



**INSPECTORATE
OF GOVERNMENT**

**COST AND EXTENT OF
CORRUPTION IN THE EDUCATION
SECTOR IN UGANDA**

POPULAR VERSION

DECEMBER 2021

FOREWORD



The 4th National Integrity Survey Report 2019 and other surveys suggest not only bribery but also other forms of corruption such as absenteeism and ghost workers seriously impact the education services in Uganda. Corruption in education provision negatively affects both the quality and accessibility of education services which later reduces the opportunities of children from disadvantaged backgrounds and reinforces poverty and social inequality in the society.

Despite being a clear challenge, comprehensive upto date estimates of the extent and cost of corruption in the Education sector are lacking. By failing to measure the cost of corruption in the health sector and establishing the magnitude of the problem to Ugandans, adequate and appropriate anti-corruption measures cannot be developed.

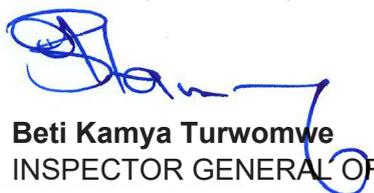
The Inspectorate of Government (IG) in 2021, commissioned the research on the cost and extent of corruption in the Education Sector in Uganda with support from the German Government, through the Deutsche Gesellschaft fur Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH. The research was conducted by the Governance Transparency Institute (Hungary) which is an international and non-partisan think tank in good governance.

With the combined effort of all the laws and institutions in place the war against corruption has mainly centered on whistleblowers, tracking suspects, investigating, prosecution, conviction, incarceration and recovery of the loot. But the fact is that only a very small percentage of corruption gets detected or even gets to the level of being investigated at all.

There is therefore need to rebrand the war from being an Executive, Parliament, Judiciary, IG, NGOs and Anti-Corruption Agencies' war with citizens of Uganda being mere frustrated spectators, to a Citizens' War.

As we release the report of extent and cost of Corruption in the Education Sector Uganda, it is my hope that relevant authorities and institutions in the sector will take the findings seriously, have further deliberations to improve on the implementation of strategies for the elimination of corruption in the Education Sector in Uganda.

I have the honour to present the report on the extent and cost of Corruption in the Education Sector to the people of Uganda and all stakeholders in the fight to eliminate corruption. I implore all stakeholders to read this report and set targets that will help deter, prevent and eliminate corruption in all public institutions.



Beti Kamyia Turwomwe
INSPECTOR GENERAL OF GOVERNMENT



Government
Transparency
Institute

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

In 2021, the Inspectorate of Government, initiated the research on the cost of corruption in Uganda with support from the German Government, through the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH. The Government Transparency Institute (GTI) a non-partisan think tank researching and advocating good governance was contracted to conduct the study. Born from the research and Civil Society activism of its founder Mihály Fazekas, the Institute was founded in Budapest, Hungary in 2015 to provide an independent, research-driven voice to the causes of transparency, anti-corruption, and good governance in Europe and beyond. It is financed by private donations, European research funds, and government contract work, and works independently of political parties or special interest groups. The aim of the Institute is to better understand the causes, characteristics, and consequences of low-quality governance with interdisciplinary analysis, drawing on political science, economics, law, and data science.

The Institute help citizens and companies hold their governments accountable through the publication of novel datasets and robust analyses. The unique research approach uses Big Data, econometrics, and qualitative methods to understand micro-behaviour, macro-outcomes, and the links between the two. The main themes include corruption, collusion, spending efficiency, administrative quality, public procurement, and legislative processes. We believe that the combination of a thorough qualitative understanding and precise quantitative measurement of the state is the foundation of good governance.

The main authors of the report on cost of corruption were; Mihály Fazekas, Isabelle Adam, Olena Nikulina (Government Transparency Institute)

The findings and analysis in this report is attributed to the authors and by no means constitute the views of the Inspectorate of Government of Uganda or the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH.

NOTE

Exchange rate: Euro to Uganda Shillings as at December 2021, 1 EURO = UGX. 3971.75

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HIGHLIGHTS

The elimination of corruption in the Education Sector of Uganda could result in substantial annual savings of nearly UGX. 1.8 trillion. This is equal to 51% of 2019 government spending on Education Sector.

The highest measurable cost of corruption in the Education Sector occurs due to teachers' absenteeism. It amounts to almost UGX. 1.5 trillion worth of lost instructional time. Absenteeism is a complex problem determined by diverse factors such as low pay in education and regional differences.

