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YOUTH PERSPECTIVES  
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# YOUTH PERSPECTIVES ON IDENTITY AND NATIONAL UNITY IN UGANDA

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## Abbreviations

<b>ADF</b>	Allied Democratic Forces
<b>ADRA</b>	Adventist Development Relief Agency
<b>BTVET</b>	Business, Technical and Vocational Education and Training
<b>CRS</b>	Catholic Relief Services
<b>CSO</b>	Civil society organisation
<b>CSOPNU</b>	Civil Society Organisations for Peace in Northern Uganda
<b>DP</b>	Democratic Party
<b>FAO</b>	Food and Agriculture Organization
<b>FDC</b>	Forum for Democratic Change
<b>FGD</b>	Focus group discussion
<b>HIV/AIDS</b>	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
<b>IDP</b>	Internally displaced person
<b>IRCU</b>	Inter-Religious Council of Uganda
<b>KII</b>	Key informant interview
<b>LRA</b>	Lord's Resistance Army
<b>MoGLSD</b>	Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development
<b>NAADS</b>	National Agricultural Advisory Services
<b>NDP</b>	National Development Plan
<b>NRA</b>	National Resistance Army
<b>NRM</b>	National Resistance Movement
<b>NUSU</b>	National Union of Students of Uganda
<b>NUYO</b>	National Union of Youth Organisation
<b>PDR</b>	Planning, Development and Rehabilitation Department
<b>PRDP</b>	Peace, Recovery and Development Plan (for Northern Uganda)
<b>UBOS</b>	Uganda Bureau of Statistics
<b>UIYN</b>	Uganda Inter-Faith Youth Network
<b>UMSC</b>	Uganda Muslim Supreme Council
<b>UNDP</b>	United Nations Development Programme
<b>UNICEF</b>	United Nations Children's Fund
<b>UNSA</b>	Uganda National Students' Association
<b>UPC</b>	Uganda People's Congress
<b>UPCYL</b>	Uganda People's Congress Youth League
<b>UYDO</b>	Uganda Youth Development Organisation
<b>WHO</b>	World Health Organization
<b>YCS</b>	Young Christian Students
<b>YFU</b>	Young Farmers' Union
<b>YMCA</b>	Young Men's Christian Association
<b>YWCA</b>	Young Women's Christian Association

## Executive summary

This report – *Youth Perspectives on Identity and National Unity in Uganda* – stems from a study carried out by International Alert aimed at fostering peace in Uganda, particularly in the post-conflict areas of northern Uganda. The report constitutes one of the follow-up activities designed to specifically address the hitherto unstudied area of youth perceptions of identity and national unity in Uganda. The study aimed to gain deeper insights into understanding identity and nationhood among the youth in Uganda. At the same time, it sought to find out the role that the government, civil society organisations and religious and cultural institutions have played in moulding the youth into good citizens.

Using interviews, focus group discussions and documentary data, the study enlisted a total of 1,036 respondents from 12 districts in Uganda. It employed a two-stage simple random sampling technique to obtain respondents. A list of villages per district was obtained from the Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBOS) office. From the selected villages, a list of households was obtained from the Local Council I chairpersons, who also facilitated the selection of households with youths. The study gathered collective perceptions of the youth regarding national identity and unity, along with their participation in political and government activities.

## Summary of key findings

### Institutional frameworks

Several policies targeting the youth have been developed and implemented. Moreover, youth affairs are well stipulated in various legal frameworks and institutional policies. The National Youth Policy spells out priority areas that require action for the integration of the youth in national development. Several other policies include: the National Youth Council Act (1993), which was amended in 2003; the Equal Opportunities Commission Act, 2007; Universal Primary Education Policy; Universal Post Primary Education and Training Policy; Adolescent Reproductive Health Policy; National Employment Policy; and HIV/AIDS Sector Policies. Despite these policies and legal frameworks, the plight of the youth has not been fully addressed.

### Ethnic groups

At the national and district levels, the youth closely identify with their respective family, tribe, ethnic group, religion, gender and cultural heritage, among others. Ethnicity as a form of identity was identified as the most important factor for youth identity. For example, 82.3% and 80.6% of women and men respectively who participated in the study believe that ethnic identity is the most important aspect of youth identity. This view is strongly reflected in the districts of northern and western Uganda. In Otuke, 100% and 98% of male and female respondents respectively believe that one's ethnicity is the most important form of youth identity, while in Katakwi 96.3% and 88.9% of female and male respondents respectively expressed the same view. In Kiruhura, 98% and 97.4% of male and female respondents respectively cite ethnicity as the most important factor. Given the diversity of ethnic groups in Uganda, one's association with one's ethnic group is a significant factor in describing youth identity.

## Religion

Religion is another form of identity that is rated as being very important to the youth. Religion continues to be crucial in most social and political aspects of Ugandan life. It cuts across youth groups and educational institutions. Although it is significant for the youth at national level, religion is more significant for females (85.5%) than for males (78.1%). The majority of the youth in the country are close to their respective churches and mosques. For example, in Arua district 87.2% and 81.8% of young men and women respectively indicated that they were very close to their churches or mosques, while in Kampala 97.5% of both men and women said this was the case. The youth also confirm that religious institutions have played a key role in shaping their lives compared with any other institution in Uganda. For example, the youth strongly indicate that the church/mosques have made an effort to incorporate youth programming in their activities through initiatives such as counselling, seminars, music, drama festivals and dance.

## Nationality

The study also established nationality as another significant indicator of identity among the youth. The youth's sense of nationality was reflected in the high rating assigned to being born in Uganda, living in Uganda for most of one's life, possessing Ugandan ancestry, and respecting Uganda's constitution and policies. Nationality is significant for both young men and women, at 78.9% and 75.8% respectively. For example, young men (76.2%) and women (75.3%) both consider Ugandan citizenship to be very important. Citizenship is particularly important in Hoima, where 83.7% and 86.5% of male and female respondents respectively cite its importance. In Kampala, 92.5% and 83.7% of male and female respondents respectively rate citizenship as most important in identifying them as youth.

However, as these figures show, not all youths are proud of being Ugandan. The reasons given for this include the association of the country with corruption, poverty, unemployment and police crackdowns on rioters/demonstrators.

## Cultural institutions

A strong connection to cultural institutions also exists among the youth. The attachment to the kingdom/cultural institution appears to be stronger in areas where cultural institutions have been (re)established – namely, in the Central region (where 58.5% and 45.6% of male and female respondents respectively cite their importance) and Northern region (52.9% and 60.3% of male and female respondents respectively). The close link with cultural institutions is due to the institutions' response to the socio-economic, political, cultural and physical needs of their subjects.

## National symbols

The youth consider the national flag, the constitution, along with national days such as Independence Day and Martyrs' Day as important for understanding national identity and unity. The level of attachment the youth have to the various national symbols is higher than their attachment to national holidays: 75.1% of the young respondents say that the national flag means a lot to them, while 73.9% positively identify with the national anthem. Similarly, a high proportion of respondents (72.7%) indicate that Independence Day is important to them, while 65.2% opted for Uganda Martyrs' Day.

However, a significant number of youths do not attach much meaning to these symbols. For example, just over half (54.9%) of the young respondents identified positively with the constitution, while only 37.9% identified positively with Heroes' Day. The sense of attachment, or lack of it, is associated with the level of knowledge the youths had regarding the symbol or holiday. The less knowledge they had, the lower their attachment was to these national symbols.

## Youth involvement in public governance

Youth participation in government programmes is still lacking. Only 10.8% and 16.3% of the male and female respondents respectively believe that their participation in government activities



is very strong. In Lamwo district, this level of participation is rated at 0% and 4% for the male and female respondents respectively; in Hoima, youth participation is rated at 4.5% and 12.1% for male and female respondents respectively. The youth (50.3% males and 47.1% females) also indicated that the government does not allocate any resources to the local government for youth programmes.

Regarding their level of closeness to political parties, 39.1% of male respondents feel they are not close at all. This percentage is higher for young women, at 47.5%. The level of closeness is lower in the Northern, Eastern and Central regions. For example, in Kotido, 61.8% of male respondents and 75% of female respondents reported that they are not close at all to political parties. Young people's involvement in politics is only higher in the area of soliciting political votes (at 68.7% and 66.6% of all male and female respondents respectively).

While politicians solicit the assistance of the youth during electioneering, the government does not involve them in planning processes. The government's lukewarm attitude to youth affairs is also reflected in young people's perceptions of the level of resources allocated to youth activities, which was extremely low.

Although youth structures exist at various levels of local and central government, there is limited resource allocation to youth development activities. In many cases, monies are earmarked for holding meetings only. There is dissatisfaction about the role of local governments in responding to the needs of the youth.

Although youth organisations have existed since independence, Uganda does not have a coherent and comprehensive youth-centred policy. As a result, youth participation in decision making and government programmes remains very low. The youth are only used for selfish motives, usually to canvass votes during electoral campaigns.

## Key recommendations

- Civil society has a critical role to play and should do more to promote national unity and tolerance, thereby preventing conflict. One of the ways they can do this is by building capacity and creating shared space, dialogue and cooperation among youth from different ethnicities – especially where internal migration is a factor affecting young people's sense of belonging.
- The government should renew its commitment to its civic mission, dedicating itself at every level to ensuring that Uganda's youth are transformed into active and engaged citizens. The central government initiative of patriotism campaigns/clubs in schools is a step in the right direction, and it needs to be expanded and sustained in an unbiased fashion rather than making it political.
- The government should mainstream the youth policy, strategic priorities and interventions into the National Development Plans and budgeting. It should also mainstream and promote young people's participation in decision making at all levels. For example, it should consider introducing a quota for youth participation in decision making at different administrative levels in the country. Meanwhile, political parties should develop a coherent policy platform designed to address young people's participation in politics.

# 1. Introduction

Since 2007, International Alert has been working to promote the concept of building a peace economy in northern Uganda. In 2008, a major policy report was published reviewing the shift from emergency to recovery interventions. Follow-up activities have included support to northern Ugandan business leaders in developing peacebuilding strategies and higher levels of involvement in recovery debates, as well as wider community dialogues on investment, recovery and oil. This particular study was prompted by the fact that in post-conflict societies, where past injustices remain unresolved, there is a latent risk of renewed outbreak of violence, years or decades later – a viewpoint shared by several conflict experts.<sup>1</sup>

Secondly, youth perceptions of identity and national unity in Uganda have remained largely unstudied. Although Civil Society Organisations for Peace in Northern Uganda (CSOPNU) studied Ugandans' perceptions of national identity, it did not specifically target the youth.<sup>2</sup> This study provides a basis for understanding young people's various opinions on national identity – mainly shaped by political, economic and security concerns – as young people's perception and interpretations of identity immensely impact on national unity and development.

With a deeper understanding of the youth, who are the largest population cohort in Uganda, it is expected that evidence-based intervention strategies for promoting peace, stability and harmony may be constructed.

Finally, this report may open up avenues for the initiation of dialogue between the youth, government, civil society, the wider community, as well as religious and cultural institutions. It is hoped that this will lead to social and political stability – and eventually economic development.

As the report provides a gauge of youth perspectives on identity and national unity, it should help to give an understanding of priority actions preferred by young people themselves. It should also give stakeholders concerned with the promotion of a peaceful and prosperous Uganda an idea of what they should be working towards in order to foster greater inclusivity among the young generation.

## 1.1 Rationale for youth perspectives on identity and national unity

With the current population estimated to be over 37 million, Uganda's annual population growth rate is 3.2%. The country's total fertility rate is 6.2 births per woman, implying an ever-increasing young population. At present, 57% of the population are below 18 years of age, while 78% are under 30 years,<sup>3</sup> highlighting Uganda's young population. This requires greater attention not only from the government, but also from other stakeholders.

Since independence, Uganda's youth have been confronted with several social, economic and political problems, whose root causes have not been effectively addressed. There are increasing ethnic tensions, acute land pressures, widening economic divides, deepening socio-political cleavages and corruption. Ethnicity, politics and the economy have intersected and shaped Ugandan society.<sup>4</sup> Ugandans country-wide identify more closely with their respective ethnic identities than with the broader Ugandan national identity.<sup>5</sup>

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1 OECD (2005). *Preventing Conflict and Building Peace: A Manual of Issues and Entry Points*, Issues Brief.

2 CSOPNU and Jamii Ya Kupatanisha (2004). *The Need for National Reconciliation: Perceptions of Ugandans on National Identity*. Kampala: CSOPNU.

3 Population Secretariat (2012). *Key Facts on Uganda's Population*. Kampala: Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development.

4 International Alert (2010). *International Alert Uganda Three-Year Programme Strategic Plan 2011–2013*. Kampala: International Alert.

5 CSOPNU and Jamii Ya Kupatanisha (2004). *Op. cit.*

Other problems directly impacting on the youth are civil conflicts, inappropriate educational systems, unemployment, HIV/AIDS, rapid population growth and poverty.

Civil wars along religious and ethnic lines since the post-independence period have left Uganda with a legacy of displaced communities, where fear, anger and mistrust hinder reconciliation and unity.<sup>6</sup> In northern Uganda in particular, since the ceasefire brokered between the government and the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) in 2006, the focus of peacebuilding activities has been on recovery and development under the auspices of the government-led Peace, Recovery and Development Plan (PRDP), in an effort to consolidate peace, tackle the root causes of conflict and improve the welfare of Ugandans. Despite a visible reduction in poverty nationally, a significant divide remains between northern and southern Uganda, especially in those districts most directly affected by armed conflict.<sup>7</sup> A generation of youths has grown up in internally displaced person (IDP) camps amidst poverty and insecurity and without access to reliable services. In addition to widespread exposure to violence, the majority of the youths face the challenge of securing a livelihood with little or no formal education and training.<sup>8</sup>

## 1.2 Methodology

This study was conducted in 12 districts selected non-randomly out of the 112 districts of Uganda to represent the regions of the country. The representation encompassed the following regions: Northern/West Nile (Arua, Lamwo and Otuke districts); Eastern/North Eastern (Busia, Katakwi and Kotido districts); Central (Buikwe, Kampala and Luweero districts); and Western (Hoima, Kasese and Kiruhura districts).

The study enlisted a total of 1,036 respondents. Primary data for the survey was generated through a household survey targeting youths as well as through focus group discussions (FGDs). Key informant interviews (KIIs) were also held with stakeholders, including political party officials, representatives of the private sector, central and local government leaders, and civil society representatives.

Secondary data was also collected, mainly from available published and unpublished materials on youth identities and national unity, as well as from key institutions, including the Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBOS), civil society organisations (CSOs) and private sector groups (see Appendix 1 for full overview of the methodology).

## 1.3 Purpose and outline of the report

The purpose of this report is to promote a culture of peace and coexistence through youth-led national initiatives leading to political stability and sustainable economic development. The report specifically provides deeper insights into understanding identity and nationhood among Uganda's youth. It also illustrates the role played by government, CSOs, and religious and cultural institutions in moulding the youths into responsible citizens.

Having indicated the need to examine and establish youth perceptions of identity and national unity, the next chapter addresses how national identity is perceived. It begins by examining the various studies that have been carried out on national identity in Uganda – given the country's multiplicity of cultures. The chapter also provides various contextual definitions of the youth in terms of age. It further traces youth activities in Uganda from the colonial era to the present day. The chapter concludes by examining the various national youth policies and institutional frameworks in Uganda.

<sup>6</sup> Refugee Law Project (2004). *Behind the Violence: Causes, Consequences and the Search for Solutions to the War in Northern Uganda*, Working Paper No. 11. Kampala: Refugee Law Project.

<sup>7</sup> Uganda is one of the poorest countries in the world, ranking 161 out of 187 countries. Poverty levels declined from 56% in 1992 to 38% in 2002/3, and to 31% in 2005/6 and 24.5% in 2009/10.

<sup>8</sup> International Alert (2013). *Youth Perceptions on Economic Opportunity in Northern Uganda: Findings from Acholi and Lango*. Kampala: Advisory Consortium on Conflict Sensitivity (ACCS) Report.

Chapter 3 discusses the different factors that shape youth identity, national symbols and unity. The chapter identifies six factors that the youth have identified as major elements shaping their identity – namely, ethnicity, religion, language, nationality, region of origin and cultural institutions. It provides both qualitative and quantitative data gathered from the study's respondents to support these perceptions.

Chapter 4 looks at youth involvement in public governance. It examines young people's perceptions of their participation in decision-making processes, their involvement in development programmes, as well as their involvement in local government programming. It also examines their participation in political activities of the major and active political parties in the country. Finally, it looks at youth involvement in youth associations and examines whether the youth make any contributions to these associations.

Chapter 5 summarises the findings of the study and presents recommendations for specific stakeholders.

## 2. National and youth identity

### 2.1 National identity

Identity is understood as an abiding sense of selfhood, the core of which makes life predictable to an individual.<sup>9</sup> Doornbos (1978) discusses the question of ethnicity in African politics from two perspectives. The first perspective relates to “vertical” relationships, concerned with potential conflict between ethnic identities and national loyalties. The second perspective focuses on “horizontal” relationships, involving conflict between ethnic groups themselves. Regarding the “vertical” perspective, Doornbos concedes that, in new states, people’s basic political identifications are generally not with the state, but with sub-national units such as linguistic, ethnic, religious, racial or regional collectivities.<sup>10</sup> He further argues that ethnic identity largely derives its saliency and meaning from the social context in which individuals and groups find themselves.

Although several studies exploring national identity in Uganda have been carried out highlighting societal cleavages (Tumwine, 2009; CSOPNU and Jamii Ya Kupatanisha, 2004), to date there has been no specific attempt to establish how perceptions about national identity influence young people’s hopes for the future and sense of self. One study on Ugandans’ perception of national identity, carried out in 2004, established that the vast majority of Ugandans base their identity on ancestry even though the national constitution adequately provides for citizenship by naturalisation (CSOPNU and Jamii Ya Kupatanisha, 2004).

The study also found that nationality and ethnicity ranked highest as the primary source of identity and loyalty. Other significant findings were that: levels of national pride fluctuate according to levels of investment, peace and provision of services by government; programmes such as decentralisation and the education system tend to reinforce regional/ethnic distinctiveness at the expense of national identity; and group perceptions and social memory contribute significantly to disunity.

Another recent study reveals the absence of strong patterns of nationhood.<sup>11</sup> Social pluralism – that is, distinct ancestral, regional, descent and religious identities – has tended to undermine the expressed will of politicians and other policymakers to build political unity. Paradoxically, both the colonial and post-colonial states have sought to exploit this diversity for quick and immediate political ends, thus frustrating the emergence of national identity and unity.

In its conclusion, the study contends that, whereas Ugandans can identify with such symbols as the national flag, the coat of arms, the national currency and their geographical locations, they lack a sense of national identity. The study further argues that this absence of a ‘*strong sense of national identity ... explains the numerous problems of insecurity, tribal clashes and high levels of corruption prevalent in the country*’.<sup>12</sup>

9 A. Terrel Northrup (1989). ‘The dynamic of identity in personal and social conflict’ in L. Kriebeg, A. Terrell Northrup and J. Thorson Stuart (eds.) *Intractable Conflicts and their Transformation*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.

10 M. Doornbos (1978). *Not All the King’s Men: Inequality as a Political Instrument in Ankole, Uganda*. New York: Mouton Publishers.

11 C. Tumwine (2009). *National Identity Development: Reflections on the Cases of Uganda and Tanzania*. Paper No. 2 in the series ‘Promoting Pluralism Knowledge in Uganda’. Kampala: Cross-Cultural Foundation of Uganda (CCFU).

12 *Ibid.* p.16.

## 2.2 Tracing youth identity in Uganda

There are diverging views regarding the definition of “youth”. While the World Health Organization (WHO) and the United Nations consider the “youth” to be those aged 15–24, the Commonwealth Youth Programme defines the youth as people aged 15–29, while Uganda’s National Youth Policy 2001 categorises them as those aged 12–30. The revised National Youth Policy 2011–2016 proposes that the youth are young people aged 15–29. It also acknowledges the fact that “youth” is not a homogenous group, but a diverse group with different sub-groups differing in gender, ethnicity, level of education, social roles and requirements.<sup>13</sup> The Youth Venture Capital Fund (YVCF) – a government-led entrepreneurship project – defines the youth as those aged 18–35, while the government definition is those aged 15–29. This study considers the youth to include all those aged 18–35. Accordingly, youth also means a period in an individual’s life where opportunity to secure an economic future is at its height; or when vigour, adventure and experimentation manifest themselves in socially meaningful patterns of action.<sup>14</sup>

The concept of “identity” refers to “who one is” and this is shaped by the roles one plays in society. According to an earlier study on national identity, the respondents defined Ugandan identity on the basis of ethnic background, cultural practices, physical appearance and language; living within the same boundary; and those with a common constitution, flag and parliament.<sup>15</sup> The same study makes an important observation that there was no mention of a common history or future, both of which are the building blocks of any nation. Indeed, in Uganda the foci of “identity” are varied and complex, notably among the youth.

British colonial rule exploited and sometimes encouraged ethnic divisions between Uganda’s Bantu-speaking South and the Nilotic or Sudanic-speaking North. This division was adopted at independence, and its perpetuation by post-colonial leaders only served to solidify ethnic-based identities that blocked progress towards national identity. Uganda has been ridden by these divisions ever since. While ethnic ties have permeated political parties and the formation of the army, civil conflicts have often made reference to ethnic structures and a concomitant access to resource allocation. This North–South division of the country has also, at times, been used to characterise a divided Ugandan society.<sup>16</sup>

Traditionally, the Bantu-speaking population lived mostly under centralised and hierarchical political kingdoms, while power among the Nilotic-speaking population was kinship based, decentralised and more participatory. With the 1993 restoration of traditional kingdoms, the divides that had been associated with these different political systems were revived. The socio-political fragmentation has also taken several other trajectories – including those pertaining to social class, religion, party affiliation, civil conflicts and kingdom loyalties. All these factors have precipitated autonomous and variegated nationalism and sub-nationalisms within various groups in Uganda. These political and social divisions have also filtered into youth consciousness and helped shape their identities in ways that are often devoid of nationalism.

Youth activities or activism can also be traced back to the introduction of formal education by the Christian missionaries who set up the first schools in 1898. These were subsequently followed by other religions such as Islam.<sup>17</sup> The declared objective of missionary education was to produce literate youths able to read, write and do arithmetic. Much attention was, therefore, paid to biblical knowledge and Christian ethics. The missionary and colonial presence also gave rise to the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA), the

13 Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development (MoGLSD) (2011). *Draft National Youth Policy 2011–2016*. Kampala: MoGLSD.

14 A. Bomera Mujaju (1972). *Youth Action and Political Development in Uganda*. Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Columbia University in fulfilment of the requirements for the PhD degree.

