



OWNING OUR URBAN FUTURE: THE CASE OF KAMPALA CITY

A Consensus Study Report of the Committee on Urbanization in Uganda
Uganda National Academy of Sciences Consensus Study Report



Sciences for Prosperity

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Kampala City Center, 2016. Photo by Lauren Parnell Marino.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AEO	African Economic Outlook
AU	African Union
CBD	Central Business District
COSASE	Parliamentary Committee on Commissions, Statutory Authorities, and State Enterprise
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DRR	Disaster Risk Reduction
FOCUS	Forum on Cities, Urbanization, and Services
INDC	Intended Nationally Determined Contribution
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
KCC	Kampala City Council
KCCA	Kampala Capital City Authority
LGA	Local Government Act
MLHUD	Ministry of Lands, Housing, and Urban Development
NCD	Non-Communicable Diseases
NPA	National Planning Authority
NSWC	National Water and Sewerage Corporation
NUA	New Urban Agenda
NUP	National Urban Policy
PTC	People's Transport Company
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SFDRR	Sendai Framework on Disaster Risk Reduction
SoT	Statement of Task
SWM	Solid Waste Management
UBOS	Uganda Bureau of Statistics
ULGA	Uganda Local Government Association
UN	United Nations
UNAS	Uganda National Academy of Sciences
UNRA	Uganda National Roads Authority
UTC	Uganda Transport Company
UTODA	Uganda Taxi Operators and Drivers Association

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Uganda is currently in the early stages of a profound transition from a predominantly rural society to an urban society. While the capital city, Kampala, continues to dominate economic and political life in Uganda, a number of regional hubs are quickly emerging across the country. As infrastructural linkages between these urban nodes improve, the process will accelerate. According to the Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBOS), 7.4 million Ugandans, or approximately 21% of the population, currently live in urban areas. By 2040, that number is expected to increase to 20 million urban residents. Increasing urban populations predominantly result in the physical growth of built-up areas, either vertically or horizontally. Urbanization, however, also denotes a more profound socio-political restructuring, as communities come to terms with the implications of this demographic shift. Identities, values, land use, and patterns of organization all change in response. Uganda is thus at the beginning stages of a profound and irreversible demographic shift that will change many aspects of our culture, economy, and political system.

The process of urbanization can create both economic and welfare benefits. Urban areas are generally more productive, earn higher incomes, and have better quality of life than rural areas. These economic and welfare benefits, however, are not inevitable. Building effective cities is a policy-intensive process. Urban governance requires layers of coordination and cooperation between public investment in infrastructure, private investment in productive capital, and family investment in housing. Furthermore, the density of human activity that defines urban agglomeration produces many negative externalities. Without sufficiently robust governance, rapid urbanization quickly outstrips a society's ability to provide sufficient housing, employment, infrastructure, and basic services.

The question at the heart of the urbanization process is therefore one of governance. Urban areas can help stimulate national development, but successful implementation of appropriate policies requires a coherent governance system. Governance refers to both formal and informal processes by which governments and a range of stakeholders—such as business associations, civil society, and private citizens—work together to align their interests in decisions about how to plan, finance, and manage urban space. The decisions of individual urban actors are sequential, so that in the absence of strong and coherent governance the evolution of cities is unlikely to be efficient, neither in terms of economic productivity nor welfare. A city is a complex collection of many actors, and the underlying problem is how they fit together as a whole.

Urbanization and the resulting challenges to service delivery in Uganda are intimately tied to the historicity of urban governance in the country. In pre-colonial Uganda, the royal capitals of Buganda, Bunyoro, Ankole, Toro, and Busoga were the only population agglomerations that could be said to have some kind of urban character. It was not until the British Crown, with its overriding economic imperative, took control of the colonial administration in 1894 that new urban centres focused on commerce began to emerge. Under the colonial system, British administrators and South Asian traders were given preferential occupancy rights in cities. As an essentially alien concept, Uganda's urban system has never really met the needs of the majority African population.

The capital city, Kampala, is the country's primate city, providing a connection to the wider globalized world, and contributing disproportionately to economic growth and job creation. A number of key patterns from the historicity of urban governance in Kampala persist today. First, the city was never intended for a large and diverse population. A small, relatively wealthy elite held ownership over all governance processes, and directed development of the city to their own benefit. Second, the colonial administration was not

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accountable to local populations. The city was never intended to meet the needs of local populations, and incorporating accountability mechanisms into the governance system seemed unnecessary. Third, governance of Kampala's development was from the beginning divided between the colonial township and the indigenous city, with little alignment between the two. Fourth, the inclusion of indigenous Africans in governance processes was rarely a consideration. Today, insufficient ownership, accountability, alignment, and inclusion persist as major impediments to effective governance in Kampala.

To address these challenges of effective urban governance, the Uganda National Academy of Sciences (UNAS) convened an expert committee to produce a consensus study on the burgeoning urban transformation affecting the country. The consensus study expert committee identified a range of crucial urban sectors, and documented the underlying influence of ownership, accountability, alignment, and inclusion on their governance. Focusing primarily on Kampala, the expert committee identified the following sectors that offer key challenges and opportunities for effective governance: institutional arrangements, transportation systems, land use, water and sanitation, and health and nutrition. These sectors were selected to extract common lessons related to urban governance while simultaneously providing specific and action-oriented recommendations for reform.

A city's institutional arrangement provides the context under which governance occurs. In the case of Kampala, the history of decentralization exacerbated existing centre-local political tensions and contributed to years of vertically divided authority and institutional paralysis. The establishment of the Kampala Capital City Authority (KCCA) as a central government agency helped to resolve some of these tensions and streamline service delivery. However, opaque language in the 2010 KCCA Act creates overlapping roles and responsibilities in the institutional arrangement of Kampala. In part because of these overlapping roles and responsibilities, there is insufficient communication between the political and administrative wings of KCCA. Finally, there is minimal available academic literature on the institutional arrangements of emerging urban centres in Uganda, making it difficult to directly apply the lessons learned from Kampala.

Based on these conclusions, the committee recommends that:

1. Parliament should amend the 2010 KCCA Act to clearly differentiate roles and responsibilities
2. KCCA's managerial decisions should take precedence over any central government interest or political concerns
3. KCCA should develop a communications strategy to facilitate improved coordination between departments, with a specific focus on dispute resolution mechanisms
4. Uganda Local Governments Association (ULGA) should widely disseminate the findings of this study to other local governments, especially those in rapidly urbanizing areas

Kampala's transportation is highly unregulated and dominated by informal private minibuses and motorcycle taxis. Repeated attempts to regulate the informal transportation sector over the years have met with failure. The unregulated, informal transportation sector contributes to very high levels of congestion and unsafe road conditions. A wealth of evidence points to the involvement of powerful elites in the transportation sector as one of the primary impediments to effective reform. In part because of this apparent conflict of interest, neither elites nor informal workers perceive the transportation sector as a public good, and it is not treated or regulated as such. The informal bargaining processes that allow

this situation to persist often benefit both wealthy elites and informal workers. Additionally, the creation and implementation of routine transportation regulation frequently becomes highly politicized. As a result, neither Uganda nor Kampala have an exclusive transportation policy. High profits and obscure ownership structures create incentives for wealthy elites to block regulation in the transportation sector.

Based on these conclusions, the committee recommends that:

1. KCCA should implement policies to improve transparency in transportation sector ownership structures
2. KCCA should aggressively expand publicly-owned transportation to limit lucrative opportunities for private interests
3. Government should formulate an exclusive transportation policy, distinguishing between the different priorities and needs of the capital city, emerging urban centres, and rural areas
4. Local governments in other rapidly urbanizing areas should devise and enforce comprehensive transportation plans early, to help engender a sense of collective ownership

Kampala is plagued by a complex system of land tenure resulting from historical agreements between the British administration and the Buganda Kingdom. The complicated system of land tenure undermines accountability and makes planning enforcement more difficult. Furthermore, low levels of inclusion and accountability negatively affect land governance in Kampala today. There is strong evidence that over the past two decades, wealthy elites have used these dynamics to flout planning regulations with no consequence. Poor regulatory adherence by elites then creates an environment where communities also seek to ignore regulations through processes of informal political bargaining. Like the transportation sector, attempts at land tenure reform frequently become highly politicized. As a result, the development of Kampala is not conforming to existing plans and regulations. Additionally, unsecure land tenure limits private investment in unplanned settlements, and the preservation of public space and the environment has not been a priority of governments.

Based on these conclusions, the committee recommends that:

1. Central government should carry out a feasibility study for the recognition of informal mechanisms of land tenure, and their incorporation into systems of land governance, in consultation with unplanned communities
2. Central government should investigate the possibility of establishing a national construction regulatory authority to feed into KCCA approval processes
3. Governments at all levels should prioritize the preservation of public urban space, including parks and city squares
4. ULGA should encourage local governments in other rapidly urbanizing areas to incorporate unplanned communities into planning processes

An overriding focus on cities as sites of economic growth and job creation obscures the fact that vulnerable populations—including women, children, and the elderly—are often the most negatively affected by urbanization. In particular, the urbanization process impacts most severely on the health of vulnerable populations. However, the concerns

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of vulnerable populations are rarely incorporated into urban governance processes. Furthermore, health system governance does not address long-term challenges such as increasing non-communicable disease risk factors in cities. Finally, basic regulations, including those related to urban agriculture, health, and nutrition, frequently go unenforced in Kampala.

Based on these conclusions, the committee recommends that:

1. The governing structure of the city should include and support marginalized communities in planning decisions, using tools such as the City Development Strategy (CDS) developed by Cities Alliance
2. KCCA should include long-term health concerns, in particular the increasing prevalence of non-communicable diseases (NCD), in land use and transportation planning exercises
3. KCCA should prioritize basic urban design elements that benefit the wellbeing of the city's poorest residents, such as paved sidewalks, traffic crossings, garbage collection services, and street lighting
4. Central government should make more financial resources available for urban agriculture promotion and policy enforcement, while prioritizing food safety
5. ULGA should encourage emerging urban centres to integrate both short- and long-term health and nutrition concerns into urban development strategies

Concurrent to growing NCD risk factors, Ugandan cities continue to face high rates of infectious disease transmission. Infectious diseases in urban areas spread primarily because of insufficient clean water and sanitation service provision. Efforts to expand clean water and sanitation services to unplanned settlements have experienced persistent challenges due to low levels of ownership and poor inclusion in governance systems. These challenges are in part because water and sewerage systems in Kampala were never designed to accommodate current population levels. Piped water provision in Kampala reveals remarkable institutional continuity from colonial times, and historical social-spatial development continues to restrict clean water access in low-lying poor neighbourhoods. Innovative solutions to provide clean water provision exist—such as pre-paid meters—but they require a mindset that recognizes the right of poor communities to receive clean, affordable water, even at a high public expense. Complicating service provision, poor households tend to prioritize the social benefits rather than the health benefits of improved sanitation. Successful sanitation projects therefore require extensive, inclusive consultation with poor communities, as well as continuing community sensitization activities.

Based on these conclusions, the committee recommends that:

1. The National Water and Sewerage Corporation (NWSC) should aggressively expand the network of pre-paid water meters in poor neighbourhoods
2. KCCA, NWSC, and NGOs should emphasize the social benefits of private sanitation investments, with a specific focus on family-owned facilities
3. Cultural and political leaders should encourage collective ownership of public sanitation facilities
4. ULGA should encourage emerging urban centres to develop integrated water and sanitation plans that capitalize on available partnerships and align with the economic resources of the majority of their populations

Influential political and cultural elites have an opportunity to lead-by-example to generate a sense of common ownership over public urban space. By focusing on issues of ownership, accountability, alignment, and inclusion, elites have an opportunity to improve the governance of urban areas in Uganda. City development is fundamentally a process of layering, as physical and cultural accretions from the past build on each other to create the present urban form and social system. By acting to improve governance of the urban sector today, political and cultural elites can help lay down the layers that will ensure the inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable cities of the future that we all deserve.



FIGURE 2 The greater Kampala metropolitan area.
SOURCE: JICA, 2010.

1 INTRODUCTION

Uganda is urbanizing at one of the fastest rates in the world, according to the United Nations (UN) (UN, 2014). This demographic shift will alter the economic opportunities, lifestyles, and social identities of the entire country. To address these powerful dynamics and harness them for the benefits of national development, in 2010 the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development (MLHUD) began work on a National Urban Policy (NUP), with support from Cities Alliance (Turok, 2015). The NUP's primary objective is to establish an institutional, financial and legal framework to better manage urban development in the country (see Text Box 1) (Turok, 2015). The NUP has undergone a number of iterations over the years, only recently reaching the stage of implementation (Brown, 2014). Uganda has a strong capacity to develop and produce comprehensive national-level policies. However, as experience from many sectors attests, our greatest challenge frequently lies in implementation (Ggoobi, 2016b, 2016a; Kadoma & Festo, 2016; Nakaweesi, 2015). Furthermore, the available evidence shows that high levels of economic informality and competing political interests have repeatedly undermined efforts to implement planned urbanization in Uganda (Bidandi & Williams, 2017). Given these persistent dynamics, the implementation of Uganda's new NUP is likely to face considerable difficulties.

The Uganda National Academy of Sciences (UNAS) therefore identified a window of opportunity to address the challenges of policy implementation in the urban sphere. To take advantage of this opportunity, UNAS convened a multi-disciplinary committee of some of the country's leading technical experts on the urbanization process in Uganda. The committee was provided with the following Statement of Task (SoT) to guide their consideration of the evidence:

Examine and comment on the existing system of urban development in Uganda, including the available evidence on how best to achieve economic growth, job creation, and improved well-being. Identify the primary policy levers to achieve these objectives in urban areas, taking into account resource and capacity constraints. Develop conclusions and action-oriented recommendations targeted to key stakeholders, as identified by the Expert Committee.

