



ANNUAL CONFERENCE ON LAND AND POVERTY

Negotiated Planning: Breaking the Implementation Impasse in Kampala

Discussion Paper

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Abstract

In Kampala, Uganda's capital, land tenure arrangements are among the most complex in the world: intensified by one of the highest rates of urbanization (over 5%). Attempts by the Ugandan government to administer land have typically relied upon formal cadastral systems, which have been powerless to disentangle the webs of layered and competing land tenure arrangements. Proposed developments all over the city have stalled, completely crippled by seemingly unresolvable land wrangles.

As Kampala city moves into a new era of administration – as a result of the establishment of the Kampala Capital City Authority (KCCA) in 2010 (which established the Authority to administer Kampala on behalf of the central government, replacing the former Kampala City Council), it remains to be seen how it will address the present impasse. Officials in the KCCA express unwavering commitment to developing the city in accordance with the recently formulated Kampala Master Plan, but – as is common with such city plans – implementation strategies are unclear.

The National Slum Dwellers Federation of Uganda (NSDFU) has been at the center of a collection of actors – including Shack/Slum Dwellers International (SDI), Cities Alliance, and UN-Habitat's Global Land Tools Network (GTLN) – trying to forge such strategies in Uganda. The efforts are only just beginning, but perhaps hold promise for an approach to planning that has a greater grounding in reality and fosters a much higher likelihood of implementation. As a member of the SDI network, slum dwellers in the NSDFU utilize tools such as profiling, enumeration, and mapping to organize their communities and catalyze informed negotiation and partnership with government toward inclusive urban development.

This paper will detail the implementation of these strategic components by the NSDFU during the past decade. It will present the preliminary findings from the city-wide slum profiling of Kampala conducted by the NSDFU in November 2013. It will identify the potential for expanding implementation of the strategy in Kampala and for concrete partnership with KCCA – specifically as it relates to the impending formulation of detailed development plans for the capital.

Key words: Planning, Land tenure, Kampala, Slums, Enumeration

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Introduction

In Kampala, Uganda's capital, land tenure arrangements are among the most complex in the world: intensified by one of the highest rates of urbanization (over 5%). Attempts by the Ugandan government to administer land have typically relied upon formal cadastral systems, which have been powerless to disentangle the webs of layered and competing land tenure arrangements. Proposed developments all over the city have stalled, completely crippled by seemingly unresolvable land wrangles.

As Kampala city moves into a new era of administration – as a result of the establishment of the Kampala Capital City Authority (KCCA) in 2010 (which established the Authority to administer Kampala on behalf of the central government, replacing the former Kampala City Council), it remains to be seen how it will address the present impasse. Officials in the KCCA express unwavering commitment to developing the city in accordance with the recently formulated Kampala Master Plan, but – as is common with such city plans – implementation strategies are unclear.

There is an undeniable need to generate some order in Kampala, where planning dysfunction threatens the livelihoods of the rich and poor alike. And, while the author works for an organization supporting the rights of slum dwellers, this is not a paper that will simply argue the right of slum dwellers to stay and leave it at that. Such arguments cannot and should not be enough to satisfy either the government or the slum dwellers. Posturing on the part of rights groups, planners, and politicians is doing nothing to alleviate the fundamental challenges that perpetuate the acute poverty faced by the majority of Kampala's residents. Instead, Kampala needs creative implementation strategies based on up-to-date data, authentic and informed citizen participation, and negotiation that accepts compromise will be needed from all sides.

The National Slum Dwellers Federation of Uganda (NSDFU) has been at the center of a collection of actors – including Shack/Slum Dwellers International (SDI), Cities Alliance, and UN-Habitat's Global Land Tools Network (GTLN) – trying to forge such strategies in Uganda. The efforts are only just beginning, but perhaps hold promise for an approach to planning that has a greater grounding in reality and fosters a much higher likelihood of implementation. As a member of the SDI network, slum dwellers in the NSDFU utilize tools such as profiling, enumeration, and mapping to organize their communities and catalyze informed negotiation and partnership with government toward inclusive urban development. This paper will focus on three potential components of the strategy being developed.

The first relates to the information required to plan. There has been no census in Uganda since 2002. The budget has not allowed it to take place for the past two years as scheduled. Thus, development plans are formulated on the basis of data that is over 11 years old. Any resident of Kampala can tell you that their city is not the same city it was a decade ago. The prevalence of multiple and overlapping land claims – particularly as it relates to *Kibanja* occupants (those who have rights to the land, in addition to those of the land owner) mean the majority of land tenure claims are not documented. As a result, many claims to tenure are not visible until threatened residents express these claims through protest – often violently.