15 CSOPNU and Jamii Ya Kupatanisha (2004). *Op. cit.*

16 A. Stonehouse (2011). ‘The Weight of History: Ethnic Identity and Colonial Rule in Uganda’, *Think Africa Press*, 18th October 2011. Available at <http://thinkafricapress.com/uganda/identity-teso-acholi-lango>

17 J.C. Ssekamwa (1997). *History and Development of Education in Uganda*. Kampala: Fountain Publishers.

Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), the Boys' and Girls' Brigade, St John Ambulance and Young Christian Students (YCS).<sup>18</sup> All these organisations were parochial and aimed at the Christian education and socialisation of the youth; they have persisted as one of the primary venues for youth organisation in the country.

Subsequently, modes of youth organisations took on a hybrid form of ethnicity and deep-rooted traditional and cultural forms, often in juxtaposition with Christian ethics/morals and the virtues (and vices) of Western education. At times, these value systems clashed, creating tensions between the elite and non-elite youths – thus, possibly frustrating further the emergence of national identities.

The post-independence era saw the emergence of youth organisations such as the National Union of Youth Organisation (NUYO), which later changed to the Uganda Youth Development Organisation (UYDO), along with the National Union of Students of Uganda (NUSU) and the Young Farmers' Union (YFU). These programmes made significant progress as a result of sound economic development at the time and external assistance from international bodies such as the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The youth organisations formed during the civil strife in the 1970s and 1980s aimed to sustain the political struggles of the day.<sup>19</sup>

The existing circumstances of Uganda's youth are the outcome of a history of struggles and political engagement at various levels. The narrative of youth political involvement begins with traditional African informal education, which included character formation and the inculcation of values such as respect for and obedience to elders, conformity to cultural and traditional values, and a recognition that young people had to accept their station in life until they were of an age to be called elders. In some respects, these values still prevail today and partly explain the frustration of youth interests in the political arena.<sup>20</sup>

### 2.3 Youth policies and institutional frameworks

When President Museveni took over power in 1986, Uganda's youth were considered a key constituency in the country's reconstruction, partly because the youth not only comprised the majority in the country, but also constituted the bulk of the National Resistance Army (NRA) fighting force and the National Resistance Movement (NRM) political support base. Efforts have been made to involve the youth, together with women and other marginalised groups, in various areas of development and politics, and a number of institutional and legal frameworks have been put in place to oversee this.

Since 1993, there have been efforts to encourage youth participation in decision making, right from the village to the national level, by electing youth representatives (National Youth Council (Amendment) Act, 2003). Uganda is also a signatory to the African Youth Charter, which guarantees the participation of the youth in legislature as well as in other significant decision-making organs. Other efforts towards empowering Uganda's youth include the following:

18 G. Bantebya Kyomuhendo and M. Keniston McIntosh (2006). *Women, Work and Domestic Virtue in Uganda 1900–2003*. Kampala: Fountain Publishers.

19 MoGLSD (2001). *The National Youth Policy: A Vision for Youth in the 21st Century*. Kampala: MoGLSD.

20 In focus group discussions (FGDs), youths complained that their elders, especially those of retirement age, were showing no intentions of retiring and of opening up civil service jobs to them. Youths also complained that their parents' generation had negative views of the youth, referring to them as 'immature', 'wayward', 'lazy' and 'out to get a quick buck' in menial occupations such as *boda-boda* (motorcycle) riding.



- Establishing the Youth Affairs section of the Ministry of Youth, Culture and Sports;
- Reinstating institutions for youth mobilisation and targeting Ugandan citizens aged 18–20;
- Enacting the National Youth Council Act (1993), amended in 2003, to pave the way for the election of youth representatives from the grassroots level to the national parliament;
- Promulgating a National Youth Policy in 2001, through the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development;
- Securing youth representation through the Equal Opportunities Commission Act, 2007;
- Making a commitment, through the 2011–2016 NRM manifesto, to, among other things: start a youth enterprise Capital Fund; set up business skills training and business linkages; establish youth workplaces and site support programmes; and arrange for youth internship programmes.<sup>21</sup>

A series of other policies targeting the youth have been developed and implemented. These include the Universal Primary Education Policy, the Universal Post-Primary Education and Training Policy, the Adolescent Reproductive Health Policy, the National Employment Policy, and HIV/AIDS sector policies.

However, all these policies and institutional frameworks have not adequately addressed the plight of Uganda's youth or empowered them politically. For example, various studies have indicated that youth participation in development and political activities is rather limited or non-existent.<sup>22</sup> It should also be noted that participation may be uneven – benefiting the elite/formally educated and urban youth.

Youth unemployment, at an estimated 4.3%, is higher than the figure for the entire labour force which currently stands at 3.8%.<sup>23</sup> Youth unemployment and under-employment trends in Uganda are driven by a variety of factors. These include the lack of employable skills, limited access to financial and technical resources, the insufficient emphasis on vocational training, a mismatch between skills and requirements in the job market, and the negative attitudes of some youths towards certain employment sectors such as agriculture.

To address the challenges posed by youth unemployment in Uganda, the government is pursuing a number of interventions aimed at improving the employability of young people. Such initiatives include the establishment of a Youth Venture Capital Fund to support entrepreneurial bankable ideas and initiatives, along with the introduction of the national Business, Technical and Vocational Education and Training (BTNET) programme. However, the effectiveness of these initiatives is constrained partly by patronage exercised by the government, which uses these programmes to entrench its political support among the youth. This implies that a significant proportion of the youth population will continue to be alienated.

Furthermore, during election times, youths have been given interest-free credit facilities for procurement of motorcycles for *boda-boda* activities in return for their support to particular candidates. The situation is not helped either by more explicit financial donations to the youth. These examples illustrate how the youth are being used for political gain.

Although Uganda has put in place policies and legal frameworks that are in favour of the youth, various studies demonstrate that many more young people are still marginalised, unemployed and facing obstacles to participation in political activities and programmes.

21 'Is the NRM Government on Track to Attainment of its 2011–2016 Manifesto Promises? A One-Year Performance Audit of the NRM Government within the Context of the Citizen's Manifesto', Kampala, Uganda National NGO Forum, 2012.

22 N.J. Jørgensen (2010). *Young People's Possibilities for Influence in Uganda*. A report for the Danish Youth Council, Next Generation Advice. Available at [http://duf.dk/uploads/tx\\_tcshop/Young\\_People\\_s\\_possibilities\\_for\\_influence\\_in\\_Uganda.pdf](http://duf.dk/uploads/tx_tcshop/Young_People_s_possibilities_for_influence_in_Uganda.pdf)

23 Uganda Bureau of Statistics (2010). *Uganda National Housing Survey (2009/10)*. Kampala: UBOS.



### 3. Factors shaping youth identity and youth perceptions of national symbols and unity

Joireman (2003) identifies five types of identity that people generally subscribe to – ethnic group, religion, area of origin, race and language.<sup>24</sup> In Uganda, similar but also other factors exist in relation to what constitutes youth identity in Uganda. These other factors include nationality, age group and cultural institutions. Each of these elements is discussed in detail below.

#### 3.1 Ethnicity

Uganda is a diverse nation with a multiplicity of cultural beliefs and traditions. It has 65 indigenous communities (Constitution of Uganda, 1995). This diversity encompasses different languages, folklore, customs, traditions and products.

Findings from the focus group discussions (FGDs) indicate that the youth in Uganda identify themselves primarily with the ethnic group from which they hail. One is first and foremost a Muganda, an Acholi or a Mukonjo; then, after that, a person will identify as a Ugandan. One young person interviewed in Kampala stated the following:

*‘Do you really want to know what youth identity is in Uganda? I think youth identity is being unemployed, marginalised and excluded from social, political and economic processes of this country. It also means being a Muganda, Acholi and Mukonjo ... being educated, supporting Arsenal and Uganda Cranes.’<sup>25</sup>*

However, the context and setting of the survey ought to be borne in mind. Given that the survey was carried out in the different districts of Uganda, reference to ethnicity by the respondents appears to be the most sensible initial reply. In a different context – for instance, if the interviewees had met in New York or Melbourne – self-identification as a Ugandan would be largely expected, as the different ethnic groups would not be widely known outside of Uganda. Similarly, if the interviews had been conducted at a more local level within the same ethnic group, self-identification by clan, and so on, would not be illogical.

Table 1 below shows the findings for perception of ethnicity as a form of identity among young people in Uganda.

<sup>24</sup> S.F. Joireman (2003). *Nationalism and Political Identity*. New York: Continuum.

<sup>25</sup> Key informant interview (KII), male youth in Kampala.

**Table 1: Youth perception of ethnicity as a form of identity, by gender and region**

	Northern		Eastern		Western		Central		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Ethnicity (Male)</b>										
Most important	135	86.0	135	82.8	117	81.8	102	70.8	489	80.6
Important	19	12.1	17	10.4	15	10.5	32	22.2	83	13.7
Not important	3	1.9	11	6.7	11	7.7	10	6.9	35	5.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>157</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>163</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>143</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>607</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ethnicity (Female)</b>										
Most important	84	95.5	77	83.7	95	81.9	74	70.5	330	82.3
Important	4	4.5	12	13.0	15	12.9	21	20.0	52	13.0
Not important	0	0.0	3	3.3	6	5.2	10	9.5	19	4.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>116</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>105</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>401</b>	<b>100</b>

The results in Table 1 above show that a high proportion of youths – both male and female – perceive ethnicity as a primary form of identity. Ethnicity is perceived in terms of the tribe to which one belongs. At the national level, both female (82.3%) and male (80.6%) youths believe that ethnic identity is ‘most important’ as a defining element of identity. This perception is also reflected in district-level information, which equally shows that ethnicity is an important factor for both male and female respondents. It is particularly strong in the districts of northern and eastern Uganda. For example, youth respondents believe that one’s ethnicity is ‘most important’ as a form of identity in the districts of Otuke (100% of females and 98% of males) and Katakwi (96.3% of males and 88.9% of females). This view is also reflected in the district of Kiruhura, where 98% of male respondents and 97.4% of female respondents indicate that ethnicity is most important in describing youth identity (see Appendix 5 – (i) Factors that youths primarily identify with, by region/district and gender).

One of the interviewees in Kotido (eastern region) indicated that, in Karamoja, identity is important for every human being on earth. The interviewee explained how they are proud to be Karamojong because their cultural values are unique to them.<sup>26</sup> Other sources of identity include their social and cultural set-up through the elder’s council. This cultural identity is particularly important to them, because they believe that their fate highly depends on it.

In Buikwe (central region), the majority of youths indicated that their identity stems from their clan – because this is where their names are derived from – along with their ethnicity as Baganda and the kingdom of Buganda.<sup>27</sup> One councillor in Kampala expressed regret that many Ugandans would rather not associate with Uganda but sell their land to purchase a visa and airline ticket to escape from their own country, claiming that there is a better place than home.

In Hoima (western region), the youths stated that their primary and most important identity is being a Munyoro:

*‘... we are proud of being related to Kabalega who fought the colonialists ... “empagi za Bunyoro” was started in order to express pride in being from Bunyoro.’<sup>28</sup>*

Given the multiplicity of ethnic groups in Uganda, a person’s association with their ethnic group appears to be a significant factor in describing their identity. The above findings reinforce this

26 FGD, youth local council leaders, Kotido Town Council, 3rd July 2012.

27 FGD, Buikwe District, 13th July 2012.

28 *Empagi za Bunyoro* is a newly formed youth association in Hoima that provides a platform for the expression of youth interests.

concept among the youth, who indicated that their identity is best described in terms of their ethnicity.

With the majority of respondents (81.1%) identifying most strongly with their tribal/ethnic group, animosities between fellow Ugandans can arise in the name of ethnic difference. Although the Ugandan constitution provides that ‘every citizen has the duty to foster national unity and live in harmony with others’, divisions are still obvious. For example, during the Buganda riots of September 2009, youths from the Central region demonstrated their anger against the non-Baganda groups, especially those hailing from the Western region.

## 3.2 Religion

Uganda has many different religious beliefs ranging from Catholicism, Anglicanism (Church of Uganda), Islam, Hinduism, Pentecostalism, Seventh Day Adventism, to traditional religions, Orthodox Christianity and the Baha’i Faith. Religion in Uganda has had a significant level of influence in shaping people’s lives and identities since the colonial days to date.

Most social and political aspects of Ugandans’ lives are influenced by religion. For example, religion is a major factor in politics. When a president is making political appointees, not only do they take into account geographical representation, they also consider the religious background of the people they are going to appoint.<sup>29</sup> Prior to the 2005 referendum, the major political parties – that is, the Uganda People’s Congress (UPC) and the Democratic Party (DP) – recruited followers based on their religion. In addition, rebel groups such as the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) and the Holy Spirit Movement/LRA owe their existence to certain religious beliefs. Religion has also played a significant role in trying to negotiate peace, especially for the latter group.

Before the liberalisation of the education system, apart from government schools, the choice of educational institution appeared to be largely based on the religious body governing that institution. Catholic, Anglican and Muslim parents preferred (and some still prefer) their children to be educated in schools founded by the parents’ religious denomination.

According to the survey findings, religion is most important as a form of identity among both male and female youths – with a slightly higher rating for females (85.5%) than for males (78.1%) (Table 2). With the exception of Kotido district – where fewer boys (33.3%) identify with religion, perhaps because of the strong ties to cultural beliefs – religion is therefore a highly important part of young people’s identity. Statistics also indicate that most youths in the country are close to their respective places of worship. For example, in Arua district, 87.2% and 81.8% of males and females respectively indicated that they were very close to their places of worship; in Kampala, 97.5% of both males and females reported that this was the case (see Appendix 5 – (iv) Level of closeness to institutions, by region/district and gender).

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29 C. Tumwine (2009). *Op. cit.*

Table 2: Youth perception of religion as a form of identity, by gender and region

	Northern		Eastern		Western		Central		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Religion (Male)</b>										
Most important	128	84.2	122	73.9	113	78.5	112	76.2	475	78.1
Important	17	11.2	17	10.3	23	16.0	31	21.1	88	14.5
Not important	7	4.6	26	15.8	8	5.6	4	2.7	45	7.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>152</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>165</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>147</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>608</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Religion (Female)</b>										
Most important	86	95.6	75	79.8	96	83.5	92	84.4	349	85.5
Important	3	3.3	10	10.6	14	12.2	13	11.9	40	9.8
Not important	1	1.1	9	9.6	5	4.3	4	3.7	19	4.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>408</b>	<b>100</b>

Overall, the survey reveals that 81.1% of the youths interviewed (the same percentage as those who ranked ethnicity as important) cited religion as most important as a form of identity. The high rating assigned to religion confirms the findings of an earlier study on national identity conducted by CSOPNU and Jamii Ya Kupatanisha (2004). In this study, all of the youth FGDs confirmed that religious institutions have played a key role in shaping their lives, compared with any other institution in Uganda. Providing counselling, education and recreational activities, among other services, were cited as particularly beneficial activities of the religious institutions. Moreover, the Pentecostal churches are known to appeal to the youth through music, singing and dancing in their services.

The young respondents strongly indicated that places of worship have made an effort to incorporate youth programming through entertainment such as music, drama festivals and dance. Other forms of activity, including worship, sermons, prayers, counselling and seminars, have positively and strongly influenced the attitudes and perceptions of the youth, especially their religious values. Some of these values include combating corruption and promoting peace, unity and tolerance – values that have been collectively voiced through the Uganda Joint Christian Council and the Inter-Religious Council of Uganda (IRCU). For example, the IRCU, through its youth arm of the Uganda Inter-Faith Youth Network (UIYN), aims to create a peaceful atmosphere in which young people can collaborate in pursuit of peace.<sup>30</sup>

The high level of appreciation accorded to the religious institutions at national level is largely the same at district level. Kotido showed the lowest rating for closeness to church/mosque, at 53.8% (overall average for male and female respondents). Otuke, on the other hand, recorded the highest (98.8%) level of closeness to religious institutions (church/mosque) among the youth (see Appendix 5 – (iv) Level of closeness to institutions, by region/district and gender). A youth leader in one of the religious establishments in Otuke remarked that:

*‘... the church is the only place we all feel safe since the outbreak of the war. Family life broke down; the only morally respected place is the church/mosque and their leaders ...’<sup>31</sup>*

30 Further information about the IRCU is available at <http://www.ircu.or.ug/index.php/what-we-do/breaking-barrier/access-to-justice.html>

31 KII, youth leader, Otuke district.

In Kotido, one young person in an FGD noted that:

*'... religious institutions were considered the only honest service providers, because they do not engage in politics and their service is honest.'*

The youths in Kampala remarked that:

*'... [the] church has promoted talent; most musicians we see around doing very well in the industry trace their origin in different church choirs and through different church programmes; confidence has been instilled in the youth.'*<sup>32</sup>

Another reason attributed to the influence of religion lies in the assistance that church institutions give to the public and the youth in particular. Most of the religious institutions have also established outreach departments that directly provide services such as relief to disaster and conflict-stricken communities in various parts of the country.

These institutions include Caritas Uganda, which is the Social Services and Development Commission Arm of the Catholic Church and the Catholic Relief Services (CRS). The Church of Uganda operates the Planning, Development and Rehabilitation Department (PDR), which seeks to combat poverty, disease, illiteracy, injustice and the marginalisation of poor people in society. The Uganda Muslim Supreme Council (UMSC) provides social/economic services to communities, while the Adventist Development Relief Agency (ADRA) provides healthcare, education, livelihoods, economic development and relief management projects and programmes. Institutions such as the Pentecostals have also established a number of social outreach services, for example the *Watoto* homes for destitute children. The *Watoto* initiative aimed to cater for large numbers of orphaned children and vulnerable women in Uganda whose lives had been affected by war and disease.

Given the key role attributed to religious institutions in shaping the lives of young people, these institutions have greater potential for fostering unity and harmony in Uganda than even the central or local government institutions. This is because their programmes are sensitive to youth issues, they incorporate service delivery and they engage the youth directly.

### 3.3 National language

Language is a crucial element in defining people's identities and is central to the formation of nationalist ideologies.<sup>33</sup> Communication between Ugandans across regions is rather difficult without a national language. Although views from a wide spectrum of Ugandans demonstrate a desire for a national language as one of the means towards national unity and identity, the question of which language to adopt has remained a challenge. Article 6 of the Ugandan constitution recognises English as the official language; however, it remains a language of the minority and is only widely used among those who are formally educated. While Luganda and Swahili have always been proposed as possible national languages, they have often faced resistance from different ethnic groups and institutions. Although Luganda is widely spoken and is a commercial language in Uganda, it is resented because people fear it would elevate the status of the Baganda over the other ethnicities. Swahili has been rejected on grounds that it evokes memories of former president Idi Amin's regime, when soldiers used it to rob and terrorise people.

<sup>32</sup> FGD, youths in Wandegeya, Kampala.

<sup>33</sup> C. Tumwine (2009). Op. cit.

*‘For us we cannot use that language. It is a language for the murderers. Even our children who were in the army used it to rob us.’<sup>34</sup>*

While addressing a golden jubilee celebration of Ugandans in Sweden, Mukono North MP Betty Nambooze quoted an excerpt from one of President Museveni’s speeches to local leaders from Acholi and Lango in 1987:

*‘I feel so silly that I have to address you in a foreign language as if I am a colonial Governor. This is the price of the bad leadership we have had in the country for the last 24 years of independence. Because of the bankruptcy of our leaders, we failed to coin a national language out of the local languages we have. That is why I have to address you using English.’<sup>35</sup>*

In the northern district of Lamwo, interviewees expressed frustration at the lack of a national language, arguing that it had created a form of alienation based on ethnic/regional differences. According to one of the youths:

*‘...failure to understand/speak a native language in a particular part of the country led to calling of nations or discrimination...’<sup>36</sup>*

In Kasese, the youth focus group participants expressed a strong desire for a common language, arguing that:

*‘...Uganda needs a national language; it is not enough to have an official language of English – that is why some of us resort to our indigenous or local languages.’*

Clearly, therefore, the youth in this study seem to view the idea of a national language as a possible symbol or even as an equivalent to citizenship.

### 3.4 Nationality

According to the survey findings, nationality as a form of identity among the youth was ‘most important’ for both females and males, at 78.9% and 75.8% respectively (Table 3). This view is strongly expressed in Otuke (98% of males and 97.6% of females), Katawi (90.9% of males and 76.9% of females), Kiruhura (98% of males and 94.9% of females) and Lamwo (89.5% of males and 95.7% of females) (see Appendix 5 – (i) Factors that youths primarily identify with, by region/district and gender).

34 CSOPNU and Jamii Ya Kupatanisha (2004). Op. cit.

35 B. Nambooze (2012). Speech on the celebration of the golden jubilee of Ugandans in Sweden, available at <http://ugandansatheart.org/category/diaspora/>

36 FGD, Lamwo, 5th July 2013.

**Table 3: Youth perception of nationality as a form of identity, by gender and region**

	Northern		Eastern		Western		Central		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Nationality (Male)</b>										
Most important	122	80.8	137	83.0	114	80.9	80	56.7	453	75.8
Important	18	11.9	18	10.9	21	14.9	56	39.7	113	18.9
Not important	11	7.3	10	6.1	6	4.3	5	3.5	32	5.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>151</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>165</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>141</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>141</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>598</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Nationality (Female)</b>										
Most important	77	88.5	77	82.8	89	81.7	72	65.5	315	78.9
Important	8	9.2	9	9.7	15	13.8	34	30.9	66	16.5
Not important	2	2.3	7	7.5	5	4.6	4	3.6	18	4.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>399</b>	<b>100</b>

The study analysed factors that the youth associated with increasing their sense of belonging in Uganda. From the survey, Ugandan citizenship emerged as a very important factor for increasing unity, at 76.2% for male respondents and 75.3% for female respondents.

In Lamwo district, 93.5% of males and 92.3% of females considered Ugandan citizenship as a very important factor, while 82.1% and 81.3% of males and females respectively in Busia indicated that this was the case. The importance of citizenship is also reflected in its high ranking in Hoima (83.7% of males and 86.5% of females) and Kampala (92.5% of males and 83.7% of females) (see Appendix 5 – (ii) Youths and “Ugandaness”, by region/district and gender).

Other factors that contribute to a sense of nationality among the youth include being born in Uganda, living in Uganda for most of one’s life, possessing Ugandan ancestry, and respecting Uganda’s constitution and policies. For example, 76.1% and 80.2% of males and females respectively who participated in the study indicated that being born in Uganda was important to them. Living in Uganda for most of their lives was important to 56.7% of male respondents and 55.2% of female respondents.

