87%. This is because money directly affects candidates in the electoral process. 8% disagreed while 5% were not sure. One of these respondents summarized this challenge as follows:

*Although the lack of funding is one of the obstacles to equal political participation, it is a significant one. Political parties, donors and women organizations should take into account the importance of financial support for women’s political participation during and after elections. (Telephone Interview with lady councilor, 20 June 2021)*

**Figure 14: Responses on whether if women are given equal financial resources like their male counterparts they perform better**



**Source, Primary data, 2021**

According to 82% of respondents, when women have the same financial means as men, they do better. The financial resources are essential for the operations during the electoral process. Once the financial ground is leveled then women will be in position to compete favorably and it will result in women’s increased political participation. 18% disagreed because financial resources are not the only barrier hindering women to participate in political participation.

**Table 16: Ways in which political finance challenges affect women’s job performance in the setting of women councillors in Rubaya Sub County.**

In which ways do political finance challenges affect women’s job performance in the setting of women councillors in Rubaya Sub County?	F	Percentage
They become loyal to political parties	19	17.5%
Elections have been monetized	13	12%
Lack of enough finances	37	34%
It makes running of projects hard	8	7%
Funding is always limited	20	18.5%
Their ability to bring services is hampered	11	10%

**Source: Primary data, 2021**

17.5% of the Respondents indicated that they become loyal to political parties, 12% of the

respondents indicated that Elections have been monetized, 34% of the respondents indicated that Lack of enough finances, 7% of the respondents indicated that It makes running of projects hard, 18.5% of the respondents indicated that Funding is always limited, 10% of the respondents indicated that Their ability to bring services is hampered

**Table 17: Other factors affect women's performance in local governance and political representation in Rubaya Sub County?**

What other elements affect the performance of women in local government in your area and their representation in politics?	Frequency	Percentage
Cultural beliefs	21	19.4%
Influence from husbands	20	18.5%
Low self esteem	14	12.9%
Low level of education	4	3.7%
Lack of enough resources	33	30.5%
Gender based discrimination	16	14.8%

Source: Primary data, 2021

According to table 17, 19.4% of the respondents indicated Cultural beliefs, 18.5% of the respondents indicated Influence from husbands, 12.9% of the respondents indicated Low self-esteem, 3.7% of the respondents indicated Low level of education, 30.5% of the respondents indicated Lack of enough resources, 14.8% of the respondents indicated Gender based discrimination.

**Table 18: Ways of increasing women’s political representation and their performance in local governance in Rubaya Sub County**

What can be done to increase women’s political representation and their performance in local governance of your area?	F	Percentage
Sensitization about gender equality	42	38.8%
Formation and more funding of more women groups	24	22.2%
More legislative action to increase financial assistance	9	8.3%
More capacity building to build women capacity and more training in gender related actions	33	30.5%

Source: Primary data, 2021

38.8% of the respondents indicated Sensitization about gender equality, 22.2% of the respondents indicated Formation and more funding of more women groups, 8.3% of the respondents indicated more legislative action to increase financial assistance, 30.5% of the respondents indicated more capacity building to build women capacity and more training in gender related actions. This implied that Sensitization about gender equality will increase Political representation of women and their performance local government in Rubaya Sub County. This will help people in examining their personal attitudes and beliefs towards women.

#### 4.5 Analysis of multiple regression

The dependent variable, women's local governance representation, was found to be predicted by the independent variable, political finance, and the most significant predictors among them were identified using multiple regression analysis.

**Table 19: Regression analysis results**

Coefficients							
MODEL		Unstandardized coefficient.		standardized coefficient.	t	Sig.	Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>
		B	Std. error	Beta			
1	(Constant)	.946	.297		3.186	.003	82.5
	Political Finance	.244	.263	.100	.929	.016	
a. Dependent Variable: Women’s Local Governance Representation							

Source: Primary data, 2021

The model in table 4.16 above, which shows a strong significant link between the independent and dependent variables, has a value of  $t = 3.186$  and a level of significance of  $\text{Sig.} = 0.003$ , which is less than  $0.05$ . According to the "Adjusted R-Square" results,  $82.5\%$  of the variation in women's representation in local governance can be predicted by independent variables, with the remaining  $17.5\%$  coming from factors not taken into account in this study.

For the Beta coefficients  $0.100$  political finance which is positive indicates that for each unit increase in the predictor variable, the outcome variable increase by those same units. The results of the regression analysis suggest that the influence of political financing on the representation of women in local governance in the given data is not very great. The presence of a constant term implies that some representation persists even in the absence of political finance, and the lack of statistical significance in the coefficient for political finance suggests that there is no significant correlation between political finance and the representation of women in local governance in this analysis. The sample size, the study's particular setting (the Mbarara District of Uganda), and any potential confounding factors that might affect the representation of women in local governance are among the research's limitations that must be carefully considered. To gain a deeper understanding of the correlation between political funding and women's representation in this particular setting, more study with a bigger sample size and additional factors would be required.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### DISCUSSION AND INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

#### 5.0 Introduction

The findings were presented and analyzed in the previous chapter. A discussion and interpretation of these results are attempted in this chapter. The goals of the study are taken into consideration when organizing this chapter. When consistency or contrast is found in the examined literature, an attempt is made during the discussion to tie the significance of the results to it.

#### 5.1 Nature of sources for political finance that influence women's local governance election experiences

The study findings revealed several key sources of political finance that influence women's local governance election experiences. Traditional party funding emerged as a significant source, with political parties like NRM, FDC, and DP providing financial support to women candidates. This result demonstrated how crucial party support is to enabling women's election experiences. Investigating the degree to which political parties place a premium on gender parity in the distribution of resources and whether female candidates obtain funding on par with their male counterparts is crucial.

According to the survey, political parties in Rubaya Sub County are the main providers of political funding. This result is consistent with Weiner & Mayer's (2014) findings. According to these academics, political parties offer candidates the broadest support as long as they share the party's ideology. This political finance perspective most pertinently notes that political parties are the most frequent sponsors of female candidates.

The study's conclusions demonstrated how the sources of political funding affect the representation of women in local government. This finding is consistent with previous research by Gretchen (2017), who contends that the success and caliber of governance and representation outcomes are determined by the sources of political money. Since they are committed to speaking as representatives of the sponsor ideology and not other ideologies, political sponsor agendas can conflict with politician agendas in representation.

One-at-a-time donations were also described as another source of politicized money

that is being utilized to finance women candidates. The finding is an affirmation of the role of personal contributors and constituents in facilitating women candidates' elections. Personal contribution bias by gender will still be an issue as long as women candidates can hardly compete with men when it comes to fundraising. There is a need for more research to ascertain the origins of such biases and how they influence the electoral process of women.

