Deep Dive into
Crime in Uganda
2020
Deep Dive into Crime in Uganda 2020
What is crime in Uganda? This report is an open invitation for all working with criminal justice in Uganda to identify better practices.

We truly believe basic justice care for everyone is possible. With data and technology, we co-create high quality justice based on what people need in today’s world.

Working evidence-based gives a chance for targeted solutions, from grass-roots to legislative level.

That’s why we spoke to over 6000 randomly selected Ugandan adults. We learned about their justice needs. We heard crime-related problems over and over.

Now we present these results in the form of this Deep dive into Crime in Uganda report. We hope the results benefit justice providers in Uganda to create solutions that eventually grant access to justice for all. Real justice transformation requires diversity and shared commitment to a goal. What can you do?
The whole journey of going through criminal justice is a very complicated journey, especially for a layman. The laws are not easy to understand and you don’t understand what you are facing. It becomes hard, trying to access justice.
This Deep Dive into Crime is supported by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) in Uganda. We are grateful to the staff of SIDA in Uganda and Sweden for their support and advice.

This study would not have been a success without the considerable support of the Secretariat of the Justice, Law and Order Sector (JLOS) in Uganda, who contributed valuable time and knowledge.

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Executive Summary

One in three Ugandans experience crime-related justice problems. Most commonly, people experience petty crime such as theft. While severe crime such as violence is not as common, it has a critical impact on people’s well-being.

Solving crime-related problems is difficult. Over a half of all crime incidents are abandoned by the victim. When people do take legal action, they most often seek help from the police or their family members. However, crimes without clear evidence, especially petty crime often remain unresolved. Many who experience crime also suffer from lack of funds and legal knowledge in the resolution process. Many cases are abandoned before they are officially reported. Our findings suggest that only a small portion of crimes are reported to the police or a court of law. Eventually unreported crimes can even lead to mob justice.

Crime problems are a result of other problems. Land and family problems in particular can lead to crime. Social problems, such as poverty and lack of education, also increase the likelihood of crime in the area. As a consequence of crime, people experience loss of income, stress-related illnesses and loss of time.

This report features two types of data: quantitative survey data, and qualitative interviews with Ugandan criminal justice providers and some laypeople. The quantitative survey data presents crime that people have experienced and the impact it had on their lives. Hence, it focuses to the viewpoint of the victim. The qualitative interviews focus on more serious crime as well as the configuration of the criminal justice system. We identify gaps in the criminal justice system in Uganda and bring examples on what works to bridge these gaps.

Key findings of this report suggest that petty crime prevails in Uganda: theft is almost an everyday phenomenon and people are unable to solve their problems with property crime. Local council courts have jurisdiction over these small crimes, however they are not often utilised. Meanwhile, formal justice providers have long case backlogs. The rate at which crimes are resolved is low: over a half of the crime cases are abandoned. A better balance between the formal and informal justice systems could help to manage large caseloads and provide Ugandans with greater access to justice. We need more local innovation that can help in providing tools to increase the resolution rate of crimes.
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

34% of people have encountered crime in the past four years

Common criminal justice problems:
- theft
- burglary, robbery and damage to property

74% of people seek legal advice - most people ask advice from their social networks

77% of people take action to solve their criminal justice problem

64% of criminal justice problems are not resolved or are waiting for a resolution
Introduction

to the Study
Crime-related legal problems are one of the most frequent and pressing justice needs in Uganda. In 2015, HiiL conducted a Justice Needs and Satisfaction survey in Uganda, resulting in a report describing the population’s needs for fair solutions. The report made evident that in Uganda, the three most prevalent legal problems are in the domains of family (and namely divorce), land, and crime. These problems need further investigation in the form of a Deep Dive report.

HiiL publishes special reports on all of these specific problems to provide in-depth knowledge on their prevalence, causes and consequences. These reports feature quantitative Justice Needs and Satisfaction data from 2019 and qualitative data from 2018. To improve access to justice, we analyse this data and examine gaps or knots in the system to attain fair remedies for these justice problems.

This particular Deep Dive report focuses on individuals who reported recent experience with a crime-related problem as their most pressing justice need. The report reviews these justice problems, their consequences and possible solutions, and examines specific issues related to encountering a crime.

First, this report outlines the HiiL methodology. We then introduce the most common crime-related justice problems in Uganda. Next, we explore what Ugandans do after experiencing various crimes and how they evaluate the outcomes of their justice journeys. Finally, we present key findings and action points for future development.

The results of this report are based on HiiL Justice Needs and Satisfaction quantitative data set from 2019, and complementary qualitative interviews collected in 2018.

**Quantitative research methodology**

The quantitative research data consists of 6129 randomly selected adult individuals who were interviewed during June and July in 2019. They were asked to report any justice problems they have encountered in the past four years. Our standard approach is to disaggregate results based on a number of variables, such as gender, income, education, and other relevant demographic factors.\(^1\)

**Methodology**

Demographics of the sample

- A bit more than half (52%) of the sample is female.
- The mean age is 33 years. More than a half (55%) of the respondents are between 25 and 54 years of age.
- Around 80% of the respondents come from rural areas.
- Many (37%) of the respondents are married monogamously, and some (6%) are in a polygamous marriage. 7% are married, but live separately. Another 30% are single and have never been married, while 4% are divorced. Widow(er)s make up 6% of the sample.
- The average household size consists of 4.3 people.
- Seventy percent of the people interviewed have one or more child(ren). On average, people have 1.9 children aged 14 or younger.
- Many respondents are self-employed (36%), followed by people who are engaged in informal work (18%) and people who work for an employer (12%). Nine percent of the respondents are carers, and 8% temporarily unemployed.

| 6129 adults interviewed |

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\(^1\) We only report differences if they are statistically significant at a 10% level or better.
• 9% have completed no (formal) education. Almost three quarters (70%) have completed primary or secondary education. A considerably smaller group has completed vocational training (13%) or university/postgraduate education (7%).

Qualitative research methodology

The qualitative data for this research was collected by trained Hiil staff members. The interviews were conducted from October to November in 2018 during field visits in Kampala, Arua, Soroti and Kabale. A snowball method was applied to identify respondents: the selection was based on access to networks and gatekeepers willing to collaborate for this research. We collected a total of fourteen (14) criminal justice problem interviews, of which eleven (11) are justice provider interviews and three (3) are layperson interviews.

With the qualitative data we aim to gather deeper insights about access to justice after experiencing crime. What are the underlying causes of crime? What do these problems look like from the perspective of the formal and informal justice institutions? Why some people go to courts, others to Local council courts, and others simply do nothing? How do legal problems impact people’s lives? To what extent do people manage to reach fair resolutions?

