Democratic Governance Facility

Baseline Study on Democracy, Justice, Human Rights and Accountability in Uganda

July 2013

Summary of Main Findings and Recommendations

By Greg Moran Salima Namusobya James Kakande



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Abbreviations

DGF	Democratic Governance Facility
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICD	International Crimes Division within the High Court
IGG	Inspectorate of Government
LC	Local Council
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
PRDP	Peace, Recovery and Development Plan for Northern Uganda
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UHRC	Uganda Human Rights Commission

Map of Uganda (showing sub-regions)



Baseline Study on Democracy, Justice, Human Rights and Accountability in Uganda (2013)

Summary of findings

Background

The Democratic Governance Facility (DGF) was established in July 2011 to strengthen democratisation, improve the protection of human rights, enhance access to justice, promote peaceful co-existence and improve accountability in Uganda. The DGF currently supports around 65 partner organisations in three program areas:

- 1. Deepening Democracy.
- 2. Rights, Justice and Peace.
- 3. Voice and Accountability.

As part of its process to establish a monitoring and evaluation framework to measure the results and impact of its support, the DGF has recently developed a detailed logical framework with clear indicators. To address gaps in its logframe and enable the measurement of results and impact of its support, DGF conducted a national baseline study on Democracy, Justice, Human Rights and Accountability in Uganda during April-May 2013. The study was conducted by a team selected by PEMConsult and Greg Moran and Associates and consisted of:

- Greg Moran, team leader.
- Salima Namusobya, governance expert.
- James Kakande, chief statistician.
- Ipsos Limited, a research firm responsible for implementing the household survey and preparing datasets for analysis.

The primary objective of the study was to identify baseline information and data to enable the DGF to determine milestones and targets in accordance with its logframe indicators and programme objectives.

The study consisted primarily of:

- 1. A comprehensive literature review, during which the study team considered a broad range of related studies and research to determine what data already existed and what gaps the survey would need to address.¹
- 2. A national household study, based on a representative sample of 2 782 female and male respondents over 18 years of age, in 14 sub-regions across Uganda.

¹ A summary of these is included with the full report, available on the DGF website: www.dgf.ug

As the study adopted a multi-stage sampling technique, the standard error/sample error for key indicators at 95% confidence interval by gender (male and female) ranges from 0.9% to 2.45%. (Footnote 1). Given the sample size, results disaggregated by gender, urban/rural, and sub-region are statistically significant.²

Although some problems were encountered during the data collection phase, these related mainly to accessing certain areas and had no major impact on the results.

Summary of findings

1. Deepening democracy

The survey focused on people's knowledge and understanding of the political system and democratic principles applying in Uganda, their democratic and human rights and responsibilities, and how to exercise their rights and make their voices heard in the periods between elections.

Knowledge and understanding of democracy and the political system

Basic understanding of the concept of democracy is relatively high with 72% of respondents able to provide at least one explanation for the term. However, the same levels of lack of understanding continue to be found when compared to previous Afrobarometer surveys in 2000 and 2005 and more than a quarter (28%) were not able to offer any explanation at all. Those in urban areas were generally more likely to be able to provide appropriate answers (only 21% of those in urban areas answered 'don't know' compared to 30% of those in rural areas), and more women answered 'don't know' than men (16% of males and 21% of females).

Elections

Understanding of the role and purpose of elections is good and most Ugandans vote during elections. When asked what the purpose of elections is, almost all of the respondents (97%) were able to provide an answer, the most common responses being:

- To choose new office bearers (44%).
- To allow people to change the government (24%).
- To allow people to decide who should rule them (23%).
- To choose the government (22%).