Self-financing, the study confirms, is also a main source of political financing for women candidates. Women candidates who finance their campaigns from their own resources may be more independent and interactive in their campaign activity. Nevertheless, as it is not possible for all women to finance their campaigns from their own resources, the study proposes the likely distinction among the candidates in terms of degrees of their wealth resources. This opposes the extent to which economic disadvantage can characterize women's presence.

The study affirmed affirmative action to be the leading element that has shaped the presence of women in Rubaya Sub County leadership barring political funding. This is especially required in the 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, which was later revised in 2018 and states that women are equal to men in right to full and equal human dignity. Women are also given special treatment in consideration of correcting past, traditional, and customary imbalances.

Women's organizations are also referred to as a primary source of political contributions to women candidates. In addition to delivering fund support through grants, resources, and capacity building, women's organizations also facilitate the empowerment of women in politics. It recognizes that the sensitization of women's understanding of policy issues and women's participation in the election is required. It also stresses development at both women candidates' and women's groups' levels.

The research findings identify that examination of the other elements of political finance, i.e., donor contribution and foreign aid, can assist in gaining experience for women candidates in elections. Foreign funding may assist in gender equality in political financing for women candidates and resolving women's economic problems in local government elections. But anonymity and authority issue examination should be there such that there may be international finance implications or concerns, i.e., issues of autonomy and authority.

In general, the study findings describe the multifaceted nature of sources of political finance influencing the experience of women in local government elections. Central party finance, self-finance, personal finance, and women's organization funding are all elements of a holistic function in women's election experience and representation performance. The evidence therefore warrants fighting gender discrimination, inclusive fund mechanisms, and political participation of women towards greater women's representation in local government.

#### Political models of financing enabling women's policy agendas

The most prevalent form of political finance model, based on findings, is the male dominance of decision institutions. It combines with Uganda politics in the manner that men dominate political institutions and decide at the end of the day in regard to political finance model decisions (Muhemeza, 2019).

The reality founded on evidence that arises is that political finance models have a direct impact on women legislative activity. This supports Weiner and Mayer (2014) and Hern (2018) research, which explicitly states that political finance has a direct influence on legislative activity in national legislatures and local legislatures.

The study found out that the political finance models are in favour of men who head the political structures that make the final funding decisions. This is in line with the findings of Pasquale (2016) who points to women politicians as the disadvantaged, likely to miss out on political finance due to their subordinate position in societal spaces for decision making to formulate policies supportive to their interests.

Findings of the study show that political finance models are unsupportive of the women who seek representation in politics. This concurs with Ferguson (2019) who argued that the in racial and gender- preference dominated societies, political finance models are in most cases unsupportive of the minorities who seek representation in politics. In the case of the USA, the scholar argues that the models of political finance are most often against the minorities who prominently include women, people of colour and sexual minorities.

The study shows that unsupportive models of political finance undermine the women's efforts for fair representation in politics. This is in agreement with Ferguson (2019) who put it clear in his analysis that the repeated unsupportive models of political finance undermine the political minorities' efforts for fair representation in politics

as well as policy advancement in favour of their cherished interests.

The study findings revealed that women politicians do not have adequate financial resources for investment in extra resources for gender sensitive policy development beyond elections. The challenge emerges in light of ever-scarce funds, which suggests that even when women receive party funding; this may not be adequate for them as they may not have any other funds to top up. In order to advance gender equality and guarantee that women's priorities and views are heard during the decision-making process, models of political funding that take into account women's policy concerns are essential. Political funding systems most beneficial to women's policy agendas are:

Web sites and crowd funding computer software is another political funding system for women's policy agendas. Women candidates can bypass the traditional party organizations and directly access the voters and supporters and raise campaign and policy platform funds. Crowd funding websites enable small donations, and thus there can be a larger pool potentially available to fund women candidates on gender-responsive policy agendas. Gender-responsive public financing: There have been only public financing programs for women candidates that were a good example. This included reserving some of the public financing for women candidates or adding extra resources for women running on gender-responsive policy agendas. These models are capable of filling the gap in funding for female candidates and leveling the playing field. The establishment of programs which would be appealing to female candidates can fund their policy agenda. All these goals are social welfare, healthcare, education, gender equality, and women empowerment. With its capacity to enable patronage of women candidates having a stake in these policy domains, this model will be able to achieve optimal realization of women's policy interests in the political process.

Donor coordination and support: Civil society, women's organizations, and donor agencies can give funding support to women candidates as well as to women's policy agendas. Donors can establish funding organizations that operate specifically for women's policy agendas and political representation. These funds can give grants, technical assistance, and capacity building programs in order to empower women candidates in working towards gendered policies.

Corporate and philanthropic engagement: Engagement of philanthropic and corporate entities to sponsor women candidates and policy issues of women empowerment is

feasible. These entities can sponsor women candidates in support of women empowerment policy issues, social justice, and gender equality through philanthropic grants or corporate social responsibility. Engagement of these stakeholders will mobilize more dollars and brains to push the women's policy agenda.

Targeted training and support: Beyond money, targeted training and support to women candidates can hear them out and magnify their policy issues. Policy-oriented models of training, mentoring, and capacity building have the potential to equip women candidates with abilities and expertise to advance their policy initiatives.

It is through such political finance tools that the women candidates are provided with the money, sponsorship, and technical assistance needed to push their policy agendas. These actions reduce the gender gap in political fundraising and establish the environment in which women will be seriously engaged in decision-making. They ultimately empower women, enhance gender equality, and tackle underlying policy problems in women's lives.

### 5.1.1

Political finance problems affect political representation performance of women how Findings of research on how political representatives' issues affect the political representation performance of women place context to this essay's background of problem and limitation encountered by women candidates. The argument presented below is based on assumed findings of research on the issues:

This study affirms that Women who are willing to engage in politics are confronted by an enormous challenge of political finance lack in Rubaya Sub. This research finding is also consistent with the study of Mushemeza (2019) that confirms the reality that the local government can be a soft entry point for women in politics but justifies the reason why there are no enough financial resources to fund the representative practice of women at the level of the local government.

We were properly schooled on research and informed that women, when presented with equal economic tools as men, excel over them. Matembe, (2010) reiterates the same in no uncertain terms whatever words by stating that even though political time

has been taken over by economic women matters, they ventured out to conquer their male counterparts in the most competitive seats.

Finance was the most common setbacks deterring women councilors in Rubaya Sub County, as per the study. The study concurs with Tripp (2013), Kangas et al. (2015), Dolan et al. (2019), and Tripp (2013). According to the researchers, lack of finances significantly deters women from participating in representative politics because finances used while carrying out elections are used.

There is proof in the research to validate that women candidates face an issue of raising as much money as they can to fund their campaigns.

It can significantly hamper their ability to contest male candidates who are well funded.