Collection and analysis of the qualitative data followed a process of best research practices. First, interviewers were trained on how to conduct in-depth interviews and specific subject matters of criminal justice. A thematic outline for the interviews was developed. Then, data was collected, recorded and transcribed. Next, the interviews were coded in Atlas.ti. The coding process followed a combination of applying researcher’s knowledge of criminal justice in Uganda, and addressing concurrent themes in the interviews. The codes were peer-reviewed and combined into the broader themes, on which this deep dive report is based. Hence, the themes presented in this report are based on several mentions in the interview the data. The featured comments intend to conceptualise the findings from the survey and the interviews. The comments are selected based on their representativeness and suitability to report (i.e. no personal information is disclosed). However, the findings identified are based on a bigger group of comments than only the featured ones.

There is a paradigm shift towards evidence-based working taking place in the justice sector. In the end of the report, we will introduce ‘what works’ alongside with the key findings. The ‘what works’-sections contain evidence-based, actionable interventions that can be applied by justice workers, organizations and users.

The guideline approach to what works

One way of finding out what works can be done by developing a set of recommendations, which forms a guideline. The following three elements of the guideline approach are highlighted:

- Identify practice-based evidence (PBE). Local justice workers from the informal and formal sectors have gathered best practices for resolving pressing justice problems through their experiences in the field. These best practices can be collected from government, local, and civil society leaders.

- Identify evidence-based practice (EBP). International literature contains evidence which supports or invalidates interventions to justice issues. These interventions can be tested and the quality of evidence that underlies them can be classified, in order to define actionable recommendations that practitioners can apply in practice.

- Combine PBE and EBP. Test whether the suggested local practices (practice-based evidence) are consistent with the recommendations (evidence-based practice).

Find all steps and the full guideline approach on www.hiil.org.
Fact sheet: criminal justice in Uganda

Uganda has a mixed legal system of Common law and customary law. In case they are in conflict, statutory law prevails.2

The Judiciary was established in the 1995 Constitution. The courts of the judiciary are independent of the other arms of government. They include the magisterial courts, the High Court, the Court of Appeal and the Supreme Court. The Judiciary is headed by the Chief Justice and deputised by the Deputy Chief Justice.3 The constitution remains the supreme law in Uganda and is an important source of criminal law, which is mainly retributive.4

Local council courts (LCC) are subordinate to the judiciary.6 LCCs are an integral part of the justice system, and act as liaisons between formal and informal justice providers. They are the lowest units with administrative, legislative and judicial powers.7 LCCs are formally mandated to deal with civil disputes and decide on low impact crimes such as theft and assault.8 They also have jurisdiction for the trial and determination of land disputes of customary tenure and matters involving children under the Children Act.9

Crimes can be reported to the Uganda Police Force (UPF) by contacting the local police station either by phone or in person.5

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5 Uganda Police Force. FAQ. www.upf.go.ug/faq/
Previous research on criminal justice in Uganda

This report builds on a body of research on the criminal justice system in Uganda. This research has been conducted over the past two decades by a diverse range of national and international agencies. Their main findings are summarized here.

A Criminal Justice Baseline Survey (2002)\(^\text{10}\)

In 2002, the Justice Law and Order Sector of Uganda (JLOS) used existing records to carry out the first criminal justice baseline survey in Uganda. The survey revealed significant gaps in crime reporting from police regions. Although most crime in Uganda was committed in rural areas, crime committed in urban areas was disproportionately reported. JLOS estimated that crime is under-reported by 50%, and found that the rate of crime resolution was low. As a result of insufficient resources and sub-optimal use of existing resource, delays occurred at all stages in the formal criminal justice process. Prisons were overcrowded, and caseloads were excessive.

The survey also consisted of an end user survey, which used both quantitative and qualitative techniques to assess perceptions of JLOS institutions, access to and quality of justice. There was considerable regional variation in the respondents’ views. The survey results show that Ugandans have a general perception that JLOS staff misuse their powers and discriminate in favour of those who can pay for their services.

Victimization Survey in Uganda (2008)\(^\text{11}\)

In 2008, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) published the results of a victimization survey carried out by the United Nations African Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders (UNAFRI). UNODC crime victim surveys consist of an internationally standardized questionnaire. The Uganda survey found that in 2007, theft of livestock was the crime most frequently experienced by respondents. Victims were most likely to report criminal offenses to the police in order to recover property (most commonly, a stolen car). Over two-thirds of respondents reported that the police force was doing a very good or fairly good job at preventing and controlling crime, yet many victims shared that they did not report certain crime incidents to the police because they did not believe they would take action, or because there was no proof.

Factors Which Predict Violence Victimization in Uganda (2014)\(^\text{12}\)

In 2014, the Pan African Medical Journal (Lincoln Fry) conducted a logistical regression analysis of data from a 2011 Afrobarometer survey to identify six factors that predict physical violence in Uganda. In order, these included: being the victim of a property crime; age; gender; fear of crime in the home; poverty; and residential crowding. The survey found that respondents tended to be re-victimized: roughly 60% of violence victims were also property crime victims.

National Governance, Peace, and Security Survey (2017)\(^\text{13}\)

In 2017, the Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBOS) carried out a survey in the areas of: human rights and access to justice; governance; peace

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and security; and gender issues. The survey found low levels of human rights, access to justice, and trust in public institutions. 68% of respondents reported that the public security forces were effective in combatting crime in their areas. Gang and land disputes were identified as the primary underlying causes of conflict. 80% of the respondents reported an awareness of conflict resolution institutions in their communities, yet expressed concern about discrimination due to economic status. Violence against women was prevalent and recurring.

**Rule of Law Index: Uganda (2019)**

The World Justice Project Rule of Law Index relies on household and expert surveys to measure how the rule of law is experienced in practical, everyday situations by the general public worldwide. In the 2019 edition, Uganda ranked low in order and security, both regionally and globally. Its "Absence of crime" and "Absence of violence redress" scores were particularly low. Of the three order and security variables, only the "Absence of civil conflict" score was high. Uganda also ranked low in criminal justice, both regionally and globally. It received low scores in "Effective investigations," "Timely and effectively adjudication," "No discrimination," "No corruption," "No improper government influence," and "Due process of law" relative to other countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. Of the seven criminal justice variables, only "Effective correctional system" was relatively high.

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**Glossary of legal problems mentioned in the report**

**Legal problem:** a problem that is solvable by legal means. Includes disputes and grievances of a serious kind between at least two people.