These results are consistent with the findings of another similar study, in which the youth were required to indicate different characteristics of their identity such as religion, tribe, and being ‘Ugandan’ and ‘oneself’. The study revealed:

*‘... only 21% of youth relate their identity primarily to being Ugandan, with the vast majority of youth (59%) selecting their own identity as most important to them. Furthermore, one in four Ugandan youth identify being Ugandan as the last, least important, facet of their identity.’<sup>37</sup>*

In Kasese district, although 68% of the youths considered their national identity to be very important, they were also in conflict with the national government over resources:

*‘They take our fish and they just leave fish bones for us ... yet at the same time, all the money from our two national parks is collected and taken to Kampala instead of developing the district and the local people here.’<sup>38</sup>*

37 BRAC (2011). *Problem or Promise? Harnessing Youth Potential in Uganda*. Kampala: BRAC. p.20.

38 FGD, Kasese district.



The study also sought young people's views on whether or not they were proud to be Ugandan. The findings reveal that their pride came from the fact that Uganda was the country of their ancestors and where they were born. Pride in being Ugandan was also linked to the country being peaceful and stable and the existence of freedom and unity. In Lamwo, however, fewer young people said they were very proud to be Ugandan. Overall, lack of pride among the youth in being Ugandan was attributed to evidence of corruption, poverty, unemployment, poor education, a poor health system and human rights abuses related to violent police crackdowns on rioters/demonstrators.

In Katakwi district, the youth felt less proud to be Ugandan because of the unending conflict between Teso and Karamoja. While this conflict previously involved cattle rustling, killings and property theft by the Iteso, it has now turned into theft by the Karamojong. Other issues included boundary disputes between Teso and Karamoja, living in displaced persons camps, unemployment and conflict among leaders.<sup>39</sup> A similar sentiment was expressed in Luweero district, where the youth expressed less pride in their country because of youth unemployment, the poor education system and facilities, the lack of tolerance for other political parties by the ruling NRM government, and young people's marginalisation in terms of resource allocation.<sup>40</sup>

In an earlier study, nationality (and ethnicity) was found to be a key indicator of youth identity.<sup>41</sup> The same study also established that sense of pride in being Ugandan depended on:

*'... peace, investment and provision of services by government. Residents of areas with limited services or government provisions and those in conflict-affected areas felt marginalised and therefore had less allegiance to identity by nationality.'*<sup>42</sup>

### 3.5 Region of origin

Another factor that the youth considered important for their identity was region of origin. Both females (69.6%) and males (68.4%) rated region of origin as a most important form of identity (Table 4). This view was strongly expressed in Otuke (98% of males and 90% of females), Kiruhura (98% of males and 97.4% of females), Katakwi (83.3% of males and 66.7% of females) and Lamwo (86.9% of males and 92.3% of females) (see Appendix 5 – (i) Factors that youths primarily identify with, by region/district and gender).

**Table 4: Youth perception of region of origin as a form of identity, by gender and region**

	Northern		Eastern		Western		Central		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Region of origin (Male)</b>										
Most important	113	72.4	117	72.2	105	77.2	75	51.7	410	68.4
Important	18	11.5	25	15.4	19	14.0	42	29.0	104	17.4
Not important	25	16.0	20	12.3	12	8.8	28	19.3	85	14.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>156</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>162</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>136</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>145</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>599</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Region of origin (Female)</b>										
Most important	70	79.5	64	68.8	79	72.5	64	59.3	277	69.6
Important	7	8.0	20	21.5	21	19.3	30	27.8	78	19.6
Not important	11	12.5	9	9.7	9	8.3	14	13.0	43	10.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>108</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>398</b>	<b>100</b>

39 FGD, Katakwi sub-county, Katakwi district, 4th July 2012.

40 FGD, Bombo, Luweero district, 11th July 2012.

41 CSOPNU and Jamii Ya Kupatanisha [2004]. Op. cit.

42 Ibid.



The Karamojong youth feel that Karamoja should be demarcated and recognised as a region unique from the East and North. According to them, the current identification of regions has left the Karamojong marginalised.<sup>43</sup> However, despite the feeling of regional ambiguity, 74% of the youth in Kotido (part of the Karamoja sub-region) strongly believe that their region of origin is most important as a form of identity.

### 3.6 Cultural institutions

Another significant factor that defines young people's identity is their level of closeness to cultural institutions. Uganda has a strong cultural heritage, which also explains the level of diversity in the country. Traditional/cultural institutions include kingdoms, chiefdoms, clans and the family. Kingdoms existed in Uganda until they were abolished in 1966. However, they were re-instated in 1993. Article 246 of the 1995 Constitution of Uganda provides for the revitalisation, strengthening and support of traditional/cultural institutions.<sup>44</sup> To date, the government recognises and supports some of the traditional/cultural institutions. The process of recognition of these institutions is continuous. Communities look up to the traditional/cultural institutions as part of their identity. In turn, this facilitates these institutions to support culture and use it to mobilise people for development. However, their performance is hampered by inadequate capacity and financial support.<sup>45</sup>

These kingdoms and cultural institutions include Buganda, Busoga, Tooro, Bunyoro, Rwenzururu, Teso, Japadolah, Ankore, Acholi, Lango and Alur – all of which encompass a vast array of rich cultures, cuisine, language and dress codes.

The regional perception indicates that attachment to kingdoms/cultural institutions appears stronger in the Central and Northern regions. In the Northern region, 52.9% of young male respondents and 60.3% of young female respondents indicated that cultural institutions were 'very important' to them as a form of identify (Table 5). In the Central region, 58.5% of male respondents and 45.6% of female respondents stated that this was the case.

The study also revealed that closeness to cultural institutions was due to the institutions' ability to meet the socio-economic, political, cultural and physical needs of their people. In Buganda, for example, this is linked to the strong structure underpinning these activities, which is evident across Mengo, the headquarters of Buganda Kingdom, to the village level, where clan heads act as representatives/stewards of the king. In addition to well-established and active structures, the Central region (Buganda) has a stronger set-up in relation to education (bursaries for deprived children and youth at secondary, vocational and university levels), sports (inter-clan and county football competitions), health services and nutrition. Others services include the protection of natural resources and the promotion of agriculture, community development, women and youth, culture, heritage and tourism. As a result, the Baganda youth's relationship with their kingdom and cultural heritage is quite strong.

Other regions with strongly established cultural institutions and set-ups include Kasese (Rwenzururu Kingdom) and Hoima (Bunyoro Kingdom). For example, in Kasese, 55.3% of male respondents and 58.8% of female respondents indicated that they were very close to their cultural institutions (see Appendix 5 – (iv) Level of closeness to institutions, by region/district and gender).

43 Interview, the Chairperson for Youth, Kotido district, 2nd July 2012.

44 See also MoGLSD (2006). *Uganda National Culture Policy: A Culturally Vibrant, Cohesive and Progressive Nation*. Kampala: MoGLSD.

45 Ibid.

Table 5: Youth perception of cultural institutions as a form of identity, by gender and region

	Northern		Eastern		Western		Central		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Cultural institutions (Male)</b>										
Very important	63	52.9	28	21.7	35	25.0	83	58.5	209	39.4
Important	22	18.5	14	10.9	20	14.3	26	18.3	82	15.5
Not important	28	23.5	56	43.4	37	26.4	24	16.9	145	27.4
Not sure	6	5.0	31	24.0	48	34.3	9	6.3	94	17.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>119</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>129</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>140</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>142</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>530</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Cultural institutions (Female)</b>										
Very important	41	60.3	10	11.5	25	23.6	47	45.6	123	33.8
Important	7	10.3	8	9.2	16	15.1	31	30.1	62	17.0
Not important	17	25.0	43	49.4	28	26.4	22	21.4	110	30.2
Not sure	3	4.4	26	29.9	37	34.9	3	2.9	69	19.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>364</b>	<b>100</b>

In the Eastern region, the level of allegiance to cultural institutions is mainly influenced by the responses from Kotido district, where cultural/traditional leaders have the greatest authority compared with any other governance structure. A youth from an FGD in Kotido stated the following:

*‘... here in Karamoja your life depends on what the elders say or feel about you. If you annoy them and they cast a spell on you, then that will be the end. You are either cursed or condemned to death immediately.’<sup>46</sup>*

Katakwi district, on the other hand, presented a mixed picture in terms of allegiance to the cultural institution of the Emorimori. According to the focus group participants in Katakwi district, Teso does not have a kingdom; while there is a cultural institution, the institution does not have strong structures in Katakwi. The relationship with the cultural leader is very weak, as is the case in most parts of Teso.

In Otuke, one of the youths interviewed stated the following:

*‘... they were close to their cultural institution led by “Rwot Nyaci”, who is highly respected and considered to be the grandfather of the Langi.’*

The Otuke institution is structured into villages, each with a clan head known as the ‘Awitong’. This clan head represents and disciplines the people in the community. Thus, the people of Otuke take pride in their cultural heritage.

While Uganda boasts a rich cultural diversity, there is still a lack of strong cultural identity and sense of national unity.<sup>47</sup> Tumwine’s position on national identity in Uganda and Tanzania is telling:

*‘... although Ugandans can be able to notice and identify with Ugandan symbols such as the national flag, the coat of arms, the national currency, their geographical territory and so forth,*

<sup>46</sup> Interview, a Local Council V youth representative, Kotido, 3rd July 2012.

<sup>47</sup> E. Rychlewski (2010). ‘What is Uganda: A crisis of national identity?’, *The Independent*, 30th November 2010. Available at <http://www.independent.co.ug/features/features/3690-what-is-uganda-a-crisis-of-national-identity?format=pdf>

*a strong sense of national identity is lacking amongst most Ugandans. This lack of strong sense of national identity that would in turn culminate into a strong sense of nationalism, explains the numerous problems of insecurity, tribal clashes and high levels of corruption prevalent in the country.*<sup>48</sup>

Problems arising from a lack of national identity are therefore common. As a result, deterrent measures have been put in place in the form of the Penal Code Act, Section 21. This Act specifies that:

*'It is an offence for anyone, group or body of persons to print, publish, make or utter any statement or do an act which is likely to degrade, revile or expose to hatred or contempt; create alienation or despondency of; raise discontent or disaffection among; or promote in any other way, feelings of ill will or hostility among or against any group or body of persons on account of religion, tribe, or ethnic or regional origin.'*

Even with heavy penalties involved, references have continued to be made to religious, tribal and ethnic affiliations of individuals – for example, in employment in sensitive areas such as the military and the public service. The realisation of a unified country beyond tribal prejudices and preferences will require a concerted effort aimed at changing attitudes, civic education and dialogue towards a more positive disposition. Similarly, an earlier study noted that:

*'... if national identity continues to be defined solely on ancestry and ethnic basis, creation of a united nation in a diverse society like Uganda will remain a major challenge. Loyalties will continue to be divided between ethnic/tribal identity and national identity. Creating a united nation certainly does not have to mean ignoring or removing ethnic diversity; it could actually mean promoting a civic identity that cherishes the ethnic diversity of the nation.'*<sup>49</sup>

### 3.7 National symbols and unity

In order to explore further young people's sense of national identity, the respondents were asked to rate the importance of selected national symbols. Article 8 of the Ugandan constitution lists the country's national symbols – namely, the national flag, the national coat of arms, the public seal, the national anthem and the seals of the courts of judicature. In this regard, the study selected the national anthem, the national flag, the crested crane (national bird of Uganda and featured on the country's flag and coat of arms), the coat of arms and the national constitution not only as symbols of identity, but also as symbols that promote national unity. For example, the flag promotes the spirit of national unity, while the national anthem is a citizen's prayer, plea and a strong expression of national will.

In the same vein, views were sought on the national soccer team (the Cranes) and on important national holidays, such as Heroes' Day, Uganda Martyrs' Day and Independence Day. The reason for citing some of these national holidays is that they are considered important for any nation in terms of evoking memories of gallant men and women who have lost their lives and property or done outstanding work for the sake of the nation. The study, therefore, sought to assess youth perspectives regarding the extent to which they identify with national symbols, attributes and holidays.

Table 6 below presents the overall findings for young people's level of attachment to the various national symbols and emblems.

48 C. Tumwine (2009). Op. cit.

49 CSOPNU and Jamii Ya Kupatanisha (2004). Op. cit.

**Table 6: Level of association with national symbols as a form of identity, by gender**

National symbols		A lot		Not much		Nothing		Not sure		Total	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Uganda flag	Male	488	80.0	89	14.6	22	3.6	11	1.8	610	100
	Female	280	70.2	76	19.0	16	4.0	27	6.8	399	100
National anthem	Male	470	77.7	77	12.7	28	4.6	30	5.0	605	100
	Female	277	70.1	68	17.2	21	5.3	29	7.3	395	100
Crested crane	Male	449	74.6	91	15.1	34	5.6	28	4.7	602	100
	Female	250	64.3	77	19.8	30	7.7	32	8.2	389	100
Coat of arms	Male	364	61.0	84	14.1	73	12.2	76	12.7	597	100
	Female	201	51.8	52	13.4	58	14.9	77	19.8	388	100
National constitution	Male	353	58.9	84	14.0	78	13.0	84	14.0	599	100
	Female	196	50.9	39	10.1	83	21.6	67	17.4	385	100

The findings above show that a high proportion of young people identified a lot with the national flag (80% of males and 70.2% of females), as well as the national anthem (77.7% of males and 70.1% of females). Significant proportions of youths also identified a lot with the crested crane (74.6% of males and 64.3% of females) and the coat of arms (61% of males and 51.8% of females). A lower but still significant proportion of youths identified with the country's constitution (58.9% of males and 50.9% of females).

In terms of national holidays (Table 7), the youths identified the most with Independence Day (78% of males and 67.4% of females) as well as Martyrs' Day (66.7% of males and 63.7% of females). A lower proportion of youths identified a lot with Heroes' Day (41% of males and 34.8% of females).

**Table 7: Level of association with national holidays as a form of identity, by gender**

National holidays		A lot		Not much		Nothing		Not sure		Total	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Independence Day	Male	461	78.0	72	12.2	40	6.8	18	3.0	591	100
	Female	259	67.4	55	14.3	37	9.6	33	8.6	384	100
Uganda Martyrs' Day	Male	394	66.7	71	12.0	65	11.0	61	10.3	591	100
	Female	249	63.7	48	12.3	47	12.0	47	12.0	391	100
National Heroes' Day	Male	240	41.0	96	16.4	133	22.7	116	19.8	585	100
	Female	131	34.8	42	11.2	111	29.5	92	24.5	376	100

The level of positive attachment to these national symbols or emblems is also associated with young people's level of knowledge regarding the symbol or emblem. The less knowledge they have, the lower their sense of attachment is to these symbols or emblems. Therefore, the level of civic competence directly relates to the sense of national identity in relation to symbols and emblems. Thus, for national identity to occur, the youth need to have an understanding of the various symbols and emblems – helping them to recall their country's history, while fostering a spirit of unity and peace among people.

Apart from the above factors that the study identified, youth identity is also tied up with differences between rural and urban youth, educated and less educated people, males and females. The youth move both within their localities and from rural to urban areas, but generally the youth from

rural areas tend to be identified as different from those in urban areas. Moreover, the youth are a transitional and transient group. Similarly, the youth who are formally educated tend to differentiate themselves from those who are not formally educated.

The implication is that identity and loyalty are limited to the local dynamics, which include ethnic/tribal identities, and that they are not connected in any positive way to national identity – except in Kotido district, where national identity emerged as the number-one form of identity (see Appendix 5 – (iii) Meaning of national symbols to youths, by region/district and gender). The above responses are symptomatic of the general consensus that, while it is important to have a national identity, identifying with one's religion, tribe, gender, cultural background and region of origin have together merged to form a national identity perspective.

These shared characteristics, while still important facets of identity, have not surpassed religion and tribe as the primary factors of identity. In Tumwine's study, a common descent, culture, language and religion feature as the major components of national identity.<sup>50</sup>

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50 C. Tumwine (2009). Op. cit.

## 4. Youth and public governance

### 4.1 Background to youth organisations and politics in Uganda

After Uganda gained independence in 1962, the activities of young people became increasingly politicised. For example, between 1966 and 1971, the former president Milton Obote established student and non-student organisations that enabled the Uganda People's Congress (UPC) to mobilise the youth for mass support. Nevertheless, these organisations were formed to provide a supra-national structure that united the youth (and by extension the entire nation) and that bridged the gaps created by distance, language, cultural tradition, history, tradition and religion.<sup>51</sup> Notable youth organisations founded at this time included the National Union of Youth Organisation (NUYO), which was later replaced by the Uganda Youth Development Organisation (UYDO); the National Union of Students of Uganda (NUSU), under the Ministry of Education; and the Young Farmers' Union (YFU), under the Ministry of Agriculture.<sup>52</sup> The activities of these organisations were in line with and supportive of the government's political agenda; therefore, they did constitute an autonomous section of civil society.

This is not to say that tensions did not exist within pro-UPC youth organisations or between them and the party itself. For example, the UPC Youth League (UPCYL) often clashed with its parent UPC party as it articulated its socialist agenda.<sup>53</sup> Indeed, former senior minister Adoko Nekyon helped to organise NUYO in order to undercut the left-leaning UPCYL.<sup>54</sup> This was because UPCYL had been articulating radical demands of income redistribution and the eventual emergence of an egalitarian post-independence Ugandan society. Arguably, these youth demands eventually compelled Obote to declare his so-called 'move to the left' in the years leading to his overthrow in 1971. However, it is important to note that these events were inspired by challenges experienced by young people, which still persist today. One historian observes:

*'... the increasing restlessness among students was part of a response to an increasingly perceived deprivation, as numbers of students at various levels of education increased with little hope that all of them would be absorbed in the economy: a deprivation which was sharpened by the realisation that while the young were likely to suffer from that deprivation, there were groups already entrenched in power, both political and economic, who were not only enjoying affluence, but also exhibiting it ostentatiously.'*<sup>55</sup>

Nonetheless, these frustrations did not lead to a more vociferous youth movement in Uganda:

*'Except twice when the Makerere Students' Guild collided with the instruments of state power, or the business community, no evidence has been produced to show a growing large scale anti-authority militancy. The UPCYL tried it in 1963–65, but it never really caught on fire. Not many youth were involved, many of the students remained detached from the affairs of the League; even those who belonged to the Makerere University branch of the UPC largely remained unconcerned about the conflicts between the party and its Youth adjuncts. In the case of strikes, though frequent, they were not nationally organised. In fact, NUSU tried to discourage them by agreeing to the creation of student councils.'*<sup>56</sup>

51 A. Bomera Mujaju (1972). Op. cit.

52 Ibid.

53 Ibid.

54 B. Joshua Rubongoya (2007). *Regime Hegemony in Museveni's Uganda: PaxMusevenica*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

55 A. Bomera Mujaju (1972). Op. cit. p.370.

56 Ibid. p.378.

Since independence in 1962, Uganda, like many African countries, did not have a coherent and comprehensive youth-centred policy. Much organisation among them was inspired, shaped and funded by the government. As such, youth development was not self-sustaining or reflective of their underlying long-term interests. The Ugandan government provided almost all financing for youth activities and, therefore, controlled the youth political agenda.

The plight of the youth took a turn when state funding dried up following the dramatic change in the political environment during the Idi Amin era (1971–79).<sup>57</sup> Because the youth had no organisational or financial foundation that was independent of the existing government, they fell prey to the harsh conditions that resulted from the fiscal/economic mismanagement and civil strife of the 1970s.

During the 1970s, a student/youth body emerged at Makerere University (then the only university in the country) that increasingly fought back against the growing dictatorship of Idi Amin. The highlights of such protests included the infamous ‘Black Tuesday’ and the ‘Sserwanga’ anti-Idi Amin demonstrations. In the 1980s, youth/student political activism gained a more intense dimension when students began to form alliances with national political parties.

In the latter stages of Amin’s regime, severe economic conditions led to large numbers of school drop-outs. This forced many young people to turn to illegal business practices called *magendo* – that is, ‘black market’ businesses and trade activities (including cross-border smuggling). During Amin’s regime, informal underground economic activities accounted for as much as two-thirds of Uganda’s monetary gross domestic product (GDP).

Unemployed and vagrant youths in towns and cities were derogatively referred to as *bayaye*, while thousands ended up homeless. *Bayaye* was the local name given to petty thieves (mostly youths), who were in some ways connected to the *magendo* economy. The phenomenon of the so-called ‘street children’ emerged during this time. These conditions created groups of youths – called *kadogos* – most of whom were recruited into guerrilla warfare in the 1980s when Uganda was embroiled in a civil war. These youths were later joined by an influx of many other desperate youths who came to the cities from rural areas. This rural–urban migration, coupled with deteriorating economic and social conditions, provided the context within which HIV/AIDS flourished. This pandemic, besides having a tremendous toll on the youth (aged 12–30), victimised their parents, leaving the youth as the new, poor and less educated heads of households.<sup>58</sup>

While youth political identities continued through into Museveni’s Uganda, they were and still are mostly limited to university students, remaining clearly divorced from the vast majority of youths, most of whom live in rural areas. Even among university students, youth political identity is not independent of the interests of the state and its elites. Indeed, it is not clear whether these identities among university students take on a national dimension, that is, one that transcends political party aspirations.

Today’s youth have the potential to constitute one of the most radicalised categories in the country. The majority were born under the NRM regime and therefore have no memory of the country’s past, apart from what they read from written records. Due to challenges associated with difficult economic conditions affecting parts of the country’s population, prolonged exposure to armed conflict in some parts of the country and inadequate social infrastructure such as schools in many areas, the majority of youths today do not have the opportunity to finish formal education. This means that they are not in a position to access well-paid employment opportunities in the formal sector. Such youths are afflicted by high levels of poverty. Many of them therefore have the potential to form the foundations of critical and at times violent opposition politics. It is not

57 MoGLSD (2001). Op. cit.

58 UBOS (2010). *Uganda National Housing Survey (2009/10)*. Kampala: UBOS. See also MoGLSD (2001). Op. cit.



surprising that government efforts to increase its support base among young people have mainly targeted such categories of youth, including *boda-boda* riders.

## 4.2 Youth participation in decision making

Uganda has a large population of youths, who are of strategic importance to the country and have immense potential in terms of its development. As previously indicated, as much as 57% of Uganda's population (estimated at 37 million as at May 2013) are below 18 years of age; a further 21.3% are aged between 18 and 30.<sup>59</sup>

When the NRM came to power in 1986, it created power structures popularly known as resistance councils (RCs), which were later renamed local councils. A seat on these councils – secretary for the youth – was created to cater for the interests and needs of young people. To date, the youth are represented by five members in parliament and by two youth councillors at the district level.

However, the youth have not been inadequately involved and resources have not been harnessed for their socio-economic development or for the promotion of peace, democracy, good governance and the upholding of societal values – a fact that is acknowledged by government.<sup>60</sup>

A review of the National Youth Policy shows that the aforementioned youth representatives have generated positive action aimed at bringing on board the youth in decision making and governance. However, it also finds that the voices of the youth are still not being heard and that young people are not adequately involved in decision-making processes at various levels (see Table 8 below).