Women can restrict campaign activities like rallies, canvassing, and printing campaign literature if they run out of money. Hence, women candidates won't be in a position to present their message to so many and stake out their policy positions so much, which affects their record of success in political representation. The analysis puts some of the most challenging issues that plague women candidates in political fundraising and representation squarely on the gender prejudices, reliance on large contributors, unaccountability of political contributions, and accretive disadvantage over a long term. These problems restrict the heights to which women are competing on even terms with men on a common platform to shortchange the heights of their political representation and participation. Fundraising gender bias is one of the simplest problems based on the study. Women candidates are having difficulties raising money from political networks and individual donors on the basis of the heights of leadership potential.

The bias is evident in that they give women a lesser amount and also attribute more fault to them in how they spend it.

The tone illustrates the constant effort to prove themselves and, as such, they lost credibility and confidence to fundraise in an attempt to mount competitive campaigns. In order to overcome this barrier, gender stereotyping must be overcome and programs for equal access of funds by male and female candidates must be taken. Creating an awareness of fundraising, and insisting on women's leadership, can shatter the barriers imposed on women while fundraising. Donations to campaigns and interest money are

also being taken up by the report. Special interest groups, corporations, and candidates who receive enormous amounts of money in contributions expect to receive policy positions or special favors for their investments. For women candidates, this would translate into constructing their agendas to satisfy their big contributors but at the cost of being able to voice women's causes, as well as their constituents. To solve this issue, political finance legislation must be improved in order to reduce the impact of big donors. Second, women can be taught to build grass roots constituencies and increase their donor pools in ways so that they will be less beholden to large-dollar donors and more beholden to building their policy agendas. A second innovative root source of problem that has been found to exist is that political giving is less transparent and accountable.

The lack of disclosure statutes and regulatory bodies for campaign finances renders it very difficult to track the expenditure of campaign finances and their origin. Lack of transparency can be afforded room for allegations of corruption and cronyism and diminishes citizens' faith in the political process. Abuse of campaign finance, on the other hand, is specifically aimed at women candidates and disadvantages them compared to male candidates. To prevent such an occurrence, stricter campaign finance disclosure legislation and biannual equity audits are necessary. The disclosure will be a key move towards leveling the playing field for women and all political candidates.

Cumulative disadvantage of women in political finance is also addressed in the research. Cumulatively, therefore, in the long run, this form of combination of financial deficit and gender discrimination can sum up to be gargantuan hurdles for women candidates seeking re-election or shifting to a higher political office. Cumulative disadvantage will see fewer women able to establish long-term political careers and female political representation in general will be restricted. In answer to this, there have to be policies by which women can gain access to funds so that they may continue with their political lives. Set-asides or public financing systems for women candidates bar financial barriers to women achieving their political aspirations. Finally, the research has to be constructed suitably so that these issues are dealt with and more gender balance in political representation is facilitated. By leveling the monetary playing field, ending gender stereotypes, making everything

open to everyone, and silencing the voice of money interests, women candidates can be given equal opportunity. Not only would this give women candidates a fairer shot, but more representative and diverse political leadership, which would be good for society as a whole. These challenges have to be addressed to facilitate the empowerment of women in politics and their interests adequately articulated in decision-making.

## CHAPTER SIX

### CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 6.0 Introduction

The findings were discussed and interpreted in the previous chapter. The focus of this chapter is on summarizing the results, drawing inferences, and offering suggestions that can be made in light of the findings.

#### 6.1 Summary of Findings

According to the results of the study's first aim, the type of sources used to raise political capital affects the effectiveness and caliber of the results related to representation and governance. These sources that sponsor candidates have socio-economic and political interests which they normally wish to advance through campaign donations, such interests from political parties undermine politicians' representation interests. Some political finance sources have a compromising nature and are likely to affect more female political representatives in their quest for power than their male counterparts.

In response to the study's second goal, the results show that political finance models favor men who are in charge of political organizations and make the ultimate decisions that designate male political candidates as the primary benefactors. These unsupportive models of political finance undermine women's efforts for fair representation in politics as well as policy advancement in favour of their cherished interests. Political parties do not support their political activities beyond the election processes due to the limited funds parties.

The findings of the study's third objective reveal that institutional and structural limitations, coupled with cultural and attitudinal barriers that suggest women shouldn't be involved in public life, often hinder women's political participation and leadership. Negative gender stereotypes about women's suitability to run for public office are reinforced by electorates and media outlets; certain electoral systems limit women's ability to compete on an equal basis with men; political parties oppose including women in their ranks; and women are often less able to raise the same amount of money and manpower needed to fund an electoral campaign.

## 6.2 Conclusions

### 6.2.1 Political finance sources' character affecting women's attitude towards the electoral process in local government

Political finance sources affecting women's local government electoral experience may vary and may have a differential effect on women candidates. The research attempted to examine such sources and draw inferences regarding its effect on women's election experience in local government. Some of the inferences regarding the type of political finance sources and its effect on women's election experience in local government are as follows:

Traditional party financing sources, i.e., party fundraising efforts or NRM party financing, can be influential forces in the election process for women. Effects can be that wherever women are benefitting from good party support and resources, i.e., money, this will enhance their campaign activity, exposure, and general election process. Bad party financing for women candidates of parliament possibly limiting to their campaigning capability and competitiveness.

Individual contributions and individual donations are also a gigantic source of political funding. Results can establish that well-educated women candidates having access to money from individual donors are able to secure additional funds with which they can finance their campaign, conduct mobilization campaigns in target markets, and broadcast their policy proposals boldly. Challenges are, nevertheless, conceivable where the gender stereotype prevents the individuals from giving to women candidates and therefore refuses them this source of funding.

It is conceivable that certain women candidates are self-financing their campaigns out of their own pockets. Inferences are conceivable that self-financing augments more freedom of choice and autonomy on the part of the candidates to make their own agenda for their campaigns. However, no two candidates will have the same level of access to self-finance and even women will not have equal resources to draw upon to finance their campaigns. Therefore, research can illustrate how reliance on self-finance could produce inequality among the women candidates belonging to different economic segments. Women's organizations can contribute heavily to women candidates in the way of economic assistance.

Results can show if and how economic assistance from women organizations can empower women candidates, introduce them more effectively, and improve election winning. Women organizational assistance may be in terms of grant assistance, resources, or capacity building. Limitations like lack of availability of women's organizations' resources can be argued in the study to affect women candidates' electoral campaign. Finally, the source nature of political finance defines women's experience in local government elections.

Conventional party funding, personal contribution, personal funding, and sponsorship of women's organizations all impact resource coordination of women candidates in campaigns and the overall general election experience. The findings of this research can inform interventions to facilitate the access of women candidates to various and inclusive sources of political financing so that they are adequately funded to compete on an equal basis, articulate their policy preferences, and campaign for their election into the city council.