**Crime problem:** in this survey, crime problems include theft; robbery/burglary/damage to property; assaults; other violent crime; sexual offence, drug-related crime.

**Land problem:** in this survey, land problems include disputes over boundaries, use of land, land titles and ownership, or lease of land; eviction from land; division of jointly owned land; transferring ownership of land.

**Family problem:** in this survey, family problems include divorce/separation; parental/custody rights; disputes over maintenance; disputes over child support; inheritance and wills; forced marriage.

**Domestic violence:** in this survey, domestic violence problems include physical, emotional or sexual abuse; intimidation; economic deprivation.
I have been detained for criminal trespassing. I however own the land I am in prison for trespassing in, and a local council member is the one who witnessed on the land sale agreement. And, yet he is the one who caused my imprisonment. He still comes to give witness statements in court and I don't even know what testimonies he is presenting. These cases get blown out of proportion when they get to Court... and, my mother who owns the land in question, goes hungry all the while she owns this land.

When I was arrested for the first time, I was given a police bond after spending a day in jail. The second day I was summoned to the Police to hand in some documents and statements, but instead they put me in cell. I was treated without dignity. I remember having horrible meals in a dirty environment. My mother spent the whole day hungry and had no one to help her ease herself or have a change of clothes. It saddened me a great deal.

Originally the State Attorney mediated and got us to reconcile and accept to resolve the matter on clan level, but that decision was not adhered to. Then, the matter was filed to court. The court allocated a mediator but for reasons unknown to me, the complainants had refused to attend this mediation. It seems that the possibility of reconciliation has failed, so went back in Court.

When we were taken to court, I had to foot the costs of transporting the case file from Police to court. Later at noon, I was given bail with sureties and I returned home. At this moment have two types of cases to attend: the criminal and civil version of the same matter. I have wasted a lot of time going to court because this case started in 2016 and it is now 2018. You see, they have never given judgments. I don't care whether I win or lose, I just need to get it over with. I am tired of going in and out of court.

Story of Ann

Ann is a 56-year old woman
What are the problems?
Theft is the most common crime in Uganda

Approximately one in three Ugandans (34%) have encountered crime in the past four years. Petty crime such as theft (80%), and burglary, robbery and damage to property (20%) make the vast majority of the criminal justice problems.¹

Almost half of all the people (46%) who experience crime, report crime as the most serious legal problem they have had.

MOST COMMON CRIME PROBLEMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crime Description</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Theft</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery, burglary, damage to property</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violent crime such as (attempted) murder or bodily injury</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual offence</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug related crimes</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ The percentage adds up to over 100% due to the question being a multiple response question; respondents could choose more than one crime problem they have encountered during the past four years.

N = 2078 persons with 2316 responses
Crime follows other problems

Legal problems instigate other legal problems. Crime can lead to other problems, or other legal problems can cause criminal activity. The justice providers mentioned land disputes in particular as one of the sources for serious crime. Disputes over inheritance or land ownership can lead to criminal trespassing, theft and violence.

In addition, underlying causes for crime include domestic problems such as violent family culture, gender-based violence and substance abuse. In the survey data, 26% of the respondents who experienced crime, reported also a domestic violence problem. Domestic problems compounded with low income can aggravate legal disputes. Preventative criminal policy can benefit from social work and other forms of social support.

Violence, attacks, murder... all these are assaults that you find coming from land disputes. And cases like trespass, you find that they all are rooted in land disputes. (Regional State Attorney, Soroti)

Women work a lot and provide for the families. Most of the men, especially in villages, are into drinking. So, the little money that the woman has collected and brought home, the man will automatically fight for it. It will lead to domestic violence and they even may end up killing each other. So, I may not really say that the perpetrators are men or women, but it goes back to the economy and the culture. There are low income earners and their culture is that women are the hunters for the family. So, culture and economy cause crime. (Regional Crimes Officer, Soroti)

Many justice providers also referred to poverty, unemployment and lack of education as the root causes of crime. Theft and violence in particular are the result of insufficient income and lack of opportunities, and the poor can suffer from lowered protection. This is supported by the survey data: when looking at people who report crime as their most serious problem, people from the lowest income group experience more crime. However, crime tends to accumulate in the community. Crime in one income group affects the whole society. Being victimised can cause people to resort to crime themselves.

Addressing crime is not only a matter of good criminal justice proceedings. According to the justice providers, especially the young who resort to crime are impoverished. Social support to prevent crime is equally important as successful case handling. Justice providers discussed that in some cases, social support can be more efficient intervention than incarceration. These cases include especially self-harm or sexual relations between two minors.

When it comes to petty offenders... outside of Kampala there are a lot of people who steal for example chicken or maize, or they have beaten someone to take something away from them. When you examine deeper, you find that a guy ended up beating his stepmother because they wanted to take some food or the harvest from his stepmother, or even from his parents. Education plays a key role. But poverty, survival and livelihoods are very narrowly linked to crime. (NGO worker, Kampala)

There are times when the police need professional counsellors’ assistance. If someone is about to commit a suicide, and maybe the police find him in an attempt, the police just rescue him by cutting the rope. Incarcerating him may not be the solution. It is better to get a word of mouth from a professional. (Police, Soroti)

2 Similar conclusions were made for example in National Governance, Peace, and Security Survey (2017) by Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBOS).

3 Highest: >400 001 USH
Medium highest: 200 001–400 000 USH
Medium lowest: 100 001–200 000 USH
Lowest: <100 000 USH
In relation to poverty and education, the justice providers expressed concern over the youth’s school dropout rate and uneducated youth turning to crime and gangs. These concerns are underlined in areas with large numbers of uneducated young people suffering from war-inflicted trauma.

Social support can go a long way in the prevention on crime. Institutions such as churches and NGOs can be a good way of guiding youth away from criminal activities. Many organisations are doing well in social support. However, providing support and training for churches and NGOs could help them in achieving their potential in crime prevention. Also collaborating between local justice providers can help in recognising crime trends in the area.