Although some of the technical aspects of who may stand for President were not always understood, people's knowledge of who can stand for election is generally very good. There is also evidence that people appreciate the barriers facing women in gaining access to political office and power with the most common reasons put forward being:

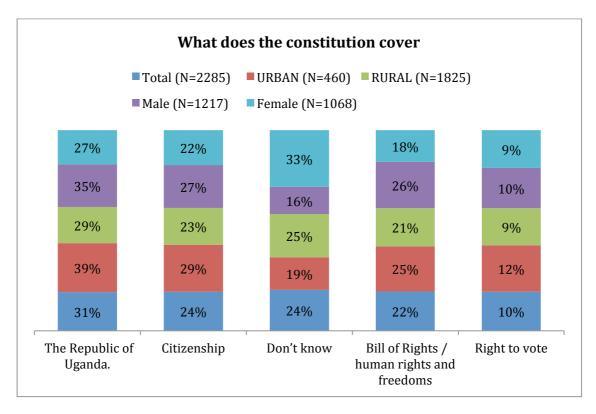
 $^{^2}$ For example, a 45% result with a standard error/sample error of +/- 2% with a 95% confidence interval means that there is a high probability (95%) that the result is between 43% and 47%

Reason	National %	Urban %	Rural %	Male %	Female %
Women lack the confidence to stand	41	45	39	44	37
Fewer women have acquired the necessary level of education	36	23	39	35	36
Traditions, culture, customs and patriarchy limit women's participation in government	34	35	34	35	32
There is a lack of awareness about women's rights to stand for office	20	23	20	22	18
Women lack the skills to stand	15	16	14	15	15

Some differences were noted between the responses of men and women and those in urban and rural areas, there is a high level of agreement and similarity across all of the major groups, indicating a good understanding of the socio-economic and cultural barriers facing women when it comes to participation in political life. However, responses also suggest some deepseated beliefs about women's roles and abilities that civic education should seek to address.

The Constitution, constitutional supremacy and the rule of law

While most people (82%) have heard of the Constitution and understand the basic premise that everyone must comply with it, levels of understanding of what it contains and deals with, and what happens when other laws go against the Constitution or Bill of Rights, is not nearly as good. When asked to explain what the Constitution covers, 23% of respondents were unable to answer at all.



DGF Baseline Study on democracy, human rights and accountability Summary of findings: July 2013 Women (32%) are more than twice as likely not to know than men (15%), and those in urban areas appear to know more than those in rural areas (25% of rural dwellers answering 'don't know' compared to 18% of urbanites). Worryingly, a quarter of those in the 18-29 year old bracket could not provide any answer at all.

Ugandans have some understanding of the rule of law, although understanding of some of the specific issues related to the topic could be improved. For example, when asked what happens if a law goes against the Bill of Rights, 37% correctly answered that the law would have to change, but significant numbers answered nothing (13%) or that they did not know (27%). On the other hand, there were high levels of understanding of the principle of equality before the law with 85% of respondents stating that everyone is required to obey the law and a further 7% answering 'citizens' must obey the law.

Separation of powers

Similar results were found related to the concept of separation of powers: there is a good basic understanding of what the three arms of government are but a significant percentage (38%) could simply not list any of them and some confusion exists about the roles and functions of the legislature and ministers. And while most people understand the role of the courts, knowledge of the jurisdiction of the various levels of courts, particularly the higher courts, is poor. Some confusion was also found regarding the roles and functions of the national and local levels of government, but this may have been a result of the way the questions were framed and basic understanding in this area seems fairly good.

Multi-party democracy

As found in previous surveys, Ugandans know and can explain the values of multi-party democracy and there is a high level of agreement of the benefits on this system. And although not addressed during the current survey, Afrobarometer Round 5 found considerable support for multi-party democracy, with 84% of respondents disapproving of a one party system. Yet people continue to be concerned by the high levels of inter-party conflict, lack of tolerance and divisiveness of the system as it plays out in Uganda, as indicated in the table below (respondents were asked to list more than one of each).