To fulfil its SoT, the committee of experts chose to focus primarily on Kampala as a case study of the urban opportunities and challenges facing Uganda. Although Uganda is experiencing broad urbanization, with the recent emergence of a number of regional hubs, Kampala remains the country's primate city. As such, Kampala contributes disproportionately to economic growth and job creation in the country. As the nation's political capital, Kampala has also experienced many governance issues that typify the challenges of service delivery in a rapidly urbanizing developing country. Additionally, the preponderance of available research evidence, both international and domestic, focuses on Kampala. Given these considerations, the committee opted to use Kampala as a case study for the opportunities and challenges that will likely face other urbanizing areas in the near future.

This report represents the product of an exhaustive process of deliberation, whereby the insights and priorities of a wide variety of relevant stakeholders were synthesized into a coherent whole. Continuing the status quo will not allow Uganda's cities to become the drivers of national socio-economic transformation that we need. Innovative and realistic policies are required, and now is the time to shape that direction.

TEXT BOX 1
Uganda's National Urban Policy

The most recent draft of the Uganda National Urban Policy was submitted to Cabinet for approval in June, 2017. The overarching goal of the NUP is to strengthen the role of the urban sector in providing economic growth and higher qualities of life.

The NUP is structured into four sections. The first provides a situational analysis of urbanization in Uganda, as well as a problem statement, and the rationale for formulation of the NUP. The second presents all relevant policy, legal, and regulatory frameworks at play in the urban sector. The third lays out the vision, mission, and guiding principles of the NUP, and the fourth lays out specific policy statements and strategies.

The primary guiding principles of the NUP are to enhance the quality of life in urban areas, to improve competitiveness, to optimize land use, and to preserve the natural environment and save resources over time. The NUP lays out a series of detailed policy statements informed by these guiding principles. Some of the key policy statements of greatest relevance to this report include the importance of balanced urban development; the NUP proposes to strengthen regional infrastructure linkages to stimulate economic development beyond Kampala. The NUP proposes to focus on equitable urban development, in particular through upgrading unplanned settlements and supporting urban agriculture. The NUP prioritizes private investment in urban areas, and proposes creating zones for high-technology firms, export processing zones, and business parks. The NUP proposes to improve service delivery by integrating provision into infrastructure master plans for emerging urban areas. Finally, the NUP proposes prioritizing the provision and protection of public open spaces and recreation facilities in urban areas.

To strengthen implementation, the NUP emphasizes the crucial importance of wide stakeholder participation. Stakeholders will participate through the establishment of functional urban development fora, coordination with academic institutions, and the inclusion of community, civil society, and business organization in the development and management of the urban environment. To facilitate wide stakeholder participation and effective governance, the NUP further proposes to redefine the roles of line Ministries, government departments, agencies, development partners, and non-state actors in the urban sector.

2 RATIONALE

Urbanization is a demographic shift that refers to the increasing number of people who live in urban areas relative to rural areas (World Bank, 2015). Increasing urban populations predominantly result in the physical growth of built-up areas, either vertically or horizontally. Urbanization, however, also denotes a more profound socio-political restructuring, as communities come to terms with the implications of this demographic shift. Identities, values, land use, and patterns of organization all change in response (World Bank, 2015). City development is a process of layering, as physical and cultural accretions from the past build on each other to create the present urban form and social system (Freund, 2007).

Urbanization is closely linked to modernization and industrialization, and has been a major focus of the development discourse for decades. Economists have long contended that as agricultural productivity rises, fewer farmers are required to feed the population, and excess labour moves to the city in search of non-farm employment (Sachs, 2005). Termed “structural transformation,” this reallocation of economic activity from lower to higher productivity sectors is a primary objective of all developing African countries. Urbanization in the African context, however, displays different characteristics from those witnessed in Asia and Latin America. African cities are seeing rapid growth, but without the attendant structural transformation to provide productive industrial and manufacturing jobs for their growing populations (Sow, 2015).

To accelerate structural transformation, global and continental bodies now emphasize the central role of cities in generating high-productivity activities (Buckley & Simet, 2016; Parnell, 2016). Such rhetoric frames cities as “engines of growth,” emphasizing their productive capacity and contribution to economic expansion (Dobbs et al., 2011; OECD, 2013; Turok, 2016; UN-Habitat, 2012). The 2016 African Economic Outlook (AEO), on the theme of “Sustainable Cities and Structural Transformation,” typifies this shift by focusing on freeing the productive labour capacity in African cities (AEO, 2016). In a similar vein, the African Union (AU) Agenda 2063, the guiding strategic framework for the continent’s socio-economic transformation, identifies one of its key aspirations as “cities and other settlements [that] are hubs of cultural and economic activities (AU, 2015).” These multilateral organizations frame urbanization as an essential component of national development, and encourage policy attention directed at urban areas to accelerate structural transformation.

Urbanization’s evolving position in the global development discourse crystallized in 2015 with the adoption of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Through an intensive consultative process, the SDGs emerged as the first global consensus on the sustainable development agenda (Finnveden & Gunnarsson-Östling, 2017). The primary underlying aim of the SDGs is to improve human dignity and prosperity, while protecting the earth’s ecosystems (Capon et al., 2017). Because the SDGs were created to present a holistic vision of development, their defining characteristic is that they are universal, connected, and indivisible. As a cohesive whole, there are a multitude of interactions between the goals, and one goal cannot be addressed satisfactorily without taking others into consideration. For example, although the SDGs include a standalone goal on urbanization (SDG 11), cities can also hinder or facilitate progress toward the goals on human health, water and sanitation, and climate change (SDG 3, SDG 6, and SDG 13 respectively) (Finnveden & Gunnarsson-Östling, 2017). Conversely, pursuing SDG 2 (“End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture”) may require urban areas to constrain their expansion into valuable agricultural hinterlands, or to implement comprehensive urban agriculture policies (Capon et al., 2017).

In 2016, representatives of 167 countries met in Quito, Ecuador, for the UN Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development (also known as Habitat III). In Quito, the General Assembly formally adopted the New Urban Agenda (NUA), a framework document

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that defines how cities should be planned and managed over the next 20 years to achieve sustainable development. Organizers emphasized the role of the NUA as an extension of the SDGs that positions cities and towns as essential tools to achieve the Global Goals as a cohesive whole (UN-Habitat, 2016). The NUA extends further than previous declarations by capturing the fully integrated nature of urban economies, standards of living, and climate sustainability (Mendoza, 2016). As a people-centred and action-oriented roadmap, the NUA offers a guide to the ongoing global urban transition, while taking into account other recent frameworks such as the Paris Climate Accord, the Sendai Framework on Disaster Risk Reduction, and the Addis Ababa Action Agenda (see Table 1).

In general, Uganda conforms to global and continental patterns of urbanization. The most recently released census data show that 7.4 million Ugandans, or approximately 21% of the population, live in urban areas (UBOS, 2014). By 2040, the number of urban residents is expected to more than quadruple to 20 million (UBOS, 2014). Like other African cities, high rates of urbanization contribute very little to structural transformation. The industrial sector still makes the smallest contribution to overall economic value, at 21%, while manufacturing and construction together provide employment to only 7% of the population (World Bank, 2015). Additionally, Uganda has one of the fastest growing and youngest populations in the world (World Bank, 2015). The average Ugandan woman gives birth to 5.8 children in her lifetime, and 47.9% of the population is under 14 years of age (UBOS, 2014). High birth rates and a young population, coupled with slow structural transformation, mean that urban areas in Uganda are expanding faster than official planning mechanisms and basic services can keep up, creating sprawling unplanned settlements (World Bank, 2015).

Kampala and Central Region are the most extensively urbanized areas in the country, but the phenomenon is not geographically isolated. The rest of the country is also undergoing a rapid transformation. Urbanization is growing fastest in the Eastern Region, where it has increased by 11.5% over the last decade (World Bank, 2015). In particular, those towns linked to agricultural activity and trade routes are emerging as regional hubs. As commercialized agriculture takes off demand for urban services increases, and these towns are rapidly transforming into urban centres (World Bank, 2012). Recently gathered data shows that Ugandans are mobile, but tend to move only short distances. Most people prefer to migrate within their district, suggesting that regional hubs can expect more rapid growth in the coming years (Lall, 2016). Additionally, although Kampala continues to dominate other urban areas in terms of population, its share of the national urban population has been waning. In 1991, the capital city was home to 46% of the urban population. By 2002 that fraction had fallen to 41%, and the most recent 2014 census found that Kampala now accounts for only 20% of the total urban population (UBOS, 2014). Based on this evidence, the National Planning Authority (NPA) expects four major regional centres to emerge in the coming years—Gulu, Mbale, Arua, and Mbarara (NPA, 2013). As these regional hubs expand and become more important economic loci, they will likely face similar issues of policy coordination and governance as Kampala.

Urbanization is therefore both highly topical at the global level, and progressing rapidly in Uganda. The first basic ingredient in the NUA implementation plan is “National Urban Policies,” designed to create a common policy framework for emerging cities. Such national-level policies are intended to set out a joint vision for the urbanization process, and to provide mechanisms for coordination and consultation between different tiers of government and stakeholders (UN-Habitat, 2017). With its own NUP long in development, Uganda is well positioned to capitalize on the global spotlight and capture the latent benefits of the country’s rapidly progressing urbanization.

TABLE 1 A Summary of Key International Accords and Declarations Related to Urban Development, and Uganda’s Progress to Date

Title	Date	Key Commitments	Milestones
Declaration of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment (The Stockholm Declaration)	1972	Planning must be applied to human settlements and urbanization with a view to avoiding adverse effects on the environment and obtaining maximum social, economic and environmental benefits for all (UN, 1972).	Influenced the language and emphasis of future accords and declarations, including the weight given to state sovereignty in implementation, and the focus on environmental concerns (SFSF, 2011).
The Vancouver Declaration (Habitat I)	1976	Create more liveable, attractive, and efficient settlements which recognize human scale, the heritage and culture of people, and the special needs of disadvantaged groups (UN, 1976).	Draft National Housing Policy developed; Ministry for Housing established; Slum improvement and upgrading policy implemented, including Namuwongo Low Cost and Upgrading Pilot Project (RoU, 1995).
Agenda 21 (Rio de Janeiro Earth Summit)	1992	Provide adequate shelter for all; improve human settlement management; promote sustainable land-use planning and management; promote the integrated provision of environmental infrastructure; promote sustainable energy and transport systems (UN, 1992).	National plans now focus on regional cities to spread growth outside of Kampala. Greater Kampala metropolitan master plan developed. Social amenities and environmental management incorporated into planning process (NEMA, 2012).
The Istanbul Declaration (Habitat II)	1996	Ensure adequate shelter for all. Make human settlements safer, healthier and more liveable (MLHUD, 2014).	Ministries developed more clearly defined urban policies and programmes. A housing backlog of 1.6 million units, 13% of which are in urban areas, remains (MLHUD, 2014).
The Millennium Development Goals	2000	To have achieved a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers (RoU, 2015a).	Country-specific targets were not included with this indicator, making it difficult to measure. Uganda narrowly missed the subsequent indicator, to “Halve access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation,” although progress was slower in urban than in rural areas (RoU, 2015a).
The Sustainable Development Goals	2015	Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable.	Baseline data collected for official indicators.

Title	Date	Key Commitments	Milestones
The Paris Climate Accord	2015	Hold the increase in the global average temperature to well below 2°C above pre-industrial levels and pursue efforts to limit the temperature increase to 1.5°C above pre-industrial levels, recognizing that this would significantly reduce the risks and impacts of climate change (UN, 2015b).	Uganda submitted its Intended Nationally Determined Contribution (INDC) in October 2015. INDC prioritized reforestation in urban areas, identification of better urban drainage, development of vulnerability risk mapping, and improvement of urban planning systems (MWE, 2015).
The Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction (SFDRR)	2015	Encourage and establish necessary mechanisms and incentives for compliance with safety-oriented urban planning and land use regulations; conduct disaster risk assessments of unplanned and non-permanent housing; incorporate climate change adaptation into urban development strategies (UN, 2015a).	At Third UN World Conference on Disaster Risk Reduction, Uganda presented progress on the Hyogo Framework for Action (predecessor to SFDRR); disaster risk reduction (DRR) incorporated into National Development Plan 2010-15; DRR institutional framework for local government established; financing and community participation remain insufficient (RoU, 2015b).
Addis Ababa Action Agenda	2015	Public-private partnerships and innovative financing mechanisms are key components of sustainable urbanization strategies (AAAA, 2015).	Public Private Partnership Policy Framework 2010 adopted; Public Private Partnership Act 2015 adopted; UMEME concession, Uganda's most successful PPP, increased collection of sales revenue from 65% to 98% over ten years (World Bank, 2017).
The New Urban Agenda (Habitat III)	2016	Provide basic services for all citizens; ensure citizens have equal access to opportunities and face no discrimination; promote measures that support cleaner cities; strengthen resilience to reduce disaster risk; take action to address climate change; fully respect the rights of refugees, migrants, and IDPs; improve connectivity and support innovation; promote safe, accessible, and green public spaces; develop and implement a National Urban Policy (Nino, 2016).	MLHUD developed a National Urban Policy.

3 PROBLEM STATEMENT

The question at the heart of the urbanization process is one of governance. Urban areas can help stimulate national development, but successful implementation of appropriate policies requires a coherent governance system. Many existing policy levers can encourage economic growth, job creation, and increased well-being. Governance, however, facilitates successful implementation, and is therefore the limiting factor of all other policy levers. Governance refers to both formal and informal processes by which governments and a range of stakeholders—such as business associations, civil society, and private citizens—work together to align their interests in decisions about how to plan, finance, and manage urban space (Slack & Côté, 2014). The decisions of individual urban actors are sequential, so that in the absence of strong and coherent governance the evolution of cities is unlikely to be efficient, either in terms of economic productivity or welfare (World Bank, 2015). A city is a complex collection of many actors, and the underlying problem is how they fit together into a whole. Uganda’s NUP provides a robust framework to coordinate the shifting incentives and interests affecting this complex collection of actors. Without addressing the major barriers to effective governance, however, the framework will go largely unimplemented and Uganda will eschew the potential benefits of urbanization.