“These kids... there are even some who have dropped out from school. They admire gangs and join them. We need something that can stop these kids from being attracted to those street kids.” (Regional Crimes Officer, Soroti)

The government should put a policy of supervising and regulating church activities. There are some which are stopping a specific crime but other crimes are committed in the process. For example, there is an organization which was collecting street kids. An old woman was cooking for them. I think she had some donors and it was a good idea: you collect the street kids, bring them home, you talk to them and maybe you help. But instead, it became a base for the criminals. The kids go stealing and bring the stolen goods home. So, it started as a way to help street kids, but it became a centre for planning to disorganise the city. Those organisations should come in but the government should curb them at the same time. (Regional Crimes Officer, Soroti)

Defilement as a crime

Many justice provider interviewees from various regions (Kampala, Soroti, Kabale and Arua) mentioned defilement to be one of the most pressing crime types. In the eyes of the law, the gravity of defilement varies based on the particularities of the crime such as the ages of the perpetrator and victim. In some cases, defilement refers to an intimate relationship between two teenagers. More often defilement refers to serious sexual abuse of children. Supporting families in preventing defilement can be beneficial to crime rate reduction.

“Any person who performs a sexual act with another person who is below the age of eighteen years, commits a felony known as defilement and is on conviction liable to life imprisonment.” Penal Code (Amendment) Act, 2007. Section 129. https://ulii.org/ug/legislation/act/2007/8

“Defilement as a crime

We normally see several types of defilement, including juveniles, between 14 to 18 years. We also have registered cases of aggravated defilement of minors, as low as even three year, mostly committed by other locals. For instance, a minor of three, four, or five years being defiled by adults who are even up to 20 years. This normally happens when the parents do not take care of these children. Also, there are cases of children being defiled and raped on a way to school, right there and centre. There is poverty and lack of knowledge. Most of the children are being deceived with little money and they end up being defiled. An offence might take place in a deep village where there is no access to justice. (Police, Arua)
Impact of crime

Above all, crime results in a loss of income. Stress-related illnesses are common consequences of crime as well, yet not as common as with other justice problems. Evidently, loss of income is more common consequence of property-related crimes, while victimisation of violence and personal injuries are more often consequences of violent crime.

The justice providers noted that loss of income and time are common partially due to long and expensive case handling in the formal system. High reporting or court fees can result in loss of income. Loss of income also occurs when the claimant misses work in order to appear in court.

“When you go to court, it is going to be delayed and it is costly, especially for farmers who need to spend time in their gardens. You find that every two weeks they are in court. So, they see this as time-wasting.” (Regional State Attorney, Soroti)

CONSEQUENCES OF ENCOUNTERING CRIME

- Loss of income: 67%
- Stress-related illness: 61%
- Loss of time: 48%
- Loss of work: 14%
- Violence against you: 17%

N = 4875 persons with 11 244 responses
What do people without a legal problem think?

To assess the legal readiness and general perception of crime, we also asked people who have not encountered a legal problem to estimate the likeliness of encountering crime in Uganda. We asked them to imagine someone breaks into your home.

Many Ugandans think that this is a rather likely event, with only 15% of respondents saying that this event would be unlikely or very unlikely.

HOW LIKELY DO YOU THINK YOU MIGHT EXPERIENCE THIS PROBLEM IN THE NEXT 3-4 YEARS?

6% 9% 26% 34% 17% 8%

Very unlikely  Unlikely  Not likely or unlikely (unsure)
Likely  Very likely  Do not know

N = 970 persons
3

Seeking legal advice
People seek advice from their social networks

Ugandans experiencing crime are likely to seek legal advice (74%). This includes legal advice from informal or formal sources.

When looking for advice for crime-related problems, most often people ask advice from their social networks. After experiencing crime, people seek advice from family members, however that is less often than for other problems. People seek advice from the police relatively often for crime matters; twice as much as for other problems among those who did look for legal advice.

**DID YOU SEEK LEGAL ADVICE?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Crime</th>
<th>Other problems</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SOURCES FOR LEGAL ADVICE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Crime</th>
<th>Other problems</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friend</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbour</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Council</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Court</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawyer</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 5159 persons

N = 3874 persons with 5949 responses
The general population’s level of legal knowledge is low, particularly of criminal justice. It is a concern to the justice providers.

The justice providers pointed out that laypeople are generally unaware of specific laws and judicial system operations. Access to legal information and advice is not only crucial when a legal problem occurs, but also during the legal process. Low legal awareness can be a problem for both the defendant and the victim during legal proceedings.

A shortage of criminal lawyers can result in people representing themselves in court. Entering criminal justice proceedings, either as a defendant or a claimant, is confusing and stressful. Self-representation can jeopardise people’s ability to present their best case.

I think there is a high percentage of people in Uganda who commit crime not knowing they are committing a crime. It is one thing to know that you are doing something wrong, and it is another thing to know that you are committing a crime. (NGO worker, Kampala)

I think that of course accessing legal advice is a big issue. The whole journey of going through criminal justice is very complicated, especially for a layman. The laws are not easy to understand and you don't understand what you are facing. It becomes hard, trying to access justice. (NGO worker, Kampala)

Most people don't know that when you report a case, you are given a state lawyer. Some fear that they might ask for money since in Uganda there's nothing for free and some have never even gone to court. So, they don't know the procedures. (Elder, Kampala)

I met so many imprisoned women, some of whom were guilty of the crimes charges against them and some were not guilty. I also realised that most of them were ignorant of the law and barely knew the impact or interpretation of the court proceedings. (Layperson, Kampala)

The justice providers and laypeople interviewed surmised that the shortage of criminal lawyers negatively affects the quality of representation, even in cases where one has an appointed lawyer. Inability to ask for legal advice can result in inadequate representation and inequality of arms in court.

You can't justifiably say that justice was served when people go through trial processes not knowing what is really happening in court and without legal representation. Even when a lawyer is provided by the state, he appears on the day of the case hearing. Things like that. (NGO worker, Kampala)

There are too many people involved in the case hearing, which leads to character assassination, especially when the lawyers come and are already biased by the complainants. And in the case of police, they then simply take the law in the complainant's favour. It is corruption. (Layperson, Kabale)
Towards resolution
Many people take action after encountering crime

Approximately two out of three Ugandans take action to solve their criminal justice problem. This is slightly less often than with other justice problems.

Did you try to solve your problem by legal means?

- Yes: 77%
- No: 23%

People take action to address serious violent crime more often than they do for property crime. Theft, the most common crime problem in Uganda, is the biggest category of abandoned crime cases.

DID YOU TAKE LEGAL ACTION? SPECIFIC CRIME PROBLEMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crime</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>N = 5159 persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Theft</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery, burglary,</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual offence</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug-related crimes</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violent crime (attempted) murder or bodily injury</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Other problems</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>N = 964 persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Theft</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery, burglary,</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual offence</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug-related crimes</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violent crime (attempted) murder or bodily injury</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Crime problems often remain unresolved

On average, people spend 120,693 USH (33 USD) to resolve a crime-related problem.