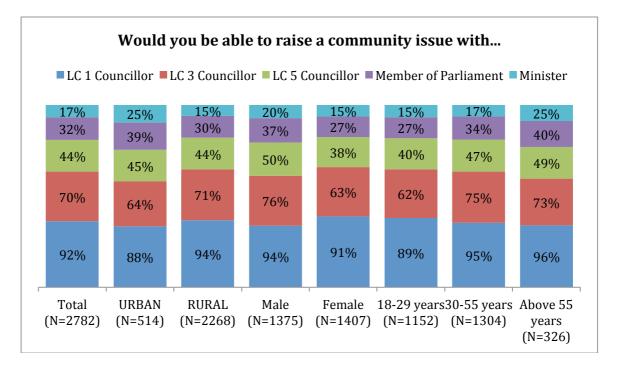
Advantages and disadvantages of multi-party democracy						
Advantages	%	Disadvantages	%			
Improves performance of ruling party	34	Causes chaos	61			
Creates competition	29	Leads to demonstrations	27			
Provides alternative policies	23	Encourages corruption	14			
Makes government more accountable	17	Encourages voter bribery	11			
Allows more participation	16	Makes government difficult	8			
Prevents one party domination	12	Divides the opposition	8			

Experience with multi-partyism since 2005 does not seem to have diminished these concerns and people still perceive the system as leading to chaos, disruption and corruption, indicating that education on how political parties operate and the tactics and methods they employ to try to sway voters may be

required. Political parties too might consider toning down their rhetoric and levels of passion when speaking to the media and in public as a way of wooing voters with a more tolerant style of politicking.

Ability to communicate with government and participate in decisionmaking processes

When it comes to making one's voice heard in periods between elections, most Ugandans have a very good idea of how to do so, especially at the local level, and are confident that they would be able to participate and that their voices would be heard and their opinions taken into account. This level of confidence diminishes as government gets further away from people, but that is the reality in most democracies where people find it less easy to influence decision-making at the national level.



But as in many other countries, merely knowing how to participate does not automatically translate into people actually participating *en masse*. As evidenced in the survey, most people do not actively engage in decision-making, even where the decisions will have a direct and relatively immediate impact on their lives. For example, when asked whether they had ever participated in a decision about how resources are allocated by the various levels of government, very few had: 12% at Local Council 3 Level (17% of men compared to only 8% of women); 3% at Local Council 5 level (5% of men and 2% of women); 2% at a district budget consultation meeting (3% of men and 1% of women); and 1% of men and women in decisions at the national level.

General observation

As a general observation, knowledge and understanding is generally lower in rural areas than urban areas and women often showed lower levels of knowledge of democracy and confidence in their ability to participate in democratic decisions or to have their voices heard than men.

2. Rights, Justice and Peace

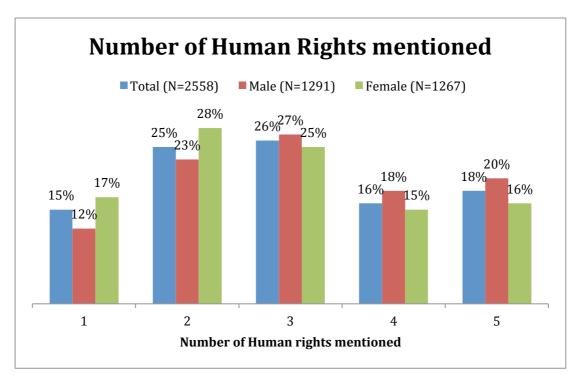
Issues addressed in this part of the survey included knowledge and understanding of human rights; access to legal aid; and knowledge, understanding and perceptions of peace and reconciliation with a specific focus on the post-conflict situation in Northern Uganda.

Human rights

Ugandan's, generally appear to have a very good awareness of the term human rights, with 92% of respondents reporting having heard the term before. However, awareness and knowledge of what the term 'human rights' means are not always the same and respondents were therefore asked to list up to five human rights. Of those who answered the question:

- 15% could only list one recognised human right.
- 25% could list 2 recognised human rights.
- 26% could list 3.
- 16% could list 4.
- Only 18% could list 5 or more rights.