The process of urbanization can be both economically beneficial and welfare-enhancing (World Bank, 2015). Economic and welfare benefits, however, are not inevitable. Building effective cities is a policy-intensive process. Urban governance requires layers of coordination and cooperation between public investment in infrastructure, private investment in productive capital, and family investment in housing (World Bank, 2015). Furthermore, the density of human activity that defines urban agglomeration produces many negative externalities (Mukwaya, Lwasa, & Sengendo, 2010). Without sufficiently robust governance, rapid urbanization quickly outstrips society’s ability to provide sufficient housing, employment, infrastructure, and basic services.

4 THE HISTORICITY OF URBAN UGANDA

In pre-colonial Uganda, the royal capitals of Buganda, Bunyoro, Ankole, Toro, and Busoga were the only population agglomerations that could be said to have some kind of urban character (Mukwaya, Sengendo, & Lwasa, 2010). The primary function of these royal capitals was to act as seats of political and administrative power. It was not until the British Crown, with its overriding economic imperative, took control of the colonial administration in 1894 that new urban centres focused on commerce began to emerge. With the urgent need for labour in these new towns, the African population grew rapidly. By independence in 1962, Uganda's total urban population was about 450,000, or 5-6% of the population (Mukwaya, Bamutaze, Mugarura, Benson, & others, 2011). Under the colonial system, British administrators and South Asian traders were given preferential occupancy rights in cities. As an essentially alien concept, Uganda's urban system has never really met the needs of the majority African population (Mukwaya et al., 2011).

In the context of the European "scramble for Africa" that began with the Berlin Conference of 1884, Kampala came to represent the principle node of colonial administration in the area (Omolo-Okalebo, 2011). The growth of Kampala can trace its roots to the Buganda Agreement of 1900 that set out the terms of cooperation between the British colonial administration and the Buganda Kingdom, represented by the Kabaka (Omolo-Okalebo, Haas, Werner, & Sengendo, 2010). The Buganda Agreement laid out the borders of the colonial administrative capital and the Kibuga, or indigenous city. Thus, from its earliest years Kampala was defined by a sharp duality between those areas intended for European residence, and the surrounding African-dominated areas (Omolo-Okalebo, 2011). While the former expanded in a planned and highly controlled manner, the Kibuga grew in an unconstrained manner, with dwellings devoid of toilets, water supply, drainage, or solid waste management (SWM) (UN-Habitat, 2007). Drawn by the political force of Kabaka's palace at Mengo, many Africans began to settle in the Kibuga, with the wealthier establishing compounds on Mailo plots (see Text Box 2) (UN-Habitat, 2007).

The European township expanded rapidly over subsequent decades, first by encroachment on the Kibuga, and later by absorption of surrounding "crown land" (Omolo-Okalebo, 2011). While a series of town plans were designed to govern development of the steadily growing European areas, the African-dominated surroundings were left off of official maps and plans and left to develop in an entirely organic manner (UN-Habitat, 2007).

The first official plan for Kampala was prepared in 1912 (See Figure 3), and was influenced by a number of contemporary currents in European thought. Many of the concepts implicit to the 1912 plan had a distinctly utopian origin, originating from the ideas of nineteenth century English reformers and authors (Glass, 1959). These utopians understood social conditions and relationships in "physicalist" terms, and proposed altering the social fabric through the practical design of street patterns and transportation, water mains and sewers, public parks and open spaces, and the form and function of housing (Glass, 1959). The present urban form of central Kampala, including areas around Nakasero, Kampala Road, the Sheraton Hotel, and City Square, are the direct result of the 1912 plan. Except for a few buildings that have since been demolished and rebuilt, central Kampala remains a faithful representation of the first physical plan for the city (Omolo-Okalebo, 2011).

The development of the 1912 plan coincided with rapid advances in tropical medicine, and in particular the appearance of the mosquito theory of malaria. The mosquito theory postulated human-to-human transmission of the malaria parasite through the vector of mosquitoes. In particular African children were viewed as a prime source of malaria infection, as they were most frequently exposed to mosquitoes (Omolo-Okalebo et al., 2010). To preserve their health, influential colonialists argued for the creation of exclusive,

endogamous, and defensible urban zones through the use of careful planning practices (Omolo-Okalebo et al., 2010). Although malaria provided the most important single argument for European segregation, other diseases also played a role. Centuries-old ideas about how to control plague and smallpox through quarantine came to bear when these diseases re-emerged in Uganda in the early 20th century (Omolo-Okalebo et al., 2010). From these public health concerns emerged the idea of segregating the European population using greenbelt areas or non-residential zones.

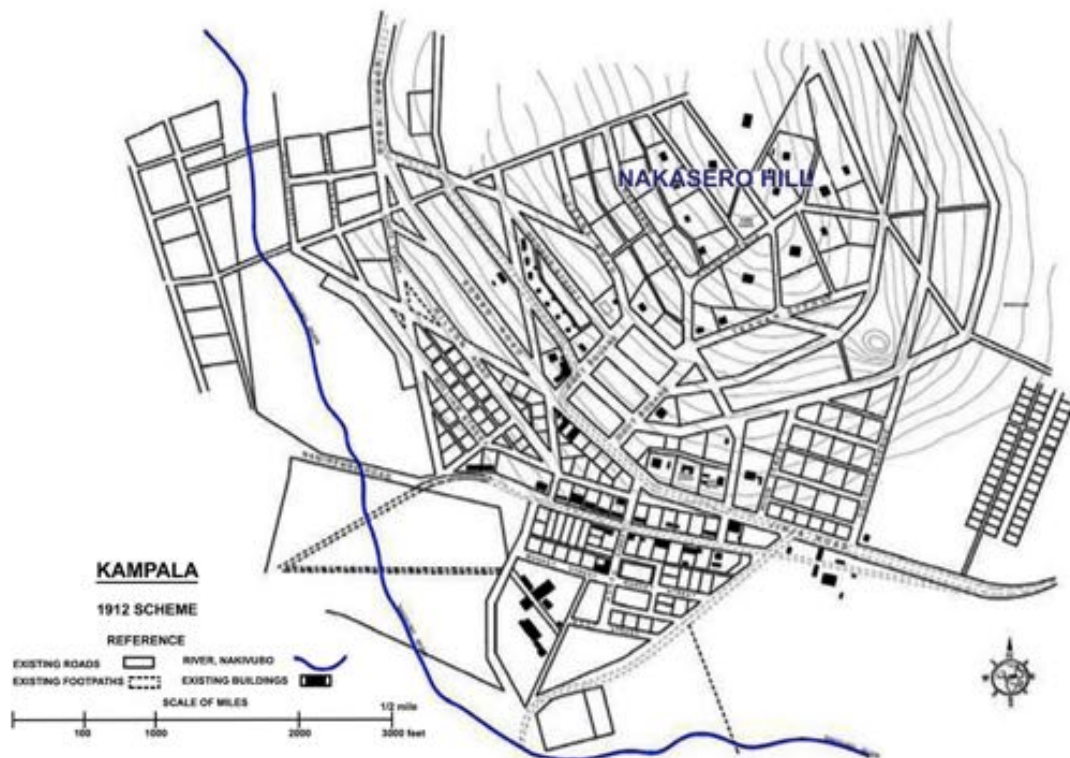


FIGURE 3 The first planning scheme for Kampala, prepared in 1912, forms the basis for the layout of Central Kampala today (redrawn by the source author for clarity). SOURCE: Omolo-Okalebo et al., 2010.

In the lead-up to World War One, racism became an increasingly powerful force in European society, and it was not a far stretch to apply the same ideas of segregation to maintain racial purity. Urban design for public health became linked to the desire to keep separate the “habits, customs, and standards of life,” of the Europeans, the Asiatics, and the Africans (Omolo-Okalebo et al., 2010). Thus, the subsequent 1919 plan for Kampala was defined by separate “towns,” with one centred on the main administrative building surrounded by a European residential neighbourhood, another on the Indian bazaar surrounded by a commercial district, and the remainder of the city an unplanned indigenous area (Omolo-Okalebo et al., 2010). These distinct areas were separated from each other by greenbelt zones. Today, the most visible evidence of Kampala’s early spatial governance is the Uganda Golf Club, wrapped around Kololo hill in the open space originally intended to protect Europeans from contamination by the indigenous population (Omolo-Okalebo et al., 2010). From its earliest days, therefore, Kampala was literally constructed to segregate and protect the wealthy and powerful from the surrounding masses.

The early colonial administration in Uganda was preoccupied with providing for the needs of its own class, and developed governance systems to serve those needs (Mukwaya,

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Lwasa, et al., 2010). At this time, it was considered satisfactory for planning to focus primarily on providing spacious and expensive residential neighbourhoods, along with well-laid-out administrative, commercial, and industrial areas (UN-Habitat, 2007). After independence, these areas were no longer inhabited by Europeans, but the same governance structure persisted. Until the Town and Country Planning Board created the Kampala Development Plan in 1972, slum areas—where the majority of Africans lived—were entirely neglected by official plans (UN-Habitat, 2007). Even once previously unplanned areas were incorporated into the urban governance system, plans proved extremely difficult to implement.

As Uganda gained political stability in the 1980s, the concept of decentralization had come to dominate the development discourse (Litvack, Ahmad, & Bird, 1998; Rondinelli, Nellis, & Cheema, 1983). The goal of decentralization was to make local governments more accountable to local people in countries where elites had hitherto reaped an unequal benefit from national policies (Golooba-Mutebi, 2004). According to the conceptual framework, this transfer of responsibility would reduce poverty through increased accountability of local leadership, through efficiency gains to service delivery from local knowledge, and through the improved conflict mediation and resolution abilities of local governments (Steiner, 2007). Early assessments found that decentralization reforms were widely popular, and resulted in many positive changes, particularly to basic services like SWM (Golooba-Mutebi, 2003). Long-term, however, evidence on the results of governance decentralization in Uganda is contested and inconclusive (Crawford & Hartmann, 2008; Gore & Muwanga, 2014).

Uganda's decentralization programme was widely considered to be one of the most radical and ambitious in Africa; in Kampala, the central government devolved 80% of services to the local government (Asiimwe & Musisi, 2007; Goodfellow, 2010; Hansen & Twaddle, 1998; Nsibambi, 1998). Everything except for national roads, and secondary and tertiary education, fell within its mandate. However, while the Local Government Act 1997 (LGA) provided for this devolution of power and responsibility, it did not immediately implement fiscal decentralization (Goodfellow, 2010). Grants from the central to local governments did rise steeply in nominal terms after 1997, but serious concerns that financing was not sufficient to meet required service levels remained (LGFC, 2012). This experience aligns with that of many other developing countries, where sufficient financial resources did not immediately accompany the decentralization of responsibilities (Rondinelli et al., 1983).

A major impediment to sufficient financing for service delivery under decentralization has been very low levels of local revenue collection (LGFC, 2012). Districts and councils were given the legal authority to collect local taxes, but few of them had the capacity to actually do so. Although local revenue collection has been higher in urban than rural areas, fiscal decentralization has nevertheless faced serious obstacles to effective implementation (LGFC, 2012). Even in Kampala, where property taxes should theoretically provide a substantial component of local budgets, political dynamics have hampered revenue collection. One of the biggest setbacks for local revenue collection in Kampala was a pledge by President Museveni during the 2006 campaign to repeal property tax on owner-occupied residences (Lambright, 2014). Owner-occupied residences compose the bulk of officially registered properties in the city, and when incorporated into the LGA this change seriously eroded Kampala's revenue base (Lambright, 2014). Additionally, the last property registry was completed in 2009, meaning that buildings constructed after that time are not part of the property tax system (Taylor, 2016). Many of these newly constructed buildings are large, up-scale mall complexes that should provide a major revenue stream. Although rental values have tripled in the past decade, none of those gains reach city coffers (Taylor, 2016).¹ Finally, observers have speculated that many national level politicians are also major property owners in the city. This apparent conflict

¹In 2016, KCCA began an overhaul of the property register, aiming to expand it to 250,000 properties (Busuulwa, 2016). Using an electronic property database, the new system is projected to increase property revenues from UGX 25 billion to UGX 65 billion per year when completed in 2018 (Busuulwa, 2016). However, exemptions for owner-occupants continue to complicate collection and create loopholes for owners, limiting the total amount of revenue collected from property tax (Taylor, 2016).

of interest could explain some of the perceived resistance to the reform of property tax legislation (Goodfellow, 2010). By exacerbating the political nature of these dynamics, some aspects of decentralization appear to have played a role in limiting the effectiveness of urban governance in Kampala (Golooba-Mutebi, 2004; Gore & Muwanga, 2014).

In hindsight, it is striking that Kampala was treated the same as rural areas under decentralization policies. Although such treatment aligns with arguments about fairness, it ignores the reality that as a primate city Kampala wields a disproportionate amount of the country's financial and political power, and poses a disproportionate service burden (Gore & Muwanga, 2014). Indeed, scholars long ago proposed that decentralization could exacerbate conflict between local elites and central government authorities (Gore & Muwanga, 2014; Mawhood, 1993). By most accounts, Kampala suffered under the consequences of this vertically-divided authority for many years, contributing to political deadlock and the paralysis of service expansion (Goodfellow, 2010; Gore & Muwanga, 2014). While the city administration claimed that political interference from the centre was the primary obstruction to effective management, the central government pointed to decades of corruption scandals and ineffectiveness at the city level (Gore & Muwanga, 2014). In Kampala specifically, therefore, decentralization policies appear to have exacerbated the central-local tensions of the Ugandan political context, and constrained effective governance processes (Goodfellow, 2010; Lambright, 2014).