Corruption in the education sector disproportionately affects the life chances of children from poor households and rural areas. Hence, it contributes to poverty and social inequality in the society.

The study identified 4 major groups of policy interventions which hold the promise of simultaneously reducing the incidence and costs of corruption in the education sector: i) improve monitoring of corruption across the sector; ii) improve integrity in public procurement; iii) improve school governance and oversight; and iv) improve funding levels and equity in education.

BACKGROUND

High-quality and universally-accessible education are important contributory factors to Uganda's social and economic development. Corruption in different forms negatively affects both the quality and accessibility of education services available to citizens. As a result of the corrupt diversion of public funds from schools, absenteeism, ghost teachers and students, outright bribery by teachers, inspectors, and education officials, and even collusion in communities' representatives in school governance, there are many poorly furnished classrooms, unmaintained buildings and absent teachers and students across Uganda.

There is broad consensus that Uganda faces considerable challenges related to corruption in the education sector. As the Uganda Inspectorate of Government's (IG) Fourth National Integrity Survey Report and other sources suggest, not only bribery but also other forms of corruption such as absenteeism and ghost workers seriously impact education. This constrains citizens' access to schooling, affecting individual life chances and worsening poverty and inequality in the country. Moreover, corruption erodes trust in the education system among the population, and "normalises" unethical behaviour and makes it socially acceptable at an early age.

While corruption in education threatens the wellbeing of individuals and the society at large, up to date and comprehensive estimates of the extent and cost of corruption in the sector are lacking. This report briefly summarizes evidence about the costs of corruption both overall and across different groups of cost bearers. It is a summary of an in-depth study available at: www.igg.go.ug.

It is hoped that the evidence from the report can be used to inform the debate, underpin advocacy campaigns to change policies or institutions, and direct the focus of support to specific areas.

The cost of corruption estimates are based on a variety of methods and data sources: analysis of our household survey results, as well as secondary survey data; analysis of qualitative data gathered through in-depth interviews with experts and practitioners in the sector; analysis of government administrative data; and desk review of the available literature and high-value cases of corruption. Overall, the estimates should be considered as a lower bound estimate of the true cost of corruption. For more details on our methods and their limitations see Box 2 at the end of this report.

KEY FINDINGS

This study classifies corruption costs into direct and indirect costs. The study also differentiates among the groups that bear the costs: public service users (citizens/firms), the public budget, and society at large.

Direct costs include all those costs that can be directly attributed to corrupt acts. This can be either a direct cost to the public budget (either to the Ugandan government or donor governments providing aid to the Ugandan budget); or a direct cost to citizens who are required to pay a bribe to get a public service.

Indirect costs are only indirectly attributable to the corrupt acts and are harder to express in exact monetary terms. Indirect costs constitute a dead-weight loss to society, in other words they do not

benefit anyone but represent a deviation from the optimal resource allocation of the public budget and more broadly the whole economy. Hence, they represent the net social cost.

Box 1: Real-life example to illustrate different types of corruption costs.

A car driver gets stopped for speeding by a policeman. Instead of charging the official fine of 100,000 UGX, the policeman accepts a bribe of 30,000 UGX and lets the driver go. In this case, the direct cost of the corrupt act to the public budget equals the loss of the value of the fine (100,000 UGX), the cost to the citizen is the amount of the bribe (30,000 UGX, while he saved 70,000 UGX compared to the official fine), and the income of the policeman is increased by the amount of the bribe 30,000 UGX).

If the driver was a genuine traffic offender, potential indirect costs may also arise. Most importantly, letting a traffic offender go having paid only one-third of the official fine is less likely to deter him from speeding again, hence making roads less safe, which could lead to the loss of lives.

If the policeman was abusing his position to solicit bribes, e.g. targeting potentially wealthy drivers and hence stopping the car on a pretence without any offence actually having occurred, this act also carries an indirect net social cost. The policeman's abuse of power and extortion means that he does not fulfil his duty to guard the safety of traffic and to punish actual offenders, who may go unnoticed or unpunished, leading to less safe roads which is a dead-weight loss to society. In addition, this carries a potential additional indirect cost by reducing citizens' trust in public institutions and undermining confidence in the rule of law.