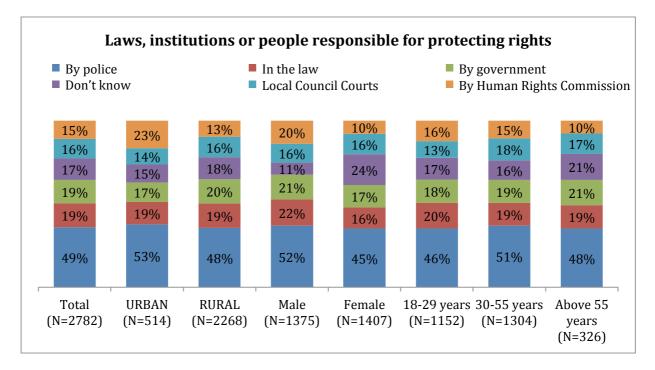
As can be seen from the graph below, more men were able to list 3, 4 or 5 or more rights than women, with women more likely to only be able to list 1 or 2 than men:



DGF Baseline Study on democracy, human rights and accountability Summary of findings: July 2013 The most commonly mentioned rights were:

- Right to life (41%).
- Right to education (28%).
- Freedom of conscience, expression, movement, religion, assembly and association (24%).
- Rights of the family (23%).
- Rights of children (19%).
- Rights of women.
- Right to vote (15%).

Awareness, knowledge and understanding of civil and political rights (including the rights of arrested and accused persons) is generally better than the rights of vulnerable groups and cultural and socio-economic rights (other than the right to work). But while there is some understanding of responsibilities attaching to rights, there is some confusion when it comes to whether or not rights can be limited. Importantly, knowledge of the laws and institutions protecting human rights, especially the Uganda Human Rights Commission (UHRC) is also low at present. For example, when asked what institutions or laws protect human rights in Uganda,only 15% mentioned the UHRC and only 9% the Constitution.

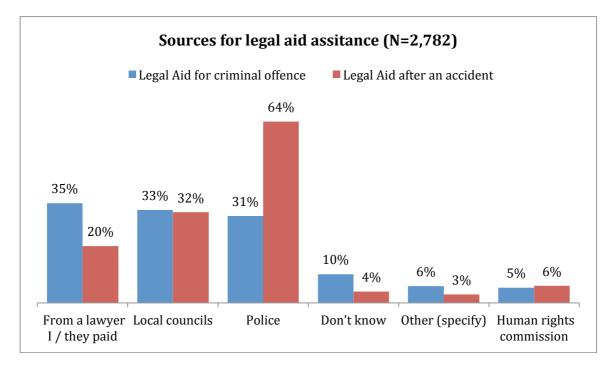


Very few respondents mentioned the UHRC either when asked where they would report discrimination in the private sector (12%) or torture by the police (18%). Knowledge of specific laws protecting human rights was also low, with almost three-quarters of respondents not able to list any.

Legal aid

Knowledge of who currently is eligible for legal aid at the state's expense was very low, with only 6% of respondents answering correctly. 61% incorrectly believe it is available in all cases, while 26% believe it is never provided at all. Knowledge and understanding of legal aid in civil matters, and especially of the role of NGOs providing legal aid and assistance in both civil and criminal matters, is also very low. When asked where they would seek assistance when charged with a criminal offence, more than one-third (35%) would rely on a lawyer paid for personally, while 33% would turn to their local council and 31% would look to the police to assist. Only 4% would look for a state funded lawyer under the State Brief scheme, and only 5% would think of asking an NGO or Justice Centre for advice or assistance when charged with a criminal offence.

If injured in an accident, 64% of respondents would look to the police to help them recover their damages. 32% would look for assistance from a local council, while 20% would rely on a lawyer and only 3% would approach an NGO or Justice Centre.