The historicity of urban governance in Kampala thus demonstrates a number of important patterns that persist until today. First, the city was never intended for a large and diverse population. A small, relatively wealthy elite held ownership over all governance processes, and directed development of the city to their own benefit. Second, the colonial administration was not accountable to local populations. As the city was never intended to meet the needs of local populations, incorporating accountability mechanisms into the governance system seemed unnecessary (Mukwaya, Sengendo, et al., 2010). Third, governance of Kampala's development was from the beginning divided between the *Kibuga* and the colonial township, with little alignment between the two. Fourth, the inclusion of indigenous Africans in governance processes was rarely a consideration. Although decentralization was intended to address this dearth of inclusion, in the case of Kampala it exacerbated centre-local political tensions, and marginalized populations remained largely excluded from governance processes.

Many aspects of urban governance have changed today, but the urban historicity of Kampala provides the context to understand why the city continues to face so many difficulties incorporating a sense of ownership, accountability, alignment, and inclusion into its systems of governance. The urban historicity of Uganda provides a reminder that governance processes are deeply embedded in norms and social structures, and highly resistant to change (Simone, 2002). Nevertheless, policies exist that can begin movement in the right direction.

5 GOVERNANCE CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

Officially, Kampala covers 169 square kilometres of land, between Lake Victoria to the South and Kira Town to the North (KCCA, 2014). Unofficially, nobody really knows Kampala’s physical boundaries (Naggaga, 2017). The past twenty years have seen the city expand rapidly, converting open rural space to more urbanized land uses (see Figure 4). Like other cities and towns around the world, Kampala is growing rapidly by engulfing its edges, transforming peripheral villages and farmland to urban use (World Bank, 2012). From Entebbe International Airport all the way to downtown Kampala is now an unbroken stretch of buildings—and other roads into the city are rapidly becoming the same (Naggaga, 2017). Beginning as an administrative township of 0.7 square kilometres in 1902, the physical expanse of Metropolitan Kampala reaches 839 square kilometres today. (Lall, 2016; World Bank, 2012). Whatever the city’s official distribution of space, by all realistic measures Kampala will be the centre of a colossal metropolitan area within the next few decades (Onyango-Obbo, 2017).

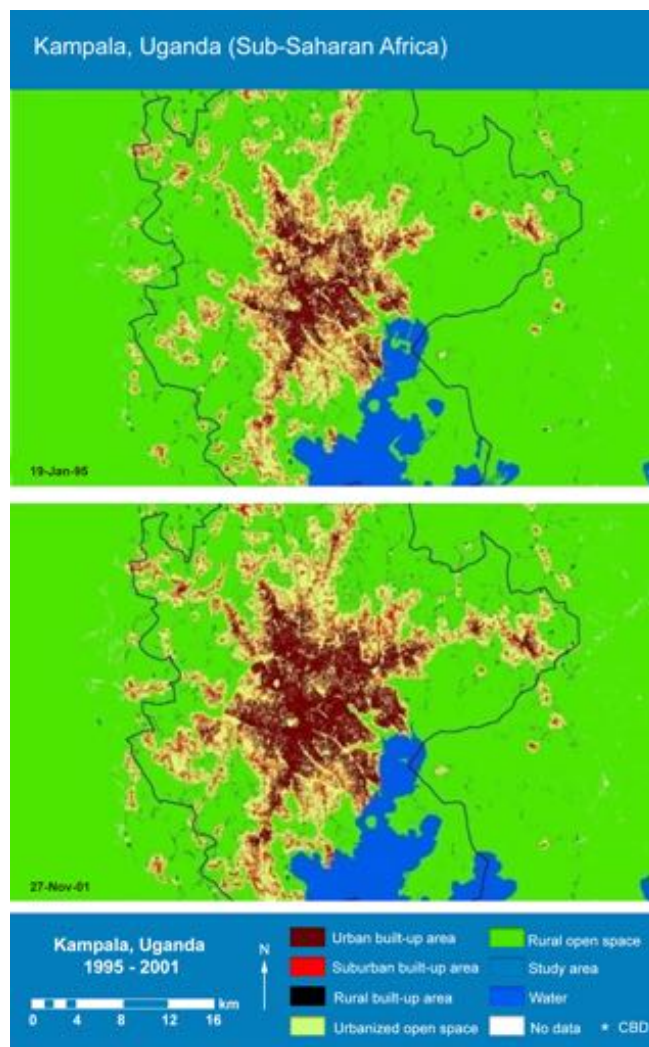


FIGURE 4 Urban expansion in Kampala, 1995-2001.
SOURCE: Lall, 2016.

Managing this enormous transformation to support economic growth, job creation, and wellbeing has become a major challenge for existing governance structures, limiting some of the opportunities that stem from urbanization. The general observation that

governance factors play a crucial role in determining service delivery to urban populations has attracted increasing attention in recent years (Harris, Batley, Mcloughlin, & Wales, 2013; Jones, Clench, & Harris, 2014). As urban populations grow, defining and documenting the specific ways that governance factors influence efficient service delivery becomes more important (Jones et al., 2014). To contextualize these dynamics for Uganda, the consensus study expert committee selected a range of urban sectors, and documented the underlying influence of governance structures. Focusing primarily on Kampala, the expert committee identified the following sectors that offer key challenges and opportunities for effective governance: institutional arrangements; transportation systems; land use; water, sanitation, and waste management; and health and nutrition. These sectors were selected to extract common lessons related to urban governance while simultaneously providing specific and action-oriented recommendations for reform.

The committee selected these urban sectors for a variety of cross-cutting reasons. First, both national and international academics have carried out a wealth of scientific research on all of them. As consensus studies are fundamentally evidence-based, credible and accessible scientific articles are essential to the process. Second, all of the selected sectors are of close interest to both urban policymakers and the public. Transportation issues, for example, feature almost daily in Ugandan media. Conflicts centred on institutional arrangements, land use, water, sanitation, waste management, health, and nutrition, also feature frequently in public debates, political campaigns, and calls to action. Addressing these issues is therefore clearly at the forefront of public interest. Finally, each of the selected sectors has been deeply influenced by urban historicity and governance challenges. Focusing on these sectors therefore allowed the committee to extract common lessons, while at the same time providing specific and actionable recommendations with feasible impact.

5.1 INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

A city's institutional arrangement provides the context under which governance occurs. Created by formally laid out organizational structures, hierarchies, and spheres of responsibility, the institutional arrangement allows for the formulation and execution of policy. A well-functioning institutional arrangement allows urban areas to coordinate the competing needs of various stakeholders and to deliver public goods. Poor institutional arrangements—along with a lack of communication and collaboration across sectors and government levels—result in missing or unenforced plans and regulations, and ultimately undermine the economic and welfare benefits that should spring from urbanization.

Uganda has been frequently criticized for unclear institutional arrangements leading to poor policy coordination. For example, the World Bank's Fifth Economic Update notes that, "both at the national and local government levels, the governance structures are scattered and poorly coordinated, which in many cases results in a conflict of mandates and roles," (World Bank, 2015). Thus, even in cases where a legal framework for effective urban governance exists, the institutions involved frequently have overlapping interpretations of their responsibilities, and there is limited common understanding of which entity possesses the authority to carry out a given policy.

Kampala reached a watershed moment in 2010, when public dissatisfaction over decaying infrastructure, rampant corruption, and service failure prompted Parliament to pass the Kampala Capital City Act (Goodfellow, 2016). The 2010 Act in effect disbanded the previously elected Kampala City Council (KCC), and replaced it with the Kampala Capital City Authority (KCCA), led by a team of ten directors appointed by the central government (Madinah, Boerhannoeddin, Noriza Binti Raja Ariffin, & Michael, 2015).

The 2010 Act established KCCA as a central government agency, in an attempt to align the vertically divided authority that plagued the city for so many years (Karyeija & Kyohairwe, 2012). This "agencification," in which a legally subordinate but structurally

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independent entity is created to deliver local government services, is well established as best practice in the international management literature (Karyeija & Kyohairwe, 2012). Agencification aims to increase efficiency in the bureaucracy with a shift in focus from policy-making to management skills, from established hierarchies to more competitive and contractual relationships, and from an emphasis on process to a stress on outputs (Hood, 1995).

The agencification of Kampala's local government saw rapid and significant improvements to service delivery. Between 2011 and 2015, KCCA reconstructed and upgraded 151.96km of paved roads, increasing the ratio of roads in "good condition" from 8% to 22% (UMC, 2017). The authority reconstructed over 50km of roadside drainage channels, and maintained 9km of Nakivubo Channel (UMC, 2017). With the implementation of e-Citie, an electronic revenue management system, KCCA increased collection by 180% between 2011 and 2016 (UMC, 2017). Accountability was also improved, with the total number of bank accounts held by KCCA decreased from 151 in 2011 to 24 in 2017. In total, revenue collection increased from UGX 30.3 billion in 2011 to UGX 84.9 billion in 2016 (UMC, 2017). While such early achievements by KCCA are impressive, it remains unclear to what extent these achievements were caused by improved governance, and to what extent by increased funding and support from the central government.

Subsequent controversies and delays in service delivery have demonstrated that the creation of KCCA has not in fact resolved the city's governance problems. Inconsistencies and opacities in the 2010 Act have become magnified and exacerbated over time, contributing to unclear hierarchies and spheres of responsibility. Additionally, theories of agencification presuppose both managerial autonomy and clear lines of accountability. Since its establishment, KCCA has demonstrated the difficulty of achieving these ideals. Agency autonomy exists on paper (see Figure 5), but is seldom achieved in practice (Karyeija & Kyohairwe, 2012). These gaps continue to undermine the institution, and prevent it from facilitating effective governance processes.

The original concept for KCCA was for the authority to take over planning, financing, and service provision duties under the direction of a chief executive officer, while an elected mayor would hold a parallel but largely ceremonial position (Gore & Muwanga, 2014). However, the end result of the 2010 Act is subtler. Instead of clearly separate technical and political spheres, the Lord Mayor and other elected representatives are part of KCCA—but ultimately their recommendations must be approved by the Executive Director. As the KCCA Executive Director possesses financial authority—the ability to approve or deny financial resources for policy goals or ordinances—elected representatives under KCCA have a *de facto* unfunded mandate (Gore & Muwanga, 2014).

Opaque language in the 2010 Act compounds issues of unclear spheres of responsibility in the organizational structure. In its current form, the 2010 Act does not clearly delineate hierarchy between the administrative and political wings of the authority, contributing to confusion over intended roles (Karyeija & Kyohairwe, 2012). For example, Section 11(1) of the 2010 Act provides that the Lord Mayor shall be the political head of the Capital City, while section 17(1) provides that the Executive Director shall be the chief executive of the Authority; no clarification, however, is provided on the difference between the Capital City and the Authority. Section 6 of the act goes on to indicate the Lord Mayor as a member of the Kampala Capital City Authority—while excluding the Executive Director from the same list (Parliament of Uganda, 2011). Such confusing legislative language provides fertile ground for internal institutional clashes, regardless of the individuals involved (Karyeija & Kyohairwe, 2012). The ultimate result of this legislative opacity has frequently been institutional paralysis, with the political and administrative wings of KCCA pulling in opposite directions (Matte, 2017). Since 2015, legislators have attempted to push an amendment to the 2010 bill through Parliament that would clarify roles and responsibilities within the authority. However, to date the amendment remains entangled in partisan wrangling (Kyeyune, 2017).

The creation of KCCA was an effort to better align governance of the capital city and the central government, but this relationship has at times also contributed to the confusion. For example, the Minister for Kampala Capital City Authority is the figure ultimately responsible for management of the city, and the figure to which both the Lord Mayor and the Executive Director report (see Figure 5). However, the extent of the minister’s oversight powers and ability to intervene in the day-to-day decisions of the Authority remain unclear (Karyeija & Kyohairwe, 2012). Additionally, placing a central government minister at the head of the organizational hierarchy creates a dual constituency for the Lord Mayor. In executing his functions, the Lord Mayor is responsible to both his electoral constituency, and to the minister. These constituencies frequently hold differing priorities, creating blurred lines of accountability and opacity in who the Lord Mayor should represent in policy formulation (Karyeija & Kyohairwe, 2012). While the Executive Director gains their mandate directly from the President, who is the appointing authority, they are also required to report to KCCA, which is headed by the Lord Mayor (Karyeija & Kyohairwe, 2012). Thus, while the KCCA Act officially stipulates the autonomy of the Authority, all of these dynamics mean that in practice the boundaries of the authority and central government are substantially blurred.