The first component of the strategy, therefore, acknowledges that up-to-date data on the city and the tenure claims of its residents is required to understand actual on-the-ground realities. NSDFU has conducted city-wide enumerations in 5 municipalities in partnership

with the Ministry of Lands, Housing, and Urban Development (MoLHUD) with support from Cities Alliance's *Land, Sites, and Citizenship* program. It has also piloted the Social Tenure Domain Model tool developed by the Global Land Tools Network (GTLN) and subsequently incorporated the tool into the profiling and enumeration work being rolled out in 14 municipalities. These experiences have informed the Kampala profiling process, which began in November, 2013, to gather essential planning data on all 62-slum settlements in the capital.

The second component recognizes that this information, this data, should not simply inform a consultant preparing a development plan or the physical planning department of the KCCA. In matters of land, communities need to trust and understand the data available if it is to guide planning. The urban poor have a deep distrust of the information cited by government, which they perceive to have historically been used to crush their rights and demands. Conversely, when communities drive the data gathering process, it sets in motion a discussion with authorities that is based on information the community *owns*. When they begin the negotiation process, they are able to do more than demand a right to stay: they begin a discussion on strategies for a way forward for upgrading based on concrete information. Politicization and manipulation of urban poor communities by politicians, developers, and even fellow community members has proven an equally significant impediment to urban land management. This component recognizes that equipping a wider base of citizens with actual information can help to counter the tendency for rumor and mistruths to drive the discussion.

The third component, then, relates to negotiation and partnership. It is clear technocrats cannot implement their development plans without community buy-in – unless they plan to use force to evict all those opposed to their plans. The community, likewise, will not benefit from continued haphazard, un-guided developments, which threaten the safety and viability of their settlements. Neither party benefit from the present state of affairs, which is characterized by both sides shouting and neither listening. The technocrats will only – perhaps justifiably – listen to the community if it can answer the question: What is your alternative? The community, meanwhile, will only listen to the technocrats if they agree to *listen*.

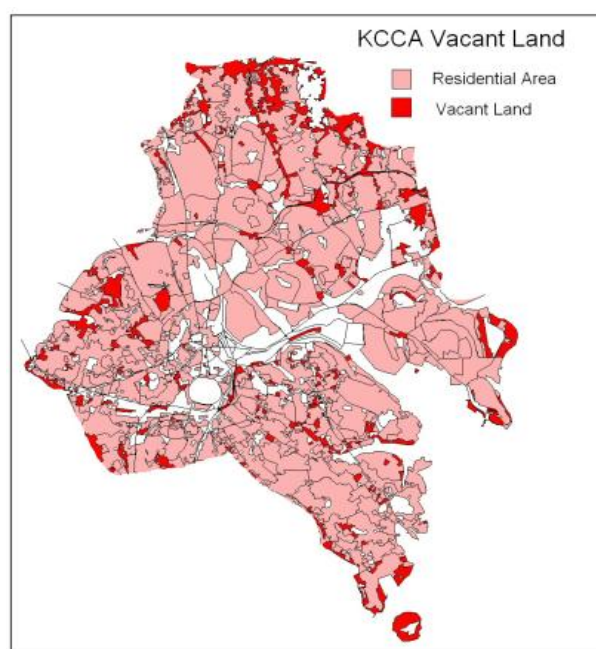
This paper will detail the implementation of these strategic components by the NSDFU during the past decade. It will present the preliminary findings from the city-wide slum profiling of Kampala conducted by the NSDFU in November 2013. It will identify the potential for expanding implementation of the strategy in Kampala and for concrete partnership with KCCA – specifically as it relates to the impending formulation of detailed development plans for the capital. To begin, it is useful to briefly overview the context within which this discussion is located.

1. The Context

As contemporary Uganda rapidly urbanizes, so too does the origin of many land disputes. In Kampala, where these claims and counter claims are at their most concentrated, the land governance issue is among the most complex in the world.¹ As a new authority takes over the administration of the capital, its most well-laid plans will likely struggle in their implementation as land disputes rage on.

According to the KPDP 2012 Kampala's land is rapidly reaching its carrying capacity with a present density of 89 persons per square kilometer. When one factors in urban population growth (presently around 5%), it is easy to see how soon this capacity will be exhausted. Increased density will certainly result in a worsening of conditions in slums if not planned for. The map below highlights the lack of available land.