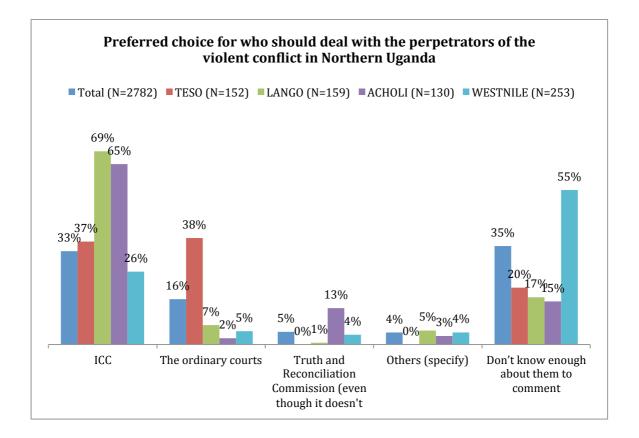
Answers to both of these questions would suggest those providing such services need to make a concerted effort to raise awareness and understanding of the services they offer and how to access these.

Peace and reconciliation

Respondents were asked various questions to measure their knowledge and understanding of, and attitudes towards, various role players in the transitional processes aimed at ending the conflict in Northern Uganda: the International Criminal Court (ICC), the International Crimes Division (ICD) within the High Court, traditional institutions, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and government. Findings showed that although knowledge of the ICD is extremely low, those who have heard of it appear to regard it as playing a satisfactory role at present. Knowledge of the ICC is fairly well good across the country, and knowledge of both is much higher in those sub-regions on which education and awareness have focused (Acholi and Lango) than in the two other sub-regions directly affected by the conflict (Teso and West-Nile), both of which know less about the ICC and ICD than any other sub-regions in the country. Linked to this, those in Acholi and Lango were also more likely to express satisfaction with the role they are playing than those in Teso and West-Nile.

In fact, levels of satisfaction with all role players, including NGOs, government and traditional institutions, is very low in Teso and West-Nile generally. Although there is nothing in the survey to prove this categorically, the suggested link between education and awareness and levels of satisfaction might also indicate a loss of interest when regular education and information is not provided.

When it comes to what type of resolution is required – amnesty / reconciliation or punishment – there is clear support for the ICC (33%) and ordinary courts (16%) to deal with perpetrators. Traditional institutions (2%) and a truth and reconciliation commission (TRC) (5%) were hardly mentioned at the national level, and only Acholi seemed to show any real support for the TRC at all (15%).



DGF Baseline Study on democracy, human rights and accountability Summary of findings: July 2013 These results indicate a shift in attitude from when the conflict was still ongoing, where there was more support for amnesty and reconciliation as a means to ending the conflict, to more support for punishment now that the conflict is over. However, not too much can be read into the fact that few respondents preferred TRC process, since it does not yet exist. As a result, it is to be expected that more well-known institutions would be preferred, which is borne out by the fact that punishment and reconciliation featured equally as determining factors for why institutions were chosen.

General observation

It appears again that women and people in rural areas appear less knowledgeable of human rights generally than urban dwellers and men, and women appear far less well informed of the transitional justice processes and role players in Northern Uganda - which would indicate clearly where additional focus needs to be made.

3. Voice and accountability

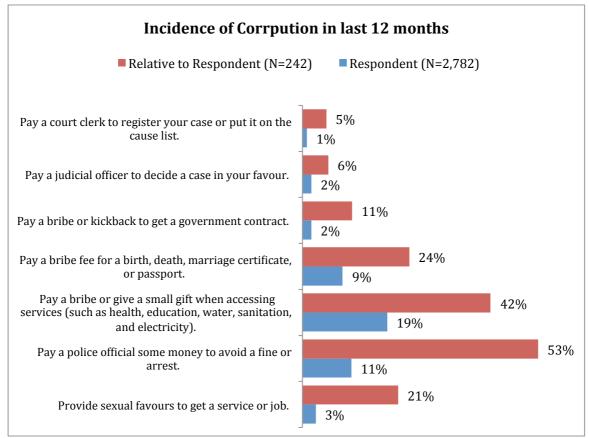
Questions in this part of the survey focused on local accountability networks and partnerships (specifically in relation to corruption), service delivery under the Peace, Recovery and Development Plan (PRDP) for Northern Uganda, and transparency and accountability in relation to oil extraction, production and management.