**Table 8: Youth participation in decision-making processes**

	Community level	District level	National level
Great extent	13.8%	4.7%	2.8%
To a moderate extent	40.6%	18.2%	7.5%
Not at all	45.6%	77.1%	89.8%

Source: Review of National Youth Policy, MoGLSD, 2011, p. 14.

An earlier study also noted that the youth have been marginalised in decision-making processes. As Jørgensen explains:

*'... young people judge their possibilities for influence on decision making as quite limited. The position of youth in Uganda, as in most African societies, is a rather marginalised one, youth possessing little power and authority and being expected to listen to and respect elders. In the public debate, youth issues either receive limited coverage (compared to for instance women issues) or a coverage focusing on problems or concerns related to young people's vulnerability.'*<sup>61</sup>

As part of this study, youths were asked whether they felt they mattered in terms of the policy process/governance, as determined by their involvement in decision making regarding the country's affairs. Overall, 72.1% of the youths stated that they mattered; only 27.9% said they felt they did not matter. Their response in this regard was influenced by the fact that politicians involve them in electioneering and canvassing for votes. Thus, as many as 68.2% of the youths agreed very strongly that politicians involve them, implying that the youths were involved in the country's affairs.

59 UBOS (2010). Op. cit.

60 MoGLSD (2001). Op. cit.

61 N.J. Jørgensen (2010). Op. cit. p.3.



Despite being aware that they were involved in electioneering, the youths felt they were not yet adequately involved in decision making. This was the reason why many youths did not feel close to national institutions of government. Only 10.5% of the youths agreed very strongly that the government involved them in planning processes; 6.5% felt that they had been involved in issues of resource allocation, while 13% agreed very strongly that they did participate in government programming. Finally, only 9.9% of the youths felt that they had been able to access government programmes, including Universal Primary Education and the National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS) (see Appendix 5 – (v) Extent to which youths are engaged by politicians, by region/district and gender).

Lack of youth participation in decision making has been equally highlighted by the National Youth Policy:

*‘... participation or representation of the youth less than 25 years of age or those who are illiterate or semi-illiterate in the position of leadership at all levels is limited. The low participation of the youth in decision making is mainly due to: i) Lack of leadership and management skills; ii) Organisational regulatory barriers and impediments; iii) Low resource allocation to youth programmes.’<sup>62</sup>*

The policy therefore advocates the following:

*‘... increased effective youth representation and participation in key positions of decision making, leadership and management at all levels of government and in the civil society.’<sup>63</sup>*

### 4.3 Involvement in development programming

From a programming perspective, Uganda’s youth are not formally mainstreamed into the national development processes. Because they are not formally integrated into society’s structures, systems and processes, they are unable to contribute to the social and economic development largely due to limited resources made available for youth activities.<sup>64</sup> In Otuke district, one youth asked:

*‘... why they are called upon to act where their energies and bravery are required, such as in the war against LRA, but not in planning and budgeting processes. Teso mobilised the “Arrow boys” and Lango had the “Amuka boys” which groups actually stamped out the rebels from their areas ...’<sup>65</sup>*

Overall, the level of resource allocation for youth activities and level of involvement in planning processes are extremely low compared with young people’s engagement in political activities. While the National Youth Policy is supposed to be consistent with national laws and development priorities, budget analysis for the years 2011/12 and 2012/13 reveals limited priority areas for the youth. Government priorities<sup>66</sup> for the period 2010/11–2014/15 under the National Development Plan (NDP) include the following: infrastructure development in roads and energy; promotion of science, technology and innovation to facilitate value addition and employment; enhancing agricultural production and productivity; private sector development; and improving public service delivery.<sup>67</sup>

The results in Table 9 below show that youth participation in government programmes is still lacking. For instance, only 10.8% of the young male respondents indicated that their participation

<sup>62</sup> MoGLSD (2001). Op. cit. p.7.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid. p.13.

<sup>64</sup> *The EAC Joint Programme of Action: A Proposal by the Youth People of the East African Community*, Paper presented to the Regional Conference on Trade and Business, Kampala, 11th–12th August 2012.

<sup>65</sup> Interview, Local Council V youth council representative, Katakwi district, 6th July 2012.

<sup>66</sup> Government of Uganda (2010). *2010/11–2014/15 National Development Plan*.

<sup>67</sup> Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development (2010). *National Budget Framework Paper 2010/11–2014/15 – Incorporating the Medium Term Macroeconomic Plan, Programmes for Social and Economic Development, and the Indicative Revenue and Expenditure Framework*.

in government programmes was very strong, while 16.3% of the female respondents stated that this was the case. This scenario is well illustrated at the district level. For example, in Lamwo district, 0% of the young male respondents and 4% of the female respondents rated their participation in government programmes as ‘very strong’; in Kotido district, the corresponding figures were higher at 12% and 29% for young male and female respondents respectively. In Hoima, 4.5% of young male respondents and 12.1% of the female respondents rated their participation as ‘very strong’, whereas in Luweero none of the male or female respondents reported that this was the case. These statistics confirm the low levels of youth involvement in government programmes (see Appendix 5 – (v) Extent to which youths are engaged by politicians, by region/district and gender).

**Table 9: Extent of youth participation in government programmes, by gender and region**

	Northern		Eastern		Western		Central		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Participation in government programmes (Male)</b>										
Very strong	10	6.9	37	23.3	8	6.1	6	4.7	61	10.8
Strong	19	13.2	28	17.6	25	18.9	22	17.2	94	16.7
Less strong	78	54.2	44	27.7	45	34.1	40	31.3	207	36.8
Not at all	37	25.7	50	31.4	54	40.9	60	46.8	201	35.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>159</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>132</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>128</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>563</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Participation in government programmes (Female)</b>										
Very strong	7	8.9	30	35.7	15	14.7	7	7.3	59	16.3
Strong	6	7.6	21	25.0	7	6.9	24	25.0	58	16.1
Less strong	44	55.7	25	29.8	34	33.3	27	28.1	130	36.0
Not at all	22	27.8	8	9.5	46	45.1	38	39.6	114	31.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>361</b>	<b>100</b>

The lack of involvement in government programmes partly explains the rather ambivalent response among the youths regarding the question: ‘Do you think the state values you?’ Indeed, in FGDs the youths expressed sentiments that they were only ‘used’ by politicians during election periods and discarded soon after elections, as noted by a youth leader in Kiruhura:

*‘... during election periods, every political aspirant develops a strong agenda targeting the youth, such as the boda-boda (motor bicycle riders) groups, students and peasants, including setting aside a budget for their participation in the campaigns. However, this stops the moment one is declared a winner. What follows are arguments of mainstreaming youth issues ...’<sup>68</sup>*

There was also a feeling of selective involvement/engagement in various national activities. In one of the FGDs in Kampala, a young interviewee indicated that:

*‘... the older people use the youth like ladders for climbing to the levels of their interest, and later decide for the youth programmes that do not entirely address their problems.’<sup>69</sup>*

This situation makes dialogue on national identity complex if the youth feel they are not fully involved or included in matters concerning decision making as well as adequate resource allocation.

<sup>68</sup> KII, youth leader, Kiruhura district.

<sup>69</sup> Youth FGD, Wandegaya, 17th July 2012.

## 4.4 Local government programming for youth activities

The study also sought to determine the government's commitment to youth activities at the local government level. To determine this, the views of the youth were solicited regarding government allocation of resources for youth activities and youth accessibility to government programmes.

Local governance was embraced by the Ugandan government in 1992 with the enactment of the Decentralisation Policy, which was followed by the Local Government Act in 1997. These sought to promote good governance, democratic participation and involvement in decision making by citizens (including the youth). To date, local governments have been instrumental in upholding and respecting the Youth Council Act and in implementing the positive action mandate for young people through elective positions to local government councils throughout the country. Beyond this, however, the priorities of the National Youth Policy remain unfulfilled. Although there is a youth department at every local government level, the monetary allocation for youth development activities is almost non-existent. In many cases, funds are earmarked for holding meetings and nothing else.

Lack of adequate budget allocation for youth programmes hinders programmes that would have been used to organise the youth for development activities, among others.<sup>70</sup> Table 10 below shows the findings for resource allocation for youth programmes at the local level. Many of the youths involved in the study (50.3% of males and 47.1% of females) indicated that the government does 'not at all' allocate resources to local government for youth programmes. In Otuke district, 72.9% of male respondents and 71.8% of female respondents reported that the government does 'not at all' allocate resources to the district for youth programmes. In Kiruhura district, 68% of males and 51.4% of females indicated that the government does not allocate resources, while in Luweero 66.7% of males and 75% of females stated that this was the case (see Appendix 5 – (v) Extent to which youths are engaged by politicians, by region/district and gender). The National Youth Policy also identifies 'resource allocation' as one of the causes of low participation of youths in decision-making processes.

**Table 10: Youth opinions on resource allocation to local government for youth activities**

	Northern		Eastern		Western		Central		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Resource allocation (Male)</b>										
Very strong	8	5.4	17	11.0	6	4.5	0	0.0	31	5.4
Strong	14	9.4	17	11.0	8	6.1	8	5.9	47	8.2
Less strong	54	36.2	49	31.8	37	28	66	48.5	206	36.1
Not at all	73	49.0	71	46.1	81	61.4	62	45.6	287	50.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>149</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>154</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>132</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>136</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>571</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Resource allocation (Female)</b>										
Very strong	4	4.9	14	16.9	10	10.8	2	2.0	30	8.4
Strong	6	7.4	10	12.0	7	7.5	7	7.0	30	8.4
Less strong	25	30.9	36	43.4	19	20.4	49	49.0	129	36.1
Not at all	46	56.8	23	27.7	57	61.3	42	42.0	168	47.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>357</b>	<b>100</b>

70 MoGLSD (2011). *Review of National Youth Policy*. Kampala: MoGLSD.

The government's inadequacy in youth affairs is also demonstrated by the low levels of youth accessibility to government programmes (Table 11).

**Table 11: Youth opinions on access to government programmes**

	Northern		Eastern		Western		Central		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Access to government programmes (Male)</b>										
Very strong	5	3.7	30	19.4	12	9.0	4	3.1	51	9.2
Strong	13	9.7	28	18.1	24	17.9	10	7.7	75	13.6
Less strong	69	51.5	40	25.8	42	31.3	55	42.3	206	37.3
Not at all	47	35.1	57	36.8	56	41.8	61	46.9	221	40.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>134</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>155</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>134</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>130</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>553</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Access to government programmes (Female)</b>										
Very strong	4	5.2	20	23.3	11	11.5	3	3.2	38	10.8
Strong	6	7.8	13	15.1	14	14.6	16	17.2	49	13.9
Less strong	43	55.8	30	34.9	25	26.0	36	38.7	134	38.1
Not at all	24	31.2	23	26.7	46	47.9	38	40.9	131	37.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>352</b>	<b>100</b>

Speaking about local government involvement in the prioritisation of youth needs in planning and budgeting processes, a key respondent from Luweero local government noted:

*'We are trying to implement the National Youth Policy but we are constrained by resources; the budget earmarked for youth is so meagre to run all the activities or concerns of the youth. The budget of the youth in the district is spent on organising a few youth council meetings, a youth day at the district and it's over ...'*<sup>71</sup>

Interviews with the Kampala City Council Authority (KCCA) division leaders indicated a further frustration with the budgeting process. One of the key informants indicated that the introduction of the KCCA Act had abolished the youth budget. In particular, at the time of the interviews, both Makindye and Nakawa divisions had received no financial allocation for youth activities for the financial year 2011–2012, thus forcing the youth leaders to resort to voluntary work.<sup>72</sup>

Further discussion of the relationship between local government plans and the National Youth Policy revealed that there was limited practical knowledge of the National Youth Policy or Youth Action Plan. According to a key respondent in Kotido district:

*'... there is general knowledge on the existence of the National Youth Policy at local government, because when Parliament passed the Policy, a circular was sent to all local governments for information. However, the paper was delivered in its naked form with no accompanying resources. In Kotido district, only three million shillings are realised for youth activities each year – mainly meant for the National Youth Day celebrations. Thus, since local governments rely on the central government transfers, pursuit of the youth prioritisation issues should start from the centre ...'*<sup>73</sup>

71 Interview, Chief Administrative Officer, Luweero district headquarters, 11th July 2012.

72 Interview, Youth Chairperson, Makindye division, 13th July 2013.

73 Interview, Local Council V Chairperson, Kotido district headquarters, 2nd July 2012.

One initiative which local governments were aware of was the central government initiative on promoting ‘patriotism’ in Uganda through the youth and students in secondary schools. Under this initiative, the government sought to promote a patriotism campaign targeting youths and students in all secondary schools to encourage love for Uganda and its people, as well as readiness to sacrifice for both. Although this could be a key strategy for promoting national identity in schools and local government, there has been no budgetary allocation for this initiative in local government or schools. Thus, other than launching the initiative, the concept has not been fully implemented. According to one respondent in the FGDs:

*‘Patriotism is an ideological concept and it may not fully be embraced, since it is an NRM initiative that not many people may agree with. Besides, patriotism cannot be taught, it needs to be felt in someone’s bloodstream through a functional government that caters for people’s interests first. Once Uganda overcomes the current exclusive clubs of a few corrupt, rich and protected people, then we can start talking about patriotism and return to the original motto, “For God and My Country”.’<sup>74</sup>*

Most of the local leaders and school teachers who work in areas where these clubs have been launched acknowledged that there was no clear plan/strategy or source of finance for implementing the patriotism clubs. The initiative is viewed as highly political and centred around the president, his resident district commissioners and politicians of the ruling NRM party.

There are many possible reasons for this situation: the poor autonomy of local governments; tight fiscal control by the central government; and other capacity constraints.<sup>75</sup> It is particularly worrying given that local governments were created with the aim of making services more available to the people and giving them an opportunity to make decisions on issues that directly affect them.

#### 4.5 Youth association with political parties

Multi-party politics has always been considered an avenue for forging national cohesion if conceived on the basis of national interests, while embracing national values and respect for the country’s heritage. From independence in 1962 to 1970, a multi-party dispensation prevailed; however, this ended in 1971 following Idi Amin’s military take-over. The fall of Amin in 1979 and the elections of 1980 led to the restoration of a multi-party political system. However, political parties were temporarily suspended from 1986 to 2005 – a period marked by a no-party system. In 2005, multi-party politics was re-introduced through a political referendum.

Today, there are 38 registered parties in Uganda. However, only seven of these parties are active. The four main parties – NRM, UPC, DP and the Forum for Democratic Change (FDC) – have youth wings that are largely used for political mobilisation and not much else. Young people in the 18–30-years age group can run for election and each region has a youth representative in parliament. The government of Uganda created opportunities for inclusion of the youth in party politics. In 1993, by an Act of Parliament, it created the National Youth Council, with structures from the village level to the national level. The council aims, among other things, to assist the youth in developing and practising their leadership skills and in empowering themselves. The council comprises three representatives from ninety districts, four student leaders, fourteen representatives from national non-governmental organisations, five youth MPs and two representatives of youths with disabilities. The Local Government Act (1997) equally provides for youth representation (at least two members) at the local councils.

<sup>74</sup> FGD held in Kisasi, Nakawa division, Kampala, 12th July 2012.

<sup>75</sup> S. Kritika, P. Sohini and G. Pooja Ramavat (2010). *Decentralisation in Uganda*. New Delhi: National Council of Applied Economic Research.

The major political parties have youth leagues: for example, the DP youth league is known as the Uganda Young Democrats. The FDC youth wing exists, but its existence and political agitation are minimal due to lack of funding. The UPC youth league is integrated in its party structures at the grassroots and national levels.<sup>76</sup>

However, young people's participation in politics is still very low. This can be attributed to several factors. For example, while the National Youth Council presents itself as an independent body with a protected statutory status, it was described by most interviewees as a political body linked to the government.<sup>77</sup> In one study, the respondents outlined:

*'We have the youth structures, but they do absolutely nothing. The youth are not involved in policymaking or implementation; the structures just exist as formalities.'*

*'The youth MPs and youth representatives in local government, most of them are pushed by the ruling party. Therefore, they don't address issues affecting youth; they just help the ruling party. They don't listen to opinions of other youths, and nothing is changing on the ground.'*<sup>78</sup>

A recent survey<sup>79</sup> shows that less than 60% of youths are aware of youth structures such as the National Youth Council. The survey indicates surprisingly that youths in Kampala and northern Uganda seem to be more aware of such structures. These low levels of political awareness impact on electoral participation.

Another related problem is raised in a country report:

*'... ineffectiveness and incapacitation of youth structures right from village levels to the parliament. The extent of representation of youth issues at different forums by their youth leaders is still questionable. This is largely due to poor leadership skills and inadequate funding.'*<sup>80</sup>

Finally, the youths themselves – in their Youth Manifesto – identify the most common challenges faced by young people in Uganda as:

*'... the ability of the youths to freely and meaningfully participate in issue-oriented politics without being compromised and allowing political parties to recruit them into brigades intended to further political parties' motives. Ultimately, the youths become aggressive and destructive instead of being transformed into potential leaders.'*<sup>81</sup>

In terms of young people's association with political parties, the study found that a large proportion of youths felt they were 'not close at all' to political parties in terms of participation – such as attending meetings, getting involved in party activities or engaging in leadership activities. While 39.1% of male respondents felt that they were not close at all, the percentage was higher for young female respondents at 47.5% (Table 12). It should be noted that closeness was lower in the Northern, Eastern and Central regions than in the Western region of Uganda. The lowest level of youth closeness to political parties was found in Kotido district, where 61.8% of male respondents and 75% of female respondents said they were not close at all to political parties. A similar scenario was found in Kampala, where 60% of both males and females stated they were not close at all (see Appendix 5 – (iv) Level of closeness to institutions, by region/district and gender). These figures suggest a low level of trust in and sense of identification with political parties in Uganda generally. Opposition parties, on the other hand, have been quite influential in these areas, capitalising on the NRM's lack of success in extending a meaningful presence. Clearly, this presents a challenge to party elites who wish to mobilise and reinstate the agenda of national unity and peace, especially among Uganda's youth.

76 C.J.O. Kanyadudi (2010). *From the Wings to the Mainstream: The Role of Political Parties Youth Leagues in Democratization and Regional Integration in East Africa*. Nairobi: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES).

77 N.J. Jørgensen (2010). Op. cit.

78 Ibid.

79 BRAC (2011). Op. cit.

80 *Uganda Country Report on National Youth Consultation Meeting*, Kampala: HELD.

81 Uganda Youth Network (2010). *National Youth Manifesto 2010–2011*. Kampala: Uganda Youth Network.



**Table 12: Youth perceptions of association with political parties**

	Northern		Eastern		Western		Central		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Association with political parties (Male)</b>										
Very close	40	29.6	28	17.5	56	40.9	32	23.2	156	27.4
Not very close	20	14.8	35	21.9	27	19.7	24	17.4	106	18.6
Not close at all	56	41.5	72	45.0	38	27.7	57	41.3	223	39.1
Not sure	19	14.1	25	15.6	16	11.7	25	18.1	85	14.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>135</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>160</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>137</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>138</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>570</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Association with political parties (Female)</b>										
Very close	16	21.3	12	13.3	35	32.7	21	20.4	84	22.4
Not very close	12	16.0	12	13.3	16	15.0	12	11.7	52	13.9
Not close at all	33	44.0	51	56.7	34	31.8	60	58.3	178	47.5
Not sure	14	18.7	15	16.7	22	20.6	10	9.7	61	16.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>107</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>375</b>	<b>100</b>

It should be noted that levels of closeness were slightly higher for male respondents in the Western region compared with other regions. For example, in Hoima and Kasese, 56.4% and 40.4% of males respectively indicated that they were very close to political parties. However, the levels of closeness in these areas could arguably be attributed to the heavy presence of the ruling party. Moreover, the level of closeness among male respondents was significantly higher than that for their female counterparts, with 33.3% and 28.6% of female respondents respectively in Hoima and Kasese indicating that they were very close to political parties. This suggests that young women's participation in politics may be a cause for concern.

The study also looked at young people's participation in soliciting political votes. Interestingly, the figures point to high youth involvement in this area, with 68.7% of male respondents and 66.6% of female respondents indicating that they were 'very strongly' involved in soliciting political votes (Table 13).

**Table 13: Youth perceptions of participation in soliciting political votes**

	Northern		Eastern		Western		Central		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Political votes (Male)</b>										
Very strong	100	67.1	112	70.4	100	71.9	91	65.0	403	68.7
Strong	25	16.8	28	17.6	17	12.2	37	26.4	107	18.2
Less strong	15	10.1	9	5.7	17	12.2	9	6.4	50	8.5
Not at all	9	6.0	10	6.3	5	3.6	3	2.1	27	4.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>149</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>159</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>139</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>140</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>587</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Political votes (Female)</b>										
Very strong	49	57.6	59	67.0	81	75.7	70	64.2	259	66.6
Strong	19	22.4	14	15.9	11	10.3	29	26.6	73	18.8
Less strong	11	12.9	11	12.5	12	11.2	8	7.3	42	10.8
Not at all	6	7.1	4	4.5	3	2.8	2	1.8	15	3.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>107</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100</b>

Looking at the individual districts, in Busia 78.6% of males and 83.3% of females said they were ‘very strongly’ involved in soliciting political votes. The figures were even higher in Hoima district, with 81.4% of males and 88.6% of females stating that this was the case. A similar trend unfolded in Buikwe and Lamwo districts. Aspiring politicians have been known to engage young people during electoral campaigns through their youth organisations, particularly those in third-level educational institutions.

## 4.6 National youth associations

Despite an earlier attempt to mobilise young people while recognising their varied categories – such as the YFU, NUYO and NUSU – there has been no strong national association, movement or network for youths to use as a rallying point. Neither the National Youth Council nor the National Youth Network has been able to include all youths under their membership. One reason for this is the lack of funding to roll out nationwide mobilisation and recruitment processes as well as the lack of political will to strengthen such structures. One of the key informants indicated that the government is reluctant to support strong youth networks, because they could turn into politically suicidal structures.<sup>82</sup> On the other hand, the presence of a strong national association for youths could have several advantages, including promoting a sense of unity and purpose.

The study sought the perceptions of youths regarding youth associations in Uganda. The following questions were raised in this regard: Are they members of these associations? Do they understand the reasons why the association(s) to which they belong were established? Do the associations meet their needs? Are they involved in the management of youth affairs at national level?

The survey found that 40.8% of young male respondents and 28.5% of females felt that they were ‘fully involved’ in managing the affairs of national youth associations (Table 14). However, a significant percentage (31.4% of males and 36.3% of females) indicated that they were ‘not at all’ involved in such activities.