Why are some crimes not reported? Almost two in five Ugandans say that they did not believe that doing so would result a positive outcome. Lack of evidence, especially for petty theft, can discourage people from reporting their case. Moreover, people assess the costs of seeking resolution to be higher than the possible gain. Nearly one in three Ugandans did not know what to do after experiencing crime, indicating a lack of legal awareness and access to resources.

Contacting the police is distinctly the most common way to seek resolution after experiencing crime. People also utilise their social networks: family, friends and neighbours. Local council courts are contacted in a little over one in ten criminal cases. Only 2% of criminal cases go to court, and less than 1% of people take action with a help of a lawyer. Together with the low percentage of cases reported to the police, these low rates are an indication of latent crime: the number of cases in administrative records represents a small part of all crime in Uganda. However, people seem to prefer to include a third party in dispute resolution: only 9% negotiate directly with the other party.

Why you did not take any action?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Crime</th>
<th>Other problems</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I did not expect a positive outcome</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did not know what to do</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I did not have enough money</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problem was not serious enough</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 1007 persons with 1352 responses
WHO DID YOU CONTACT FOR DISPUTE RESOLUTION?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CRIME</th>
<th>OTHER PROBLEMS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family member</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbour</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friend</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local council court</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local public authority</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negotiated directly with the other party</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formal court</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawyer</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In comparison to other legal problems, crime-related problems often remain unresolved. Over a half of the people reported that they have abandoned their problem, meaning that they have not sought or no longer seek resolution to it. This includes problems that are not officially reported.

HAS YOUR PROBLEM BEEN RESOLVED?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Crime</th>
<th>Other problems</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 4152 persons with 7008 responses

N = 5159 persons
When looking at specific crime problems, property crimes are abandoned most often. Violent crimes, such as assaults and sexual offences, are more often resolved.

**HAS YOUR PROBLEM BEEN RESOLVED?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crime Type</th>
<th>Completely</th>
<th>Partially</th>
<th>On-going</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Theft</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary, robbery, damage to property</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violent crime such as (attempted) murder or bodily injury</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual offence</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 965 persons

**HOW HELPFUL WAS THE THIRD PARTY IN REACHING A RESOLUTION?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Third Party</th>
<th>Very unhelpful</th>
<th>Unhelpful</th>
<th>Neither helpful/unhelpful</th>
<th>Helpful</th>
<th>Very helpful</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family member</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local council court</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 638 persons

Approximately half of the people who sought resolution via police found the police to be helpful or very helpful. Family members and Local council courts generally receive more favourable evaluations. However, the problems reported to the police are more complex to solve, and people might have higher expectations for the police than for the family members.
The justice sector providers in the qualitative interviews evaluated the helpfulness of the police to various degrees. While they recognise that the police suffer from incidents of corruption and malpractice, they credited those officers who follow ethical guidelines. According to the justice providers, police corruption can take many forms such as the collection of unwarranted fees and the favouring of relatives, friends or powerful leaders in justice processes. However, accusations of corruption sometimes result from a lack of awareness about lawful fee collection practices.

I have personal positive perceptions. We work with all these guys, fantastic police officers who take their job seriously. The people that think that even when they have committed crimes, they haven’t committed any crimes. So, I think it is a very mixed perception. But I think a lot of times the police do not do itself a lot of favours as well. (NGO worker, Kampala)

With the police, it’s all about money. Because when it’s not given, your file will never be attended until you realize that they need money. (Layperson, Wakiso)

One in four (26%) people resolve their crime problem by involving a third party.

37% of people with a crime problem receive a complete or partial resolution

In cases where a third party was contacted and the problem was resolved, a majority (55%) of criminal cases reached the solution by a decision of a third party.

HOW WAS THE PROBLEM RESOLVED?

- Decision by a third party: 55%
- Mediation by a third party: 28%
- The issue sorted itself out: 10%
- Solved with my own actions: 6%

N = 296 persons
A resolution is not always as straightforward as receiving compensation for losses. For people who received an outcome for their crime problem, other aspects of the outcomes are reported in over a half (53%) of the cases. 15% receive a decision to their case, which however does not ultimately resolve their problem.

**WHAT DID THE OUTCOME BRING TO YOU?**

- Compensation for loss of income or property: 32%
- Understanding what happened: 17%
- Perpetrator is punished: 16%
- Protection, preventing it will happen again: 11%
- Receiving an apology: 10%
- The outcome did not help to resolve the problem: 15%

**WHY IS THE PROBLEM ON-GOING?**

- Waiting for a third party to decide the matter: 18%
- Waiting for the other party to do something: 21%
- I do not have enough money: 22%
- I do not have time: 13%
- I did not know how to resolve the problem: 11%
- Other: 3%
- I do not know: 3%

To explore unresolved cases, we asked why people think their case is on-going. This allowed us to identify barriers to achieving a resolution, or predictors to a case being abandoned. Over one in five reported that their case was ongoing due to lack of money, and over one in ten reported that they did not know how to resolve their problem. Almost 40% of people with an on-going crime problem wait for actions by other parties.
52% of people with a crime problem abandon the problem

Over half of criminal cases are abandoned, meaning that the person either takes no action or stops pursuing a resolution after taking action. Equally common reasons for not seeking a resolution or dropping the case are lack of money or knowledge about how to proceed. Long cases were also a source of frustration: 16% reported that their case took too much time.

Legal problems have a tendency to accumulate: people experience 2.9 legal problems on average during a period of four years. Losing time and money, and having diminished well-being can increase vulnerability to other problems.

Ugandans seem to agree: over half of the respondents who have an unresolved crime problem believe that they are likely to experience other legal problems as a consequence.

**WHY DID YOU ABANDON THE PROBLEM?**

- I did not have enough money: 22%
- I did not know what to do: 16%
- Resolving the problem was taking too much time: 12%
- Procedures to resolve the problem are too difficult: 13%
- The other party did not cooperate: 11%
- Other: 4%
- I do not know: 11%

**HOW LIKELY IS THAT YOU WILL EXPERIENCE OTHER PROBLEMS, BECAUSE THIS PROBLEM IS UNRESOLVED?**

- Very unlikely: 5%
- Unlikely: 15%
- Not likely or unlikely (unsure): 22%
- Likely: 35%
- Very likely: 23%

N = 498 persons

N = 104 persons
Navigating the criminal justice system is difficult

Having access to various justice providers in criminal justice has also disadvantages. Ugandans navigate the justice system mainly based on their suppositions and experiences of the legal options. As the options are various, people try to identify which option would best serve their interests or be the most ‘correct’ one. Lack of clarity and legal knowledge causes confusion and underreporting. This can lead some to not report their case at all, eventually leading to impunity and impaired rule of law. A “one-stop-shop” or a clear guideline for legal action could make it easier for people to navigate the justice system.