### **6.2.2 Women-friendly political finance models**

With one of the objectives being to list political funding models behind issues of women's policy in Rubaya Sub County, the study aimed at uncovering and identifying different models of political funding through which women's policy issues would be addressed. Findings of this objective will determine working models and mechanisms to be utilized for purposes of expanding numbers of women in local government, and their policy issues addressed accordingly.

Evidence from research built the following political funding models to women's policy agendas:

**Gender-specific funding mechanisms:** The models involve adopting unique funding mechanisms to women candidates or women's policy issues only.

Some interventions that would be applied to empower women candidates in an effort to access funds required to run successful campaigns and address women's policy agendas include grants, subsidies, or funding to them. **Women organization assistance:** Women organizations could perhaps be at the forefront of empowering women candidates with economic assistance, training, and mentoring. Women organizations could collect funds

and secure a platform for the funding of women candidates and coordinate amongst themselves in tackling shared policy concerns. Foreign aid and donor funds: Women serving on policy issues can be empowered to a large extent abroad by foreign donors and institutions. Core funds can be extended to gender equality and women empowerment local government programs through capacity building, policy campaign financing, and advocacy campaign. Financing public policy campaign, election campaign, and political party public financing institutions can be gender-balanced and include women's policy agenda in mainstream politics. Political parties can secure women's policy issue priority and women candidates through financing conditionality or other financing quota in order to secure women's representation. The results of the study provide the performance of different models of political financing in promoting policy agendas for women in Rubaya Sub County.

It compared strengths and weaknesses of each model and establish best practice that could be replicated or innovated elsewhere. To address the gender imbalance, women's policy agendas in local governments, and facilitate women's political participation, guidance to parliamentarians, political parties, and civil society will be based on the findings.

### **6.2.3 Political funding issues mechanisms through which they impact the performance of political representation by women**

The third aim was to understand how the political funding issues impact the operation of women political representation in Rubaya Sub County. The obstacles encountered in the realm of political funding can have a noteworthy influence on the political representation of women. Examining these obstacles and drawing conclusions about how they affect women's ability to participate and be represented in local governance was the goal of the study. The following are some ways that women's political representation performance can be impacted by political financing issues, along with possible conclusions:

The findings indicate that political parties are the major sources of political finance in Rubaya Sub County and NRM was the leading political party in financing women to participate in local governance. The most existing form of political finance models is male domination of decision-making structures and this directly affects women legislative activities. The efforts of women seeking representation and fairness in politics are undermined by these unsupportive structures of political finance. Training

centered on the ideas and precepts of transformative leadership and gender equality will encourage more women to enter the political sphere and boost the proportion of women in local government.

The women candidates have limited resources available in competitive contests. These will deplete their ability to mobilize citizens, campaign, and set agenda on policy. These will therefore make the women unable to compete on an equal level with rich male candidates, and hence susceptible to low visibility, low quality campaign messages, and low access to vote. The research can therefore argue that among the most influential breaks of women politics is inefficiency in financial provision. Political finance issues were a top contributor in reducing the performance level of women in political representation. Scarcity of material resources, differences in gender in the accessibility of resources, cultural barriers, and poor networking incapacitates women to contest election, makes them invisible, and disenfranchises policy. Policy mobilization and similar huddles breaking into inclusive and equitable political finance processes is very essential to realize Political representation of women and gender balance in local governments.

### 6.3 Recommendations

Study findings-based recommendations are as follows:

Better-mandated governments better funded with sanction powers and authority should have political money sources. Deterrent and effective sanctions for political finance abuse should include being enforced by the state.

The political parties with a fund to make them put up a woman candidate and restricting the use of election expenditure. This will be a leveller for all to contest on one and the same level free from gender discrimination.

Empowering women and in contrast to patriarch society, positive discrimination positioned women in the competition by having a fight between the intellectual capacity of women and men.

The government can assist in mobilizing women by conducting a series of activities for women's mobilization towards political ventures and receiving government agency support towards

gender sensitivity.

Electioneering and money-raising are maximally aided by the social media specifically and the electronic media generally. The social media have comparative advantages over other media. Apart from the fact that they are a cheap medium, they can reach large groups of people at high rates.

#### 6.4 Limitations of the Study

The research applied the case study design, one group but not in the case where the case one is focusing on is a sign or an example of a group of cases. This therefore implies that conclusions in Rubaya Sub County cannot be extended to other areas.

Invitees of women candidates, political parties, donors, and locals would have limited the study findings generalizability. The sample finding may be challenging to be useful in the population as a whole through representativeness in the sample. Political funding data may be blemished with quality and availability issues in Rubaya Sub County. Sporadic political funding data, especially for women contenders, can reduce the number of findings and the quality of analysis. The study is faced with the challenge in the context of social and cultural forces that determine respondent cooperation to reveal information. Power dynamics, social norms, and cultural sensitivities are capable of shaping honesty and veracity of answer in ways that disclosed information is dishonest or deceptive. Political campaign contributors and model assessment rely on disclosure and transparency of money data. But politically more liberal finance works, particularly interference of the junior ranks mars the potential of information gathered and restricts the study with the intent of constructing the entire picture of political finance activity. The research will provide results only in Rubaya Sub County and would not be possible to generalize for any district or Ugandan regions, or other states.

Political climate, society and leadership may vary and cannot be generalized in any situation. Research further on political funding and women politicians cannot be built in any situation. Time constraint restricts gathering data in a constrained time frame, data processing, and reading counterarguments. Though as much objectivity as is possible is what one would wish for, researchers are human and therefore subject, and that will be apparent in the research selection, data collection, and interpretation of findings. Measure will be taken to reduce bias, but a presumption of occurrence is present. Despite all these shortcomings, the study captured

some useful perspective on the effect of political finance on women representation in Rubaya Sub County local council. Aware of these limitations kept findings at arm's length and ensured implications and appropriateness were trailed suit.

#### 6.5 Areas of future research.

There was a need for research to determine the role of political finance in contributing towards women representation in Rubaya Sub County Local government, Mbarara District, Uganda. The above regions can be studied.

More understanding of how political funding affects women's presence is achieved through cross-nation comparison at sub-county or district level. Similar in boundary by distinction in measurement of gender equality level, political funding law, nation of origin of nation culture, provides the type of environment and point in direction of the best female presence.

Tracking the trend of women's engagement in local politics over time will provide insightful information on the impact of practice of political finance and policy reform. Trends, benchmarks, and reversals of women's representation and political finance will inform long-term change strategy.

It may be obtained by enabling a space of future research based on analysis of the cross-section with other marginalization axes for women's political participation and political finance such as socioeconomic status, ethnicity, and religion. The knowledge of the unique issues of various categories of women may be transferred into policy design interventions and inclusions.

Intensive one-to-one interviews in-depth with the women candidates can then enable us to have intimate scrutiny of such women candidates' politics of money and how this consequently affects their performance as representative. Their structure, experience, and outlook are strong enough to train them extensively and familiarize gender-sensitive interventions.