**Table 14: Youth involvement in managing the affairs of national youth associations**

	Northern		Eastern		Western		Central		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Youth associations (Male)</b>										
Fully involved	49	38.0	94	57.7	67	51.1	20	14.2	230	40.8
Involved	15	11.6	33	20.2	22	16.8	24	17.0	94	16.7
Not at all	43	33.3	25	15.3	23	17.6	86	61.0	177	31.4
Not sure	22	17.1	11	6.7	19	14.5	11	7.8	63	11.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>129</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>163</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>131</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>141</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>564</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Youth associations (Female)</b>										
Fully involved	7	10.0	36	40.4	42	41.2	18	18.0	103	28.5
Involved	10	14.3	20	22.5	17	16.7	21	21.0	68	18.8
Not at all	29	41.4	27	30.3	26	25.5	49	49.0	131	36.3
Not sure	24	34.3	6	6.7	17	16.7	12	12.0	59	16.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>361</b>	<b>100</b>

82 Interview, Local Council V youth representative, Arua district, 6th July 2012.



Most of the youths belong to small village associations such as football, music and drama groups, as well as organisations involved in eradicating poverty. Youths in schools have a wide range of associations at their disposal, including the Girl Guides, the Boy Scouts, drama and debating clubs, YCS, HIV/AIDS-related clubs and the Uganda National Students' Association (UNSA). UNSA operates at a national level and aims to bring together students from secondary and third-level institutions, ensuring that all educational institutions set up school councils or university guilds.

However, some organisations are only created for selfish gains, especially prior to and during elections, as the following statement illustrates:

*'A big problem with youth associations is that they are influenced politically. Some are formed during times of campaigns; people come up and register to get money from the government, and afterwards they die. Some don't have focus.'*<sup>83</sup>

The study also observed a notable disconnection between youths at the national level and those at local government level. Those at national level are very vocal on issues such as the youth fund, unemployment and corruption. Their counterparts at the local levels are silent mainly due to two reasons: firstly, at the local level youth representatives are less empowered due to the often louder and more salient voices of older representatives, some of them relatives; and, secondly, rural youths are less affected by the harsh conditions (e.g. lack of food and shelter) experienced by their city counterparts. It is easier to obtain food in the rural areas and to find shelter on family (ancestral) estates. Nevertheless, during the interviews, youths at the local level raised issues ranging from unemployment and drug abuse to exploitation by party elites who make grand promises and use them to mobilise voters during elections.

Clearly, there is a need for empowerment programmes targeting youths at the local level, perhaps through the district and sub-county councils. As one key informant in Luweero highlighted:

*'... the challenge with the youth representatives is that they have failed to use their presence in council meetings.'*<sup>84</sup>

A study on the possibilities for and challenges to young people's participation in decision making in Uganda highlighted a lack of organisational skills. This shortcoming hinders the effectiveness of youth organisations, particularly in rural areas:

*'People start organisations because they are motivated, but they lack organisational skills, the planning skills; they don't know how to monitor and evaluate. And they might not adapt to good governance.'*<sup>85</sup>

However, despite some of the weaknesses, there are groups that have been established and that are beginning to engage the government and political leaders on the plight of youths. Such efforts include the establishment of the Youth Agenda for engaging political leaders,<sup>86</sup> a young people's collective demanding action from leaders. These organisations have been set up to highlight specific issues or interests concerning youths. However, it has been observed that they tend to speak in general terms, even though they are supposed to be a mouthpiece for the youth.<sup>87</sup>

83 N.J. Jørgensen (2010). Op. cit.

84 KII, Luweero district.

85 N.J. Jørgensen (2010). Op. cit. Citing an interview with a staff member in a youth organisation.

86 Uganda Youth Network (2011). *National Youth Agenda*. Uganda Youth Network.

87 Interview, Chief Administrative Officer, Luweero district, 11th July 2012.

Youth organisations also encounter socio-cultural barriers. This is particularly evident in rural areas, ‘where traditionally authoritative, patriarchal and hierarchical values hinder youth in getting a voice in decision making’.<sup>88</sup>

According to the National Youth Policy, Uganda’s large population of youths is of strategic importance and holds immense potential for the development of the country. However, the policy also notes that youths have not been adequately involved and that their resources have not been properly harnessed for socio-economic development and for the promotion of peace, democracy, good governance and upholding the values of society.<sup>89</sup> Nonetheless, this study has established that the vast majority of youths share a number of common attributes that distinguish them from mainstream Ugandan society. Findings from the FGDs indicate that young people are worried about the high levels of unemployment. They also feel alienated and marginalised by government officials and their elders. The lack of financial and political empowerment is another issue highlighted by Uganda’s young people.

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<sup>88</sup> N.J. Jørgensen (2010). *Op. cit.*

<sup>89</sup> MoGLSD (2001). *Op. cit.*

## 5. Conclusion and priority action areas

This report explores young people's perspectives on identity and nationhood in Uganda. It also highlights the role of the Ugandan government, CSOs and religious and cultural institutions in moulding the youth into good citizens.

The report's findings are taken from a study carried out by International Alert, Uganda. Using a multi-stage sampling design, the study collected data from 12 districts, which were selected non-randomly. The study involved interviews with key stakeholders, FGDs as well as literature reviews of youth and identity-related documents. Based on the study findings, this report examines the following elements: factors that best describe youth identity; factors that young people associate with feeling a sense of belonging in Uganda; and the meaning of national symbols and holidays to the youth, such as the national flag, anthem and constitution, as well as Heroes' Day and Independence Day. The report also examines the extent of youths' closeness to institutions such as the mosque or church, cultural kingdoms, districts, youth organisations and political parties. In addition, it examines the extent to which the youth are engaged by politicians in political activities as well as youth involvement in decision making and government programmes.

The report highlights youth affairs, which are well stipulated in various legal frameworks and institutional policies. The National Youth Policy spells out priority areas that require action for the integration of the youth in national development. Several other studies regarding youth participation and the vulnerability of youths have been carried out and recommendations given.

In terms of factors that best describe youth identity, ethnicity is identified as the most important factor in this report. Given the diversity of ethnic groups in Uganda, one's association with their ethnic grouping is highly significant in describing youth identity.

Religion as a form of identity among the youth is also important for both males and females. It continues to be crucial in most social and political aspects of young Ugandans' lives. For example, the youth strongly indicate that places of worship have made an effort to incorporate youth programming through activities such as music, drama festivals and dance.

Nationality emerges as another important form of identity for youths. Factors that influence young people's sense of nationality include being born in Uganda, living in Uganda for most of one's life, possessing Ugandan ancestry, and respecting Uganda's constitution and policies. Although some of the youths are not proud to be Ugandan because of the country's corruption, poverty, unemployment and violence arising from police crackdowns on rioters/demonstrators, a considerable number of young respondents said they are proud to be Ugandan. Their pride is related to factors such as their Ugandan ancestry and the peace, stability and freedom that the country is enjoying.

Uganda has a very strong cultural heritage, which also explains the level of diversity in the country. The regional perception indicates that attachment to the kingdom/cultural institution is stronger in the Central and Northern regions. Closeness to cultural institutions is a result of the institutions' response to the socio-economic, political, cultural and physical needs of their citizens.

At national level, the presence of symbols and emblems is known to many youths. However, a significant number of youths do not find meaning in such symbols. While the study has found a positive attachment to these national symbols and holidays among some youths, the sense of

attachment is linked to young people's level of knowledge of such symbols. The less knowledge they have, the lower their attachment is to the symbol or emblem.

Youth organisations have existed since independence. However, like many other African countries, Uganda did not have a coherent and comprehensive youth-centred policy. The present government has initiated youth policies and programmes. However, the implementation of these has eluded government.

Although the current government has instituted legal frameworks and policies for involving youths in decision making and government programmes, few young people are actually involved. These efforts only seem to be used for selfish motives – that is, usually to canvass votes during electoral campaigns. The level of closeness to national institutions is also low in terms of participation, involvement in planning, and budgeting, resulting in marginalisation of the youth.

Ugandans need a social space where they can appreciate their culture, language and origin. Creating new bonds and promoting a more sustained relationship would make the people of Uganda proud of their shared past, allowing them to appreciate their ethnic past and to develop a sense of conscience that will be passed on from generation to generation.

## Priority action areas

The findings from this report point to a number of priority action areas (recommendations). These priorities have relevance for government, development partners, the education sector, civil society groups working with youths and young people themselves. It is hoped that such recommendations will encourage greater efforts to support the next generation in realising a vision of a non-sectarian united Uganda, where there is equal opportunity for all citizens.

### Promote national unity

While there is a diversity of factors that define youth identity in Uganda, people's ethnic, geographical and religious background are still key factors, resulting in divisions and lack of agreement between citizens. However, through dialogue, tolerance and cooperation between young women and men, civil societies can help to build the capacities of youth groups and create shared spaces for different groups, as well as supporting local-level youth mobility. This will help to prevent divisions and conflicts among youth groups. These measures are also important for young individuals and communities affected by migration, enabling them to develop a sense of belonging in their host communities.

### Make civic education a national priority

Civic education plays an essential role in strengthening national identity and unity. It is also important for consolidating a democratic society, preparing informed citizens and promoting their participation in the civic life of their communities and nation. Without civic knowledge, Ugandan youths will lack a firm foundation to build a strong democratic society. Although this responsibility is borne by all members of a civil society, special responsibility lies with the Uganda Human Rights Commission, the Electoral Commission, schools and educators. The government should therefore renew its commitment to its civic mission by dedicating itself at every level to ensuring that Uganda's youth are transformed into active and engaged citizens. The central government initiative of patriotism campaign/clubs in schools is a step in the right direction, but it needs to be expanded and sustained rather than making it political.

### **Streamline youth affairs in decision making and political parties**

The government should develop a national strategy providing for youth participation and greater inclusion in government planning and budgeting. It also needs to improve access to government programmes. It should mainstream the youth policy, including its strategic priorities and interventions, into the NDPs and budgets. The government should also mainstream and promote the participation of young people in decision making at all levels through community organisations, voluntary work and consultations, thus advocating political inclusion. For example, it should consider introducing a quota for youth participation in decision making at different administrative levels in the country. Moreover, in order to involve young people in party politics, political parties should develop a coherent policy platform designed to address young people's participation in politics.

### **Create new platforms for the youth and strengthen existing ones**

The government should facilitate the creation of new platforms, programmes and policies, or strengthen existing ones, to ensure equal access of young women and men to participate in decision making at local, national, regional and global levels and to fulfil their respective civic duties. The new approach to youth leadership and participation should include democratic governance and sustainable development processes. The government and CSOs should work towards removing barriers that hinder the youth from reaching their full potential. Such efforts could include transforming unjust patriarchal structures, retrogressive myths about masculinity and femininity, as well as social taboos surrounding the role of youths in governance.

## Appendices

### Appendix 1: Methodology

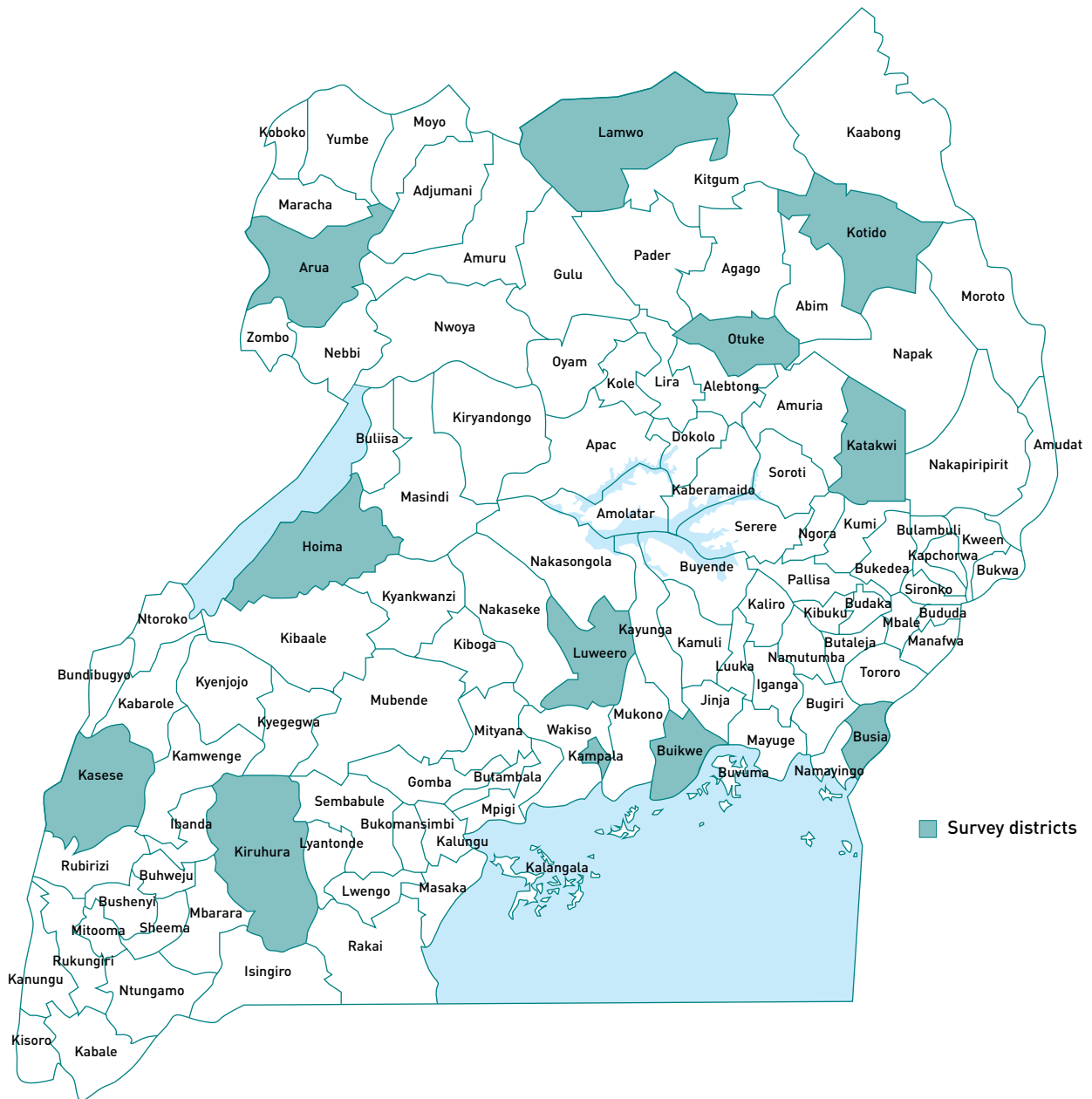
The study was conducted in 12 districts selected non-randomly out of the 112 districts in Uganda to represent the regions of the country. A multi-stage sampling design was used to select the districts and households in each village and district. The representation encompassed the following regions: Northern/West Nile (Arua, Lamwo and Otuke districts); Eastern/North Eastern (Busia, Katakwi and Kotido districts); Central (Buikwe, Kampala and Luweero districts); and Western (Hoima, Kasese and Kiruhura districts). The sample selection was done purposively to include relatively peaceful, post-LRA conflict-affected areas, traditional and newly created districts.

While in the field, a two-stage simple random sampling was used to select the respondents. A list of villages per district was obtained from the Uganda National Bureau of Statistics (UBOS) office. From the selected villages, a list of households was obtained from the Local Council I chairpersons, who also facilitated the selection of households with youths. Determination of the sample size was based on the literacy rate in the country, which, according to the Uganda National Household Survey 2010, stands at 69%. This sampling variable was important because the youths in Uganda fall into two main categories – literate (formal) and illiterate (informal).

The study enlisted a total of 1,036 respondents. Primary data for the survey was generated firstly through the household survey undertaken using a structured questionnaire, targeting the youth. A total of 1,080 youths were interviewed. Unstructured interviews using an unstructured interview guide were also undertaken with not only youths in focus group discussions (FGDs), but also with key informants who included government officials, members of parliament and representatives of civil society organisations (CSOs). A total of 24 FGDs and 70 key informant interviews (KIIs) were held. Unstructured interview guides were also used for interviews with stakeholders, including political party officials, representatives of the private sector, central and local government leaders, and civil society representatives.

Secondary data was also collected, mainly from available published and unpublished materials on youth identities and national unity. Secondary literature was obtained from the country's national policy documents such as the constitution, the National Development Plan (NDP), the 2001 National Youth Policy and the Peace, Recovery and Development Plan (PRDP). In addition, information was obtained from key institutions, including the UBOS, CSOs and private sector groups.

## Appendix 2: Sampled regions, districts and selection criteria



Source: Northern Uganda Data Centre (NUDC), 2012.



Northern region	
District	Selection criteria
Arua	One of the old districts carved out of the traditional Madi district of West Nile, which is also part of the Greater North Considered a cosmopolitan district doing booming business with the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and South Sudan
Otuke	Part of Lango sub-region in the northern part of the country Carved out of Lira district Suffered Karamoja cattle rustling and LRA war; currently recovering from war
Lamwo	Part of Acholi sub-region Recently carved out of Kitgum district Suffered LRA war and has one of the highest poverty indicators
Western region	
District	Selection criteria
Kiruhura	Part of the Ankore sub-region in western Uganda Home to President Yoweri Museveni
Kasese	Part of Rwenzori sub-region in western Uganda Considered an opposition stronghold (2006 and 2011 elections) Suffered the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) war Has a 'controversial' Rwenzururu Kingdom
Hoima	Part of the Bunyoro sub-region Recently discovered huge deposits of oil and is a host to several ethnicities including foreigners Past conflicts in neighbouring Kibaale
Central region	
District	Selection criteria
Luweero	Part of Buganda sub-region Location of the NRA war between 1981 and 1986, and considered the springboard of Uganda's liberation struggle Hosts several ethnicities from different parts of the country
Buikwe	Part of the Buganda sub-region Hosts several ethnicities Carved out of Mukono district
Kampala	Capital city of Uganda Hosts all ethnicities and foreigners Home to the Buganda Kingdom headquarters
Eastern region	
District	Selection criteria
Kotido	Part of the Karamoja sub-region Considered a difficult-to-reach area and somewhat isolated Suffered internal conflicts (with pockets of internal strife still existing), loss of property and lives Underwent disarmament and has one of the highest poverty levels in Uganda
Katakwi	Part of Teso sub-region Suffered from LRA war and cattle rustling Had the highest number of internally displaced persons in Teso sub-region to date
Busia	Border district and part of Bukedi sub-region Until recently, derived its entire livelihood from Kenya during the economic strife in Uganda (1970s–1990s)

### Appendix 3: Number of youths interviewed, by district and gender

District	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Arua	47	7.6	23	5.5	70	6.8
Buikwe	51	8.3	38	9.1	89	8.6
Busia	56	9.1	32	7.7	88	8.5
Hoima	44	7.1	39	9.3	83	8.0
Kampala	41	6.6	43	10.3	84	8.1
Kasese	51	8.3	41	9.8	92	8.9
Katakwi	55	8.9	27	6.5	82	7.9
Kiruhura	51	8.3	39	9.3	90	8.7
Kotido	55	8.9	35	8.4	90	8.7
Lamwo	62	10.0	27	6.5	89	8.6
Luweero	56	9.1	33	7.9	89	8.6
Otuke	49	7.9	41	9.8	90	8.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>618</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>418</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>1,036</b>	<b>100</b>

### Appendix 4: Age groups of youths interviewed, by region and gender

	Northern		Eastern		Western		Central		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Age distribution (Male)</b>										
15–19 years	24	15.2	40	24.1	27	18.5	28	18.9	119	19.3
20–24 years	49	31.0	61	36.7	58	39.7	43	29.1	211	34.1
25–29 years	63	39.9	50	30.1	48	32.9	65	43.9	226	36.6
30–35 years	22	13.9	15	9.0	13	8.9	12	8.1	62	10.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>158</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>166</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>146</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>148</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>618</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Age distribution (Female)</b>										
15–19 years	27	29.7	37	39.4	47	39.5	23	20.2	134	32.1
20–24 years	33	36.3	39	41.5	41	34.5	51	44.7	164	39.2
25–29 years	23	25.3	13	13.8	28	23.5	37	32.5	101	24.2
30–35 years	8	8.8	5	5.3	3	2.5	3	2.6	19	4.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>119</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>114</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>418</b>	<b>100</b>

## Appendix 5: Data

### i) Factors that youths primarily identify with, by region/district and gender

#### Northern region

	Lamwo		Otuke		Arua		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Ethnicity (Male)</b>								
Most important	59	95.2	48	98.0	28	60.9	135	86.0
Important	2	3.2	1	2.0	16	34.8	19	12.1
Not important	1	1.6	0	0.0	2	4.3	3	1.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>157</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ethnicity (Female)</b>								
Most important	26	96.3	41	100.0	17	85.0	84	95.5
Important	1	3.7	0	0.0	3	15.0	4	4.5
Not important	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Religion (Male)</b>								
Most important	52	85.2	42	95.5	34	72.3	128	84.2
Important	5	8.2	1	2.3	11	23.4	17	11.2
Not important	4	6.6	1	2.3	2	4.3	7	4.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>152</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Religion (Female)</b>								
Most important	26	100.0	39	95.1	21	91.3	86	95.6
Important	0	0.0	1	2.4	2	8.7	3	3.3
Not important	0	0.0	1	2.4	0	0.0	1	1.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Nationality (Male)</b>								
Most important	51	89.5	48	98.0	23	51.1	122	80.8
Important	3	5.3	1	2.0	14	31.1	18	11.9
Not important	3	5.3	0	0.0	8	17.8	11	7.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>151</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Nationality (Female)</b>								
Most important	22	95.7	40	97.6	15	65.2	77	88.5
Important	1	4.3	1	2.4	6	26.1	8	9.2
Not important	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	8.7	2	2.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Region of origin (Male)</b>								
Most important	53	86.9	48	98.0	12	26.1	113	72.4
Important	4	6.6	0	0.0	14	30.4	18	11.5
Not important	4	6.6	1	2.0	20	43.5	25	16.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>156</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Region of origin (Female)</b>								
Most important	24	92.3	36	90.0	10	45.5	70	79.5
Important	1	3.8	0	0.0	6	27.3	7	8.0
Not important	1	3.8	4	10.0	6	27.3	11	12.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>100</b>