Figure 1: KCCA Vacant Land



(KPDP 2012, 88)

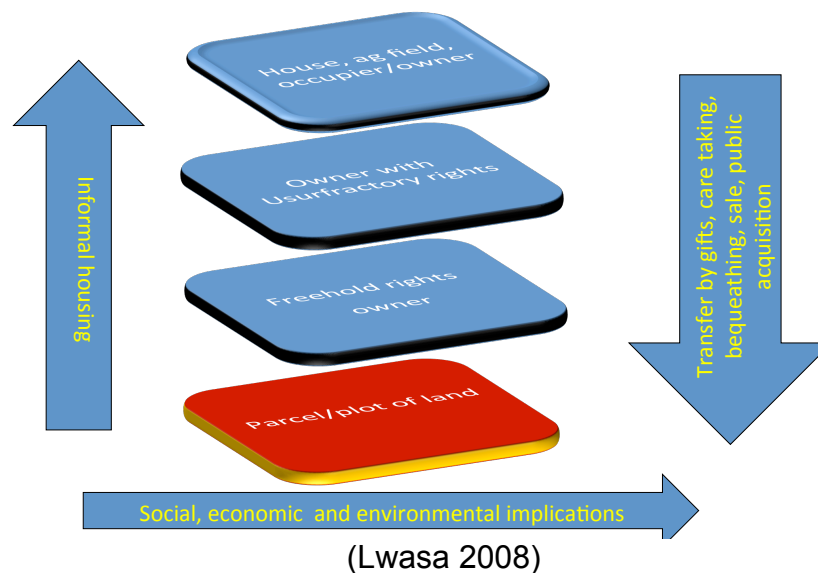
According to the Draft Final Report for “Updating Kampala Structure Plan and Upgrading the Kampala GIS Unit” 2012, one of the major factors contributing to the unmanageability and unservicability of the city is the land tenure system (3). It recommends major structural reform of the land tenure system.

The impact of overlapping formal and informal land tenure systems, which have been guided by shifting, inconsistent, and poorly implemented land policies, has created an

¹ The origins of the complexity have been well documented, stemming from the deals forged between the British and local kingdoms during the colonial period. The bulk of the challenges originate from the subdivisions of Buganda Kingdom land (mailo land) and the rights of tenants and landowners to claim ownership. For a comprehensive analysis of land tenure in Kampala see Giddings (2009) <http://www.intlhc.org/docs/giddings-kampala.pdf>

environment of tremendous confusion regarding land tenure for Kampala's slum residents. Despite recent policy reforms to protect the rights of these residents, they face acute tenure insecurity. Rampant unchecked land acquisition by the economically and politically advantaged continues to fuel what is already a vicious cycle of urban exclusion and insecurity. The following schematic captures the layers of tenure claims in the city and the repercussions.

Figure 2: Overlapping land rights



Insecure tenure in Kampala not only causes headline-grabbing land clashes, scandals, and evictions, but also significantly increases the deprivation and impoverishment of the urban majority. While authorities tolerated the growth of informal settlements on both private and public land, this growth was not guided by even the most minimal planning. The priority of landholders – both private and public – has been to extract rents, and the “illegal” status of residents has served to absolve most landowners of the responsibility to provide services. For the residents of slum settlements, insecure tenure quashed their incentive to invest in permanent housing, while at other times forbade it outright. Basic service provision in these slums takes the form of scattered communal facilities that are often poorly maintained and place a higher cost burden on the poor than would formal access.

As centrally located land values skyrocket, these evictions have escalated and Uganda's urban poor find the tide against them surging. For those living in absolute poverty, forced eviction represents an acute tragedy, robbing evictees of their livelihoods and rendering families homeless and destitute. Evictions place strains upon community institutions, eroding social capital and breaking apart those social structures and organizational capacities that rely on proximity.

2. Kampala Capital City Authority

In 2010 the Kampala Capital City Authority (KCCA) was established by an act of parliament and thereby became the authority with the principle mandate to deal with the mess described above. The Authority was established to administer Kampala on behalf of the central government, replacing the former Kampala City Council, which was deemed to be mired in corruption and incompetence. Serious tension between the Authority and the political wing has been prevalent since its establishment, culminating in the impeachment in 2013 of the Lord Mayor and closing of KCCA offices when the impeachment was overruled.

Figure 3. Functions of the KCCA

The functions of the Authority are—

- (a) to initiate and formulate policy;
- (b) to set service delivery standards;
- (c) to determine taxation levels;
- (d) to monitor the general administration and provision of services in the divisions;
- (e) to enact legislation for the proper management of the Capital City; (f) to promote economic development in the Capital City; (g) to construct and maintain roads; (h) to construct and maintain major drains;
- (i) to install and maintain street lights;
- (j) to organize and manage traffic;
- (k) to carry out physical planning and development control;
- (l) to monitor the delivery of services within its area of jurisdiction;
- (m) to assist in the maintenance of law, order and security;
- (n) to draw the attention of the divisions to any matter that attracts the concern or interest of the Authority;
- (o) to mobilise the residents of the Capital City to undertake income generating activities and self-help community projects;
- (p) to assist the City division in mobilising the residents to pay local taxes;
- (q) to register the residents in their area of jurisdiction;
- (r) to register births and deaths in their area of jurisdiction; and
- (s) to perform any other function given to the Authority by the central government.

(2) Notwithstanding anything in this Act the Authority shall in addition perform the functions and services prescribed in Parts A, B and C of the Third Schedule.

(3) The Ministries responsible for health and environment shall oversee the public health and environment matters respectively in the Capital City.