Political finance practice and reform can be directed through their impact in ensuring women's representation among citizens. Gender-based policy intervention analysis, gender. Policy recommendations in an attempt to mobilize women's political participation are able to be directed through quotas, public purse financing, or disclosure.

The excellence of women empowerment in local politics can be approximated through an assessment of the degree to which political finance is contributing to women candidates' capacity-building programs. The manner in which mentoring programs, networking sessions, and

workshops cumulatively contribute to women's political capital and voice can best be witnessed.

International comparative practice and experience of political financing and seeking and research into women's representation as a method of representation potentially would be a basis of best practice and learning. Research and investigation into explanations of higher gender balance in political financing potentially would be a basis of policy advice and suggestion.

With a focus towards advocacy for more policy and strategy-formulation towards higher effective gender equality and women empowerment in political life, researchers can help pave the way towards obtaining a better picture of the very interactive relationship between political finance and local women politics as inseparable linked by studying the following topics as benchmark for forthcoming research.

## REFERENCES

- Araujo, J.F.F.E. & Tejedero-Romero, F. (2016). Women's political representation and transparency in local governance, *Local Government Studies*, 42:6, 885-906, DOI: [10.1080/03003930.2016.1194266](https://doi.org/10.1080/03003930.2016.1194266)
- Bainomugisha, A., Kisuule, Y. A., Matsiko, G., Kyankaaga, R. (2014). *Local Government Councils' Performance and Public Service Delivery in Uganda: Mbarara District Council Score-Card Report 2012/2013*. [https://media.africaportal.org/documents/PSDA\\_32.pdf](https://media.africaportal.org/documents/PSDA_32.pdf)
- Bainomugisha, A., Muyomba-Tamale, L., Muhwezi, W. W., Cunningham, K., Ssemakula, E., Bogere, G., Mbabazi, J., Atukunda, P., Asimo, N. (2019). *Local government councils' scorecard assessment 2017/2018*. ACODE Policy Research Series No. 84. Kampala: ACODE.
- Butler, A. (2011). *Paying for Politics: Party Funding and Political Change in South Africa and the Global South*, New York: Oppenheim.
- Bryman, A., Becker, S., & Sempik, J. (2008). Quality criteria for quantitative, qualitative and mixed methods research: A view from social policy. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 11, 261 -76.
- Cigane, L. and Ohman, M. (2014). Political Finance and Gender Equality: Global Expertise, Local Solutions & Sustainable Democracy, *IFES White Paper, No. 66*, Washington DC: IFES.
- Creswell, J.W. (2013). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Cheeseman, N., & Dodsworth, S. (2019). Why African democracies are failing women – and what we can do to fix it. Retrieved from <https://mg.co.za/article/2019-03-08-00-why-african-democracies-are-failing-women-and-what-we-can-do-to-fix-it>
- Collis, J., & Hussey, R. (2014). *Business research: A practical guide for undergraduate and postgraduate students* (4<sup>th</sup> Ed.). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- David, A. (2017). *What is the difference between population and sample?* Retrieved 3 December 2019 from <http://www.statisticssolutions.com/what-is-the-difference-between-population-and-sample/>
- Deb, J., Kabuchu, H. & Kayonga, S.V. (2003). Women in Ugandan Local Government: The Impact of Affirmative Action. *Gender and Development*, 11(3), 8-18. Retrieved March 7, 2021, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4030556>

- Dolan, J., Deckman, M., Swers, M.L. (2019). *Women and local level politics: paths to power and political influence*, Lanham, Boulder, New York & London: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Endela.A. (2012). Factors that Affect women representation and participation in leadership and decision making position . *Asian journal of Humilty . Art and Literature* .
- Ferguson, T. (1983). "Party Realignment and American Industrial Structure: The Investment Theory of Political Parties in Historical Perspective". *Research in Political Economy*. **6**: 1-82
- Ferguson, T. (2019). *Golden Rule: The Investment Theory of Party Competition and the Logic of Money- Driven Political Systems*, *Political Economy Series*, downloaded from:[ojaspeed.com.br/cgi-bin/content/view.php?q=golden+rule+the+investment+theory+of+party+competition+and+the+logic+of+money+driven+political+systems+american+politics+and+political+economy+series+pdf&id=d41d8cd98f00b204e9800998ecf8427e](http://ojaspeed.com.br/cgi-bin/content/view.php?q=golden+rule+the+investment+theory+of+party+competition+and+the+logic+of+money+driven+political+systems+american+politics+and+political+economy+series+pdf&id=d41d8cd98f00b204e9800998ecf8427e)
- Ferguson, T. (1995). *Golden Rule: The Investment Theory of Party Competition and the Logic of Money- Driven Political Systems*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- George, R. (2019). Gender norms and women's local political participation: Global trends and findings on norm change. Retrieved from <https://www.alignplatform.org/resources/2019/02/gender-norms-and-womens-political-participation-global-trends-and-findings-norm>
- Gretchen, L. S. (Ed.), (2017). *Electoral Financing to Advance Women's Political Participation: A Guide for UNDP Support*, New York: UNDP.
- Goetz, A.M., Shireen, H. & Luckham, R.(Eds.),(2003). *No Shortcuts to Power: African Women in Politics andPolicy Making*, London: Zed Books.
- Gorard, S. (2013). *Research design: Creating robust approaches for the social sciences*. Thousand Oaks, CA:Sage.
- GOU. (2020). *The Political Parties and Organisations (Amendment) Act, 2020*, Kampala: The Parliament of Uganda.
- Hern, E.A. (2018). Gender and participation in Africa's electoral regimes: an analysis of variation in the gendergap, *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, DOI: [10.1080/21565503.2018.1458323](https://doi.org/10.1080/21565503.2018.1458323)
- Ilesanmi, O.O. (2018). Women's Visibility in Decision Making Processes in Africa—Progress, Challenges, and Way Forward. *Front. Sociol.* **3**:38. doi: 10.3389/fsoc.2018.00038
- Jabeen, N. A. (2010). Gender and local governance in Pakistan. *Journal Of South Asia Studies* , **25**(2): 225- 281.