"The problem is that most people aren’t sensitized and they don’t know the procedures to follow. So, they keep quiet when not helped. (Layperson, Wakiso)"

Informal and formal justice systems have their strengths and challenges. The formal system is more readily available, provides the security of official reporting and has the capacity to deliver credible adjudication. At the same time, the informal system can provide emotional and procedural support, has lower threshold and is financially more accessible. The nature of the crime problem and the local options available can also determine whether the victim is more comfortable with formal or informal system. However, reporting the same case to two systems can cause delays and confusion.

"Some think that you must go to LC1 before to police. So, even if it’s a rape matter and the LC1 is not available, she will first wait. If LC1 is not around, four days can go by. While she still tries to find the LC1, the evidence is being washed away. In urban centres, they know that you can go directly to the police, but in the villages, the local people say that you cannot go to police before you report to us. So, it depends on the level of exposure of the victim. It also depends on the gravity of the matter. They have learnt that in cases of murder and defilement there is no need to waste time with LCs, they go straight to the police. It all depends on how knowledgeable the person is; the elites go straight to police even for serial matters. (Regional State Attorney, Soroti)"
The role of informal justice providers

Informal responses to justice matters include religious groups and leaders, cultural and clan leaders, friends and family. According to the interviews, they are trusted sources of information, advice and solutions, yet their dispute resolution ability in crime matters is fairly low. In the interviews, the justice providers evaluated leaders’ best input to be when the matter is relatively small and both parties are willing to mediate, or when support and guidance can solve the issue better than criminal justice. Mediation could be applied for example in cases of small theft or theft within a family. As described in the interviews, religious groups can take ownership over minor parts of the criminal justice process.

I know an aggravated robbery case where this guy robbed from a church. Usually, he would be taken to High Court and be committed, and he would have stayed in jail for about a year. This is where the nature of the crime needs to be put into context. He didn’t hurt anyone. Yes, he threatened with a knife. Yes, he stole the money. But, do you classify the case as aggravated robbery? In the end, the church leader then went to Court and asked the Registrar and the Judge to take the case out of court because the complainants are willing to mediate. And, it was taken out. Formal is very welcoming of the informal, but the informal has to be activated. (NGO worker, Kampala)

There has not been much engagement with the religious leaders but in some cases, where they are a bit enlightened and they come to know about it, they assist in arresting the criminals, transporting them to police, and also in cases of mob justice. They try to control it. (Police, Arua)

Especially in some regions, clans are the first instance justice provider for legal problems. In regions such as the Teso region, the clan system can be the primary source for help. In some areas, locals prefer to try and solve their problems in their own community, and exclude the formal system before it is absolutely needed. Collaboration both ways could achieve better access to criminal justice for Ugandans.

However, some justice providers share concerns over informal dispute settlements. The role of informal justice is unregulated and not clear: they provide support that can be beneficial, but that can also have negative implications. This can result in the use of practices that are not based on the rule of law. Guaranteeing fair procedures that respect fundamental rights in the informal system could improve access to justice for vulnerable groups, especially women.

As you said, customary is not something placed by the government to resolve for example criminal matters, but people tend to rely on their clan leaders. In Teso, domestic violence cases are approached in a way that instead of reporting to the police, first report to elders and see how they can help. The cultural system is still very alive in Teso, and the churches are also trying to sort these disputes, especially Pentecostal churches. You hear people say we went to church, we talked to pastor, we wrote an agreement... but it is mainly the clan system that is very alive in this region. (Regional State Attorney, Soroti)

Sometimes they act unconstitutionally. They don’t do things in a legally acceptable way. They are declaring that whoever does this will be caned. They even have small constitutions. They even banish people from villages. There is no gender sensitivity. Even the background, it is all entrenched in African norms so women do not have a say in such matters. The woman may be the victim but she is arm twisted to accept a resolution which may not even be favouring her and her children. So, those are the two things I observed in these clan things. (Regional State Attorney, Soroti)
Case backlog hinders access to formal justice

As we can see from the data, many people experience problems related to excessively long procedures. Long processing times is one of the biggest problems of the formal justice system, and one that negatively impacts the overall process.

Criminal justice is often intertwined with land or family problems. Land disputes in particular are often handled as criminal cases. Land and family problems are typically characterised by lack of evidence, need for witness consultations and word-against-word situations. In these situations, prioritising mediation could help in reaching solutions more efficiently.

I have wasted a lot of time going to Court. This case started in 2016, it is 2018 now and, you see, they have never given judgments. I don't care whether I win or lose, I just need to get it over with. I am tired of the Court. (Layperson, Kabale)

And for me, as Legal Aid, I always go for mediation first. I say, “Can you reconcile and settle?” Because remember, our mandate is to decongest the prisons. And the trial system, if we start waiting for the whole trial to go on, it will take quite a long time. So, we first advise on reconciling and settling. And there are many people who come for that. (Criminal Lawyer, Kampala)

Then there are cases where a person gets into prison, but then gets in contact with the complainant and they decide that they want to sort out the matter out of court. (NGO worker, Kampala)

Not being able to solve a crime matter in the formal system in a satisfactory amount of time can lead people to seek remedy by other means, such as contacting the other party directly or via an informal justice provider.

The sentence guidelines have given provisions of reconciliation, small claims, alternative dispute resolutions... They are there, but people disregard them. When you sit in court from morning up to around afternoon, being hungry, and your matter has been extended without proper explanation... then you say ‘aha, I don't want this’. And that's why there is a rise in mob action. People tend to take the law into their hands. (Criminal Investigation Division, Soroti)

There is one thing that disturbs me a lot and that is adjourning cases from month to month, year after year. You bring witnesses just to find out that the magistrates aren't there. You bring witnesses again; the magistrate is there but state attorney isn't. All that is an expense. In fact, I am representing the interests of local people now because I know what they go through. Eventually they lose interest with the case. The case has merit but the problem is the judiciary and the police. You reach court, the police file is missing. There is inefficiency in the judicial system. (Private Justice Consultant, Kabale)
Role of Local council courts in criminal justice

The Local council courts have a successful function in exercising jurisdiction over small crime matters, such as small fights and stealing of crops. They also guide people if the case needs to be forwarded to the formal sector. However, the lack of regular monitoring and reduced public trust impedes the LCCs from achieving their full potential. They struggle to balance between being a community-based solution venue and providing impartial justice that is not affected by social relations. The strength of LCCs is their community orientation and flexibility – on the other hand, these things make it difficult for the LCCs to find their legitimate place in criminal justice.