## Eastern region

	Busia		Katakwi		Kotido		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Ethnicity (Male)</b>								
Most important	51	92.7	52	96.3	32	59.3	135	82.8
Important	3	5.5	0	0.0	14	25.9	17	10.4
Not important	1	1.8	2	3.7	8	14.8	11	6.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>163</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ethnicity (Female)</b>								
Most important	29	90.6	24	88.9	24	72.7	77	83.7
Important	3	9.4	1	3.7	8	24.2	12	13.0
Not important	0	0.0	2	7.4	1	3.0	3	3.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Religion (Male)</b>								
Most important	52	92.9	52	94.5	18	33.3	122	73.9
Important	2	3.6	2	3.6	13	24.1	17	10.3
Not important	2	3.6	1	1.8	23	42.6	26	15.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>165</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Religion (Female)</b>								
Most important	30	93.8	23	85.2	22	62.9	75	79.8
Important	2	6.3	2	7.4	6	17.1	10	10.6
Not important	0	0.0	2	7.4	7	20.0	9	9.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Nationality (Male)</b>								
Most important	47	85.5	50	90.9	40	72.7	137	83
Important	4	7.3	3	5.5	11	20.0	18	10.9
Not important	4	7.3	2	3.6	4	7.3	10	6.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>165</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Nationality (Female)</b>								
Most important	26	81.3	20	76.9	31	88.6	77	82.8
Important	5	15.6	3	11.5	1	2.9	9	9.7
Not important	1	3.1	3	11.5	3	8.6	7	7.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Region of origin (Male)</b>								
Most important	35	64.8	45	83.3	37	68.5	117	72.2
Important	11	20.4	6	11.1	8	14.8	25	15.4
Not important	8	14.8	3	5.6	9	16.7	20	12.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>162</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Region of origin (Female)</b>								
Most important	18	56.3	18	66.7	28	82.4	64	68.8
Important	12	37.5	4	14.8	4	11.8	20	21.5
Not important	2	6.3	5	18.5	2	5.9	9	9.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>100</b>

## Western region

	Hoima		Kasese		Kiruhura		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Ethnicity (Male)</b>								
Most important	32	72.7	35	72.9	50	98.0	117	81.8
Important	7	15.9	7	14.6	1	2.0	15	10.5
Not important	5	11.4	6	12.5	0	0.0	11	7.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>143</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ethnicity (Female)</b>								
Most important	27	71.1	30	76.9	38	97.4	95	81.9
Important	7	18.4	8	20.5	0	0.0	15	12.9
Not important	4	10.5	1	2.6	1	2.6	6	5.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>116</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Religion (Male)</b>								
Most important	36	83.7	36	72.0	41	80.4	113	78.5
Important	6	14.0	13	26.0	4	7.8	23	16.0
Not important	1	2.3	1	2.0	6	11.8	8	5.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Religion (Female)</b>								
Most important	33	86.8	27	71.1	36	92.3	96	83.5
Important	3	7.9	10	26.3	1	2.6	14	12.2
Not important	2	5.3	1	2.6	2	5.1	5	4.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Nationality (Male)</b>								
Most important	32	78.0	32	65.3	50	98.0	114	80.9
Important	6	14.6	15	30.6	0	0.0	21	14.9
Not important	3	7.3	2	4.1	1	2.0	6	4.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>141</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Nationality (Female)</b>								
Most important	26	78.8	26	70.3	37	94.9	89	81.7
Important	4	12.1	9	24.3	2	5.1	15	13.8
Not important	3	9.1	2	5.4	0	0.0	5	4.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Region of origin (Male)</b>								
Most important	29	80.6	26	53.1	50	98.0	105	77.2
Important	5	13.9	14	28.6	0	0.0	19	14.0
Not important	2	5.6	9	18.4	1	2.0	12	8.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>136</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Region of origin (Female)</b>								
Most important	21	65.6	20	52.6	38	97.4	79	72.5
Important	7	21.9	13	34.2	1	2.6	21	19.3
Not important	4	12.5	5	13.2	0	0.0	9	8.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>100</b>

## ii) Youths and “Ugandaness”, by region/district and gender

## Northern region

	Lamwo		Otuke		Arua		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Born in Uganda (Male)</b>								
Very important	57	91.9	25	51.0	31	68.9	113	72.4
Not very important	3	4.8	2	4.1	8	17.8	13	8.3
Not important at all	2	3.2	5	10.2	6	13.3	13	8.3
Not sure	0	0.0	17	34.7	0	0.0	17	10.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>156</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Born in Uganda (Female)</b>								
Very important	27	100.0	24	60.0	17	81.0	68	77.3
Not very important	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	9.5	2	2.3
Not important at all	0	0.0	1	2.5	2	9.5	3	3.4
Not sure	0	0.0	15	37.5	0	0.0	15	17.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ugandan citizenship (Male)</b>								
Very important	58	93.5	24	51.1	34	77.3	116	75.8
Not very important	3	4.8	4	8.5	6	13.6	13	8.5
Not important at all	1	1.6	3	6.4	4	9.1	8	5.2
Not sure	0	0.0	16	34.0	0	0.0	16	10.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>153</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ugandan citizenship (Female)</b>								
Very important	24	92.3	22	57.9	16	80.0	62	73.8
Not very important	1	3.8	0	0.0	2	10.0	3	3.6
Not important at all	0	0.0	1	2.6	1	5.0	2	2.4
Not sure	1	3.8	15	39.5	1	5.0	17	20.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Lived in Uganda for most of their lives (Male)</b>								
Very important	37	61.7	20	43.5	24	55.8	81	54.4
Not very important	13	21.7	3	6.5	9	20.9	25	16.8
Not important at all	7	11.7	6	13.0	10	23.3	23	15.4
Not sure	3	5.0	17	37.0	0	0.0	20	13.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>149</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Lived in Uganda for most of their lives (Female)</b>								
Very important	24	92.3	20	54.1	9	42.9	53	63.1
Not very important	1	3.8	0	0.0	9	42.9	10	11.9
Not important at all	0	0.0	1	2.7	3	14.3	4	4.8
Not sure	1	3.8	16	43.2	0	0.0	17	20.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ugandan ancestry (Male)</b>								
Very important	48	81.4	44	95.7	37	86.0	129	87.2
Not very important	4	6.8	0	0.0	3	7.0	7	4.7
Not important at all	5	8.5	0	0.0	3	7.0	8	5.4
Not sure	2	3.4	2	4.3	0	0.0	4	2.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>148</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ugandan ancestry (Female)</b>								
Very important	25	96.2	36	97.3	17	81.0	78	92.9
Not very important	0	0.0	1	2.7	1	4.8	2	2.4
Not important at all	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	9.5	2	2.4
Not sure	1	3.8	0	0.0	1	4.8	2	2.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Respect for Uganda's constitution and policies (Male)</b>								
Very important	58	93.5	42	93.3	32	76.2	132	88.6
Not very important	4	6.5	1	2.2	3	7.1	8	5.4
Not important at all	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	9.5	4	2.7
Not sure	0	0.0	2	4.4	3	7.1	5	3.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>149</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Respect for Uganda's constitution and policies (Female)</b>								
Very important	25	92.6	35	89.7	13	72.2	73	86.9
Not very important	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	16.7	3	3.6
Not important at all	1	3.7	0	0.0	1	5.6	2	2.4
Not sure	1	3.7	4	10.3	1	5.6	6	7.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>100</b>

## Eastern region

	Busia		Katakwi		Kotido		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Born in Uganda (Male)</b>								
Very important	44	78.6	48	87.3	41	74.5	133	80.1
Not very important	3	5.4	5	9.1	8	14.5	16	9.6
Not important at all	9	16.1	2	3.6	6	10.9	17	10.2
Not sure	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>166</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Born in Uganda (Female)</b>								
Very important	24	75.0	20	76.9	31	91.2	75	81.5
Not very important	6	18.8	1	3.8	2	5.9	9	9.8
Not important at all	1	3.1	5	19.2	1	2.9	7	7.6
Not sure	1	3.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ugandan citizenship (Male)</b>								
Very important	46	82.1	45	91.8	37	68.5	128	80.5
Not very important	4	7.1	2	4.1	12	22.2	18	11.3
Not important at all	6	10.7	2	4.1	5	9.3	13	8.2
Not sure	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>159</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ugandan citizenship (Female)</b>								
Very important	26	81.3	16	61.5	28	90.3	70	78.7
Not very important	4	12.5	2	7.7	1	3.2	7	7.9
Not important at all	2	6.3	7	26.9	2	6.5	11	12.4
Not sure	0	0.0	1	3.8	0	0.0	1	1.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Lived in Uganda for most of their lives (Male)</b>								
Very important	36	64.3	39	78.0	27	50.0	102	63.7
Not very important	9	16.1	7	14.0	13	24.1	29	18.1
Not important at all	11	19.6	3	6.0	12	22.2	26	16.3
Not sure	0	0.0	1	2.0	2	3.7	3	1.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>160</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Lived in Uganda for most of their lives (Female)</b>								
Very important	14	45.2	13	52.0	19	59.4	46	52.3
Not very important	7	22.6	3	12.0	4	12.5	14	15.9
Not important at all	8	25.8	8	32.0	8	25.0	24	27.3
Not sure	2	6.5	1	4.0	1	3.1	4	4.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ugandan ancestry (Male)</b>								
Very important	34	65.4	35	72.9	24	47.1	93	61.6
Not very important	5	9.6	8	16.7	11	21.6	24	15.9
Not important at all	8	15.4	2	4.2	5	9.8	15	9.9
Not sure	5	9.6	3	6.3	11	21.6	19	12.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>151</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ugandan ancestry (Female)</b>								
Very important	16	51.6	14	58.3	14	46.7	44	51.8
Not very important	7	22.6	1	4.2	5	16.7	13	15.3
Not important at all	2	6.5	2	8.3	6	20.0	10	11.8
Not sure	6	19.4	7	29.2	5	16.7	18	21.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Respect for Uganda's constitution and policies (Male)</b>								
Very important	48	87.3	47	94.0	30	56.6	125	79.1
Not very important	5	9.1	0	0.0	7	13.2	12	7.6
Not important at all	1	1.8	3	6.0	7	13.2	11	7.0
Not sure	1	1.8	0	0.0	9	17.0	10	6.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>158</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Respect for Uganda's constitution and policies (Female)</b>								
Very important	26	83.9	22	88.0	18	56.3	66	75.0
Not very important	3	9.7	0	0.0	6	18.8	9	10.2
Not important at all	2	6.5	0	0.0	3	9.4	5	5.7
Not sure	0	0.0	3	12.0	5	15.6	8	9.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>100</b>



## Western region

	Hoima		Kasese		Kiruhura		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Born in Uganda (Male)</b>								
Very important	34	79.1	45	90.0	47	92.2	126	87.5
Not very important	3	7.0	3	6.0	3	5.9	9	6.3
Not important at all	6	14.0	2	4.0	1	2.0	9	6.3
Not sure	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Born in Uganda (Female)</b>								
Very important	38	97.4	29	76.3	36	94.7	103	89.6
Not very important	1	2.6	9	23.7	2	5.3	12	10.4
Not important at all	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Not sure	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ugandan citizenship (Male)</b>								
Very important	36	83.7	39	76.5	43	84.3	118	81.4
Not very important	2	4.7	7	13.7	7	13.7	16	11.0
Not important at all	5	11.6	1	2.0	1	2.0	7	4.8
Not sure	0	0.0	4	7.8	0	0.0	4	2.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>145</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ugandan citizenship (Female)</b>								
Very important	32	86.5	27	71.1	29	78.4	88	78.6
Not very important	5	13.5	3	7.9	6	16.2	14	12.5
Not important at all	0	0.0	1	2.6	2	5.4	3	2.7
Not sure	0	0.0	7	18.4	0	0.0	7	6.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Lived in Uganda for most of their lives (Male)</b>								
Very important	20	48.8	22	48.9	47	94.0	89	65.4
Not very important	16	39.0	10	22.2	2	4.0	28	20.6
Not important at all	5	12.2	4	8.9	1	2.0	10	7.4
Not sure	0	0.0	9	20.0	0	0.0	9	6.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>136</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Lived in Uganda for most of their lives (Female)</b>								
Very important	21	56.8	18	52.9	36	94.7	75	68.8
Not very important	14	37.8	8	23.5	2	5.3	24	22.0
Not important at all	1	2.7	3	8.8	0	0.0	4	3.7
Not sure	1	2.7	5	14.7	0	0.0	6	5.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ugandan ancestry (Male)</b>								
Very important	22	73.3	26	63.4	42	82.4	90	73.8
Not very important	6	20.0	5	12.2	7	13.7	18	14.8
Not important at all	2	6.7	0	0.0	2	3.9	4	3.3
Not sure	0	0.0	10	24.4	0	0.0	10	8.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>122</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ugandan ancestry (Female)</b>								
Very important	22	66.7	21	70.0	35	92.1	78	77.2
Not very important	9	27.3	2	6.7	1	2.6	12	11.9
Not important at all	2	6.1	1	3.3	2	5.3	5	5.0
Not sure	0	0.0	6	20.0	0	0.0	6	5.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Respect for Uganda's constitution and policies (Male)</b>								
Very important	32	86.5	41	87.2	26	51.0	99	73.3
Not very important	2	5.4	2	4.3	4	7.8	8	5.9
Not important at all	3	8.1	1	2.1	7	13.7	11	8.1
Not sure	0	0.0	3	6.4	14	27.5	17	12.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>135</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Respect for Uganda's constitution and policies (Female)</b>								
Very important	36	97.3	25	78.1	12	31.6	73	68.2
Not very important	0	0.0	3	9.4	3	7.9	6	5.6
Not important at all	1	2.7	1	3.1	11	28.9	13	12.1
Not sure	0	0.0	3	9.4	12	31.6	15	14.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>107</b>	<b>100</b>

## Central region

	Kampala		Buikwe		Luweero		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Born in Uganda (Male)</b>								
Very important	36	90.0	42	85.7	15	26.8	93	64.1
Not very important	2	5.0	6	12.2	32	57.1	40	27.6
Not important at all	2	5.0	1	2.0	9	16.1	12	8.3
Not sure	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>145</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Born in Uganda (Female)</b>								
Very important	39	90.7	28	84.8	11	33.3	78	71.6
Not very important	2	4.7	4	12.1	20	60.6	26	23.9
Not important at all	2	4.7	0	0.0	1	3.0	3	2.8
Not sure	0	0.0	1	3.0	1	3.0	2	1.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ugandan citizenship (Male)</b>								
Very important	37	92.5	35	72.9	24	42.9	96	66.7
Not very important	1	2.5	9	18.8	29	51.8	39	27.1
Not important at all	2	5.0	2	4.2	2	3.6	6	4.2
Not sure	0	0.0	2	4.2	1	1.8	3	2.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ugandan citizenship (Female)</b>								
Very important	36	83.7	26	83.9	13	39.4	75	70.1
Not very important	3	7.0	3	9.7	18	54.5	24	22.4
Not important at all	1	2.3	1	3.2	1	3.0	3	2.8
Not sure	3	7.0	1	3.2	1	3.0	5	4.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>107</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Lived in Uganda for most of their lives (Male)</b>								
Very important	12	30.0	24	55.8	23	41.1	59	42.4
Not very important	19	47.5	6	14.0	27	48.2	52	37.4
Not important at all	7	17.5	12	27.9	6	10.7	25	18.0
Not sure	2	5.0	1	2.3	0	0.0	3	2.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>139</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Lived in Uganda for most of their lives (Female)</b>								
Very important	11	26.2	15	53.6	12	36.4	38	36.9
Not very important	20	47.6	5	17.9	18	54.5	43	41.7
Not important at all	8	19.0	6	21.4	3	9.1	17	16.5
Not sure	3	7.1	2	7.1	0	0.0	5	4.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ugandan ancestry (Male)</b>								
Very important	23	59.0	32	78.0	34	63.0	89	66.4
Not very important	8	20.5	3	7.3	16	29.6	27	20.1
Not important at all	4	10.3	4	9.8	4	7.4	12	9.0
Not sure	4	10.3	2	4.9	0	0.0	6	4.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>134</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ugandan ancestry (Female)</b>								
Very important	23	62.2	20	69.0	17	51.5	60	60.6
Not very important	6	16.2	0	0.0	13	39.4	19	19.2
Not important at all	2	5.4	3	10.3	3	9.1	8	8.1
Not sure	6	16.2	6	20.7	0	0.0	12	12.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Respect for Uganda's constitution and policies (Male)</b>								
Very important	38	95	31	68.9	7	12.7	76	54.3
Not very important	1	2.5	7	15.6	9	16.4	17	12.1
Not important at all	1	2.5	4	8.9	26	47.3	31	22.1
Not sure	0	0.0	3	6.7	13	23.6	16	11.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>140</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Respect for Uganda's constitution and policies (Female)</b>								
Very important	34	85.0	22	81.5	3	9.1	59	59.0
Not very important	2	5.0	3	11.1	5	15.2	10	10.0
Not important at all	1	2.5	1	3.7	21	63.6	23	23.0
Not sure	3	7.5	1	3.7	4	12.1	8	8.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

## iii) Meaning of national symbols to youths, by region/district and gender

## Northern region

	Lamwo		Otuke		Arua		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Ugandan flag (Male)</b>								
A lot	57	91.9	42	87.5	42	91.3	141	90.4
Not much	2	3.2	3	6.3	3	6.5	8	5.1
Nothing	1	1.6	0	0.0	1	2.2	2	1.3
Not sure	2	3.2	3	6.3	0	0.0	5	3.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>156</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ugandan flag (Female)</b>								
A lot	21	77.8	29	70.7	17	73.9	67	73.6
Not much	0	0.0	1	2.4	3	13.0	4	4.4
Nothing	1	3.7	1	2.4	1	4.3	3	3.3
Not sure	5	18.5	10	24.4	2	8.7	17	18.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ugandan national anthem (Male)</b>								
A lot	57	91.9	45	93.8	39	84.8	141	90.4
Not much	2	3.2	3	6.3	3	6.5	8	5.1
Nothing	1	1.6	0	0.0	2	4.3	3	1.9
Not sure	2	3.2	0	0.0	2	4.3	4	2.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>156</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ugandan national anthem (Female)</b>								
A lot	22	81.5	32	78.0	18	78.3	72	79.1
Not much	1	3.7	1	2.4	1	4.3	3	3.3
Nothing	2	7.4	1	2.4	2	8.7	5	5.5
Not sure	2	7.4	7	17.1	2	8.7	11	12.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Crested crane (Male)</b>								
A lot	56	91.8	42	87.5	37	80.4	135	87.1
Not much	2	3.3	4	8.3	6	13.0	12	7.7
Nothing	1	1.6	0	0.0	1	2.2	2	1.3
Not sure	2	3.3	2	4.2	2	4.3	6	3.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>155</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Crested crane (Female)</b>								
A lot	21	77.8	30	76.9	14	63.6	65	73.9
Not much	1	3.7	2	5.1	4	18.2	7	8.0
Nothing	0	0.0	1	2.6	2	9.1	3	3.4
Not sure	5	18.5	6	15.4	2	9.1	13	14.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ugandan coat of arms (Male)</b>								
A lot	46	74.2	39	81.3	38	82.6	123	78.8
Not much	6	9.7	6	12.5	2	4.3	14	9.0
Nothing	2	3.2	0	0.0	3	6.5	5	3.2
Not sure	8	12.9	3	6.3	3	6.5	14	9.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>156</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ugandan coat of arms (Female)</b>								
A lot	12	44.4	26	66.7	12	57.1	50	57.5
Not much	3	11.1	0	0.0	2	9.5	5	5.7
Nothing	3	11.1	1	2.6	3	14.3	7	8.0
Not sure	9	33.3	12	30.8	4	19.0	25	28.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ugandan constitution (Male)</b>								
A lot	51	82.3	33	67.3	33	73.3	117	75.0
Not much	10	16.1	3	6.1	6	13.3	19	12.2
Nothing	0	0.0	3	6.1	4	8.9	7	4.5
Not sure	1	1.6	10	20.4	2	4.4	13	8.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>156</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ugandan constitution (Female)</b>								

A lot	17	63.0	24	60.0	10	47.6	51	58.0
Not much	4	14.8	1	2.5	2	9.5	7	8.0
Nothing	2	7.4	2	5.0	5	23.8	9	10.2
Not sure	4	14.8	13	32.5	4	19.0	21	23.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Uganda Martyrs' Day (Male)</b>								
A lot	44	71	42	91.3	37	80.4	123	79.9
Not much	10	16.1	2	4.3	4	8.7	16	10.4
Nothing	4	6.5	0	0.0	2	4.3	6	3.9
Not sure	4	6.5	2	4.3	3	6.5	9	5.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>154</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Uganda Martyrs' Day (Female)</b>								
A lot	20	74.1	32	80.0	16	72.7	68	76.4
Not much	2	7.4	0	0.0	3	13.6	5	5.6
Nothing	4	14.8	1	2.5	1	4.5	6	6.7
Not sure	1	3.7	7	17.5	2	9.1	10	11.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Heroes' Day (Male)</b>								
A lot	23	39.7	15	31.9	17	39.5	55	37.2
Not much	8	13.8	2	4.3	7	16.3	17	11.5
Nothing	19	32.8	22	46.8	7	16.3	48	32.4
Not sure	8	13.8	8	17.0	12	27.9	28	18.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>148</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Heroes' Day (Female)</b>								
A lot	9	36.0	11	27.5	6	31.6	26	31.0
Not much	1	4.0	0	0.0	1	5.3	2	2.4
Nothing	8	32.0	14	35.0	6	31.6	28	33.3
Not sure	7	28.0	15	37.5	6	31.6	28	33.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Youth soccer team (Male)</b>								
A lot	23	37.7	6	12.2	15	36.6	44	29.1
Not much	5	8.2	0	0.0	8	19.5	13	8.6
Nothing	21	34.4	21	42.9	12	29.3	54	35.8
Not sure	12	19.7	22	44.9	6	14.6	40	26.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>151</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Youth soccer team (Female)</b>								
A lot	9	34.6	2	5.0	4	25.0	15	18.3
Not much	2	7.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	2.4
Nothing	7	26.9	14	35.0	6	37.5	27	32.9
Not sure	8	30.8	24	60.0	6	37.5	38	46.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Uganda's independence (Male)</b>								
A lot	59	95.2	35	72.9	36	81.8	130	84.4
Not much	1	1.6	7	14.6	6	13.6	14	9.1
Nothing	1	1.6	4	8.3	2	4.5	7	4.5
Not sure	1	1.6	2	4.2	0	0.0	3	1.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>154</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Uganda's independence (Female)</b>								
A lot	22	81.5	20	51.3	13	61.9	55	63.2
Not much	1	3.7	9	23.1	3	14.3	13	14.9
Nothing	2	7.4	2	5.1	3	14.3	7	8.0
Not sure	2	7.4	8	20.5	2	9.5	12	13.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>100</b>