- Jossefsson, C. (2014). Who benefits from gender quotas? Assessing the impact of election procedure reform on Members of Parliament's attributes in Uganda. *International Political Science Review*, Vol 35, Issue1, 2014. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0192512113507797>
- Kangas, A , Haider, H. , Fraser, E. , & Browne, E. (2015). Gender and governance. Retrieved from <https://gsdrc.org/topic-guides/gender/gender-and-governance/>
- Kendall D. F. (2017). The causes and consequences of women's representation in local Governments, DoctoralDissertation, Austin: Texas A&M University.
- Komath, A. (2014). Patriarchal barrier women politics. Retrieved from <http://iknowpolitics.org/en/knowledge-library/opinion-pieces/patriarchal-barrier-women-politics>
- Kumar, S. (2016). Women Political Representation in India's Local Government. I Know Politics: International Knowledge Network of Women in Politics, New Delhi: Political Press.
- Kurebwa, J. (2016).Political Participation of Rural Women in Decision-making at the Local Government Levelin Zimbabwe, *International Invention Journal of Arts and Social Sciences* (ISSN: 2408-7238) Vol. 3(3) pp. 17-27, August, 2016
- Krook, M.L. (2020). *Violence Against Women in Politics*, London: Oxford University Press.
- Leedy, P. D., & Ormrod, J. E. (2013). *Practical research: Planning and design*. (10th Ed.). Boston, MA:Pearson.
- Lambright, G.M.S. (2011). Decentralization in Uganda: Explaining Successes and Failures in LocalGovernance, London: First Forum Press.
- La Raja, R.J. & Schaffner, B.F. (2017). Campaign Finance and Political Polarization: When Purists Prevail, Detroit: Michigan University Press.
- Lovise, A. & Ragnhild, Muriaas, L.R. (2017). *Manipulating Political Decentralisation: Africa's InclusiveAutocrats*, Switzerland: Taylor & Francis.
- Leung, L. (2015). Validity, reliability, and generalizability in qualitative research. *Journal of family medicineand primary care*, 4(3), 324.
- Mbarara District Council. (2016). *Higher local government statistical abstract for Mbarara District, Mbarara:*  
MDC.
- Manning, A. (2014). The effects of electoral systems and gender quotas on female representation in national legislatures. Retrieved from <http://www.inquiriesjournal.com/articles/1595/the-effects-of-electoral-systems-and-gender-quotas-on-female-representation-in-national-legislatures>

- Matembe, M.R.K. (2010). *Gender perspective on Decentralization: The Uganda experience In Local power and Women's Rights.*In *Local Power and Women's Rights - Gender Perspectives on Decentralisation Processes: Prospects for Africa -Europe's Policies*. The VENRO Project.
- Melanee and Bodet, M. (2013). "Sacrificial Lambs, Women Candidates, and District Competitiveness in Canada." *Electoral Studies* 32(1):153-166.
- Mijail, C.M.E. & Kwesiga, J.C. (2002). *The Women's Movement in Uganda: History, Challenges, and Prospects*, Kampala: Fountain Publishers.
- Mlambo, C. & Kapingura, F. (2019). *Factors influencing women political participation: The case of the SADC region*, Switzerland: Taylor & Francis.
- Mugisha, M. & Barongo, D. (2000). *Gender and Decentralization: Promoting Women's Participation in Local Councils in the Case Study of Lira District, Uganda*, Accra: FAO Regional Office for Africa.
- Muriaas, R.L., Wang, V. & Rainbow, M. (2019). *Gendered Electoral Financing: Money, Power and Representation in Comparative Perspective*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Muriaas, R.L., & Wang, V. (2012). Executive dominance and the politics of quota representation in Uganda. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 50(2), 309-338. Retrieved March 2, 2021, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41653703>
- Mushemeza, E., D. (2019). Goetz, A.M., Shireen, H. & Luckham, R. (Eds.), (2003) *Decentralisation in Uganda: Trends, Achievements, Challenges and Proposals for Consolidation*, Kampala: ACODE Policy Research Paper Series No.93, 2019.
- Norris, P. (2006). The Impact of Electoral Reform on Women's Representation. *Acta Politica*, Vol. 41, No. 2, 197-213. Retrieved October 26, 2020, from: <http://www.palgrave-journals.com/ap/journal/v41/n2/full/5500151a.html>
- Ohman, M. & Lintari, C. (2015). *Political party financing and equal participation of women in Kenyan electoral politics: a situation overview*, Stockholm: International IDEA.
- Orr, K. and McAteer, M. (2004). 'The Modernisation of Local Decision-Making: Public Representation, Participation and Scottish Local Government', *Local Government Studies*, 30 (2): 131-155.
- Pasquale, F. (2016). *The Black Box Society: The secret algorithms that control money and information for political organizations candidates funding*, New York: Harvard University Press.
- Ragnhild, L.M. & Wang, V. (2012). Executive Dominance and the Politics of Quota Representation in

Uganda, London: Cambridge University Press.

Sindhuja, P. & Murugan, K. R. (2017). Factors impeding women's political participation - A literature review. *International Journal of Applied Research*.

Retrieved from

<http://www.allresearchjournal.com/archives/2017/vol3issue4/Part1/3-4-78-866.pdf>

Ssenkumba, J. (2008). *Political party financing in Uganda*, Bon and Kampala: Friedrich-Ebert Stiftung. Sileyew, K. J. (2019). *Research design and methodology*. Retrieved

from: [https://www.intechopen.com/online-](https://www.intechopen.com/online-first/research-design-and-methodology)

[first/research-design-and-methodology](https://www.intechopen.com/online-first/research-design-and-methodology)

Shvedova, N. (2005). Obstacles to women's participation in parliament. Retrieved from <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/d998/eb3ddb02ef10d7a1b4f1d0fd15dbc95c557f.pdf> [Google Scholar]

Sindhuja, P. & Murugan, K. R. (2017). Factors impeding women's political participation - A literature review. *International Journal of Applied Research*.

Retrieved from

<http://www.allresearchjournal.com/archives/2017/vol3issue4/Part1/3-4-78-866.pdf>

Tamale, S. (2019). *When Hens Begin to Crow: Gender and Parliamentary Politics in Uganda*, Switzerland: Taylor & Francis Group.

Tolley, E. (2011). "Do Women "Do Better" in Municipal Politics? Electoral Representation across Three Levels of Government." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 44(3):573-594.

Tripp, A. (2013). *Sub Saharan Africa: on the fast track to women's representation* IN Dahlerup, D. (Ed.),

*Women, Quotas and Politics*, New York: Routledge.

Tripp, A. (2001). Women and Politics in Uganda. *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 2001, 01, Vol. 31 (4), DO -10.2307/1581474

UBOS. (2016). *the National Population and Housing Census 2014 -Uganda Bureau of Statistics Main Report*, Kampala, and Uganda: Government Printe

Weiner, T. and Mayer, K.R. (2014). *The Impact of Public Election Funding on Women Candidates: Comparative Evidence from National Elections*, Illinois: Midwest Political Science Association.

Yin, R. K. (2013). *Case study research: Design and methods* (2<sup>nd</sup> Ed.). London: Sage publication.

#### APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR RESPONDENTS

Dear Respondent,

I am Kobusingye Sheilah, a student of Uganda Christian University - Mukono carrying out research on a studyentitled “**influence of political finance on women’s local governance representation in Rubaya Sub County Mbarara district, Uganda**”

The general objective of the study is to assess the influence of political finance on women’s local governance representation functions in Mbarara district in order to engender new policies to support women’s decision- making capacity in local governance. The following questionnaire has been developed to help the researcher gather information necessary to answer the research questions of the study.