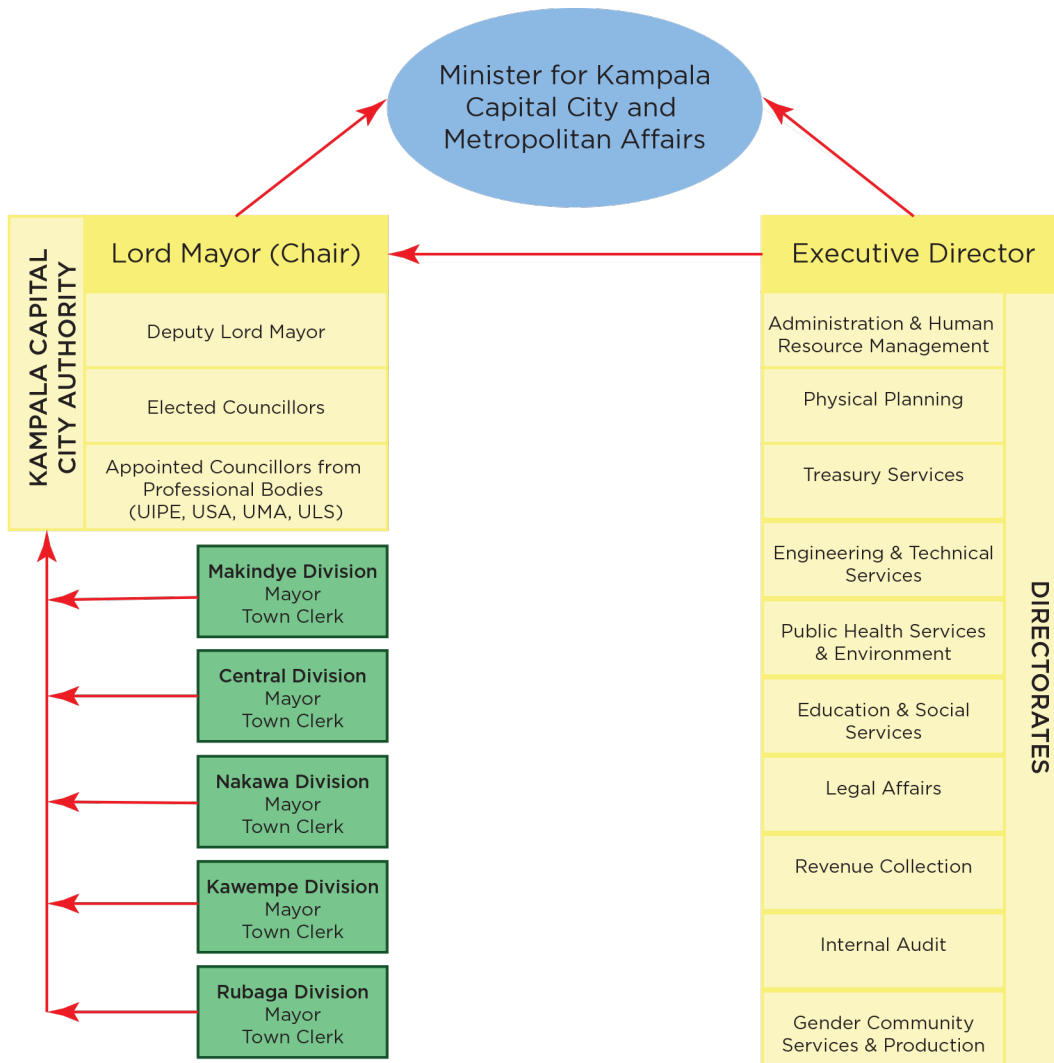


FIGURE 5 Institutional arrangement of Kampala. Red arrows represent direction of reporting responsibilities.

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Many of these dynamics are evidenced by a recent story that grew to prominence in local media. Centenary Park composes a seven-acre piece of land located near central Kampala that KCC leased for 10 years in 2006 to Nalongo Estates Ltd to use as a recreational park and bridal garden (Dispatch, 2017; Nakatudde, 2017). As the lease agreement reached its termination date, Nalongo Estates petitioned the Lord Mayor to extend the lease. The Lord Mayor tasked the Physical Planning and Legal Affairs Committee of KCCA to investigate the situation and provide recommendations. The committee quickly found that the Nalongo Estates lease should be renewed, and that KCCA should take responsibility for the delayed response (Dispatch, 2017). However, the KCCA Executive Director immediately rejected the committee's findings, stating that KCCA had already entered into a number of agreements to use the land for public works, including a proposed flyover to be constructed by Uganda National Roads Authority (UNRA) and funded by Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) (Dispatch, 2017). The chairman of the investigating committee subsequently responded that it was "irregular" for one government agency, UNRA, to instruct another government agency, KCCA, on how to conduct its business (Dispatch, 2017). As development stalled and the controversy deepened, the Inspector General of Government requested that the Parliamentary Committee on Commissions, Statutory Authorities, and State Enterprises (COSASE) take an interest in the matter (Nakatudde, 2017). While COSASE investigated the complaint, and called the different stakeholders to testify, the owners of Nalongo Estates appealed directly to Statehouse for assistance in resolving the matter. A meeting was called at Statehouse with all of the concerned parties in attendance, and the President ultimately decided that the lease should not be renewed, that public works needed to proceed, and that any land remaining following demolitions and construction should be reserved for Nalongo Estates (Manzil, 2017). Preliminary demolitions finally took place in early July 2017, with heavy police presence (Okello, 2017; Wandera, 2017).

As the Centenary Park case demonstrates, the internally divided structure of KCCA proved unable to resolve a local controversy. The case was first elevated to the level of Parliament, and finally to the highest authority in the land, the President, before it could be resolved. Kampala's position as the country's primate city likely contributed to the sensitivity of these issues. However, this case study nevertheless demonstrates how misaligned leadership structures, coupled with clashing political interests and unclear fields of responsibility, can paralyze official institutions and severely limit the scope of effective governance. As other regional hubs become more central to the economic prosperity of Uganda, they may face similar clashes of authority and unclear spheres of responsibility. Kampala's fractured institutional arrangement provides a useful illustration of the challenges that could face other regions of the country as they rapidly urbanize.

5.1.1 CONCLUSIONS

Based on the evidence in this section, the committee concludes:

1. There is evidence that decentralization contributed to and exacerbated issues of vertically divided authority in Kampala
2. The establishment of KCCA as a central government agency helped to streamline and improve service delivery in the capital
3. Opaque language in the 2010 KCCA Act created overlapping roles and responsibilities in the institutional arrangement of Kampala
4. There is insufficient communication between the political and administrative wings of KCCA
5. There is minimal literature on institutional arrangements in secondary cities and their impact on service delivery

5.1.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on these conclusions, the committee recommends:

1. Parliament should amend the 2010 KCCA Act to clearly differentiate roles and responsibilities
2. KCCA's managerial decisions should take precedence over any central government interest and political concerns
3. KCCA should develop a communications strategy to facilitate improved coordination between departments, with a specific focus on dispute resolution mechanisms
4. ULGA should widely disseminate the findings of this study to other local governments, especially those in rapidly urbanizing areas

5.2 TRANSPORTATION SYSTEMS

In the past, Kampala's public transport was provided by two bus companies, Uganda Transport Company (UTC), and People's Transport Company (PTC). Both UTC and PTC were nationalized in 1972, and recapitalized with the purchase of new buses in 1986 (Kumar, 2011). However, fares were fixed and insufficient to recover costs, and subsidies were not released in a planned or predictable way (Kumar, 2011). These challenges eroded the viability of the public bus system, which eventually collapsed in the early 1990s. Since the failure of the public bus system, transportation has been surrendered to the informal private sector, and has not been governed for the benefit of all citizens (Raynor, 2014).

Lucrative profits and political capital available from the transportation sector have motivated both elites and service operators to engage in extensive informal bargaining processes (Goodfellow, 2016). These informal bargains undercut efforts to regulate or manage the transportation system for the benefit of a broader range of stakeholders. Elites and operators both understand the transportation system as existing for their own benefit and enrichment. Without a mindset that recognizes transportation as a public service collectively owned by broader society, policies that might harm individuals but ultimately benefit the system as a whole have proven impossible to implement.

To fully appreciate the nuances of informal bargaining in the transportation sector, it's important to understand the state not as a monolithic entity, but as disaggregated parts that operate at different levels of governance (Migdal, 1994, 2009). In capital cities that are also the seat of government, such as Kampala, all these levels are visible in the simultaneous presence of the President and ministers, the Lord Mayor and town clerks, division chairpersons and huge numbers of councillors and civil servants (Goodfellow, 2010). In such a situation, urban associations form a clientelistic relationship with one level of the state that they use to block actions at another level. The creation of informal institutions involved in opaque bargaining that plays one arm of the state off another is one dynamic that makes policy implementation in Kampala's transportation sector so difficult (Goodfellow, 2010).

Kampala has a highly unregulated urban transportation sector, defined almost entirely by *matatus* (informal minibuses) and *boda bodas* (motorcycle taxis) operating in an essentially *laissez faire* manner (Odwokacen & Katusiimeh, 2016). To compete in this chaotic environment, in the early 2000s *matatu* operators formed voluntary associations that rivalled each other for control of taxi stages. As traffic congestion grew to unmanageable levels, city authorities faced increasing pressure to regulate the industry in some manner (Goodfellow, 2016). Over the 2000s, KCC engaged in a protracted battle with the Uganda Taxi Operators and Drivers Association (UTODA) over billions of shillings

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in unpaid fees and UTODA's mismanagement of Kampala's central taxi parks (Goodfellow, 2010). However, KCC efforts to enforce regulations on UTODA were ultimately frustrated by the central government through a high court order that ruled KCC could neither collect overdue fees nor cancel UTODA's management contract of the taxi parks (Goodfellow, 2010).

In-depth studies on Kampala's transportation sector in the 2000s found that the perpetually frustrated regulation was a form of elite capture (Goodfellow, 2016; Goodfellow & Titeca, 2012). As an informal industry, *matatu* ownership is fundamentally opaque—but many reports at the time pointed to wealthy political figures owning fleets of hundreds of minibuses (Goodfellow, 2016). While the original capital outlay for a *matatu*, at USD 15,000, was well out of reach for most people, the profits were rapid and spectacular (by one estimate, an owner of a fleet of 20 minibuses could earn upwards of USD 250,000 in a year) (Goodfellow, 2016). Given the opaque ownership structure and large potential profits, powerful elites involved with the industry had a strong incentive to disrupt any potential regulation (Odwokacen & Katusiimeh, 2016).

Beginning in the 1990s, *boda bodas* quickly became a major form of transportation in the city, especially for poor and middle-income earners. Estimates of the number of *boda bodas* in Kampala range widely; one source in 2013 placed the number as high as 300,000 (Ssenkaaba, 2013). According to another source, 120,000 *boda bodas* are officially registered with KCCA, although many more could operate without registration (Nasasira, 2015). In 2015, one knowledgeable source involved with the industry placed the number of *boda bodas* in central Kampala alone at 80,000 (Senthilingam, 2015). Whatever the actual number, the *boda boda* industry has long been a prime target for taxation and regulation (Goodfellow, 2010). Over 3,000 “serious injuries,” hundreds of deaths, and countless accidents occur on Kampala's roads each year—many of them caused by *boda bodas* (Goodfellow, 2010).

Despite being among the city's poorest groups, *boda boda* drivers seem to wield a huge amount of influence over the governance system. Any attempt to tax or regulate them has been frustrated. One especially notable attempt was an abortive 2006 program that charged drivers a monthly fee in exchange for a sticker that confirmed they had paid their taxes and conformed to basic regulations (Goodfellow, 2015). The fee charged was nominal, amounting to about 3% of a driver's monthly earnings, and did not immediately appear to stimulate collective resistance from the industry (Goodfellow, 2015). The program even gained wide support from both sides of the political spectrum. Despite its apparent success, the program was suddenly abandoned in 2007 after only seven months of operation (Goodfellow, 2015). Anecdotal accounts from the time point to high-level politicians who actively stirred up dissent among *boda boda* drivers (Goodfellow, 2015). Ultimately, the President intervened to disband the program, circumventing both state policy infrastructure and the declared position of his own party (Goodfellow, 2010, 2015). Through a combination of informal political bargaining from the bottom and circumvention of state policy apparatus from the top, any efforts to meaningfully tax the *boda boda* industry over the last decade have been curtailed.

Attempts to regulate the *boda boda* industry in response to safety concerns have also faced major impediments over the past decade. In 2009, KCC passed a series of safety bylaws, including a ban on operating in the city centre, requirements about reflective vests, and regulations about carrying extra helmets for passengers (Goodfellow & Titeca, 2012). However, as soon as KCC started to implement these regulations, *boda boda* associations complained of exploitation and harassment to State House, and the President and his associates applied such great pressure to KCC that enforcement of the regulations quickly stopped (Goodfellow & Titeca, 2012). The proliferation of rules without any enforcement quickly exhausted the legitimacy of KCC in regulating the industry and further undermined compliance (Goodfellow, 2015).

In some sense, high-level central government intervention in urban governance may be simple populism. *Boda boda* drivers represent a significant constituency in a capital city that has long been a stronghold of the opposition (Goodfellow & Titeca, 2012). Similar to the example of UTODA, however, anecdotal evidence suggests that informal alliances between drivers and politically influential *boda boda* fleet owners have also undermined regulation (Goodfellow, 2010). In this way, poor informal workers actually collude with those in power when they feel that it best serves their short-term interests (Goodfellow, 2010). This collusion contributes to total inertia for any kind of policy implementation (Matte, 2017).

The creation of KCCA might have aligned governance of the capital city more closely with the central government, but it has not eliminated these dynamics of informal political bargaining. The recent drama of *tuk tuks* (modified, three-wheeled motorcycle taxis) that played out in the media provides just one example of this persistent dynamic. Following a series of clashes between *tuk tuk* and *matatu* drivers—allegedly over conflicts for passengers—the Minister for Kampala decreed in a news conference that *tuk tuks* were banned from Kampala’s streets (Vision Reporter, 2017). The Minister cited Chapter 4, Clause II of the 2016 Traffic and Road Safety Act, which reads, “A license shall not be granted to a motorized tricycle to operate in the CBD to carry passengers (Mwine, 2017).” Despite the law, *tuk tuk* drivers were distraught that the minister could seemingly wield such unilateral power and enact a sweeping public policy with just a news conference. The minister’s statement was overturned less than a month later, when the President declared at a by-election rally in Wakiso district, “You want to use tricycles—go ahead and do so! (Mwine, 2017)” Thus, even the Minister for Kampala, allegedly central government’s representative in the city’s governance structure, was unable to implement policy because of informal institutions playing the different levels of state power against each other.

Various competing interests, both at the level of political elites and at the level of poor informal-sector workers thus conspire to undercut effective governance of the transportation sector. The lack of a sense of collective ownership over mass transportation in the city allows the system to be exploited by specific interest groups. This lack of collective ownership undermines the potential of the transportation sector to benefit from a broader group of stakeholders.