DIRECT COSTS OF CORRUPTION

Costs to users due to bribery in education

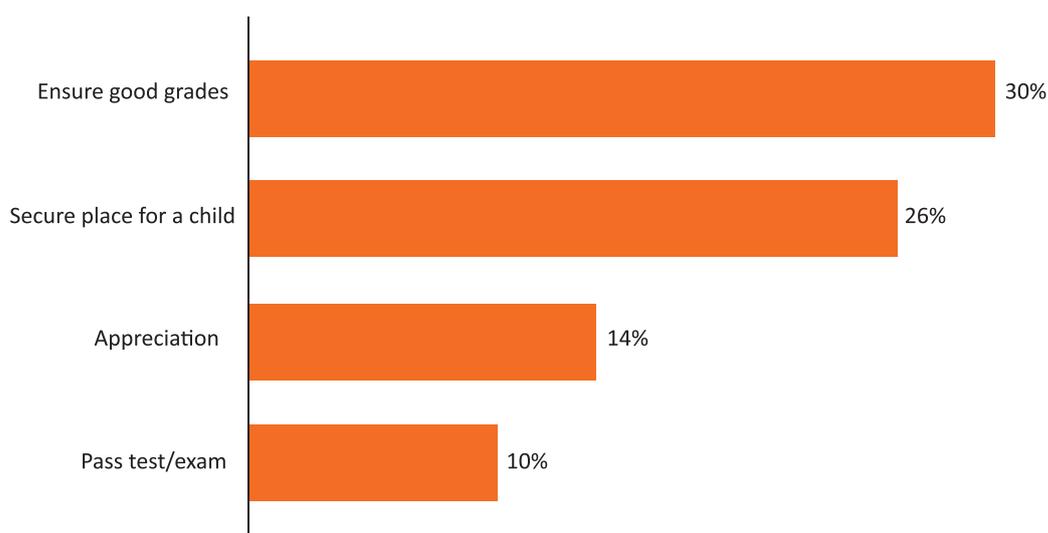
The first direct, transactional type cost for education users (pupils/students/parents) relates to bribing an education provider (teacher, examiner etc.) for the delivery of a service that should be delivered free of charge or for a fixed lower fee, or to receive results. Note that this may be difficult to distinguish, in practice, from a bribe paid to gain an unfair advantage, i.e. to induce the teacher to issue a higher grade than the child deserves. The parent lacks information about the child's true results and hence from their point of view, the two types of bribe may be indistinguishable, although their impact on society may differ.

In the household survey, among the households with children, 7% reported being asked to pay a bribe by a teacher or school official relating to their oldest child. It is important to acknowledge that the survey asked about the period of 12 months before school closures, in an effort to avoid biases arising from COVID-19-related disruption. Most of those who paid a bribe gave money (91%), and the median value of payments was UGX. 21,000. Extrapolating our figures on bribery prevalence and size of bribe to the whole population of Uganda results in a total estimated cost for citizens of bribery in education amounting to UGX. 39.1 billion.

Among those who paid a bribe and did it for reasons other than "appreciation", 30% of households did it with the motivation to ensure good grades for their children, 26% - to secure a place in a school, and 10% - to help children to pass a test or an exam.

The median size of the bribery varied depending on the motivation. The median value of bribes paid differed somewhat by expressed motivation for bribery, as well. On average, those who wanted to secure a place in school or ensure good grades paid UGX. 20,000. Meanwhile, appreciation payments were, on average, UGX. 15,000.

Figure 1. Motivation to bribe



% indicating motivations for bribe payment, amongst the sample of those that report paying a bribe in 12 months before COVID-19 lockdown for the oldest child.

The survey conducted confirmed that the need to pay a bribe puts significant financial strain on households. 5% of households with children school aged had to cut other expenses in order to pay a bribe for education related services, while 4% - had to borrow money to afford an education-related bribe.

The analysis also showed that some groups are disproportionately vulnerable to bribery. Members of households in poverty, large families, and rural residents have higher chances of being asked for bribes compared to other respondents. Additionally, households from the Eastern and Western regions are more likely to encounter bribery than residents of the Northern Region.

Loss to the budget due to absenteeism

Absenteeism in the education sector in Uganda is among the highest in Africa. A report “The Global Corruption Report: Education” suggests that the rate of teacher absenteeism is around 27%. The 2014 and 2012 IG report on Tracking Corruption Trends in Uganda found that, on average, at a given moment of time, for every 100 teachers only 39 were actually in class teaching during their assigned lessons. In the survey, 24% of households with school-aged children report that a child from their household has missed a lesson because a teacher was absent at least once in the 12 months prior to COVID lockdown.

Teachers’ absenteeism represents a cost to the public budget in terms of wages paid to absent teachers.