(4) The Ministry responsible for the administration of the Capital City shall supervise, guide, inspect, monitor and coordinate the governance activities of the Capital City in order to ensure compliance with this Act and any other law.

3. Urban Planning in Kampala: The impasse

As mentioned above, it is generally accepted that Kampala is unmanageable at present. This makes implementation of the Authorities city plans exceptionally difficult.

An example of the impasse can be found in the city's plans to upgrade informal markets. Kampala's marketplaces, with their brightly colored and impeccably stacked fruits and vegetables; their piles of secondhand clothes and shoes; and their stacks of brightly colored fabric are a ubiquitous feature of the capital. Most of the urban poor depend on these markets for their livelihoods and consumption needs.

City authorities, cognizant of their potential for collecting local revenue, have been eager to promote market upgrading, while national government sees market upgrading as a key mechanism for improving the livelihoods of the rural, agriculture-dependent population. Market dwellers, for their part, are eager to see the muddy, inadequately serviced and congested markets upgraded to improve their business potential as well as their day-to-day existence. In short, there is tremendous will to upgrade the city's markets and donors have demonstrated a willingness to invest heavily in the endeavor.

Despite this seemingly strong enabling environment, the tens of millions of dollars secured to upgrade Kampala's markets have barely been touched. Seemingly intractable land wrangles, lack of consensus on relocation matters, politicking, and duplicitous actions on the part of urban officials have stalled the majority of upgrading plans. In the few cases where upgrading has been achieved, the vendors in the original market were often priced out of the new market-halls that have characterized market upgrading. This pushes vendors onto the streets where they hawk their goods and play cat-and-mouse with the KCCA law enforcement who seek to harass and arrest them and confiscate their merchandise. Complex competing interests are at play in the market upgrading space. These have not been adequately addressed to date.

With regard to housing, last year the land wrangle between local slum dwellers and National Housing and Construction Corporation saw Kasokoso turn into a mini war zone, with riots, teargas, and even a mayor's car set on fire. Distrustful residents of the area find it hard to believe that National Housing and the Government of Uganda will successfully upgrade the area without displacing them. Keenly aware of failed projects such as the Namuwongo slum upgrading initiative, which merely pushed the slum dwellers further into the Namuwongo swamp and more congested conditions, the slum dwellers of Kasokoso were willing to fight to stay until clear plans for their resettlement are made public. National Housing claims ownership of 300 acres – much of which has been settled for over 7 years – and says it is ready to redevelop the area and accommodate low income dwellers in a new mixed use development. Many are suspicious and concerned that the National Housing definition of "low-cost" is not in touch with urban poor reality. The distrust between the urban poor and government has brought this project to a standstill and the attempt by government to bring in police to force their decision upon residents was unsuccessful due to the highly organized resident slum population, which is ready to fight for the right to stay.

4. Breaking in the impasse: The strategy

Despite the introduction of the National Slum Upgrading Strategy and Action Plan (2008) by the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development, little progress has been made implementing the strategy. The National Slum Dwellers Federation of Uganda (NSDFU) and ACTogether Uganda (as members of SDI), seek to explore more meaningful approaches to city development and slum upgrading that places the urban poor at the center. This is a strategy in which the community partners with the local authority to plan and execute the redevelopment. The approach also answers the call of Gombay (1997) to harness the “vibrancy and energy of civil society” and “develop effective mechanisms which join the two [civil society and local authorities] in more productive ways.” In his fascinating study of Kampala’s Owino Market, Gombay suggests “one of the avenues which offers significant promise for the future is development of participatory urban structure plans which more effectively incorporate popular aspirations into the development process.”

This is a process SDI and its network of over 30 urban poor federations have been perfecting since the late 1990s. Through the process of authentic community organization, urban poor federations are gathering information on their settlements – through enumeration and profiling – and coming together with local authorities to generate neighborhood-upgrading plans that are responsive to the needs of the urban poor. Neither city authorities nor communities have been able to meet the challenges of upgrading alone, yet both bring invaluable contributions to the upgrading endeavor and we believe creative new partnerships will be the key to breaking the present impasse and improving the prospects of implementing development plans.

We use the example of the National Slum Dwellers Federation of Uganda – owing to its wide scope of activity and prominence in terms of partnership with government and tools for participatory planning, but the approach could be used by other organized citizen groups. The NSDFU is a network of approximately 350 community groups with a membership of approximately 38,000. It is a member of the Shack/Slum Dwellers International (SDI) network and currently operates in six urban centers across the country. In each municipality, the federation is pursuing a city-wide urban agenda that begins at the settlement-level. Critical to this agenda is the federation’s partnership with local and national government. The Government of Uganda recognizes that it cannot hope to address the breadth of urban land challenges facing the country alone. It has therefore invited the federation to play a central role in its national *Transforming Settlements of the Urban Poor in Uganda* (TSUPU) program, which focuses on land, services, and citizenship.