5.2.1 CONCLUSIONS

Based on the evidence in this section, the committee concludes:

1. Neither elites nor informal workers perceive the transportation sector as a public good, and it is not treated or regulated as such
2. Informal bargaining processes in the transportation sector benefit both wealthy elites and informal workers
3. The creation and implementation of routine transportation regulation frequently becomes highly politicized
4. High profits and obscure ownership structures create incentives for wealthy elites to block regulation in the transportation sector
5. Neither Uganda nor Kampala have an exclusive transportation policy to guide development of the sector

5.2.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on these conclusions, the committee recommends:

1. KCCA should implement policies to improve transparency in transportation sector ownership structures
2. KCCA should aggressively expand publicly-owned transportation to limit lucrative opportunities for private interests
3. Government should formulate an exclusive transportation policy, distinguishing between the different priorities and needs of the capital city, emerging urban centres, and rural areas
4. Local governments in other rapidly urbanizing areas should devise and enforce comprehensive transportation plans early, to help engender a sense of collective ownership

5.3 LAND USE

Land governance in Kampala has been hindered for many years by a lack of inclusion and accountability. The complex system of official land tenure—created to deal with the historical ramifications of the 1900 Buganda Agreement—fails to include existing informal practices that govern land tenure in unplanned settlements. This lack of inclusion has barred a large portion of the city from formal systems of land governance, and contributed to the proliferation of unplanned settlements. However, even individuals with the resources to conform to official plans and regulations often choose not to. Through opaque political bargaining, many actors have successfully sidestepped official plans and regulations without consequence. This lack of accountability has created a dearth of enforcement capacity for land governance in Kampala, even when comprehensive policies and regulations exist on paper.

Kampala city has no shortage of land use plans, zoning regulations, and building codes. And yet, the reality of the city has born little resemblance to official plans and regulations since the end of the colonial era. Urban planning's chronic condition in the post-colonial period has been a persistent inability to implement and enforce official plans to any meaningful degree (Fredrick Omolo-Okalebo, 2011). Some official observers suggest that this is due to liberalization and the preponderance of private land ownership in the city (MoLG, 2006). However, the Constitution, Town and Country Planning Act, Land Acquisition Act, and Kampala Capital City Act provide ample mechanisms for government to regulate private construction, and to expropriate land in the interests of public safety and development (Goodfellow, 2013). The requisite policy structure is in place, but Kampala's primary failure seems to be one of enforcement.

A primary consideration interfering with the effective enforcement of land use plans in Kampala is a complicated system of land ownership (see Text Box 2). When slum residents cannot access secure land tenure, they lose incentive to invest in land improvements, and to submit to city authorities for approval of construction or land subdivision (Kiggundu, 2014). A wide variety of informal mechanisms for gaining access to land complicate the official system of land tenure. These informal mechanisms include land borrowing, squatting, and illegal subdivisions, all of which overlay the official system of tenure (Mwesige, 2007; Nkurunziza, 2008). Many plots within and around Kampala are subject to competing claims under the different formal and informal categories, and the legal system is opaque on how best to resolve such conflicts (Nkurunziza, 2008). This convoluted system undermines any attempt at official planning or enforcement of regulations (Mwesige, 2007). Although

a number of innovative programs to provide tenants with more secure land tenure have been implemented in Kampala, they frequently become embroiled in political conflicts that limit their implementation (see Text Box 3).

TEXT BOX 2
Land Tenure Rights

There are four official types of land tenure recognized by Ugandan law: *Mailo*, freehold, leasehold, and customary land tenure. Due to the city's history, land tenure in Kampala is unique in the country. The 1900 Buganda Agreement, which formed the basis for relations between the British Empire and the Buganda Kingdom, allocated land to the *Kabaka* and his officials in square mile increments—hence the name *Mailo* (Mwesige, 2007).

Following the Buganda Agreement, peasants who had been living on the land were suddenly not formally recognized, and had to pay rent to the landlords. To ameliorate the resulting tensions and insecurity, over time many laws were enacted to protect the rights of those occupying *Mailo* land without formal ownership (known as *Kibanja* occupants) (Irumba, 2015). When the *Mailo* system was eventually enshrined in the 1998 Land Act, its defining characteristic was a separation between ownership of the land itself, and ownership of developments on the land (Muinde, 2013). Such a separation intends to protect the rights of *Kibanja* occupants over the rights of land owners. However, while *Mailo* tenure protects the forced eviction of *Kibanja* occupants, it is also a major source of informality in Kampala, as the KCCA can only approve land subdivisions and official development with proof of formal ownership (Muinde, 2013). With the lack of such documentation, *Kibanja* occupants frequently resort to informal but socially legitimate methods of land subdivision and development.

Freehold tenure, in contrast to *Mailo*, allows the titleholder full rights of ownership in perpetuity. The 1998 Land Act seems intended to allow Ugandans to own land under either the *Mailo* or freehold system, as it lays out provisions for the conversion of other tenure types (customary or leasehold) into freehold (Mwesige, 2007).

Leasehold land is granted through formal agreement from the lessor to the lessee for a specified amount of time, and usually in exchange for a specified rent. Traditionally, leasehold tenure in Uganda is granted along with imposed conditions for development of the land (Mwesige, 2007).

Finally, customary tenure is regulated by indigenous relations to the land, which in most cases are oral and not written. Customary tenure varies widely across the country, with some communities holding land tenure under communal title, and others in which elders are land administrators, but rights are individual (Mwesige, 2007).

A strict reliance on the official system of tenure by city authorities excludes many residents from engagement in legal processes of land governance. This lack of inclusion limits the scope of land governance in the city, and relegates large areas and many residents to reliance on informal methods of construction, land sale and subdivision. By their very nature, such informal land governance methods rarely correspond to official plans, and thus forfeit many of the coordination benefits of effective urban planning. The role of Local Councils in registering, demarcating, and adjudicating *Kibanja* occupancy in Kampala presents one informal mechanism often overlooked by city authorities. Such informal mechanisms could provide a strong basis for official recognition of land tenure, and hence the achievement of planned urban development (Muinde, 2013). Local Councils in Kampala have continued to record *Kibanja* occupancy through sketches demarcating claims and adjacent neighbours in the face of the failed land tribunals, committees, recorders, and mediators called for in the 1998 Land Act (Muinde, 2013). Although informal, such documentation has social legitimacy, and could provide a valuable input toward land governance decisions such as granting permissions for subdivision or construction. Such

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simplified planning and enforcement mechanisms offer tools to bypass rigid and expensive physical planning requirements, but only if they are undertaken with full community inclusion to minimize and pre-empt any sources of conflict.

A complex land tenure system and low levels of community inclusion often impede effective regulatory enforcement. But underlying these constraints is a lack of will and accountability. Even if land governance was reformed to include greater community participation, an unaccountable process of political bargaining among elites would still often frustrate enforcement. Kampala's Nakivubo Channel is a vital artery draining the city's waste- and storm-water into Lake Victoria. Gazetted an "inalienable environmental zone" in 1995, the channel is meant to be free of all development (Goodfellow, 2013). And yet, when the KCC city planning committee tried to stop the construction of a large roofing factory on the channel, their efforts were frustrated because the roofing company was a "...big organization with big personnel...", according to one member of the planning committee (Goodfellow, 2013). Upmarket hotels have also been major flouters of planning regulations, such as those concerning height, distance from the road, connection to drainage, provision of parking, fire escapes, and disability access. The Imperial Royale Hotel in central Kampala, for instance, commenced construction despite its designs being flatly rejected by city council (Goodfellow, 2013). Although the hotel's construction was entirely illegal, building inspectors were barred from entry without the owner present, which he rarely was. With the blessing of unknown figures high in the political hierarchy, the construction of the hotel was allowed to blatantly flout existing regulation with no recourse for city officials (Goodfellow, 2013). In total, by 2013 approximately 50% of the buildings in Kampala's central business district (CBD) were not in compliance with local building codes, with more appearing all the time (Goodfellow, 2013). At this stage in Kampala's development, few violators were held accountable, despite highly visible and endemic disregard for official land use plans. Since the establishment of KCCA some of these dynamics may have improved, according to anecdotal evidence of stricter planning enforcement (Bwambale & Masaba, 2011; Ssenyonga, 2016; Waiswa, 2017). However, many major structures in the central city remain as legacies of an unaccountable process of political bargaining between elites.

Unaccountable, informal political bargaining also occurs between elites and communities. The spread of unplanned settlements is one symptom of this bargaining process, resulting in insufficiently enforced land use plans for the city. Although slums that used to be close to Kampala's CBD have been replaced with multi-story residential hostels in recent years, they have not vanished. Instead, they have re-emerged in less visible locations on the city's periphery, and continue to house the majority of the city's population (Kahangirwe, 2012). Most infrastructure development in Kampala continues to occur informally, with no direct government support or regulation (Kahangirwe, 2012). A number of large urban communities in Kampala, for example, have resorted to settlement in wetland areas that drain the city's wastewater into Murchison Bay, greatly increasing their exposure to risks such as floods and disease vectors (John Bosco Isunju, Orach, & Kemp, 2016).

The bargaining that allows this development to persist is highly informal, long-term, and often may not even be articulated. According to one urban planner, while the city does not lack the technical capacity to demolish and upgrade many slum settlements around the city, "these dilapidated housing structures belong to people you may find difficult to touch,' because they are 'powerful in their own way'" (Goodfellow, 2013). One salient example concerns the sole children's playground in the city centre that was sold off without passing through any of the official planning or regulatory channels. The developers of this land were said to be mostly veteran soldiers, who set up their makeshift shops and houses on the land (Goodfellow, 2013). The unspoken bond between army veterans and top government officials is very strong, even after years of peace and demobilization, effectively making the veterans untouchable (Goodfellow, 2013). Although the city possessed the capacity and legal right to remove the veterans from the public land and demolish their structures,

the unofficial political power of this otherwise marginalized group made such enforcement impossible. Despite this clear violation of laws created in the broad public interest, informal political bargaining prevents anyone being held accountable.

TEXT BOX 3
The Kyapa Mu Ngalo Campaign

Launched on April 18, 2017, the *Kyapa Mu Ngalo*, or “Land Title in Your Hands” Campaign, is an effort by the Buganda Land Board (BLB), to register tenants living on Kingdom land as leaseholders (Rwakafuuzi, 2017). According to the BLB, the Campaign will help smooth over land disputes on Kingdom land, and will give occupants more secure tenure that they can use as collateral for loans or to receive official building and subdivision permissions (BLB, 2017).

Critics contend that the campaign puts land occupants at risk, as under the previous *Mailo* system they hold *bibanja* land rights, which are protected under the Constitution. Although the Campaign provides 49 year leases, critics assert that this is not enough time to represent true tenure security, and warn leaseholders that they could be evicted following conclusion of their lease term (Mpagi, 2017). Kabaka Ronald Muwenda Mutebi II has previously reassured Ugandans that the BLB’s land titling activities are in-line with government policy, and that the Kingdom will not evict tenants at the end of their lease, but the campaign remains highly contentious (BLB, 2017; Ngwomoya, 2015).

At the launch of a high-level investigative team appointed by President Museveni to look into land issues in the country, the Hon. Minister Betty Amongi voiced her suspicions of the Campaign, and requested the team to look into the BLB’s activities (Mpagi, 2017). The heart of the controversy goes back to 1900, and the signing of the Buganda Land Agreement between the Kingdom and the British Crown. Critics today claim that the large tracts of land granted to the Kabaka at that time under the new colonial system were essentially a pay-off. In that case, the Kabaka should have no right to grant leasehold title, and should instead return the land to occupants as freehold (Rwakafuuzi, 2017). However, the 1995 Constitution recognizes the validity of large institutional land holdings, including by the Buganda Kingdom and by the Church, that were granted under the colonial system. Revision of the current system of Kabaka’s land would therefore require a constitutional amendment (Rwakafuuzi, 2017).

5.3.1 CONCLUSIONS

Based on the evidence in this section, the committee concludes:

1. Low levels of inclusion and accountability negatively affect land governance in Kampala
2. The development of Kampala is not conforming to existing plans and regulations
3. The preservation of public space and the environment has not been a priority of governments
4. A complicated system of land ownership undermines accountability and makes planning enforcement more difficult
5. Unsecure land tenure limits private investment in unplanned settlements
6. Attempts at land tenure reform frequently become highly politicized
7. There is strong evidence that over the past two decades, wealthy elites have often flouted planning regulations to no consequence
8. Poor regulatory adherence by elites creates an environment where communities also seek to ignore regulations through processes of informal political bargaining

5.3.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on these conclusions, the committee recommends:

1. Central government should carry out a feasibility study for the recognition of informal mechanisms of land tenure, and their incorporation into systems of land governance, in consultation with unplanned communities
2. Central government should investigate the possibility of establishing a national construction regulatory authority to feed into KCCA approval processes
3. Governments at all levels should prioritize the preservation of public urban space, including parks and city squares
4. ULGA should encourage local governments in other rapidly urbanizing areas to incorporate unplanned communities into planning processes

5.4 HEALTH AND NUTRITION

Providing the necessary services for citizens to live healthy lives requires a deep commitment to universal ownership of the health system, inclusive design practices, and accountability. Vulnerable populations, including the poor, the elderly, and children, are often the gravest victims of urbanization's negative externalities. And yet health systems are rarely designed for their benefit. Without this sense of broad ownership in the health system, the most vulnerable become further marginalized.

As cities grow, the lifestyles of residents also shift, exposing them to greater risk of acquiring non-communicable diseases (NCDs) (Eckert & Kohler, 2014). Solutions exist to moderate, control, and design the growth of urban space to mitigate health impacts—but they require robust systems of inclusive planning for effective deployment. Even with inclusive policy formulation, low capacity and insufficient resources frequently cause policy to go unenforced with little accountability. Therefore, while solutions exist to improve long-term health and nutrition outcomes in urban areas, they are frequently frustrated by a governance system defined by a constrained sense of ownership, low levels of inclusion in planning processes, and poor accountability mechanisms.

An overriding focus on economic growth and job creation in urban areas frequently obscures the impact of urbanization on vulnerable populations, such as children (Bartlett, 2003). Uganda has one of the youngest populations in the world, with 47.9% of the population between 0 and 14 years of age (UBOS, 2014). Many of those children reside in urban areas. According to the available evidence, children are the least resilient to the shocks of urban life, including poor sanitation, noise, pollution, stress, and poor accessibility of healthy food, (Bartlett, 1999). Children have relatively low pathogen immunity, and their behaviour may also account for low resilience to the shocks of urbanization. For example, evidence shows that children are more effected by poor sanitation, partly because they are closer to the ground, and partly because they have poor appreciation for the importance of hygiene, and may play in contaminated locations (Bartlett, 2003). Additionally, sanitation solutions that appear practical for adult populations—such as shared latrines—are often unworkable for young children, who may have trouble waiting to use the toilet, and may be unable to use the facilities alone (Bartlett, 1999).