## Eastern region

	Busia		Katakwi		Kotido		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Ugandan flag (Male)</b>								
A lot	48	85.7	47	87.0	35	63.6	130	78.8
Not much	7	12.5	3	5.6	12	21.8	22	13.3
Nothing	1	1.8	3	5.6	6	10.9	10	6.1
Not sure	0	0.0	1	1.9	2	3.6	3	1.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>165</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ugandan flag (Female)</b>								
A lot	30	93.8	11	57.9	25	71.4	66	76.7
Not much	2	6.3	3	15.8	7	20.0	12	14.0
Nothing	0	0.0	3	15.8	1	2.9	4	4.7
Not sure	0	0.0	2	10.5	2	5.7	4	4.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ugandan national anthem (Male)</b>								
A lot	48	87.3	48	90.6	26	49.1	122	75.8
Not much	5	9.1	1	1.9	3	5.7	9	5.6
Nothing	1	1.8	2	3.8	6	11.3	9	5.6
Not sure	1	1.8	2	3.8	18	34.0	21	13.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>161</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ugandan national anthem (Female)</b>								
A lot	26	83.9	11	52.4	22	66.7	59	69.4
Not much	4	12.9	3	14.3	2	6.1	9	10.6
Nothing	0	0.0	3	14.3	3	9.1	6	7.1
Not sure	1	3.2	4	19.0	6	18.2	11	12.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Crested crane (Male)</b>								
A lot	47	87.0	44	86.3	19	35.2	110	69.2
Not much	5	9.3	4	7.8	12	22.2	21	13.2
Nothing	1	1.9	2	3.9	12	22.2	15	9.4
Not sure	1	1.9	1	2.0	11	20.4	13	8.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>159</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Crested crane (Female)</b>								
A lot	21	70.0	11	52.4	20	62.5	52	62.7
Not much	6	20.0	2	9.5	5	15.6	13	15.7
Nothing	2	6.7	5	23.8	4	12.5	11	13.3
Not sure	1	3.3	3	14.3	3	9.4	7	8.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ugandan coat of arms (Male)</b>								
A lot	39	72.2	29	56.9	14	25.9	82	51.6
Not much	9	16.7	10	19.6	11	20.4	30	18.9
Nothing	3	5.6	4	7.8	9	16.7	16	10.1
Not sure	3	5.6	8	15.7	20	37.0	31	19.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>159</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ugandan coat of arms (Female)</b>								
A lot	20	64.5	9	42.9	19	55.9	48	55.8
Not much	7	22.6	2	9.5	2	5.9	11	12.8
Nothing	3	9.7	5	23.8	4	11.8	12	14.0
Not sure	1	3.2	5	23.8	9	26.5	15	17.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ugandan constitution (Male)</b>								
A lot	38	69.1	39	73.6	20	37.0	97	59.9
Not much	9	16.4	4	7.5	13	24.1	26	16.0
Nothing	2	3.6	3	5.7	6	11.1	11	6.8
Not sure	6	10.9	7	13.2	15	27.8	28	17.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>162</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ugandan constitution (Female)</b>								
A lot	20	64.5	9	42.9	17	50.0	46	53.5
Not much	6	19.4	1	4.8	2	5.9	9	10.5
Nothing	2	6.5	5	23.8	7	20.6	14	16.3
Not sure	3	9.7	6	28.6	8	23.5	17	19.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>100</b>

Uganda Martyrs' Day (Male)								
A lot	38	69.1	47	88.7	17	31.5	102	63
Not much	15	27.3	1	1.9	1	1.9	17	10.5
Nothing	1	1.8	3	5.7	9	16.7	13	8
Not sure	1	1.8	2	3.8	27	50	30	18.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>162</b>	<b>100</b>
Uganda Martyrs' Day (Female)								
A lot	18	56.3	16	72.7	17	51.5	51	58.6
Not much	10	31.3	2	9.1	2	6.1	14	16.1
Nothing	0	0.0	3	13.6	4	12.1	7	8.0
Not sure	4	12.5	1	4.5	10	30.3	15	17.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>100</b>
Heroes' Day (Male)								
A lot	22	41.5	34	64.2	10	18.9	66	41.5
Not much	12	22.6	11	20.8	2	3.8	25	15.7
Nothing	9	17.0	3	5.7	8	15.1	20	12.6
Not sure	10	18.9	5	9.4	33	62.3	48	30.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>159</b>	<b>100</b>
Heroes' Day (Female)								
A lot	14	50.0	7	33.3	11	32.4	32	38.6
Not much	4	14.3	6	28.6	2	5.9	12	14.5
Nothing	3	10.7	5	23.8	7	20.6	15	18.1
Not sure	7	25.0	3	14.3	14	41.2	24	28.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>100</b>
Youth soccer team (Male)								
A lot	10	20.0	44	83	2	3.8	56	35.9
Not much	17	34.0	3	5.7	2	3.8	22	14.1
Nothing	8	16.0	4	7.5	11	20.8	23	14.7
Not sure	15	30.0	2	3.8	38	71.7	55	35.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>156</b>	<b>100</b>
Youth soccer team (Female)								
A lot	7	25.9	9	45.0	5	14.7	21	25.9
Not much	7	25.9	2	10.0	1	2.9	10	12.3
Nothing	2	7.4	6	30.0	8	23.5	16	19.8
Not sure	11	40.7	3	15.0	20	58.8	34	42.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>100</b>
Uganda's independence (Male)								
A lot	49	90.7	47	90.4	26	50.0	122	77.2
Not much	3	5.6	2	3.8	10	19.2	15	9.5
Nothing	1	1.9	2	3.8	6	11.5	9	5.7
Not sure	1	1.9	1	1.9	10	19.2	12	7.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>158</b>	<b>100</b>
Uganda's independence (Female)								
A lot	29	96.7	11	55.0	23	67.6	63	75.0
Not much	1	3.3	2	10.0	2	5.9	5	6.0
Nothing	0	0.0	3	15.0	4	11.8	7	8.3
Not sure	0	0.0	4	20.0	5	14.7	9	10.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>100</b>

## Western region

	Hoima		Kasese		Kiruhura		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Ugandan flag (Male)</b>								
A lot	37	86.0	46	92.0	28	54.9	111	77.1
Not much	3	7.0	4	8.0	20	39.2	27	18.8
Nothing	2	4.7	0	0.0	3	5.9	5	3.5
Not sure	1	2.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ugandan flag (Female)</b>								
A lot	23	67.6	31	77.5	20	51.3	74	65.5
Not much	8	23.5	8	20.0	17	43.6	33	29.2
Nothing	3	8.8	0	0.0	2	5.1	5	4.4
Not sure	0	0.0	1	2.5	0	0.0	1	0.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ugandan national anthem (Male)</b>								
A lot	33	78.6	43	84.3	27	52.9	103	71.5
Not much	4	9.5	6	11.8	19	37.3	29	20.1
Nothing	5	11.9	0	0.0	5	9.8	10	6.9
Not sure	0	0.0	2	3.9	0	0.0	2	1.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ugandan national anthem (Female)</b>								
A lot	26	76.5	31	86.1	20	51.3	77	70.6
Not much	5	14.7	3	8.3	18	46.2	26	23.9
Nothing	3	8.8	0	0.0	1	2.6	4	3.7
Not sure	0	0.0	2	5.6	0	0.0	2	1.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Crested crane (Male)</b>								
A lot	32	76.2	44	86.3	26	51.0	102	70.8
Not much	7	16.7	5	9.8	17	33.3	29	20.1
Nothing	3	7.1	0	0.0	8	15.7	11	7.6
Not sure	0	0.0	2	3.9	0	0.0	2	1.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Crested crane (Female)</b>								
A lot	23	67.6	27	73.0	20	51.3	70	63.6
Not much	7	20.6	4	10.8	13	33.3	24	21.8
Nothing	3	8.8	2	5.4	6	15.4	11	10.0
Not sure	1	2.9	4	10.8	0	0.0	5	4.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ugandan coat of arms (Male)</b>								
A lot	20	47.6	38	77.6	26	51.0	84	59.2
Not much	6	14.3	4	8.2	10	19.6	20	14.1
Nothing	9	21.4	1	2.0	13	25.5	23	16.2
Not sure	7	16.7	6	12.2	2	3.9	15	10.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>142</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ugandan coat of arms (Female)</b>								
A lot	14	42.4	22	61.1	19	48.7	55	50.9
Not much	8	24.2	3	8.3	7	17.9	18	16.7
Nothing	10	30.3	1	2.8	10	25.6	21	19.4
Not sure	1	3.0	10	27.8	3	7.7	14	13.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>108</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ugandan constitution (Male)</b>								
A lot	31	77.5	34	70.8	15	29.4	80	57.6
Not much	2	5.0	6	12.5	6	11.8	14	10.1
Nothing	4	10.0	4	8.3	16	31.4	24	17.3
Not sure	3	7.5	4	8.3	14	27.5	21	15.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>139</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ugandan constitution (Female)</b>								
A lot	18	54.5	24	70.6	9	25.0	51	49.5
Not much	2	6.1	3	8.8	3	8.3	8	7.8
Nothing	11	33.3	2	5.9	14	38.9	27	26.2
Not sure	2	6.1	5	14.7	10	27.8	17	16.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>100</b>



Uganda Martyrs' Day (Male)								
A lot	33	84.6	28	60.9	17	33.3	78	57.4
Not much	1	2.6	8	17.4	4	7.8	13	9.6
Nothing	2	5.1	1	2.2	27	52.9	30	22.1
Not sure	3	7.7	9	19.6	3	5.9	15	11.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>136</b>	<b>100</b>
Uganda Martyrs' Day (Female)								
A lot	22	68.8	23	60.5	14	35.9	59	54.1
Not much	2	6.3	5	13.2	3	7.7	10	9.2
Nothing	6	18.8	2	5.3	21	53.8	29	26.6
Not sure	2	6.3	8	21.1	1	2.6	11	10.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>100</b>
Heroes' Day (Male)								
A lot	15	40.5	23	48.9	18	35.3	56	41.5
Not much	5	13.5	9	19.1	10	19.6	24	17.8
Nothing	12	32.4	0	0.0	20	39.2	32	23.7
Not sure	5	13.5	15	31.9	3	5.9	23	17.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>135</b>	<b>100</b>
Heroes' Day (Female)								
A lot	5	15.6	16	48.5	16	41.0	37	35.6
Not much	1	3.1	5	15.2	5	12.8	11	10.6
Nothing	19	59.4	0	0.0	18	46.2	37	35.6
Not sure	7	21.9	12	36.4	0	0.0	19	18.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>104</b>	<b>100</b>
Youth soccer team (Male)								
A lot	25	65.8	11	23.9	14	27.5	50	37.0
Not much	5	13.2	11	23.9	8	15.7	24	17.8
Nothing	5	13.2	7	15.2	24	47.1	36	26.7
Not sure	3	7.9	17	37.0	5	9.8	25	18.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>135</b>	<b>100</b>
Youth soccer team (Female)								
A lot	6	18.2	5	17.2	13	33.3	24	23.8
Not much	4	12.1	4	13.8	4	10.3	12	11.9
Nothing	17	51.5	6	20.7	13	33.3	36	35.6
Not sure	6	18.2	14	48.3	9	23.1	29	28.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>100</b>
Uganda's independence (Male)								
A lot	36	90.0	40	81.6	30	58.8	106	75.7
Not much	2	5.0	5	10.2	13	25.5	20	14.3
Nothing	2	5.0	1	2.0	8	15.7	11	7.9
Not sure	0	0.0	3	6.1	0	0.0	3	2.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>140</b>	<b>100</b>
Uganda's independence (Female)								
A lot	24	72.7	25	71.4	20	51.3	69	64.5
Not much	1	3.0	3	8.6	12	30.8	16	15.0
Nothing	7	21.2	0	0.0	7	17.9	14	13.1
Not sure	1	3.0	7	20.0	0	0.0	8	7.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>107</b>	<b>100</b>

## Central region

	Kampala		Buikwe		Luweero		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Ugandan flag (Male)</b>								
A lot	38	95.0	42	85.7	26	46.4	106	73.1
Not much	2	5.0	4	8.2	26	46.4	32	22.1
Nothing	0	0.0	2	4.1	3	5.4	5	3.4
Not sure	0	0.0	1	2.0	1	1.8	2	1.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>145</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ugandan flag (Female)</b>								
A lot	34	82.9	32	91.4	7	21.2	73	67.0
Not much	4	9.8	1	2.9	22	66.7	27	24.8
Nothing	1	2.4	0	0.0	3	9.1	4	3.7
Not sure	2	4.9	2	5.7	1	3.0	5	4.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ugandan national anthem (Male)</b>								
A lot	36	90.0	43	89.6	25	44.6	104	72.2
Not much	2	5.0	3	6.3	26	46.4	31	21.5
Nothing	1	2.5	1	2.1	4	7.1	6	4.2
Not sure	1	2.5	1	2.1	1	1.8	3	2.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ugandan national anthem (Female)</b>								
A lot	30	71.4	31	88.6	8	24.2	69	62.7
Not much	8	19.0	1	2.9	21	63.6	30	27.3
Nothing	2	4.8	0	0.0	4	12.1	6	5.5
Not sure	2	4.8	3	8.6	0	0.0	5	4.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Crested crane (Male)</b>								
A lot	32	80.0	42	87.5	28	50.0	102	70.8
Not much	5	12.5	2	4.2	22	39.3	29	20.1
Nothing	1	2.5	0	0.0	5	8.9	6	4.2
Not sure	2	5.0	4	8.3	1	1.8	7	4.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Crested crane (Female)</b>								
A lot	30	71.4	26	78.8	7	21.2	63	58.3
Not much	10	23.8	2	6.1	21	63.6	33	30.6
Nothing	0	0.0	1	3.0	4	12.1	5	4.6
Not sure	2	4.8	4	12.1	1	3.0	7	6.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>108</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ugandan coat of arms (Male)</b>								
A lot	27	67.5	36	80	12	21.8	75	53.6
Not much	6	15.0	4	8.9	10	18.2	20	14.3
Nothing	4	10.0	1	2.2	24	43.6	29	20.7
Not sure	3	7.5	4	8.9	9	16.4	16	11.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>140</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ugandan coat of arms (Female)</b>								
A lot	23	54.8	20	62.5	5	15.2	48	44.9
Not much	3	7.1	2	6.3	13	39.4	18	16.8
Nothing	5	11.9	1	3.1	12	36.4	18	16.8
Not sure	11	26.2	9	28.1	3	9.1	23	21.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>107</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ugandan constitution (Male)</b>								
A lot	30	75.0	24	51.1	5	9.1	59	41.5
Not much	4	10.0	8	17.0	13	23.6	25	17.6
Nothing	5	12.5	6	12.8	25	45.5	36	25.4
Not sure	1	2.5	9	19.1	12	21.8	22	15.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>142</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ugandan constitution (Female)</b>								
A lot	22	52.4	23	69.7	3	9.1	48	44.4
Not much	5	11.9	4	12.1	6	18.2	15	13.9
Nothing	8	19.0	3	9.1	22	66.7	33	30.6
Not sure	7	16.7	3	9.1	2	6.1	12	11.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>108</b>	<b>100</b>

Uganda Martyrs' Day (Male)									
A lot	25	65.8	33	70.2	33	61.1	91	65.5	
Not much	5	13.2	3	6.4	17	31.5	25	18.0	
Nothing	5	13.2	9	19.1	2	3.7	16	11.5	
Not sure	3	7.9	2	4.3	2	3.7	7	5.0	
<b>Total</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>139</b>	<b>100</b>	
Uganda Martyrs' Day (Female)									
A lot	34	81.0	19	61.3	18	54.5	71	67.0	
Not much	5	11.9	3	9.7	11	33.3	19	17.9	
Nothing	1	2.4	1	3.2	3	9.1	5	4.7	
Not sure	2	4.8	8	25.8	1	3.0	11	10.4	
<b>Total</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>100</b>	
Heroes' Day (Male)									
A lot	21	53.8	25	50.0	17	31.5	63	44.1	
Not much	10	25.6	6	12.0	14	25.9	30	21.0	
Nothing	3	7.7	9	18.0	21	38.9	33	23.1	
Not sure	5	12.8	10	20.0	2	3.7	17	11.9	
<b>Total</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>143</b>	<b>100</b>	
Heroes' Day (Female)									
A lot	21	50.0	9	29.0	6	18.8	36	34.3	
Not much	6	14.3	4	12.9	7	21.9	17	16.2	
Nothing	6	14.3	7	22.6	18	56.3	31	29.5	
Not sure	9	21.4	11	35.5	1	3.1	21	20.0	
<b>Total</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>105</b>	<b>100</b>	
Youth soccer team (Male)									
A lot	18	46.2	20	43.5	7	13.2	45	32.6	
Not much	11	28.2	6	13.0	8	15.1	25	18.1	
Nothing	5	12.8	5	10.9	26	49.1	36	26.1	
Not sure	5	12.8	15	32.6	12	22.6	32	23.2	
<b>Total</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>138</b>	<b>100</b>	
Youth soccer team (Female)									
A lot	10	24.4	1	3.7	2	6.1	13	12.9	
Not much	6	14.6	4	14.8	4	12.1	14	13.9	
Nothing	14	34.1	6	22.2	22	66.7	42	41.6	
Not sure	11	26.8	16	59.3	5	15.2	32	31.7	
<b>Total</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>100</b>	
Uganda's independence (Male)									
A lot	32	88.9	42	87.5	29	52.7	103	74.1	
Not much	2	5.6	2	4.2	19	34.5	23	16.5	
Nothing	2	5.6	4	8.3	7	12.7	13	9.4	
Not sure	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	
<b>Total</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>139</b>	<b>100</b>	
Uganda's independence (Female)									
A lot	35	87.5	27	81.8	10	30.3	72	67.9	
Not much	2	5.0	4	12.1	15	45.5	21	19.8	
Nothing	2	5.0	0	0.0	7	21.2	9	8.5	
Not sure	1	2.5	2	6.1	1	3.0	4	3.8	
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>100</b>	

#### iv) Level of closeness to institutions, by region/district and gender

##### Northern region

	Lamwo		Otuke		Arua		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Central government (Male)</b>								
Very close	12	19.7	6	12.2	8	17	26	16.6
Not very close	10	16.4	6	12.2	10	21.3	26	16.6
Not close at all	31	50.8	36	73.5	27	57.4	94	59.9
Not sure	8	13.1	1	2.0	2	4.3	11	7.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>157</b>	<b>100</b>

<b>Central government (Female)</b>								
Very close	1	3.7	0	0.0	1	4.5	2	2.2
Not very close	4	14.8	0	0.0	6	27.3	10	11.2
Not close at all	11	40.7	35	87.5	14	63.6	60	67.4
Not sure	11	40.7	5	12.5	1	4.5	17	19.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Church/Mosque (Male)</b>								
Very close	48	78.7	49	100	41	87.2	138	87.9
Not very close	8	13.1	0	0.0	4	8.5	12	7.6
Not close at all	5	8.2	0	0.0	1	2.1	6	3.8
Not sure	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	2.1	1	0.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>157</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Church/Mosque (Female)</b>								
Very close	24	92.3	40	97.6	18	81.8	82	92.1
Not very close	2	7.7	1	2.4	2	9.1	5	5.6
Not close at all	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	4.5	1	1.1
Not sure	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	4.5	1	1.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>District (Male)</b>								
Very close	25	40.3	18	36.7	10	22.2	53	34.0
Not very close	12	19.4	21	42.9	13	28.9	46	29.5
Not close at all	24	38.7	10	20.4	19	42.2	53	34.0
Not sure	1	1.6	0	0.0	3	6.7	4	2.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>156</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>District (Female)</b>								
Very close	10	37.0	8	20.0	2	10.0	20	23.0
Not very close	5	18.5	13	32.5	5	25.0	23	26.4
Not close at all	10	37.0	17	42.5	12	60.0	39	44.8
Not sure	2	7.4	2	5.0	1	5.0	5	5.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Cultural kingdom (Male)</b>								
Very close	34	55.7	28	57.1	1	11.1	63	52.9
Not very close	17	27.9	5	10.2	0	0.0	22	18.5
Not close at all	10	16.4	12	24.5	6	66.7	28	23.5
Not sure	0	0.0	4	8.2	2	22.2	6	5.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>119</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Cultural kingdom (Female)</b>								
Very close	18	66.7	23	59.0	0	0.0	41	60.3
Not very close	2	7.4	5	12.8	0	0.0	7	10.3
Not close at all	5	18.5	10	25.6	2	100	17	25.0
Not sure	2	7.4	1	2.6	0	0.0	3	4.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Youth associations (Male)</b>								
Very close	16	41.0	10	20.4	23	56.1	49	38.0
Not very close	3	7.7	2	4.1	10	24.4	15	11.6
Not close at all	12	30.8	24	49.0	7	17.1	43	33.3
Not sure	8	20.5	13	26.5	1	2.4	22	17.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>129</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Youth associations (Female)</b>								
Very close	1	5.9	4	10.0	2	15.4	7	10.0
Not very close	2	11.8	2	5.0	6	46.2	10	14.3
Not close at all	7	41.2	17	42.5	5	38.5	29	41.4
Not sure	7	41.2	17	42.5	0	0.0	24	34.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Political party (Male)</b>								
Very close	13	23.6	11	22.4	16	51.6	40	29.6
Not very close	12	21.8	4	8.2	4	12.9	20	14.8
Not close at all	26	47.3	22	44.9	8	25.8	56	41.5
Not sure	4	7.3	12	24.5	3	9.7	19	14.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>135</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Political party (Female)</b>								
Very close	6	23.1	10	25.6	0	0.0	16	21.3
Not very close	4	15.4	5	12.8	3	30.0	12	16.0
Not close at all	13	50.0	13	33.3	7	70.0	33	44.0
Not sure	3	11.5	11	28.2	0	0.0	14	18.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100</b>