Corruption

Respondents were asked whether they or a family member or friend had been exposed to any of the following list of forms of corruption in the previous 12 months:

- Provide sexual favours to get a service or job.
- Paying a police official some money to avoid a fine or arrest.
- Paying a bribe or giving a small gift when accessing services (such as health, education, water, sanitation, and electricity).
- Paying a bribe fee for a birth, death, marriage certificate, or passport.
- Paying a bribe or kickback to get a government contract.
- Paying a judicial officer to decide a case in their favour.
- Paying a court clerk to register their case or put it on the cause list.

All-in-all, 40% of respondents had either been exposed personally to one of the forms of corruption listed(31%) or knew a family member or friend who had been exposed to it in the previous 12 months (9%). The most common forms and frequencies are illustrated below:



Although there were some differences, the types and frequency of corruption are fairly common across all major groups in the country, with bribes when accessing services, to prevent arrest or a fine, or to secure documents to which people are entitled as of right being the most common.

Respondents were then asked whether various forms of corruption have increased or decreased over the previous 3 years and whether they agreed or disagreed with the following statements:

Perceptions of corruption								
Statement	Agree strongly (%)	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	Disagree strongly (%)	Don't know (%)			
The level of corruption amongst senior government officials has decreased in the past 3 years.	4	11	39	33	11			
The number of police officers demanding bribes in my area has increased in the past 3 years.	35	32	14	4	13			
In the past 3 years, it has become much more common to be asked to pay a bribe if you need to get a certificate (such as a death certificate, marriage certificate or birth certificate) in my community.	30	27	13	4	24			
In the past 3 years, the number of people having to pay bribes or kickbacks to get a contract with central government has increased.	26	31	8	2	33			

It is clear from these responses that the perception that corruption has increased (or not decreased) over the past three years in key areas is very high:

- 72% of respondents believe the level of corruption amongst senior government officials has not decreased over the past three years, while only 15% believe it has.
- 67% believe the number of police officers demanding bribes has increased while only 18% believe it has decreased.
- 57% of respondents believe bribery has increased when trying to obtain certificates while 17% do not agree.
- 57% believe that the number of people being required to pay a bribe or kickback to secure a contract with government has increased, while only 10% believe it has not.

Respondents were then asked where they would report corruption by a government official and by a private company or individual:

Where to report corruption									
	Police (%)	IGG (%)	Anti- corruption Court (%)	Local Councillor or chairperson (%)	Would not report it (%)	Don't know (%)			
I would report corruption by a government official to	46	12	9	9	18	14			
I would report corruption by a private company or individual to	47	8	8	12	19	13			

Almost half of the respondents in each case would report the matter to the police, which is encouraging since the police are clearly empowered to investigate and prosecute corruption under various laws. But only 1% would report corruption by a government official or private individual or company to an NGO, and very few respondents seem to be aware of the Inspectorate of Government (IGG) and 32% in each case would either not report it or would not know where to report it.

Service delivery to poor, vulnerable and socially excluded groups in Northern Uganda

Almost 80% of respondents were unaware of the local development plans and budgets for their areas, with those in PRPD areas just as unlikely to know as those elsewhere in the country.

Awareness of local development plans								
Yes (%) No (%) Not sure A little (%) Haven't heard (%) of it (%)								
National percentages	22	60	8	2	7			
PRPD sub-regions	21	59	8	3	9			
Other sub-regions	23	62	7	2	6			

Although those who were aware of the plan have a fairly good understanding of what they cover, almost half of respondents do not know what to do to ensure that the district government is complying with the plan and many would not know what to do if the government did not.