Applying the World Bank’s estimate of the absenteeism rate in Uganda (27%) to the budget expenditure data, the estimated cost of absenteeism in public education was UGX. 180.47 billion in 2019 alone.

Loss of learning hours due to absenteeism

Along with the costs for the public budget, teachers’ absenteeism results in the loss of learning. A large body of evidence suggests that the loss of instructional time negatively affects academic outcomes and social development. Even short-term teachers’ absence can lead to losses of 3.3% of standard deviation in math grade achievement. Organised absenteeism, when teachers coordinate absence and cover up for missing colleagues, is also harmful for students’ achievements - substitute teachers perform worse in facilitating learning compared to regular teachers.

Moreover, teachers’ absence and low engagement in their duties enhances students’ absenteeism in Uganda, further hindering learning outcomes. The average truancy rate in Ugandan public schools is nearly 20%.

While there are not available estimates of learning loss due to absenteeism, the study measured this cost by calculating the lost funding on one learning hour for one student in Uganda. From the expected average teaching time of 7 hours per day, 1.9 hours of classroom time is lost due to absenteeism per day. It is equal to around 478 hours per year for one student. Multiplying this figure by number of students in secondary and primary schools, and by average cost of teaching hour per student results in annual costs equal to nearly 1.5 trillion UGX.

Loss of education quality for users

Corruption negatively affects the quality of education in multiple ways, and it is especially harmful for disadvantaged students. First, bribery and diversion of resources from schools through embezzlement raises the cost of education for students and constrains access to education. Second, misappropriation of school funds, and corruption in education procurement negatively affects the learning environment

for pupils and working conditions of teachers. Third, corruption in teachers' recruitment lowers the quality of teaching as vacant positions can be taken by unqualified candidates. Along with absenteeism, this lowers the quality of teaching and creates disruptions in the learning process. Finally, corruption generally undermines the attitude towards education in society which is harmful for the quality of education. The qualitative interviews revealed that parents sometimes refuse to support the learning of their children due to the lack of trust in public schools. However, a lack of relevant literature hinders our ability to develop a numerical estimate for loss of education quality due to corruption.

Costs to the physical and mental wellbeing of students

A special type of harm to students arises from so-called "sextortion" - i.e., sexual harassment and extortion by teachers in exchange for favors, which includes "sex for grades". As a result of abuse, the physical and mental wellbeing of students suffers. In the long run, it can lead to lower learning results, unwanted pregnancies and sexually transmitted infections, and higher drop-out rates hence affecting the overall education attainment, especially of girls and young women.

In our household survey, 10% of respondents reported that, in the last 5 years, at least once it happened that a teacher or school official proposed to a child from her/his household or a child he/she knows that they could grant benefits, such as good grades or passing a test, in exchange for sexual favors. Moreover, in our survey, nearly 14% of respondents reported that their oldest child had experienced misbehavior from a teacher or school official, such as beating and insulting them for arriving late, giving wrong answers, or refusing to buy a particular textbook that was required by the school.

Loss of public education funds through embezzlement

Losses due to embezzlement of the public budget create financial costs for the public budget, as well as in-kind costs for users in terms of loss of education quality. As public officials steal or divert funds or supplies intended for public education, the school and therewith the students ultimately receive less.

Reinikka and Svensson (2004) undertook a public expenditure tracking survey in Uganda which found that schools had historically been significantly underfunded because grants (or significant portions thereof) were captured by local officials or politicians. In 2001, on average, schools received only 82% of the governmental funds to which they were entitled, with 18% siphoned off at the local level. For many schools, especially in the poorer areas, the share of captured funds was still as high as 25% or more, but much improved on the early 1990s findings. If assuming that the scale of losses identified in the 2001 research is similar today, then the average estimate of 18% loss in grants due to embezzlement translated into 2019 data on public education funds results would suggest costs of UGX. 244 billion.

Costs of corruption in education procurement

Corruption in education procurement occurs in the different phases of the procurement cycle, and as in the various types of contracts such as provision of school supplies, textbooks, and meals, as well as construction of classrooms and school buildings. While procurement corruption costs significant amounts of money for the public budget, it also negatively affects the learning environment and undermines the quality of education for users.

Our qualitative interviews confirmed that in construction of education facilities contractors are often selected based on bribes and/or political connections. As a result, prices for contracts were inflated. Furthermore, favoritism in the allocation of contracts typically leads to lower quality goods, works or services, delays in the provision of school supplies, infrastructure and services.