Members in each of the community groups that make up the federation save daily and meet at least once per week to discuss community issues and coordinate programs and projects to address the challenges facing their settlements. Table 2 shows the number of savings groups and members in each city. These community savings groups work at the settlement-level to build consensus and formulate settlement-level interventions. These groups then ‘federate’ at a network-level – as a collection of settlements – and then at the city-level. This is key to forging a city-wide agenda that grows from the grassroots. At the national level the various city-level federations come together to promote their strategy as the NSDFU. In addition, the groups are networked internationally with the other 33 national federations in the SDI network, in order to maximize the horizontal exchange of information amongst the urban poor.

As mentioned in the introduction the proposed strategy has three principle components:

- 1) Community conducted enumeration, profiling, mapping
- 2) Community ownership of knowledge
- 3) Community driven negotiation and partnership

4.1 Enumeration, profiling, and mapping

Unquestionably, one of the most successful ways in which the federation has engaged council is through the process of profiling and enumeration. Profiling and enumeration are SDI rituals that enable communities of the urban poor to gather information on the informal settlements within their municipality and use that information to plan, negotiate, and advocate. In 2010, the federation conducted city-wide profiling of all slum settlements in Jinja, Mbale, Mbarara, Kabale, and Arua. In 2011, the federation conducted city-wide enumeration in the same municipalities as part of a national Government program to transform Uganda's secondary cities.

Profiling involves the gathering of qualitative data on slum settlements by organized slum dwellers. The federation invited municipal council officials from the political and technical wing to participate in slum profiling in order to strengthen the partnership and expose councils to the realities of life in Uganda's slums. The profiles gathered information on land tenure, population, housing, access to services, economic activities, governance and community priorities. Information was gathered through focus group discussions and observation.

Enumeration involves the gathering of quantitative data through the administration of household surveys. The federation moves house to house in the slums instead of relying on a sample survey –which, experience suggests, frequently miss the critical differences between slum settlements within the same municipality. In 2011 the federation conducted a city-wide enumeration, again in partnership with the municipality and academic institutions. The final reports were published in 2012 and launched and endorsed by the municipal councils.

The wealth of experience gained profiling and enumerating these municipalities prepared the NSDFU and ACTogether for the work presently being undertaken to profile and enumerate Kampala. Toward the end of 2013, the NSDFU and ACTogether began profiling and mapping all 62 slum settlements in Kampala. The following information was gathered is presently being verified by the federation.

Kampala Slum Settlements

Rubaga	16
Nakawa	6
Makindye	16
Kampala Central	7
Kawempe	16
Total	62

KAMPALA CITY: LOCATION AND EXTENT OF SLUMS

Drawn & Designed by:
ACTogether Uganda &
National Slum Dwellers Federation

Initial findings show that there are approximately 560,000 families living in Kampala's slums. The average family size is 5.3. The total population living in slums is approximately 2,500,000. This lies in sharp contrast to data cited in the Kampala Physical Development Plan, which claims there are only 500,000 people living in Kampala's slums. In addition, the plan identifies 31 slums in Kampala – half the number identified by the NSDFU and ACTogether.²