You have been selected to participate in this study and this study is voluntary and any information provided inthis Questionnaire will be used for purposes of this research only and will not be divulged or availed to unauthorized persons, thus any shared information shall be kept under utmost confidentiality.

Tick the correct answer in the boxes provided against the questions where provided.

**PART A: Demographics**

- 1) Gender of the respondent: a) Male  b) Female
- 2) Age of the respondent:  
Below 25  26 - 30  31 - 35  Above 35
- 3) What is the highest level of education you have attained?  
a) No education  b) Primary level  c) Secondary (Ordinary level)   
d) Advanced level  e) University/Institution
- 4) What is your marital status?  
a) Single  b) Married  c) Separated   
d) Widowed  e) Divorced

**Section B: The nature of sources for political finance that influence women’s local governance electionexperiences in the sub county of Rubaya**

- 5) Do you understand the term political finance?  
a) Yes  b) No

6 a) What are the major sources of political finance in Rubaya Sub

- county? Political parties
- Legislative
- caucuses Women's
- groups Ordinary
- voters Investors

Others specify

.....  
.....

7) Do you know of any particular political parties, legislative caucuses, women group(s), wealthy investors or ordinary voters that finance women to participate in local governance in your area?

- a) Yes
- b) No
- If yes mention them

.....  
.....

8) Do such sources of political finance influence women's local governance representation?

- a) Yes  No
- b) support your answer above

9) If yes, to what extent does the source of political finance mentioned 6a influence women's local governance representation in Rubaya Sub County?

- a) Low
- b) Moderate
- c) High

10a) Have women in your area joined the local governance as a result of political finance from different sources?

- Yes
- No

b) If no, what are the other factors that have influenced women to join local governance?

.....  
.....

11) Do you personally feel with political financing from the different sources you can ably join the local governance? a) Yes  b) No

**SECTION C: Political finance models and women's policy concerns in Rubaya Sub County.**

12) Do models of political financing directly affect legislative activities?

- a) Yes
- b) No

13) Women are provided with lesser amounts of campaign funding compared to male counterparts.

- a) Strongly agree
- b) Agree
- c) Neutral
- d) Disagree
- Strongly disagree

14) Women never find adequate sources of financial support outside the formal which



If no why wouldn't they perform better?

.....  
.....

24) In which ways do political finance challenges affect women's job performance in the setting of womencouncilors in Rubaya Sub County?

.....  
.....

25)What other factors influence women's political representation and their performance in local governanceof your area?

.....  
.....

26) What can be done to increase women's political representation and their performance in local governanceof your area?

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

**End**

**Thanks for your participation**

## **Interview guide for respondents.**

Dear Respondent,

I am Kobusingye Sheilah, a student of Uganda Christian University - Mukono carrying out research on a study entitled “**influence of political finance on women’s local governance representation in Rubaya Sub County Mbarara district, Uganda**”

The general objective of the study is to assess the influence of political finance on women’s local governance representation functions in Mbarara district in order to engender new policies to support women’s decision- making capacity in local governance. The following interview guide has been developed to help the researcher gather information necessary to answer the research questions of the study. Any information provided will be used for purposes of research only and will not be divulged or availed to unauthorized persons. Kindly answer appropriately.

### **Section A: The nature of sources for political finance that influence women’s local governance election experiences in the sub county of Rubaya**

What are the major sources of political finance in Rubaya Sub County?

To what extent does the source of political finance mentioned influence women’s local governance representation in Rubaya Sub County?

Have women in your area joined the local governance as a result of political finance from different sources? Do you personally feel with political financing from the different sources you can ably join the local governance?

### **SECTION B: Political finance models and women’s policy concerns in Rubaya Sub County.**

What are the different political finance models in Rubaya Sub County?

Do models of political financing directly affect women while carrying out their legislative activities?

Are women are provided with lesser amounts of campaign funding compared to male counterparts?

And if yes what could be the reason?

When do political parties give financial support to women? Before elections, after elections or throughout? Do you think if political parties continue giving financial support to women after elections would directly affect their legislative activities?

What other measures can be put in place to support women’s policy concerns in Rubaya Sub County?

**SECTION C: The ways Political finance challenges affect women's political representation performance in Rubaya Sub County**

How many women form part of your local governance?

How do you rate the level of women's political representation performance in local governance in your area? Do you think if women are given equal financial resources like their male counterparts they perform better?

In which ways do political finance challenges affect women's job performance in the setting of women councilors in Rubaya Sub County?

What other factors influence women's political representation and their performance in local governance of your area?

What can be done to increase women's political representation and their performance in local governance of your area?

What new policies can be put in place to support women's decision-making capacity in local governance?



# UGANDA CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY

A Centre of Excellence in the Heart of Africa

26/04/2021

To: Sheilah Kobusingye

0780576972

Type: Initial Review

**Re: UCUREC-2021-103: INFLUENCE OF POLITICAL FINANCE ON WOMEN'S LOCAL GOVERNANCE REPRESENTATION IN MBARARA DISTRICT, UGANDA, 1, 2021-03-22**

I am pleased to inform you that the Uganda Christian University REC, through expedited review held on **26/04/2021** approved the above referenced study.

Approval of the research is for the period of **26/04/2021** to **26/04/2022**.

As Principal Investigator of the research, you are responsible for fulfilling the following requirements of approval:

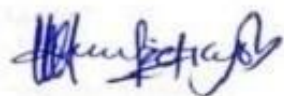
1. All co-investigators must be kept informed of the status of the research.
2. Changes, amendments, and addenda to the protocol or the consent form must be submitted to the REC for re-review and approval **prior** to the activation of the changes.
3. Reports of unanticipated problems involving risks to participants or any new information which could change the risk benefit: ratio must be submitted to the REC.
4. Only approved consent forms are to be used in the enrollment of participants. All consent forms signed by participants and/or witnesses should be retained on file. The REC may conduct audits of all study records, and consent documentation may be part of such audits.
5. Continuing review application must be submitted to the REC **eight weeks** prior to the expiration date of **26/04/2022** in order to continue the study beyond the approved period. Failure to submit a continuing review application in a timely fashion may result in suspension or termination of the study.

6. The REC application number assigned to the research should be cited in any correspondence with the REC of record.
7. You are required to register the research protocol with the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology (UNCST) for final clearance to undertake the study in Uganda.