Governments often assume that families will be the primary guardians of their children's welfare (Bartlett, 1999). However, the proliferation of unplanned settlements and urban poverty confronts parents with extremely difficult trade-offs. Should children be allowed to drink contaminated water, or should they go thirsty? Should they be permitted to play next to busy and dangerous streets, or should they be kept indoors at all times

(Bartlett, 1999)? The popular perception—both globally and domestically—of cities as centres of economic growth and political power hides their effect on the most vulnerable members of society. While governments, academics, and multilateral institutions construct complex arguments about the efficacy of urban governance and the potential of job creation, children bear the greatest brunt of the urbanization process (Bartlett, 2003). The perspective that sees cities primarily as sites of economic production thus overlooks these hidden costs and annuls the potential for broad-based welfare improvements through the urbanization process.

Urbanization coincides with shifting employment opportunities and lifestyles. A host of NCD risk factors accompany new jobs and new habits. For the middle class in particular, urbanization is associated with risk factors such as sedentary work, car-centric transportation, and increased consumption of energy dense foods (Hu, 2011; Popkin, 1999). The field of urban health offers an accumulating body of evidence that presents a handful of principles and indicators that, if incorporated into planning policies from the very beginning, lead to improved health outcomes (Sallis et al., 2016). For instance, the high priority given to motor vehicles in official planning exercises, while well-intentioned and useful at the time they are implemented, often leads to reduced physical activity, pollution, noise, and stress in the long-term. Kampala provides a typical illustration of this prioritization. Although the majority of commuters walk to work, the majority of investment focuses on improving conditions for private vehicles (Vermeiren et al., 2015). With insufficient inclusion of stakeholders in governance processes, Kampala's development neglects the long-term health impacts on its residents.

The design and development of urban space also has important implications for the health outcomes of poor residents (Rao et al., 2011). The social determinants of health, for instance, such as happiness and perceptions of safety, are influenced by the quality and character of the built environment (Rao et al., 2011). Urban form that facilitates social interaction, supportive networks, community strength, and opportunities for restoration from stress and fatigue can all impact positively on the mental health of city residents (Rao et al., 2011). One study, from the Khayelitsha township in Cape Town, South Africa, found that residents intentionally restricted their time spent walking outside because they feared for their safety (Smit et al., 2016). Residents pinpointed the township's narrow winding streets and lack of lighting as causes of the unsafe environment (Brunn & Wilson, 2013; Smit et al., 2016). The study went on to find that many township residents also suffered from depression and extreme stress, exacerbated by poverty and unemployment, poor living conditions, and the pervasive sense that they had no agency to create the life and living environment they would consider safe, dignified, and healthy (Smit et al., 2016). Many urban spaces in Kampala, especially low income pockets in marshy areas, exhibit many of the same characteristics pinpointed by the South African township residents. When urban design processes proceed with insufficient inclusion of poor residents, the city develops in ways that threaten their long-term health and wellbeing.

The practice of urban agriculture has long been touted as a solution to food insecurity in Uganda's poor urban areas (Maxwell, 1995). The key component of urban agriculture that makes it such an attractive development intervention is its ability to supplement diets without the need for cash incomes (Armar-Klemesu, 2000). Additionally, many development practitioners and researchers have noted that in some cases, families may sell their urban agriculture products to provide a supplemental source of income (Stewart et al., 2013). Both international and local evidence supports the logical role of urban agriculture in ensuring better nutrition (Zezza & Tasciotti, 2010). In Kampala specifically, better dietary diversity and overall nutrition indicators have been found to correlate highly with urban agriculture practices, particularly the rearing of livestock such as goats and pigs (Yeudall et al., 2007).

To capture these potential food security benefits, Kampala adopted a series of comprehensive urban agriculture policies and bylaws well before its East African

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neighbours. Through a participatory and consultative process, in 2005 KCC assented to a series of ordinances related to vegetable cultivation, livestock, poultry and fish rearing, and the sale of agricultural products within the city (Azuba & McCans, 2006). The new bylaws included a permit and licensing system for producers and sellers, restrictions on where urban agriculture can be practiced and how waste can be disposed, and a ban on artificial fertilizer and pesticide use (Azuba & McCans, 2006).

These inclusive policies, however, have had little to no effect on the development of urban agriculture in Kampala. For example, the Urban Agriculture Ordinance 2001 prohibited the practice in specific areas, such as road reserves, wetlands, green belts, parks, abandoned landfills or anywhere less than 10 feet away from an open drainage channel (Nuwagaba, Mwesigwa, & Kiguli, 2003). Such regulations are intended to control serious health and environment concerns associated with urban agriculture. Contamination, for example, is a constant source of concern among urban farmers, especially when waste water is used to irrigate crops (Stewart et al., 2013). Despite the 2001 ordinance, however, today urban agriculture takes place in all of these areas across the city, with the possible exception of parks (Nuwagaba et al., 2003). The 2001 Ordinance also prohibited farming in “high-density” areas. High-density, however, was unrealistically defined as any area with more than two households per acre. Today, many areas of Kampala have more than 40 houses per acre of land, and urban agriculture is nevertheless practiced (Nuwagaba et al., 2003). Legislation that was hailed at the time as highly progressive, has therefore had little to no influence on the actual development of urban agriculture in Kampala (Azuba & McCans, 2006; Nuwagaba et al., 2003).

Despite the development of inclusive policies to encourage urban agriculture in Kampala, they frequently go unenforced. Poor enforcement of official urban agriculture policies reflects a lack of accountability in the city’s governance system. Poor accountability undermines both the effectiveness of official policies, and long-term trust in the ability of institutions to deliver public goods (Morris & Klesner, 2010). Regulatory enforcement is necessary to capture the benefits and avoid the negative externalities of urban agriculture. Governance of urban agriculture in Kampala, however, is defined by poor enforcement with no accountability.

5.4.1 CONCLUSIONS

Based on the evidence in this section, the committee concludes:

1. Governance of urban health systems reflects low levels of ownership, inclusion, and accountability
2. The concerns of vulnerable populations, such as women, children, and the elderly, are rarely incorporated into urban governance processes
3. Health system governance does not address long-term challenges such as increasing NCD risk factors in cities
4. Basic regulations, including those related to urban agriculture, health, and nutrition, frequently go unenforced in Kampala

5.4.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on these conclusions, the committee recommends:

1. The governing structure of the city should include and support marginalized communities in planning decisions using pre-existing tools such as the City Development Strategy (CDS) developed by Cities Alliance
2. KCCA should include long-term health concerns, in particular the increasing prevalence of NCDs, in land use and transportation planning exercises
3. KCCA should prioritize basic urban design elements that benefit the wellbeing of the city's poorest residents, such as paved sidewalks, traffic crossings, garbage collection services, and street lighting
4. Central government should make more financial resources available for urban agriculture promotion and policy enforcement, while prioritizing food safety
5. ULGA should encourage emerging urban centres to integrate both short- and long-term health and nutrition concerns into urban development strategies

5.5 WATER AND SANITATION

Concurrent to growing NCD risk factors, Ugandan cities continue to face high rates of infectious disease transmission. For instance, between January and June 2015, researchers identified a large and persistent outbreak of typhoid fever in central Kampala (Kabwama et al., 2017). The vehicle of the outbreak was later identified as contaminated water and street-vended beverages (Kabwama et al., 2017). Despite extensive control efforts clean water provision in Kampala remains inadequate, and poor sanitation and waste disposal expose city residents to typhoid, cholera, and other pathogens (Breiman et al., 2012; Bwire et al., 2013; De Silva & Marshall, 2012; Kigozi et al., 2015; Mathanga et al., 2015).

These contributing factors to infectious disease transmission, however, frequently fall under a different governance rubric than health budgets. The National Water and Sewerage Corporation (NWSC), for example, holds the official mandate to provide clean water and sanitation services to Kampala. KCCA coordinates the removal and disposal of solid waste, frequently by outsourcing to private companies. A wide variety of national and foreign civil society organizations (CSO) step in to fill the perceived gaps in these systems. This collection of entities has made important advances in recent years. But the governance of public health projects in Kampala remains defined by low levels of ownership, insufficient inclusion, and misalignment between stakeholders.

Governance of the water and sanitation systems in Kampala suffers many of the same deficiencies as other service sectors. The piped water system, for example, demonstrates a remarkable institutional continuity from the colonial era. The overriding focus of provision remains on a relatively affluent demographic, with governance systems struggling to expand ownership to a city of now 1.5 million plus inhabitants. Governments and development agencies have attempted to expand access to sanitation for decades. However, insufficient inclusion in the process has consistently led to the neglect of important sociological considerations, and undermined widespread adoption.

Kampala's system of public water provision offers a paradigmatic illustration of the inertia inherent to urban systems. Decisions taken in the colonial period as to the purpose and target population of the water system created a structural trade-off between universal provision and economic sustainability that persists to the present day (Nilsson,

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2006). Due to the dominance of a few key actors in the governance processes of 1920's Kampala, the design of the early piped-water system was oriented toward servicing a relatively small number of wealthy individuals—primarily Europeans and Indians (Nilsson, 2006). Although more decentralized and cost-effective solutions were available at the time, such as improved rainwater collection or groundwater sources, the ideals and norms inherited from Britain synonymized piped-water systems with modernity (Nilsson, 2016). Such a focus created a powerful drive for large-scale development, despite its inability to economically meet the needs of the majority of Kampala's residents (Nilsson, 2006).

The early colonial administration in Uganda was preoccupied with providing for the needs of their own class, and subsequent planning systems have been unable to reconcile the problems they presented (P. I. Mukwaya, Lwasa, et al., 2010). Despite their unsuitability to meet the needs of a majority of Kampala residents, public works such as water and sewerage systems have a great built-in inertia, as they are complex and expensive to reimagine and re-engineer. In the post-colonial period, therefore, public water and sewerage provision has had to devote the majority of its resources to maintaining the large-scale system, and by default serving the more affluent (Nilsson, 2006). Simply expanding the system to service poor populations has proven prohibitively expensive. The colonial history of Kampala's piped-water and sewerage system therefore seems to leave the city caught in a zero-sum game between economic and social sustainability. Today, water coverage in Kampala is officially estimated at about 73%. Compared to only 48% coverage in 1998, this presents a drastic improvement (Fredby & Nilsson, 2013). However, the remaining unserved populations are overwhelmingly located in unplanned and difficult-to-reach locations.

The spatial-social conditions created by Kampala's early development continue to undermine cost-effective expansion of the colonial water system. While well-planned European urban developments covered the hilltops of Kampala, the interspersed marshy valleys were left to be filled in by unplanned settlements. Today, these areas form a series of urban "pockets" throughout the city, that remain defined by a lack of physical planning, unclear land ownership, and low incomes (see Figure 6). All of these factors conspire to make these low-lying areas highly unattractive for piped-water supply. The colonial model of water provision emphasized private connections, but the characteristics of unplanned settlements effectively annul this mode of service provision. For example, many residents of unplanned settlements are either renters or illegal squatters (UN-Habitat, 2007). Renters and squatters have low incentives to regularly pay water bills, as the legal agreement for provision is between the landlord and the utility (Mugabi & Kayaga, 2010). In this situation, neither landlords nor NWSC have a strong incentive to extend private water connections.

Instead of extending private connections to these low-income pockets, since the 1990s city managers have relied on the installation of public stand posts or water kiosks (Fredby & Nilsson, 2013). These kiosks are generally operated by private vendors who collect a fee from residents and pay the utility monthly for water supply. To facilitate this process, the wholesale price of water provided to kiosks is only 65% that of private connections (Fredby & Nilsson, 2013). Despite this policy of subsidy, however, studies have found that poor families in Kampala actually pay four to eight times more for water than other urban consumers (Fredby & Nilsson, 2013). This discrepancy can be explained by water vendors with a monopoly over their small area hiking prices (Fredby & Nilsson, 2013). Faced with prices beyond their budgets, the poorest families resort to using natural springs and rivers or harvesting rainwater (Fredby & Nilsson, 2013).

Recently, pre-paid water meters have emerged as an innovative method of pro-poor water provision. With the meters owned and maintained by NWSC, the utility can undercut private vendors and keep tariffs affordable for poor families (Fredby & Nilsson, 2013). Using pre-paid tokens to activate the meters also allows NWSC to ensure cost recovery and avoid unpaid bills (Fredby & Nilsson, 2013). Pre-paid water meters are not new to Uganda—a variety of private and NGO-sponsored projects have introduced a number of similar systems over the years. However, maintaining pre-paid systems is expensive, and

most of them broke down after only a year or two of operation (Fredby & Nilsson, 2013). The recent success of pre-paid meters comes not from a technological innovation, but rather from an innovation in governance: NWSC now understands low-income communities as entitled to sufficient and affordable service (Fredby & Nilsson, 2013). In other words, a shift in mindsets to emphasize the collective ownership of water resources has proven instrumental in making a relatively old technology innovative. This sense of collective ownership reorients water governance to emphasize the necessity of affordable provision to poor residents.

Sanitation governance in Kampala has demonstrated many similar issues to the governance of water provision over the years, with the original system intended to serve primarily European—and subsequently wealthy African—populations. In the modern era, sanitation governance has shifted toward a partnership model, primarily between the state and non-profits. Such partnerships aim to improve inclusion by incorporating the experiences and perspectives of low-income residents through non-profits. This partnership model of governance has seen moderate success in expanding service access, but significant challenges remain to inclusively integrate the needs of the poor.