Figure 5: Number of slums in Kampala

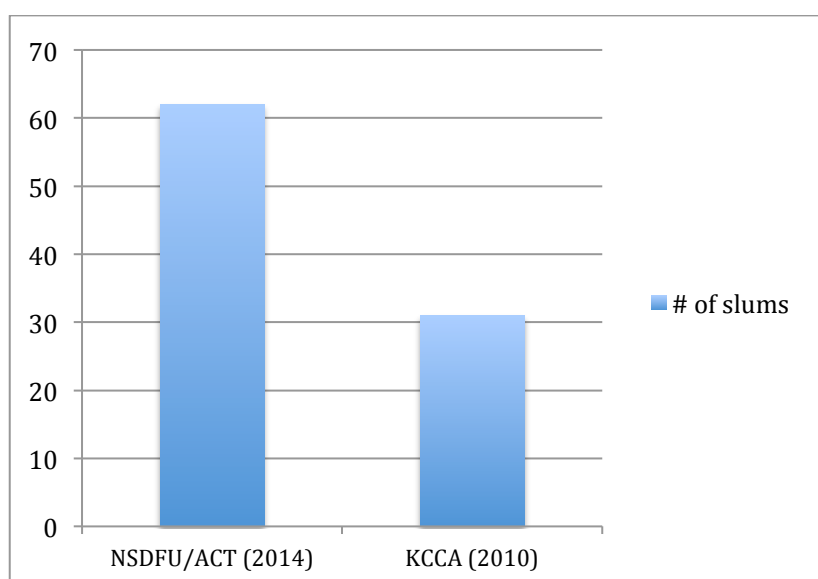
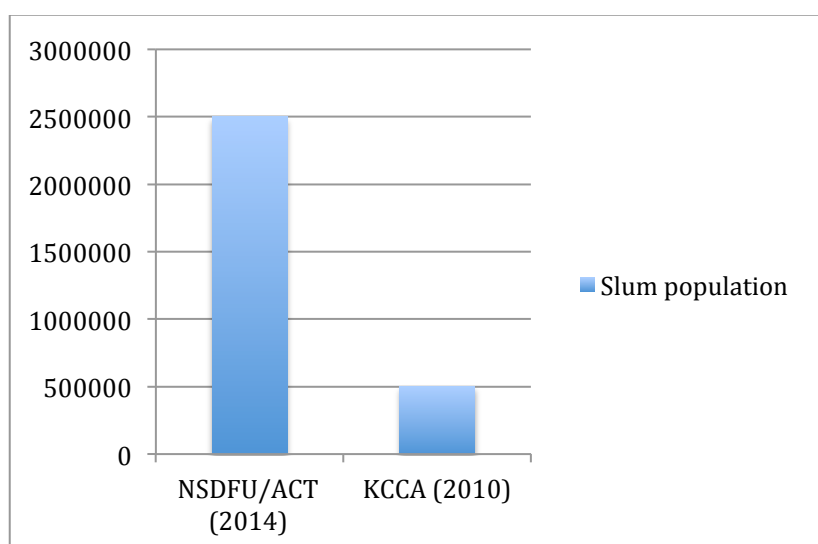
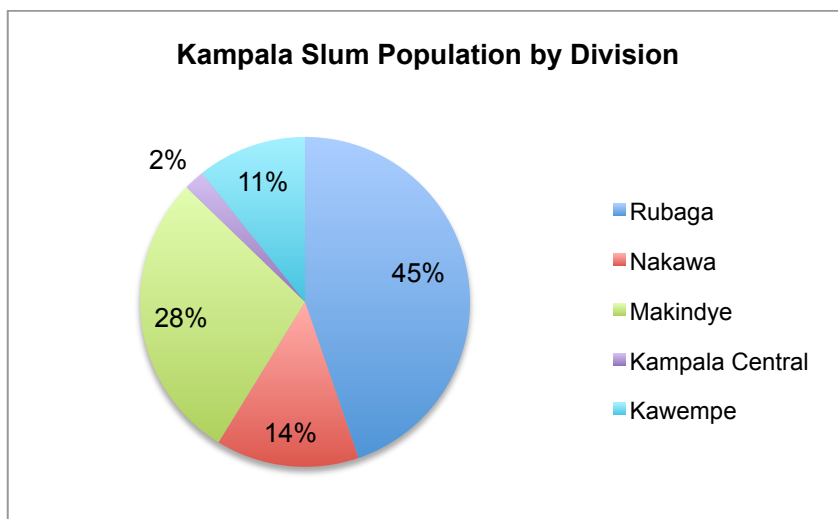


Figure 6: Slum population in Kampala



In Rubaga, 230,000 families are living in slum settlements; the average family size is 5.3; and the total population in slums is 1.1 million. In Nakawa, there are approximately 67,000 families in slums; the average family size is 5.4; and the total population in slums is 350,000. In Makindye, there are approximately 200,000 families in slums; the average family size is 5; and the total population in slums is 700,000. In Kampala Central, there are approximately 9,076 families in slums; the average family size is 5.6; and the total population in slums is 50,000. In Kawempe, there are approximately 59,000 families in slums; the average family size is 5.1; and the total population in slums is 266,000.