The following is the list of all documents approved in this application by Uganda Christian University REC:

No	Document Title	Language	Version Number	Version Date
1	Data collection tools	English	1	2021-03-22
2	Informed Consent forms	English	1	2021-03-22
3	Protocol	English	1	2021-03-22

Yours Sincerely



Peter Waiswa  
For: Uganda Christian University REC



# UGANDA CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY

A Centre of Excellence in the Heart of Africa

UGANDA CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF RESEARCH & POSTGRADUATE STUDIES

## DISSERTATION CORRECTION COMPLIANCE REPORT BY THE CANDIDATE (POST VIVA FORM)

Date: ...9<sup>th</sup>/4/2025

Name of Candidate: Sheilah Kobusingye,  
Reg. No. RS18M12/012

Title of Dissertation. INFLUENCE OF POLITICAL FINANCE ON WOMEN'S LOCAL GOVERNANCE REPRESENTATION IN MBARARA DISTRICT, UGANDA

SN	COMMENTS BY EXTERNAL EXAMINER	ACTION TAKEN	INDICATOR
1			Eg. Cover page
2			Page 1, etc corrected
3	Introduction. The background had no information on the issue of political financing in other parts of	This was incorporated and added into the background a theory that is concerned with how gender structures women's participation in and experience in	Pg 17 to 18 Pg 23 to 25

	<p>the world.</p> <p>The candidate must get a theory that is concerned with how gender structures women's participation in and experience in politics, and how political institutions are encoded with gendered ideas that most often disadvantage women.</p>	<p>politics was added in the work</p>	
4	<p>Literature Review.</p> <p>Some of the references in the literature review are too old for a 2024 report.</p>	<p>The references or citations in the work were worked on.</p>	<p>Pg 29 to 50</p>
5	<p>4) Methodology.</p> <p>There is no information whatsoever as to the process used in data collection.</p>	<p>This was worked and added in to the work</p>	
6	<p>1) <b>Presentation and Analysis of Data.</b></p> <p>Some of the conclusions drawn in the analysis are incorrect</p>	<p>This was reviewed and corrected</p>	<p>Pg 67</p>
7	<p><b>Discussion of Results.</b></p> <p>Discussion of Findings had very little literature to support or disprove the findings. The paragraphing style is very poor and makes reading difficult</p>	<p>The Discussion of Findings were reviewed and worked</p>	<p>Pg 97 to 110</p>

SN	COMMENTS BY INTERNAL EXAMINER	ACTION TAKEN	INDICATOR
1	<p><b>Chapter One: Introduction</b></p> <p>When you refer to studies and scholars and evidence, cite them. A number of these statements are scattered in the chapter with no accompanying citation.</p> <p>The objectives seem to be different from what is written in the problem statement. State clearly whether you are interested in women's representation in elections or in the experiences during and after elections.</p> <p>Break down the content scope to tell the reader what you included and excluded and clearly define the concepts and their indicators.</p> <p>The writing style and editorial errors makes the chapter a chore to read. There are many disjointed sentences making it difficult for the reader to follow the argument. Re-write with the help of an editor to avoid the choppy feeling.</p>	<p>Studies, scholars and evidence on the number statements were included and provided in the chapter.</p> <p>The objectives were written to match the problem statement.</p> <p>The content scope was broken down to clearly define the concepts of the indicators.</p> <p>This was done in the whole report</p>	<p>e.g. Cover page</p> <p>pg 1 to19</p>
2	<p><b>Chapter Two: Literature Review</b></p> <p>Avoid plagiarism- a number of paragraphs refer to researches and</p>	<p>This was done in the whole report and citations were included in the work.</p>	<p>Pg 26 to 42</p>

	<p>studies and no citation is made e.g. section 2.1.3.</p> <p>The writing style and editorial errors makes the chapter a chore to read. There are many disjointed sentences making it difficult for the reader to follow the argument. Re-write with the help of an editor to avoid the choppy feeling.</p> <p>Re-write the chapter using past tense, since this is a research report and not a proposal</p>	<p>They were all worked on in the whole report.</p>	<p>All pages</p>
<p>3</p>	<p>Chapter Three: Methodology</p> <p>Indicate the total number of the population from which you you're your sample. What you presented makes it seem like the voters of Rubaya Sub-County were only 31.</p> <p>Clearly tell the reader who were the study participants that provided the data and which population provided which specific data. Some of the information could not have been obtained from the general population since they may not be privy to the funding mechanisms of women politicians.</p> <p>Write about the methodology should not be generic, but specific to a study on women and their representation in</p>	<p>The population number was 108 and which was clearly broken down and the type of data that was collected from.</p> <p>The methodology is now clear to allow the reader to understand.</p>	<p>Pg47 Pg 44 to 51</p>

	<p>Rubaya Sub-County. The write up is so general and could apply to any study.</p> <p>Make it clear which data was collected using quantitative methods and which data was collected using the qualitative methods and why.</p>	<p>It was broken down and clearly stated in chapter 3</p>	<p>Pg 55</p>
<p>4</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Chapter Four: Presentation and Analysis of Data</li> </ul> <p>Present the data by telling us the number of participants, instead of the number of questionnaires and interviews.</p> <p>Explain to the reader what you mean by “advanced degree” in the explanations.</p> <p>Present data that shows distributions in terms of political representations, e.g., male councilors vs. female councilors, to give the reader an idea of the nature of the study participants.</p> <p>Make it clear what makes it necessary to have two separate tables reporting similar data, e.g., Table 6 and Table 7 could have been combined.</p> <p>Tell the reader who answered questions on women’s effectiveness and what was</p>	<p>These were clearly worked and redefined</p> <p>Table 6: Sources of political finance which are the main sources of political finance and Table 7: Other sources of political finance focusses on other sources of funding</p> <p>This was worked and collected</p>	<p>Pg 57</p> <p>Pg 52 to 72</p>

	<p>the basis for their being the most appropriate to answer the question.</p> <p>Clearly show the reader that the responses to the questions were from participants who had the capacity to respond to them, e.g., the questions about women funding and their decision making.</p>		
5	<p><b>Chapter Six: Conclusion (and Recommendation)</b></p> <p>Re-write the conclusion telling the reader what conclusions have been derived from having investigated the phenomenon, rather than telling.</p>	The conclusions were rewritten as requested	Pg 84 to 91

SN	COMMENTS BY VIVA VOCE PANNEL	ACTION TAKEN	INDICATOR
1			e.g. Cover page
2			e.g Page 1, etc corrected
3	In your literature review, what particular models of political financing do you bring out? e.g. Party fundraising, campaigning models)?	Ferguson's (1995) Political Investment Theory	Pg23

4	<p>The Furguson political investment theory and what are the critics of this theory? What are sources of financial flows in politics? Those are the pillars or capstones of your work you are not saying?</p> <p>.Do you have evidence where women have not been barred or stopped from receiving political financing?</p>	the critics of this theory were identified in the work	Pg 23 to 24
5	Which theories did you used?	Ferguson's (1995) Political Investment Theory	Pg 23

**SHEILAH KOBUSINGYE**



**Dr. JOHN MARY KANYAMURWA**



Candidate's Name

Signature

Supervisor's Name

Signature