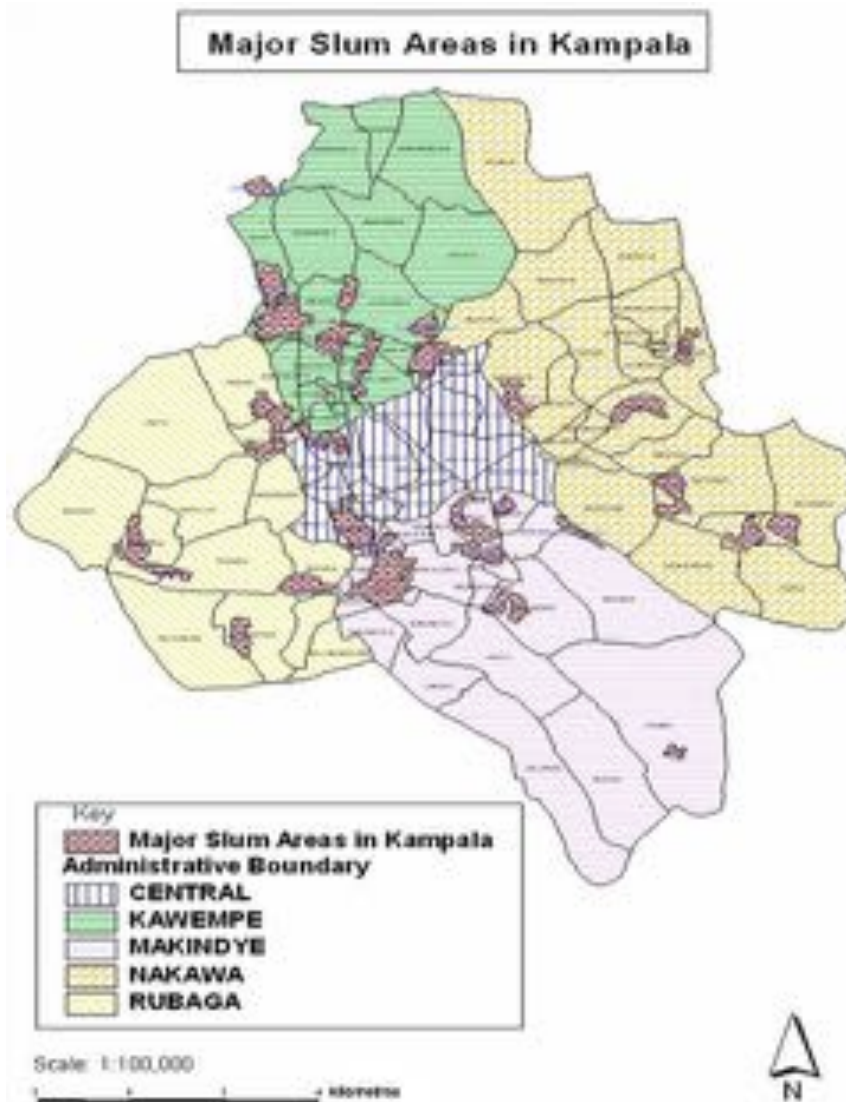


FIGURE 6 Kampala’s major slum areas formed in the low-lying, marshy areas between the hills originally designated for European residence.
SOURCE: Fredby & Nilsson, 2013.

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Recent research has confirmed that sanitation is not primarily a technical problem—it involves a crucial sociological component, and understanding the behavioural incentives and social context of improved sanitation are essential to its success (Kwiringira, Atekyereza, Niwagaba, & Günther, 2014a). Without integrating such understanding and perceptions into the governance process, many well-meaning sanitation interventions have failed, expending huge sums of money but resulting in no behavioural change.

The traditional framework to conceptualize sanitation interventions relies on a “ladder” tool that ranks technology in a hierarchy from open defecation to “improved sanitation facilities” such as piped sewerage or septic tanks (JMP, 2017). Using this framework, governments and donors then work to move populations up the ladder, using metrics such as the proportion of “those using ‘improved’ sanitation facilities” (JMP, 2017). Following these metrics, governments often focus on moving populations from open defecation to the intermediate step, “shared facilities”. However, evidence from Kampala suggests that even when public sanitation facilities are improved, people abandon them after they are used improperly or go uncleaned (Kwiringira et al., 2014a). Technology-focused interventions also tend to ignore the fact that sanitation is fundamentally gendered. Evidence from Kampala slums show that women are more readily effected by the location and distance of shared latrines, by narrow, dark, or winding paths, by privacy, and by cleanliness of the facilities (Kwiringira, Atekyereza, Niwagaba, & Günther, 2014b). Additionally, both men and women tend to see the responsibility of cleaning the shared latrines as falling to women (Kwiringira et al., 2014b).

In areas made up of many rural-to-urban migrants, the kinship ties that provide emotional, physical, and financial support in times of crisis are often fractured, and there is limited social cohesion among groups. As a result, public shared sanitation facilities rapidly become degraded because there is no sense of collective responsibility within the community (Isunju, Schwartz, Schouten, Johnson, & van Dijk, 2011). While the provision of shared, improved sanitation facilities can potentially benefit a community, if the requisite sociological constraints aren’t inclusively integrated into the process, improved facilities may actually place a greater burden of work on women, and may quickly become filthy and unused.

Research from across sub-Saharan African cities shows that slum residents tend to focus primarily on the socio-economic factors of sanitation improvement, instead of the health benefits (Isunju et al., 2013). Subjective non-health benefits from sanitation that slum residents tend to emphasize include, for example: comfort, privacy, convenience, safety for women and children (especially at night), dignity and social status, modernity, cleanliness, property value and rental incomes; and reductions in odour and flies, embarrassment with visitors or in-laws, accidents and conflict with neighbours (Cairncross, 2003; Isunju et al., 2011; Jenkins & Sugden, 2006). These considerations demonstrate that governance of the sanitation system for better provision in Kampala relies on a deep understanding of individual perceptions. Without the inclusion of these perceptions in governance process, efforts to improve sanitation are likely to fail.

5.5.1 CONCLUSIONS

Based on the evidence in this section, the committee concludes:

1. The governance of water and sanitation systems in Kampala demonstrate low levels of ownership and poor inclusion of unplanned settlements
2. Water and sewerage systems in Kampala were never designed to accommodate current population levels
3. Piped water provision in Kampala reveals remarkable institutional continuity from colonial times, and historical social-spatial development continues to restrict clean water access in low-lying poor neighbourhoods
4. Innovative solutions to provide clean water provision exist, such as pre-paid meters, but they require a mindset that recognizes the right of poor communities to receive clean, affordable water, even at a high public expense
5. Successful sanitation projects require extensive, inclusive consultation with poor communities, as well as continuing community sensitization activities
6. Poor households tend to prioritize the social rather than health benefits of improved sanitation

5.5.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on these conclusions, the committee recommends:

1. NWSC should aggressively expand the network of pre-paid water meters in poor neighbourhoods
2. KCCA, NWSC, and NGOs should emphasize the social benefits of private sanitation investments, with a specific focus on family-owned facilities
3. Cultural and political leaders should encourage collective ownership of public sanitation facilities
4. ULGA should encourage emerging urban centres to develop integrated water and sanitation plans that capitalize on available partnerships and align with the economic resources of the majority of their populations

6 OVERARCHING CONCLUSIONS

Based on the evidence presented in this report, the committee concludes that there is limited ownership, accountability, alignment, and inclusiveness in Uganda's urban development. The city of Kampala was never planned or designed for the level of population that exists today. Although colonial governance structures were well-designed to service a relatively small and wealthy population, they have proven difficult to adapt for a rapidly growing, young, and relatively poor population. As such, service provision in Kampala is not keeping pace with the needs of the expanding population. For many years, the unique centre-local political tensions in Kampala facilitated informal bargains that rewarded political elites for evading official mechanisms of state policy, and severely limited effective policy enforcement. Powerful business and political elites frequently flouted planning regulations to little consequence, and this culture trickled down to the bottom of the socio-economic ladder. There is some evidence that the situation has improved in recent years with the creation of KCCA. However, unclear mandates and chains of accountability continue to provide incentives for informal political bargaining that undermines implementation and enforcement capacity. Furthermore, governments have placed an extremely low priority on public goods, turning the city over to excessive privatization that limits participation in city life to only the middle class and wealthy. Influential political and cultural elites have an opportunity to lead-by-example to generate a sense of common ownership over public urban space. However, current attitudes and practices among elites tend to reinforce the low societal priority given to public goods. Finally, the committee concludes that other cities in Uganda have a window of opportunity to avoid many of the most severe challenges to effective governance facing Kampala today.

7 OVERARCHING RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the above conclusions, the committee recommends that cultural and political leaders take the initiative to emphasize the common good nature of cities. Cities should engage in publicity campaigns that emphasize the common urban experience, and engender a sense of pride and ownership among residents. City managers should focus on small-scale and achievable interventions that can improve the lives of the poorest city residents, and that are unlikely to become unnecessarily politicized. Central government should refrain from interference in management decisions at the local level, as doing so only confuses chains of accountability and further paralyzes effective governance. Legislatures should review and clarify institutional arrangements to ensure clear fields of responsibility and chains of accountability between actors. Academics and researchers should devote more resources to understanding the unique governance challenges of emerging urban areas, with a specific focus on successful implementation of the NUP. Governments of emerging urban areas should look to the history of Kampala for lessons, especially with regard to the challenges they are likely to face in implementing the NUP. Finally, governments at all levels should drastically increase investment in public goods, including visible spaces like parks and squares, to increase the sense of collective ownership over urban space.

UNAS PROFILE

The Uganda National Academy of Sciences (UNAS) is an independent, non-governmental, and non-partisan organization that counts many of Uganda's most distinguished scholars from all disciplines as its members. Its mission is *to improve the livelihoods, welfare, and prosperity of the people of Uganda through the development and enhanced application of knowledge in the sciences and humanities*. UNAS—in existence since 2000, and designated the National Academy by presidential charter since 2009—acts on its mission by conducting consensus studies that bring together interdisciplinary and multi-sectoral committees of distinguished scholars and stakeholders to provide comprehensive and objective policy recommendations.

As part of the Forum on Cities, Urbanization, and Services (FOCUS), UNAS convened a team of experts to produce a relevant consensus study report. The overarching goal of all FOCUS is to build institutional density among urban actors in Uganda to stimulate specific, achievable, and proactive policy action. As a neutral platform to share cross-sectoral knowledge and experiences on urban development, FOCUS provides the opportunity for stakeholders to engage with each other and to build the trust and personal relationships necessary for a successful Uganda-owned urban agenda and successful implementation of the new NUP.

This consensus study represents the first concrete input toward achieving FOCUS' overarching goal. By providing a common understanding of the urban challenges facing Uganda, this report aims to both influence the relevant policymakers, and stimulate dynamic discussion, learning, and relationship building among urban stakeholders. Over the course of four months, the expert committee examined a wealth of evidence on governance processes in Kampala, deliberated over lessons learned, and analysed the remaining challenges for Ugandan cities. Ultimately, the conclusions and recommendations that form the backbone of this study provide strategic direction for Ugandan leaders at all levels to catalyse greater ownership of the urban development process.

CONSENSUS STUDY PROCESS

Consensus study reports are a signature product of the African Science Academies, and a key tool in the development of evidence-based policy advice. Such reports are subsequently adapted into policy briefs for decision makers, and disseminated to government officials, business leaders, civil society representatives, and the broader public at conferences and workshops. The consensus study process in Africa was adapted from that of the U.S. National Academies, and involves a series of rigorous procedures that lead to a set of conclusions and recommendations based on the most current available scientific evidence.

The consensus study process sets UNAS apart from a traditional think tank in two ways. First, the academy's primary resource is its diverse network of fellows and subject specialists. These experts participate in the consensus study process voluntarily for the good of the nation by providing balanced and apolitical advice. Additionally, the peer-review process built into the production of consensus study reports ensures their accuracy and neutrality.

To produce this consensus study report, UNAS convened a committee of experts balanced by gender, profession, and discipline to respond to a precise Statement of Task (SoT). For this consensus study, the SoT was as follows:

Examine and comment on the existing system of urban development in Uganda, including the available evidence on how best to achieve economic growth, job creation, and improved well-being. Identify the primary policy levers to achieve these objectives in urban areas, taking into account resource and capacity constraints. Develop conclusions and action-oriented recommendations targeted to key stakeholders, as identified by the Expert Committee.

Committee members were first brought together in primary deliberations to brainstorm key questions in the field, to draw out the structure of the planned report, and to identify vital sources of evidence. Based on these deliberations, the UNAS Secretariat conducted a comprehensive secondary literature review targeting the key questions raised by the expert committee. The literature review was based on a systematic search through academic databases for peer-reviewed journals, practitioner reports, and, where necessary, media stories. The search was conducted using keywords and specific subject areas identified by the Expert Committee.

Following the identification of over 400 potentially relevant articles, reports, and media stories, they were separated into the five categories identified by the expert committee using an abstract review. Analysis of the evidence was subsequently structured as an integrated literature review that drew out unique insights by aggregating evidence from a variety of disciplines under the thematic framework identified by the committee. The integrated literature review formed the basis for a "Draft Zero" of the study report that was circulated to committee members for comment and feedback. The committee next met to discuss the Draft Zero of the report, and to craft conclusions and recommendations informed by the presented evidence.

The updated report draft was then submitted for peer review by a parallel committee representing both Ugandan and international expertise. The review committee was requested to determine if the expert committee had met its charge in the form of the SoT; whether it had remained within the scope of the SoT; whether the report had any major evidence gaps; and whether the report appeared neutral and apolitical. A subsequent response-to-review session addressed every concern raised by the review committee.

After incorporating final comments and revisions, the expert committee reached consensus on endorsement of the synthesis report, and signed off on its publication. As Uganda's national academy, UNAS consensus study reports are owned by all Ugandans for the benefit of the country's development.

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REVIEWERS:

The report was reviewed by a panel of both Ugandan and international experts, including Dr. Jo Ivey Boufford, Dr. Remy Sietchiping, Ms. Maureen Babu, Dr. Sabrina Kitaka, and Dr. Tom Goodfellow.

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