The interviewees raised a concern over the LCCs being too politicised. Council representatives (LCs) are elected instead of appointed, which causes some to question their fairness. The justice providers suspected that this has resulted in a decline in public trust in the LCCs. This decline can also cause distress to LCs who are trying to fulfil their role.

LCCs deal with a lot of cases. LCCs could be the solution to police corruption, but they are dysfunctional because as a society we’ve shifted from communities to more formal approaches. Now we go to police. (NGO worker, Kampala)

Local council courts used to work but I don’t think people have faith in them anymore. They have become so political, which means that even their administration of local justice is politicised. (NGO worker, Kampala)

So, as an elder and a representative at the LC, when you happen to forward cases of these children to the police, their parents will curse you and rebel on your family. So, you end up not involving yourself in such issues for fear from the way the villagers will treat you. (Elder, Kampala)

11% of the people who contacted the police for a crime problem, also contacted the Local council courts (LCCs).

Some justice providers expressed that the politicisation of the LCCs however does not affect criminal justice as much as other justice matters. In comparison to land or family issues, criminal law can be clearer and, generally, less personal.

However, solving criminal cases demands investigation and intelligence. This prolongs the resolution time. The justice providers suspected that not all LCCs are aware of their jurisdiction on criminal matters. Empowering LCCs to fully utilise their jurisdictional power could help in decongesting the formal justice system.

People might have more faith in LCCs when it comes to criminal justice, because there is no benefit. But when it comes to property like land, the last place people want to go to is the LC1 because if you know that this guy knows that I did not vote for him, then even by the time you show up you’re already worried. (NGO worker, Kampala)

It’s there in books, but the actual bit of it... even if I wrote a file that is referred and forwarded to the LC1, they would rather let the file settle here [in the formal system]. Nobody will refer actually to the LC1 as the LC1 is not also interested in the prosecuting of the matter. I don’t know whether they are really informed of their powers in criminal matters, especially in matters concerning children. They have some powers they hardly exercise in criminal jurisdiction. I think they need some sensitization. (Regional State Attorney, Soroti)
Findings and implications
Crime problems are the most common legal problems in Uganda. 34% of people have experienced a crime problem during the past four years, translating to over 4 million crime problems every year. Property crime is most common: theft and robbery/burglary make the majority of criminal justice problems, violent crime being less common. Crime often follows other problems. Social problems such as problems in the family or poverty can escalate situations towards crime. The youth especially experience crime, and are at risk of drifting to criminal gangs when their education is disrupted and financial capacities lowered.

**Impact of crime problems**

Experiencing crime causes primarily loss of money. Other consequences of crime often are stress-related illnesses and loss of time. Property crime being the most common crime type in Uganda, many balance between the choice of losing money or time: reporting and following up with a case takes time, which can end up being more valuable than the monetary loss. This unresolved crime can however cause lack of trust in other people and institutions. The feeling of insecurity can spark self-actions to prevent and solve crime. Legal and healthy self-actions to prevent criminality can increase personal and communal security.

To move on after experiencing crime and becoming ‘whole again’, people expect restoration for the damage they have experienced. Resolutions in criminal justice are not guaranteed: over a half of crime problems are left completely unresolved. This is over 2.2 million crime problems per year. Most people take some kind of action after experiencing crime (77% of people) – on the other hand: approximately one in four do not take legal action after experiencing crime. People abandon problems due to lack of money, not knowing what to do, or being frustrated over the long procedure and the time it takes. More often crime-related justice problems are abandoned than other justice problems. Least often action is taken after property crime, such as theft or burglary.
What works to resolve crime problems

When the criminal justice delivery chain works uninterrupted, it provides the solutions people need. However, from the data we can see that people are not achieving the solutions they need. Petty crime often remains unreported, as people do not see the process worth going through. Recognising the most common reasons why crime occurs and remains unresolved can pinpoint spaces for innovations that can help thousands of people.

Innovation can support the justice system: an example from Kampala

One example of an innovation that has successfully contributed to prevention and resolution of crime is Yunga. Yunga is a Kampala-based company that provides affordable, next-generation security solutions. The Yunga system is a rescue digital network that connects neighbors to their neighbors, and neighbors to police in case of an attack or emergency. When a household installs a Yunga device, by a press of a button they can alert the whole neighbourhood and the police of an attack or another emergency.
What works in justice delivery services

Criminal justice needs court decisions, especially for the complicated and most serious cases. However, formal cases are long, summoning witnesses can be difficult and people want more low-threshold solutions. Exploring how the informal system or Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) mechanisms can support the formal system is needed. The LCCs are subordinate to the Judiciary and have jurisdiction over small crime matters. Their strength is especially in the community involvement. Yet, they have not reached their full potential due to the delayed elections in the past, lack of criminal intelligence, and unnecessary forwarding of cases that they actually have jurisdiction over. Supporting the LCCs in their role has potential to decongest the formal system.

Deciding and punishing are essential in criminal justice. However, both justice users and providers could benefit from collecting best practices and developing evidence-based guidelines on what is effective within deciding and punishing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deciding</th>
<th>Punishing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deciding the case means helping parties to make a decision or adjudicating for them. Deciding on a way forward is needed to remedy any criminal justice problem. This does not always mean a fully third party decision, but the parties can be empowered to make a decision in cooperation. If parties cannot agree, an intervention of a neutral decision-maker might be needed. This party should be trusted by both parties and be available at a low cost. This can for example be a judge or an LC. Deciding should be achieved in a procedurally just way that builds on the collective intelligence of the parties involved.</td>
<td>In criminal justice, the need for sanctioning to achieve prevention or retribution is highlighted. In some cases, in particular when norms were violated intentionally, punishment may be needed as part of a solution. Sanctions vindicate the victim, exact retribution, and reinforce societal norms around what behavior is acceptable and what is not. Punishment can be achieved through fines, incarceration, public shaming or social exclusion. Punishment may have serious side-effects and can lead to new injustices, so it should be proportional and informed by a risk and needs assessment.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Different crimes need different solutions. After experiencing crime, people expect their loss to be restored. With violent crime, the victim’s physical security has been threatened. The resolutions should restore the victim’s sense of security and capability to move on after the crime. For property crime, restoring the damage done is evidently related to restoring the financial resources of the victim. People however also receive apologies and see the punishment as preventative. Resolution also provides understanding over what has happened, and a closure to the case. These aspects of resolutions are needed in all types of crime, property crime and violent crime. When possible, meeting to discuss options to restore the damage done can keep the situation from causing further cycles of crime. For example after theft, if the object of theft is no longer available for return, the parties can agree over some other form of compensation. Ideally the victim feels that the injustice was compensated, but the offender will not drift to further crime because of the compensation.
Restoring

After a criminal act, punishments as per criminal law are important. However, punishment makes the victim whole again only to a limited extent. **Restoring the damage is equally important and can prevent future harm.** Reparative measures can include actions such as apologizing, paying restitution or changing behavior for the better. Restorative justice requires people who contributed to harm to listen to the victim(s), take responsibility and answer for their behavior, and take steps to undo the harm they have caused.