Unfortunately, available education procurement data does not allow us to derive a comprehensive estimate for the total cost of procurement corruption in the sector.

Costs to the public budget and users due to corruption in the recruitment of teachers

The qualitative research revealed various forms of corruption that are prevalent in the recruitment of teachers: bribery to influence decisions about hiring and transfers, forgery of documents, favoritism and nepotism in selection of candidates. Corruption in teachers' employment constitutes a loss in education quality for users, as well as creating costs for the public budget in terms of wages paid to unqualified staff.

Firstly, despite high competition for teachers' positions in public schools, unqualified candidates can get an advantage over more skilled and motivated teachers. As one interviewee told us, to get a job in a Grade III school, a candidate has to pay about UGX. 3 million. Furthermore, bribery in the hiring process helps candidates with forged documents about their qualifications or no documents at all to secure posts.

Secondly, favoritism and nepotism undermine fair competition in the recruitment process. Multiple interviewees shared cases when politicians, especially on the local governance level, influenced recruitment for jobs in schools, often to secure jobs for their friends and relatives.

Similarly, bribery and favoritism are prevalent in transfers. Multiple interviewees suggested that teachers pay bribes to be transferred to more preferable places or avoid relocation to rural and/or remote areas. With that, head teachers, officials and other influential actors can use transfers as a mechanism of pressure on teachers.

INDIRECT COSTS OF CORRUPTION

Potential loss of income due to lost education and low quality education

Better-educated individuals are more likely to achieve higher earnings and have reduced chances of facing unemployment. Therefore, reduction in both quality and quantity in education as a result of corruption can have negative consequences for the future wellbeing of students. It is especially threatening for students from disadvantaged backgrounds and remote areas who cannot afford private education.

While estimates for Uganda are missing, research in other contexts suggests that an additional year of schooling results in a 9% increase in hourly earnings. The rate of return for education in 12 African countries, including Uganda, is more than 7% for primary education, and more than 25% - for upper secondary and tertiary education levels.

Lost productivity and economic growth due to low quality of education

Education quality is an important factor of economic growth. Corruption in education is costly not only for users of education services and the public budget but also for the society at large. Constrained access and lower quality of education driven by corruption undermines the productivity of the population, and hinders economic development, as well as fuelling inequality and poverty.

One estimate suggests that a one standard deviation increase in quality of schooling leads to a 1.3 - 2.0 percentage point increase in economic growth. Another study found that, for OECD countries, an intervention that increases PISA results by 25 points would result in 3% higher GDP.

Unfortunately, since Uganda does not participate in the international assessments of students' skills, it was not possible to precisely estimate lost economic growth because of a lack of appropriate data.

CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

The elimination of corruption in the education sector of Uganda could result in substantial savings. According to the full eradication of corruption scenario, the potential savings amount to approximately UGX. 1.8 trillion UGX per year, or more than half of the 2019 annual government spending on education. [Table 1](#) provides a detailed overview of all estimated corruption costs.

Potential annual savings of UGX. 1.8 trillion could significantly improve the provision of education services, as well as making education more accessible to all citizens. For instance, the cost of embezzlement in education (UGX. 245 billion) would be sufficient to build more than 1,000 new schools or hire more than 30,000 new secondary teachers.

While the estimated total cost of corruption in the education sector represents more than one-half of national government spending on the sector already, it is likely a lower-bound estimate since this report does not provide a monetary value for several direct and indirect costs related to loss of quality of education, mis-recruitment of teachers, and abuse of students. Additionally, the potentially significant cost of corruption in procurement of school supplies and education infrastructure was not included in the total figure due to the lack of relevant details in publicly available electronic public procurement data.

Furthermore, as the quantitative and qualitative analysis behind this report confirmed, corruption in education disproportionately affects life chances for children from poor households and disadvantaged settlements. Thus, it further maintains an unfair situation where the life chances of children depend not only on their own efforts and aspirations but on their background.