To determine whether there are differences in the level of satisfaction with services provided by government, respondents were asked a series of questions related to service delivery. The results are reflected in the table on the following page:

	Levels of	satisfactio	on with sei	rvices		
In your opinion,	Sub- regions	Absolutely (%)	More or less (%)	Not really (%)	No, not at all (%)	Don't know (%)
are there enough	National	29	23	32	15	1
primary schools in your community for the number of children of school-going	PRDP	20	17	36	27	1
age?	Non- PRDP	34	26	30	8	1
are there enough health centres in your	National	13	20	41	26	1
community?	PRDP	10	13	37	39	1
	Non- PRDP	15	23	43	18	1
has government done	National	11	11	29	48	1
enough to provide a piped water system that most	PRDP	4	8	24	63	1
houses can access in your area?	Non- PRDP	14	14	32	38	1
has government done	National	5	8	25	58	3
enough to provide an adequate sewerage /	PRDP	6	5	20	67	2
sanitation system for most houses in your area?	Non- PRDP	5	10	29	52	4

Satisfaction levels are therefore fairly low generally, but those in the PRDP sub-regions appear far less satisfied than those in the rest of the country with the services being provided to them (the only exception being in the area of sanitation, where levels of dissatisfaction are marginally higher in PRDP sub-regions).

Harnessing natural resources for better services delivery and other development purposes benefitting the citizens

Oil extraction and production has the potential to fundamentally change living conditions in the country and do much to alleviate poverty. But although efforts have been made to keep the public informed of progress being made, this information doesn't seem to permeate down to community level and many people seem to know very little about the laws, policies and institutions being put in place. For example, respondents were asked firstly whether they believed there to be enough laws and policies in place to govern the oil sector. Although 7% believed there are and 24% believed there are not, 68% were either unsure (25%) or did not know (43%). But when asked to name any of these laws or policies, 96% of respondents could list none at all.

Of course, being able to name the laws and policies is far less important than people being kept informed of progress, how the money will be allocated and spent, and what protections are included for the environment. However, few Ugandans believe that they have been sufficiently consulted or that their views and concerns are taken into account when decisions are made and as a result, there appears to be a great deal of scepticism that ordinary Ugandans will benefit, as indicated in the table below:

Do you agree with the following statement:	Sub- regions	Agree strongly (%)	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	Disagree strongly (%)	Don't know (%)
The central government	National	3	13	36	18	30
addresses community concerns about the oil sector.	Oil producing	5	19	43	9	24
	Non-Oil producing	2	12	34	20	32
I am confident that	National	3	15	36	19	28
government is going to manage oil activities for the benefit of the	Oil producing	2	20	39	15	23
community.	Non-Oil producing	3	13	35	20	29
Our Member of	National	2	7	42	33	17
Parliament asks our community for our views	Oil producing	3	13	51	23	11
about the oil sector.	Non-Oil producing	2	4	39	36	19
It is clear to me how	National	1	3	40	31	25
money from oil will be allocated and spent.	Oil producing	1	2	49	27	21
	Non-Oil producing	1	4	37	32	27

Once again, levels of knowledge and understanding appear to be lower amongst women than men.