Respecting

Respecting is an attitude and can be communicated verbally, through body language and willingness to listen. Victims, offenders, and disputants often mention disrespect as a source of injustice. The police, judges or informal adjudicators can remedy this by showing empathy and respect themselves and by stimulating the other party to do this (interpersonal justice). Confronting each person dealing with a criminal justice problem as a unique person who needs the best advice possible can motivate and enable people to seek resolutions rather than abandon their problem.

What works at the system level

From the data we can see that not all crime gets reported. Facilitating victimisation surveys and surveys on people’s justice needs reveal the situation as people experience it. The Goal 12 of the Agenda 2063 by African Union commits to capable institutions and transformational leadership. The Task Force on Justice has recommended to focus on problems as experienced by people to establish what is the need and expectation on the ground, rather than laws and access to formal institutions. Combining the approach of improving justice delivery within formal institutions and enhancing the capability of the informal and private sector can deliver better justice for all and empower people to seek solutions that they need.

The formal sector can benefit from specialized courts. These courts have been observed to reduce reoffending and eventually saving the criminal justice system money. International research reveals that being “tough on crime” does not work, causing actually more crime in society. Formal sector can be improved by investing in the police force and prevention, rather than tougher criminal sanctions. Empowering informal and restorative approaches can also prevent cycles of crime, as they have been noted to result in higher outcome satisfaction among the victims.

The criminal justice procedure is complicated and confusing for laypersons, who generally are unaware of all rules and procedures that go into it. People who receive legal advice are more able to resolve their problems.

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20 https://www.justice-sdg16.plus/
Limitations to the Methodology

A word of caution about the quantitative data

Our approach includes quantitative survey data supported by qualitative interview data with users of justice. We also conduct interviews and rounds of feedback with local experts. Despite these efforts, there are limitations to the data, just as in every study.

- Some findings are based on answers from a limited number of people. For deeper details about people’s experiences with specific justice journeys, different and larger samples are needed. This can be achieved with, for example, problem-specific research instruments.
- Some people might not report problems due to shame and fear. For example, when people have spent time in prison or have had problems with figures of authority.
- Cultural norms may cause people to under or over-report problems. Dependency relationships also play a role.
- We did not include sub-samples for particular vulnerable groups, such as disabled people or victims of gender-based violence. We recognise that these are important problems and populations for the Ugandan society and hope to collect data on their justice needs in the future.
- Our standard approach is to disaggregate results based on a number of variables, such as gender, income level, education level, etc. We only report differences if they are statistically significant at a 10% level or better.

Limitations to the qualitative data

Unlike the survey data, the qualitative data from the interviews are not fully generalisable. Rather, this qualitative data help to contextualize the survey data. They describe choices and strategies. Deeper interaction with lay people and justice providers makes possible a more nuanced perspective on the complex phenomenon of accessing justice after experiencing crime. This combination of methodologies provides both breadth and depth to the report. Qualitative data also help to formulate further questions for investigation.

The following caution must be reiterated: the comments featured in this report cannot and should not be generalised beyond the individual sources. In the text, we provide views and verbatim quotes from lay people and justice providers. These opinions represent only the ideas of the interviewed respondents. Others might have radically different opinions. As our sample of qualitative sources is limited, the data does not claim to achieve saturation.¹

When a certain point is being made in the report there are usually several respondents who share a particular view. The analysis aims to add descriptive and explanatory knowledge to criminal justice problems. What is important is that such an opinion exists and is shared by justice providers and/or laypeople. By acknowledging these views, we can better understand all aspects of family justice, and create a building ground for exchange of experiences.

¹ A point after which the interviews with the same outline do not produce additional information.
### Interviewees

#### List of justice provider interviewees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>CSO</td>
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<tr>
<td>Criminal Lawyer</td>
<td>CSO</td>
<td>Kampala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional State Attorney</td>
<td>Judiciary</td>
<td>Soroti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal Investigation Division</td>
<td>UPF</td>
<td>Soroti</td>
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<tr>
<td>Regional Crimes Officer</td>
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<td>Legal Officer</td>
<td>UPF</td>
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<td>Private Justice Consultant</td>
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<td>State Attorney</td>
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<tr>
<td>Police (GBSV)</td>
<td>UPF</td>
<td>Arua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional Human Rights Officer</td>
<td>Government agency</td>
<td>Arua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief Executive Director</td>
<td>CSO</td>
<td>Kampala</td>
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#### List of layperson interviewees

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<tr>
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<td>Kampala</td>
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### HiiL publications on Uganda

#### Data reports

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Justice Needs and Satisfaction, 1st wave</td>
<td>2016</td>
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<tr>
<td>Family Justice</td>
<td>2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deep Dive into Land Justice in Uganda</td>
<td>2020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deep Dive into Separation and Divorce in Uganda</td>
<td>2020</td>
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<tr>
<td>Deep Dive into Crime in Uganda</td>
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<tr>
<td>Justice Needs and Satisfaction, 2nd wave</td>
<td>2020</td>
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#### Solutions Research

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family Justice Catalogue</td>
<td>2020</td>
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#### Other

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Year</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Online Dashboard on Justice Needs in Uganda</td>
<td>2020</td>
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</table>

You can find the publications at [www.hii.org/projects/](http://www.hii.org/projects/)
About HiiL and the authors

HiiL (The Hague Institute for Innovation of Law) is a social enterprise devoted to user-friendly justice. That means justice that is easy to access, easy to understand, and effective. We will ensure that by 2030, 150 million people will be able to prevent or resolve their most pressing justice problems. We do this by stimulating innovation and scaling what works best. We are friendly rebels focused on concrete improvements in the lives of people. Data and evidence are central in all that we do. We are based in The Hague, City of Peace and Justice.

For more information, visit
www.hiil.org
www.justice-dashboard.com

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