## Eastern region

	Busia		Katakwi		Kotido		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Central government (Male)</b>								
Very close	15	27.8	2	3.6	10	18.2	27	16.5
Not very close	18	33.3	6	10.9	1	1.8	25	15.2
Not close at all	14	25.9	38	69.1	33	60.0	85	51.8
Not sure	7	13.0	9	16.4	11	20.0	27	16.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>164</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Central government (Female)</b>								
Very close	6	19.4	2	7.4	4	11.4	12	12.9
Not very close	5	16.1	1	3.7	6	17.1	12	12.9
Not close at all	17	54.8	13	48.1	17	48.6	47	50.5
Not sure	3	9.7	11	40.7	8	22.9	22	23.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Church/Mosque (Male)</b>								
Very close	51	91.1	45	81.8	23	41.8	119	71.7
Not very close	5	8.9	10	18.2	15	27.3	30	18.1
Not close at all	0	0.0	0	0.0	17	30.9	17	10.2
Not sure	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>166</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Church/Mosque (Female)</b>								
Very close	31	96.9	25	92.6	23	65.7	79	84.0
Not very close	1	3.1	2	7.4	8	22.9	11	11.7
Not close at all	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	11.4	4	4.3
Not sure	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>District (Male)</b>								
Very close	29	51.8	8	14.5	10	18.2	47	28.3
Not very close	15	26.8	14	25.5	14	25.5	43	25.9
Not close at all	6	10.7	23	41.8	23	41.8	52	31.3
Not sure	6	10.7	10	18.2	8	14.5	24	14.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>166</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>District (Female)</b>								
Very close	15	46.9	9	36.0	6	17.1	30	32.6
Not very close	12	37.5	8	32.0	10	28.6	30	32.6
Not close at all	2	6.3	6	24.0	14	40.0	22	23.9
Not sure	3	9.4	2	8.0	5	14.3	10	10.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Cultural kingdom (Male)</b>								
Very close	4	7.8	8	27.6	16	32.7	28	21.7
Not very close	7	13.7	1	3.4	6	12.2	14	10.9
Not close at all	31	60.8	9	31.0	16	32.7	56	43.4
Not sure	9	17.6	11	37.9	11	22.4	31	24.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>129</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Cultural kingdom (Female)</b>								
Very close	3	10.3	1	4.2	6	17.6	10	11.5
Not very close	5	17.2	1	4.2	2	5.9	8	9.2
Not close at all	13	44.8	11	45.8	19	55.9	43	49.4
Not sure	8	27.6	11	45.8	7	20.6	26	29.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Youth associations (Male)</b>								
Very close	32	60.4	42	76.4	20	36.4	94	57.7
Not very close	10	18.9	5	9.1	18	32.7	33	20.2
Not close at all	8	15.1	7	12.7	10	18.2	25	15.3
Not sure	3	5.7	1	1.8	7	12.7	11	6.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>163</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Youth associations (Female)</b>								
Very close	14	45.2	8	32.0	14	42.4	36	40.4
Not very close	7	22.6	3	12.0	10	30.3	20	22.5
Not close at all	8	25.8	12	48.0	7	21.2	27	30.3
Not sure	2	6.5	2	8.0	2	6.1	6	6.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Political party (Male)</b>								
Very close	9	17.6	17	31.5	2	3.6	28	17.5
Not very close	15	29.4	12	22.2	8	14.5	35	21.9
Not close at all	17	33.3	21	38.9	34	61.8	72	45.0
Not sure	10	19.6	4	7.4	11	20.0	25	15.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>160</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Political party (Female)</b>								
Very close	6	19.4	5	18.5	1	3.1	12	13.3
Not very close	5	16.1	3	11.1	4	12.5	12	13.3
Not close at all	12	38.7	15	55.6	24	75.0	51	56.7
Not sure	8	25.8	4	14.8	3	9.4	15	16.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>100</b>

## Western region

	Hoima		Kasese		Kiruhura		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Central government (Male)</b>								
Very close	5	11.4	7	14.6	4	8.0	16	11.3
Not very close	3	6.8	21	43.8	14	28.0	38	26.8
Not close at all	29	65.9	18	37.5	25	50.0	72	50.7
Not sure	7	15.9	2	4.2	7	14.0	16	11.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>142</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Central government (Female)</b>								
Very close	9	23.7	7	20.0	10	25.6	26	23.2
Not very close	5	13.2	12	34.3	10	25.6	27	24.1
Not close at all	20	52.6	16	45.7	18	46.2	54	48.2
Not sure	4	10.5	0	0.0	1	2.6	5	4.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Church/Mosque (Male)</b>								
Very close	41	93.2	44	89.8	29	56.9	114	79.2
Not very close	3	6.8	5	10.2	19	37.3	27	18.8
Not close at all	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	5.9	3	2.1
Not sure	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Church/Mosque (Female)</b>								
Very close	36	100.0	35	94.6	33	84.6	104	92.9
Not very close	0	0.0	2	5.4	4	10.3	6	5.4
Not close at all	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	5.1	2	1.8
Not sure	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>District (Male)</b>								
Very close	6	13.6	19	39.6	28	54.9	53	37.1
Not very close	7	15.9	21	43.8	14	27.5	42	29.4
Not close at all	26	59.1	5	10.4	9	17.6	40	28.0
Not sure	5	11.4	3	6.3	0	0.0	8	5.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>143</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>District (Female)</b>								
Very close	5	13.9	10	27.0	22	56.4	37	33.0
Not very close	7	19.4	15	40.5	12	30.8	34	30.4
Not close at all	21	58.3	10	27.0	5	12.8	36	32.1
Not sure	3	8.3	2	5.4	0	0.0	5	4.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Cultural kingdom (Male)</b>								
Very close	6	14.3	26	55.3	3	5.9	35	25.0
Not very close	6	14.3	13	27.7	1	2.0	20	14.3
Not close at all	25	59.5	4	8.5	8	15.7	37	26.4
Not sure	5	11.9	4	8.5	39	76.5	48	34.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>140</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Cultural kingdom (Female)</b>								
Very close	5	15.2	20	58.8	0	0.0	25	23.6
Not very close	7	21.2	6	17.6	3	7.7	16	15.1
Not close at all	13	39.4	5	14.7	10	25.6	28	26.4
Not sure	8	24.2	3	8.8	26	66.7	37	34.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Youth associations (Male)</b>								
Very close	11	33.3	21	44.7	35	68.6	67	51.1
Not very close	5	15.2	6	12.8	11	21.6	22	16.8
Not close at all	14	42.4	4	8.5	5	9.8	23	17.6
Not sure	3	9.1	16	34.0	0	0.0	19	14.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>131</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Youth associations (Female)</b>								
Very close	11	35.5	11	34.4	20	51.3	42	41.2
Not very close	1	3.2	2	6.3	14	35.9	17	16.7
Not close at all	14	45.2	8	25.0	4	10.3	26	25.5
Not sure	5	16.1	11	34.4	1	2.6	17	16.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Political party (Male)</b>								
Very close	22	56.4	19	40.4	15	29.4	56	40.9
Not very close	9	23.1	7	14.9	11	21.6	27	19.7
Not close at all	6	15.4	16	34.0	16	31.4	38	27.7
Not sure	2	5.1	5	10.6	9	17.6	16	11.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>137</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Political party (Female)</b>								
Very close	11	33.3	10	28.6	14	35.9	35	32.7
Not very close	4	12.1	4	11.4	8	20.5	16	15.0
Not close at all	13	39.4	12	34.3	9	23.1	34	31.8
Not sure	5	15.2	9	25.7	8	20.5	22	20.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>107</b>	<b>100</b>

## Central region

	Kampala		Buikwe		Luweero		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Central government (Male)</b>								
Very close	4	10.0	8	19.0	2	3.6	14	10.1
Not very close	12	30.0	12	28.6	6	10.7	30	21.7
Not close at all	20	50.0	15	35.7	48	85.7	83	60.1
Not sure	4	10.0	7	16.7	0	0.0	11	8.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>138</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Central government (Female)</b>								
Very close	5	12.2	4	13.8	0	0.0	9	8.7
Not very close	12	29.3	7	24.1	5	15.2	24	23.3
Not close at all	20	48.8	11	37.9	27	81.8	58	56.3
Not sure	4	9.8	7	24.1	1	3.0	12	11.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Church/Mosque (Male)</b>								
Very close	39	97.5	43	95.6	31	55.4	113	80.1
Not very close	1	2.5	2	4.4	22	39.3	25	17.7
Not close at all	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	5.4	3	2.1
Not sure	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>141</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Church/Mosque (Female)</b>								
Very close	39	97.5	27	87.1	25	75.8	91	87.5
Not very close	1	2.5	1	3.2	7	21.2	9	8.7
Not close at all	0	0.0	2	6.5	1	3.0	3	2.9
Not sure	0	0.0	1	3.2	0	0.0	1	1.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>104</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>District (Male)</b>								
Very close	8	20.5	11	25.0	0	0.0	19	13.7
Not very close	15	38.5	15	34.1	8	14.3	38	27.3
Not close at all	8	20.5	8	18.2	47	83.9	63	45.3
Not sure	8	20.5	10	22.7	1	1.8	19	13.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>139</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>District (Female)</b>								
Very close	13	34.2	6	21.4	1	3.0	20	20.2
Not very close	17	44.7	3	10.7	6	18.2	26	26.3
Not close at all	6	15.8	8	28.6	25	75.8	39	39.4
Not sure	2	5.3	11	39.3	1	3.0	14	14.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Cultural kingdom (Male)</b>								
Very close	22	55.0	24	52.2	37	66.1	83	58.5
Not very close	6	15.0	6	13.0	14	25.0	26	18.3
Not close at all	7	17.5	12	26.1	5	8.9	24	16.9
Not sure	5	12.5	4	8.7	0	0.0	9	6.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>142</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Cultural kingdom (Female)</b>								
Very close	19	47.5	13	43.3	15	45.5	47	45.6
Not very close	8	20.0	7	23.3	16	48.5	31	30.1
Not close at all	12	30.0	9	30.0	1	3.0	22	21.4
Not sure	1	2.5	1	3.3	1	3.0	3	2.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Youth associations (Male)</b>								
Very close	11	27.5	6	13.3	3	5.4	20	14.2
Not very close	10	25.0	6	13.3	8	14.3	24	17.0
Not close at all	15	37.5	28	62.2	43	76.8	86	61.0
Not sure	4	10.0	5	11.1	2	3.6	11	7.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>141</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Youth associations (Female)</b>								
Very close	13	31.7	2	7.7	3	9.1	18	18.0
Not very close	11	26.8	6	23.1	4	12.1	21	21.0
Not close at all	14	34.1	13	50.0	22	66.7	49	49.0
Not sure	3	7.3	5	19.2	4	12.1	12	12.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Political party (Male)</b>								
Very close	10	25.0	9	21.4	13	23.2	32	23.2
Not very close	5	12.5	11	26.2	8	14.3	24	17.4
Not close at all	24	60.0	15	35.7	18	32.1	57	41.3
Not sure	1	2.5	7	16.7	17	30.4	25	18.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>138</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Political party (Female)</b>								
Very close	9	22.5	10	33.3	2	6.1	21	20.4
Not very close	4	10.0	6	20.0	2	6.1	12	11.7
Not close at all	24	60.0	10	33.3	26	78.8	60	58.3
Not sure	3	7.5	4	13.3	3	9.1	10	9.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>100</b>



## v) Extent to which youths are engaged by politicians, by region/district and gender

### Northern region

	Lamwo		Otuke		Arua		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Political votes (Male)</b>								
Very strong	45	75	29	59.2	26	65.0	100	67.1
Strong	7	11.7	17	34.7	1	2.5	25	16.8
Less strong	7	11.7	0	0.0	8	20.0	15	10.1
Not at all	1	1.7	3	6.1	5	12.5	9	6.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>149</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Political votes (Female)</b>								
Very strong	17	65.4	22	53.7	10	55.6	49	57.6
Strong	2	7.7	15	36.6	2	11.1	19	22.4
Less strong	7	26.9	0	0.0	4	22.2	11	12.9
Not at all	0	0.0	4	9.8	2	11.1	6	7.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Planning (Male)</b>								
Very strong	5	8.3	1	2.1	8	19.5	14	9.4
Strong	7	11.7	2	4.2	4	9.8	13	8.7
Less strong	33	55.0	16	33.3	18	43.9	67	45.0
Not at all	15	25.0	29	60.4	11	26.8	55	36.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>149</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Planning (Female)</b>								
Very strong	0	0.0	4	10.0	1	5.6	5	6.0
Strong	4	15.4	2	5.0	6	33.3	12	14.3
Less strong	16	61.5	8	20.0	5	27.8	29	34.5
Not at all	6	23.1	26	65.0	6	33.3	38	45.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Resource allocation (Male)</b>								
Very strong	1	1.7	0	0.0	7	16.7	8	5.4
Strong	3	5.1	1	2.1	10	23.8	14	9.4
Less strong	30	50.8	12	25.0	12	28.6	54	36.2
Not at all	25	42.4	35	72.9	13	31.0	73	49.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>149</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Resource allocation (Female)</b>								
Very strong	0	0.0	1	2.6	3	17.6	4	4.9
Strong	0	0.0	1	2.6	5	29.4	6	7.4
Less strong	13	52.0	9	23.1	3	17.6	25	30.9
Not at all	12	48.0	28	71.8	6	35.3	46	56.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Participation in government programmes (Male)</b>								
Very strong	0	0.0	1	2.1	9	23.7	10	6.9
Strong	9	15.5	2	4.2	8	21.1	19	13.2
Less strong	41	70.7	18	37.5	19	50.0	78	54.2
Not at all	8	13.8	27	56.3	2	5.3	37	25.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Participation in government programmes (Female)</b>								
Very strong	1	4.0	4	10.0	2	14.3	7	8.9
Strong	3	12.0	1	2.5	2	14.3	6	7.6
Less strong	20	80.0	16	40.0	8	57.1	44	55.7
Not at all	1	4.0	19	47.5	2	14.3	22	27.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Access to government programmes (Male)</b>								
Very strong	1	1.7	0	0.0	4	12.9	5	3.7
Strong	3	5.2	2	4.4	8	25.8	13	9.7
Less strong	42	72.4	13	28.9	14	45.2	69	51.5
Not at all	12	20.7	30	66.7	5	16.1	47	35.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>134</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Access to government programmes (Female)</b>								
Very strong	0	0.0	3	7.5	1	8.3	4	5.2
Strong	2	8.0	1	2.5	3	25.0	6	7.8
Less strong	20	80.0	16	40.0	7	58.3	43	55.8
Not at all	3	12.0	20	50.0	1	8.3	24	31.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>100</b>

## Eastern region

	Busia		Katakwi		Kotido		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Political votes (Male)</b>								
Very strong	44	78.6	42	76.4	26	54.2	112	70.4
Strong	6	10.7	13	23.6	9	18.8	28	17.6
Less strong	3	5.4	0	0.0	6	12.5	9	5.7
Not at all	3	5.4	0	0.0	7	14.6	10	6.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>159</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Political votes (Female)</b>								
Very strong	25	83.3	20	76.9	14	43.8	59	67.0
Strong	3	10.0	4	15.4	7	21.9	14	15.9
Less strong	2	6.7	1	3.8	8	25.0	11	12.5
Not at all	0	0.0	1	3.8	3	9.4	4	4.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Planning (Male)</b>								
Very strong	10	17.9	14	26.4	4	8.2	28	17.7
Strong	7	12.5	2	3.8	4	8.2	13	8.2
Less strong	28	50.0	11	20.8	19	38.8	58	36.7
Not at all	11	19.6	26	49.1	22	44.9	59	37.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>158</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Planning (Female)</b>								
Very strong	7	23.3	11	44.0	4	12.5	22	25.3
Strong	6	20.0	3	12.0	5	15.6	14	16.1
Less strong	13	43.3	2	8.0	14	43.8	29	33.3
Not at all	4	13.3	9	36.0	9	28.1	22	25.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Resource allocation (Male)</b>								
Very strong	6	10.9	9	17.0	2	4.3	17	11.0
Strong	11	20.0	2	3.8	4	8.7	17	11.0
Less strong	25	45.5	8	15.1	16	34.8	49	31.8
Not at all	13	23.6	34	64.2	24	52.2	71	46.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>154</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Resource allocation (Female)</b>								
Very strong	2	6.9	9	37.5	3	10.0	14	16.9
Strong	5	17.2	3	12.5	2	6.7	10	12.0
Less strong	14	48.3	5	20.8	17	56.7	36	43.4
Not at all	8	27.6	7	29.2	8	26.7	23	27.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Participation in government programmes (Male)</b>								
Very strong	18	32.7	13	24.1	6	12.0	37	23.3
Strong	16	29.1	1	1.9	11	22.0	28	17.6
Less strong	18	32.7	6	11.1	20	40.0	44	27.7
Not at all	3	5.5	34	63.0	13	26.0	50	31.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>159</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Participation in government programmes (Female)</b>								
Very strong	11	39.3	10	40.0	9	29.0	30	35.7
Strong	10	35.7	5	20.0	6	19.4	21	25.0
Less strong	5	17.9	5	20.0	15	48.4	25	29.8
Not at all	2	7.1	5	20.0	1	3.2	8	9.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Access to government programmes (Male)</b>								
Very strong	13	24.5	11	20.8	6	12.2	30	19.4
Strong	18	34.0	2	3.8	8	16.3	28	18.1
Less strong	15	28.3	5	9.4	20	40.8	40	25.8
Not at all	7	13.2	35	66	15	30.6	57	36.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>155</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Access to government programmes (Female)</b>								
Very strong	3	10.3	10	38.5	7	22.6	20	23.3
Strong	6	20.7	4	15.4	3	9.7	13	15.1
Less strong	9	31.0	6	23.1	15	48.4	30	34.9
Not at all	11	37.9	6	23.1	6	19.4	23	26.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>100</b>

## Western region

	Hoima		Kasese		Kiruhura		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Political votes (Male)</b>								
Very strong	35	81.4	22	47.8	43	86.0	100	71.9
Strong	5	11.6	6	13.0	6	12.0	17	12.2
Less strong	1	2.3	16	34.8	0	0.0	17	12.2
Not at all	2	4.7	2	4.3	1	2.0	5	3.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>139</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Political votes (Female)</b>								
Very strong	31	88.6	18	51.4	32	86.5	81	75.7
Strong	2	5.7	5	14.3	4	10.8	11	10.3
Less strong	1	2.9	11	31.4	0	0.0	12	11.2
Not at all	1	2.9	1	2.9	1	2.7	3	2.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>107</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Planning (Male)</b>								
Very strong	6	14.3	3	6.5	2	4.0	11	8.0
Strong	8	19.0	6	13.0	3	6.0	17	12.3
Less strong	4	9.5	14	30.4	17	34.0	35	25.4
Not at all	24	57.1	23	50.0	28	56.0	75	54.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>138</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Planning (Female)</b>								
Very strong	2	6.1	1	2.9	7	18.9	10	9.6
Strong	7	21.2	8	23.5	0	0.0	15	14.4
Less strong	2	6.1	11	32.4	19	51.4	32	30.8
Not at all	22	66.7	14	41.2	11	29.7	47	45.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>104</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Resource allocation (Male)</b>								
Very strong	3	7.3	1	2.4	2	4.0	6	4.5
Strong	2	4.9	4	9.8	2	4.0	8	6.1
Less strong	10	24.4	15	36.6	12	24.0	37	28.0
Not at all	26	63.4	21	51.2	34	68.0	81	61.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>132</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Resource allocation (Female)</b>								
Very strong	1	3.7	2	6.9	7	18.9	10	10.8
Strong	2	7.4	5	17.2	0	0.0	7	7.5
Less strong	3	11.1	5	17.2	11	29.7	19	20.4
Not at all	21	77.8	17	58.6	19	51.4	57	61.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Participation in government programmes (Male)</b>								
Very strong	2	4.5	4	10.3	2	4.1	8	6.1
Strong	16	36.4	6	15.4	3	6.1	25	18.9
Less strong	12	27.3	19	48.7	14	28.6	45	34.1
Not at all	14	31.8	10	25.6	30	61.2	54	40.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>132</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Participation in government programmes (Female)</b>								
Very strong	4	12.1	3	9.4	8	21.6	15	14.7
Strong	3	9.1	4	12.5	0	0.0	7	6.9
Less strong	10	30.3	15	46.9	9	24.3	34	33.3
Not at all	16	48.5	10	31.3	20	54.1	46	45.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Access to government programmes (Male)</b>								
Very strong	2	4.5	8	20.0	2	4.0	12	9.0
Strong	15	34.1	4	10.0	5	10.0	24	17.9
Less strong	13	29.5	16	40.0	13	26.0	42	31.3
Not at all	14	31.8	12	30.0	30	60.0	56	41.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>134</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Access to government programmes (Female)</b>								
Very strong	2	6.3	2	7.1	7	19.4	11	11.5
Strong	9	28.1	4	14.3	1	2.8	14	14.6
Less strong	8	25.0	9	32.1	8	22.2	25	26.0
Not at all	13	40.6	13	46.4	20	55.6	46	47.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>100</b>

## Central region

	Kampala		Buikwe		Luweero		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Political votes (Male)</b>								
Very strong	29	72.5	34	73.9	28	51.9	91	65.0
Strong	6	15.0	10	21.7	21	38.9	37	26.4
Less strong	4	10.0	2	4.3	3	5.6	9	6.4
Not at all	1	2.5	0	0.0	2	3.7	3	2.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>140</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Political votes (Female)</b>								
Very strong	33	76.7	28	82.4	9	28.1	70	64.2
Strong	9	20.9	3	8.8	17	53.1	29	26.6
Less strong	1	2.3	1	2.9	6	18.8	8	7.3
Not at all	0	0.0	2	5.9	0	0.0	2	1.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Planning (Male)</b>								
Very strong	3	7.5	3	7.0	0	0.0	6	4.4
Strong	4	10.0	3	7.0	4	7.4	11	8.0
Less strong	28	70.0	19	44.2	16	29.6	63	46.0
Not at all	5	12.5	18	41.9	34	63.0	57	41.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>137</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Planning (Female)</b>								
Very strong	3	7.1	1	3.6	1	3.1	5	4.9
Strong	4	9.5	4	14.3	0	0.0	8	7.8
Less strong	30	71.4	10	35.7	16	50.0	56	54.9
Not at all	5	11.9	13	46.4	15	46.9	33	32.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Resource allocation (Male)</b>								
Very strong	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Strong	4	10.0	2	4.8	2	3.7	8	5.9
Less strong	28	70.0	22	52.4	16	29.6	66	48.5
Not at all	8	20.0	18	42.9	36	66.7	62	45.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>136</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Resource allocation (Female)</b>								
Very strong	0	0.0	1	4.0	1	3.1	2	2.0
Strong	5	11.6	1	4.0	1	3.1	7	7.0
Less strong	31	72.1	12	48.0	6	18.8	49	49.0
Not at all	7	16.3	11	44.0	24	75.0	42	42.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Participation in government programmes (Male)</b>								
Very strong	2	5.1	4	11.4	0	0.0	6	4.7
Strong	15	38.5	7	20.0	0	0.0	22	17.2
Less strong	18	46.2	14	40.0	8	14.8	40	31.3
Not at all	4	10.3	10	28.6	46	85.2	60	46.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>128</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Participation in government programmes (Female)</b>								
Very strong	5	11.9	2	9.1	0	0.0	7	7.3
Strong	11	26.2	12	54.5	1	3.1	24	25.0
Less strong	23	54.8	1	4.5	3	9.4	27	28.1
Not at all	3	7.1	7	31.8	28	87.5	38	39.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Access to government programmes (Male)</b>								
Very strong	2	5.1	2	5.4	0	0.0	4	3.1
Strong	4	10.3	6	16.2	0	0.0	10	7.7
Less strong	30	76.9	18	48.6	7	13.0	55	42.3
Not at all	3	7.7	11	29.7	47	87.0	61	46.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>130</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Access to government programmes (Female)</b>								
Very strong	1	2.6	2	9.1	0	0.0	3	3.2
Strong	8	20.5	8	36.4	0	0.0	16	17.2
Less strong	27	69.2	5	22.7	4	12.5	36	38.7
Not at all	3	7.7	7	31.8	28	87.5	38	40.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>100</b>







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