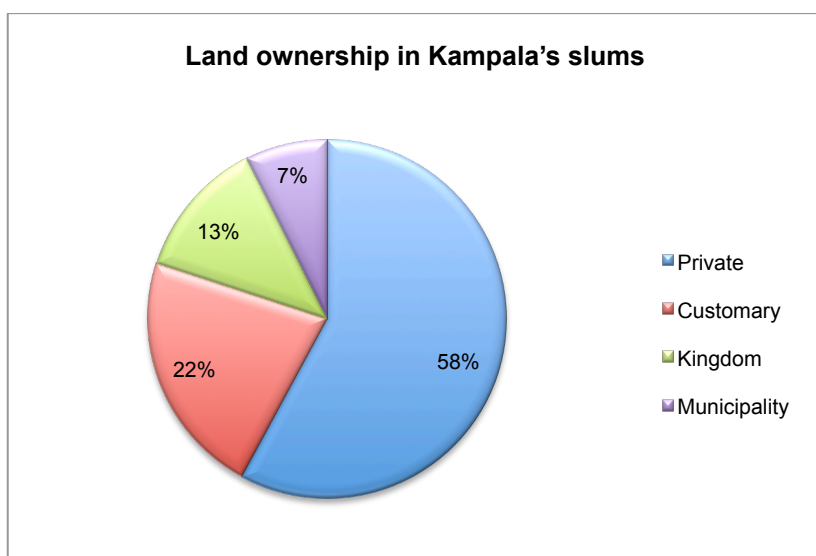
Figure 7: Slum population by Division



Land Findings

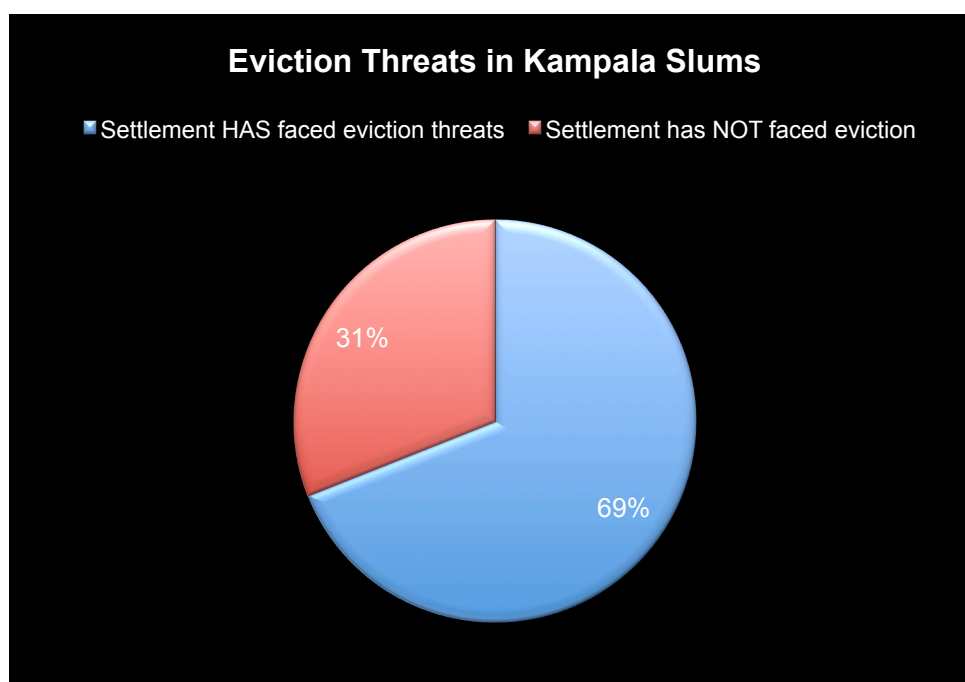
Initial findings suggest that 55% of land in slums is privately owned (Division breakdown: Rubaga 33%, Nakawa 80%, Makindye 30%, Kampala Central 66%, Kawempe 64%); 21% is held under customary ownership (Division breakdown: Rubaga 33%, Nakawa 0%, Makindye 9%, Kampala Central 28%, Kawempe 34%); 12% is owned by the Kingdom (Division breakdown: Rubaga 26%, Nakawa 3%, Makindye 31%, Kampala Central 0%, Kawempe 1%); and 7% is owned by the municipality (Division breakdown: Rubaga 8%, Nakawa 10%, Makindye 10%, Kampala Central 6%, Kawempe less than 1%).

Figure 8: Land ownership in Kampala's slums



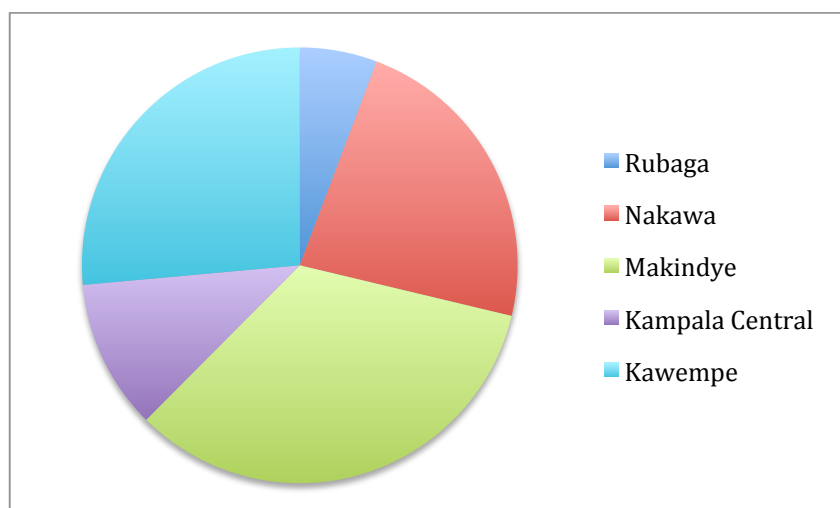
Sixty-nine percent of slum settlements have faced eviction threats, according to residents. (Division breakdown: Rubaga 46%, Nakawa 60%, Makindye 88%, Kampala Central 57%, Kawempe 69%).