4. Recommendations

- Education for democracy, good governance and human rights needs to be enhanced to build on the basic awareness that already exists. Issues to focus on include:
 - Basic principles of democracy and good governance, including separation of powers (and make-up, roles and functions of the three arms), rule of law, the role of human rights in a democracy, and the content of the rights already protected in the Constitution.
 - The Constitution and Bill of Rights what the constitution covers, its relationship with other laws, what happens if a law violates the Constitution, and the constitutional review process.
 - The rights of vulnerable groups women, children, people with disabilities, detainees and prisoners.
 - Socio-economic rights rights or privileges and how to claim these.
 - Protecting human rights roles and functions of various role players (including the UHRC) and the laws that protect human rights.
- Although people understand the basics about how to influence decisions that might affect them, more education needs to be provided on the mechanisms and opportunities available to them, especially when it comes to influencing decisions at higher levels of government. This could include education on the roles and functions of the various levels of government, the processes involved in developing local development plans, lobbying and advocacy, understanding the budget and holding government to account. A concerted effort is required in those areas falling under the PRDP, but all communities in Uganda would benefit from such an approach. Education should also focus on how to ensure district government is complying with its development plan and what to do if it is not.
- To encourage more women to run for political office and to participate in decision-making processes, civic education needs to focus on women's rights to stand for election and how to make their voices heard. At the same time, while there appears to be common understanding of the barriers they face, deep-seated prejudice appears to exist and so such education should target both women and men and should aim at reducing barriers to their effective participation.
- Organisations working with women and striving to improve their participation in democracy need to consider other ways to support women who wish to stand for office – for example, lobbying for or providing crèche and childcare centres at legislative and other bodies.
- Education and awareness is required to explain the political process, parliamentary privilege, how parties use rhetoric and language and so on to try to improve understanding that multi-partyism leads to heated debate that is not necessarily conflict, even though it may sound like it. This should be coupled with education on the advantages and disadvantages of

various forms of government to show that, even though it leads to heated exchanges, multi-party democracy is better than the alternatives.³

- Organisations providing legal assistance and advice need to make a concerted effort to raise awareness of the services on offer. Of course this needs to be balanced with the capacity constraints facing NGOs since it could place a major burden on their resources, but such organisations should also increase their focus on mediation services to reduce the need for litigation and to find ways of reaching amicable solutions outside of the formal justice system.
- Coupled with this, education on key legal issues should be provided to empower people to claim compensation or defend themselves if facing arrest or prosecution. This could include education on the jurisdiction of the various courts, how to complete a summons and other legal documents, your rights on arrest, how to apply for bail and what the court will need to hear, the stages of a trial, cross-examining witnesses and how victims can claim compensation after a criminal trial.
- Organisations focused on corruption need to focus on improving understanding of the evils of corruption and the consequences for the individuals involved, their communities, and the country as a whole. Efforts need to be made to encourage people to report corruption and on raising awareness of where and how to report it, and further research should be considered into the forms of corruption listed in the report and other forms to determine who is most at risk and what can be done to raise awareness and understanding of how to avoid becoming a victim.
- Peace and reconciliation efforts in Northern Uganda are ongoing and probably will be for some time. As a result, all Ugandans need to be empowered to make their voices heard when it comes to the type of justice they prefer – and the best way of doing so is to ensure that people know and understand what options are available and what the benefits and dangers are for each option. Although this knowledge and understanding is most urgently required in the areas most affected by the conflict, all Ugandans need to be informed since the issues in the North affect them and other conflicts have taken place or might take place in other parts of the country too.
- To empower people to hold government to account and to ensure that all Ugandans benefit from the revenues that will eventually flow from oil production, education and awareness campaigns should be conducted throughout the country. These should refer to the relevant law and policy, but should be in as plain and simple language as possible so that people understand and can participate in decision-making in this regard. Those in the oil producing areas should also be made aware of their rights, the impact of oil exploration and production on the environment and what this means for them, and how to monitor and report on what goes on once production begins.

³ As Winston Churchill once famously said: 'Democracy is the worst form of government, except for all those other forms that have been tried from time to time.' (House of Commons speech on Nov. 11, 1947)

 As a general rule, knowledge and understanding is lower amongst women and in rural areas, which would suggest these need to be specifically targeted by any organisations conducting civic and public awareness and education campaigns.

FULL REPORT

A full version of this report, including the summary of research reports consulted, is available on the DGF website:

www.dgf.ug