Table 1. Summary of costs arising due to corruption in the education sector

Cost description	Group bearing the costs	Cost form	Cost type	Costs Estimates, UGX, 2019
Costs to users due to bribery in education	Users	Financial	Direct	39,085,200,000
Loss to the budget due to absenteeism	Public budget	Financial	Direct	180,468,000,000
Loss of learning hours due to absenteeism	Users	Financial	Direct	1,465,031,743,590
Loss of public education funds through embezzlement	Public budget	Financial	Direct	244,613,871,795
Costs of corruption in education procurement	Public budget	Financial	Direct	non-measurable due to lack of data
Loss of education quality for users	Users	In-kind	Direct	non-measurable due to lack of data
Costs to the physical and mental wellbeing of students	Users	In-kind	Direct	non-measurable due to lack of data
Costs to public budget due to corruption in the recruitment of teachers	Public budget	Financial	Direct	non-measurable due to lack of data
Costs to users due to corruption in the recruitment of teachers	Users	In-kind	Direct	non-measurable due to lack of data
Potential loss of income due to lost education and low quality education	Users	Financial	Indirect	non-measurable due to lack of data
Lost productivity and economic growth due to low quality of education	Society at large	Financial	Indirect	non-measurable due to lack of data

Although improvement in the accessibility and quality of education is beneficial for the country, policy-makers can underestimate the importance of interventions since such reforms usually only bear fruit in the long run (on a 10-15 years' time horizon). This report shows that a reduction of corruption in the education sector carries the potential to increase public spending on education at least by one-half. Our qualitative research and findings from the relevant academic literature point to a few promising policy interventions, expected to lower both the incidence and the cost of corruption:

- 1. Improve monitoring of corruption:** Allocate greater resources to schools inspectors and auditors for travelling and executing oversight functions effectively and regularly, and enhancing their independence.
- 2. Improve integrity in public procurement:** 1) Improve the rules – and monitoring of compliance – around conflicts of interest in public procurement, to avoid awarding contracts to politically connected suppliers. 2) Improve public procurement tenders by making them more open and competitive, breaking up closed networks of collusive companies and officials. 3) Moreover, improve post-award monitoring of procurement contracts, by involving the school communities (e.g. teachers, parents) receiving the goods and services procured.
- 3. Improve school governance and oversight:** Strengthen community monitoring of schools by parents, civil society organizations and traditional leaders to supplement and triangulate the services of auditors and inspectors. 1) Increase awareness of parents about opportunities and benefits of participation in oversight and governance of schools, in particular, through Parent Teachers Associations (PTAs). 2) Also, provide head teachers and PTAs with effective and safe ways to report extortion by the School Management Committee (SMC) members. 3) Review the

teacher licensing process and strengthen the enforcement of the Teachers' Code of Conduct by the Education Service Commission against errant teachers. 4) Improve whistleblowing mechanisms and provide head teachers and PTAs with effective and safe ways to report extortion from the SMC members. 5) Encourage the Ministry of Education and Inspectorate of Government to work together to mainstream anti-corruption in education sector assessments and plans, so that corruption is regularly included as a threat to the achievement of sector goals, and measures to address it are included in sector plans and policies. 6) Conduct information and education campaigns to raise awareness of reporting channels for corruption, including anti-corruption institutions such as the Inspectorate of Government, or anti-corruption NGOs such as Transparency International and the Anti-Corruption Coalition of Uganda.

4. **Improve funding levels and equity:** 1) Increase funding for accommodation and payments for public school teachers. 2) Create additional incentives for qualified teachers to accept work in schools in rural/remote areas.

Box 2. Methodology and limitations

The cost of corruption estimates are based on the analysis of government administrative data, including public procurement records, as well as desk review of the available literature and high value cases of corruption and quantitative analysis of existing data sources such as surveys. Overall, our estimates should be considered as a lower bound estimate of the true cost of corruption.

The analysis of public procurement spending was based on a dataset of 50,000 contracts obtained from the government's open data portal covering the years 2015-2020. With the "red flag" methodology, we identified corruption risks and costs of these risks.

Within a desk review, we collected, systematized and reviewed available government administrative data, as well as the existing literature. With that, we analyzed corruption in the education sector using the data we collected through the household survey and in-depth interviews. A nationally representative household survey was targeted at users of education services, while in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with experts, practitioners, and relevant public officials.

The study also included the raw data from the existing representative surveys such as East Africa Bribery Index, National Integrity Survey, etc.

This research has limitations which should be recognized when designing any policy interventions. Any corruption-related costs are likely to be spread over time and thus may be inadequately captured in a cross-sectional survey. However, the study sought to address these difficulties by using a range of methods to elicit different kinds of information from different types of stakeholders, seeking to provide an extensive mapping of the range of risks and costs, while recognizing that prevalence and magnitude can only be estimated. Overall, the proposed estimates represent a lower-down estimate of corruption costs in the education sector in Uganda.

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