Figure 9: Eviction threats in Kampala's slums



Of the 58 slum settlements surveyed, 52% presently face the threat of eviction (Division breakdown: Rubaga 15%, Nakawa 60%, Makindye 88%, Kampala Central 29%, Kawempe 69%), and 25% of these are report the seriousness of the threat to be high (Division breakdown: Rubaga 15%, Nakawa 60%, Makindye 88%, Kampala Central 29%, Kawempe 69%).

Figure 10: Percentage of total eviction threats from each Division in Kampala



The 32 settlements facing a high eviction threat contain approximately 1.5 million residents (Division breakdown: Rubaga 524,000, Nakawa 148,000, Makindye 633,000, Kampala Central 14,400, Kawempe 171,500).

Sanitation Data

Initial findings suggest that of the 870,000 private water taps in Kampala's slum settlements, 40% are not working. Those that are working across the five divisions are, Rubaga 859, 235 taps of which 66% are working; and 351 community taps, of which 40% are working. Nakawa 2,600 private taps, of which 66% are working, and 43 community taps of which 10% are working. Makindye 3,114 private water taps, of which 24% are working, and 8 community taps, of which 3% are working. Kampala Central 936 private taps, of which 55% are working, and 184 community taps, of which 52% are working. Kawempe 1,359 taps of which 76% are working, and 563 taps, of which 59% are working.

Of the 1,150 community water taps, approximately 33% are working. The average expenditure on water per month is 29,000 UGX (\$12). Division breakdown: Rubaga average, 34,462; Nakawa average, 34,400; Makindye average, 24,375; Kampala Central, 26,000; Kawempe average, 29,105.

Initial findings suggest that 82% of settlements are connected to mains water (Division breakdown: Rubaga, 92%; Nakawa 80%; Makindye 69%; Kampala Central, 71%; Kawempe 100%).

It suggests that 25% of slum settlements have a sewer line in their settlement (Division breakdown: Rubaga 59%; Nakawa 0%; Makindye 31%; Kampala Central 86%; Kawempe 25%).

It suggests 82% of slum settlements report to pay for toilets (Division breakdown: Rubaga, 62%; Nakawa, 100%; Makindye 88%; Kampala Central 100%; Kawempe 63%). The most common payment is 200 shillings per use.

The findings suggest that open defecations prevalence is approximately 18% in Kampala's slum settlements (Rubaga 28%; Nakawa 11%; Makindye 21%; Kampala Central 14%; Kawempe 14%).

4.2 Ownership of knowledge

There is a big difference between data that is collected by government, consultants, and academics and that – like the above – which is collected by organized communities. The table below highlights some broad generalizations of the difference as informed by our experience.

Figure 11: Comparative advantages of community-generated data

Data collected by communities	Data collected by others
The data remains 'alive' in the community	The data is analyzed in complex ways and is rarely returned to the community
The data contributed to a realignment of power between the community and the authorities	The data reinforces the power of those outside of the community and the gap between their knowledge and that of the community
The process of data gathering organizes communities in a way that facilitates productive engagement with other urban development stakeholders (esp. government)	Has no impact on community organization
Generates a dialogue on planning at the community level	Generates a dialogue in professional/academic circles
Is often more comprehensive owing to improved access to those in informal settlements and is a product of dialogue which reduces misinformation	Often relies on samples and is prone to misinformation from communities (whether because of community strategy or suspicion)

The following two accounts from women in the federation highlight the ownership of information that NSDFU members feel and the empowerment that results.³

Edith Samia
Slum dwellers from Jinja

I have also been on the enumeration team. That report has enabled us to come up with many projects: a sanitation unit in Masese, street lighting in Masese, a sanitation unit at Ripon, a stone-pitched drain in Rubaga, street lighting in Mpumudde, and electricity extension to Kawama. It has also helped us to make other proposals which are there. It has also enabled me to partner with our municipality and sit on the Municipal Development Forum executive committee. Here we can encourage even other communities to come up with projects and proposals. Our enumerations have also helped us to fight eviction in Kikaramoja. Through our efforts, we have also managed to move from the municipality to go to the neighboring town councils. We want to preach the gospel of our savings there as they are also facing the same challenges as us (Edith Samia).

Sarah Nambozo
Slum dweller from Mbale.

At the savings scheme I started as a collector. At the region I became a facilitator for enumeration and profiling. At the regional level we had a city-wide enumeration and I

³ Both accounts were taken from 10 Years of Okwegatta: A History of the National Slum Dwellers Federation of Uganda (NSDFU) Narrated by Members
www.sdinet.org/media/upload/documents/10YearsofOwegatta_opt.pdf

lead the process. We did that very well because we had sensitized the community very well. We saw that the data we gathered would help us as the community and also the authorities. The census the government carries does not cover all the things we need to cover. For example, the land tenure information is a very useful thing. We managed to collect all the data and after collecting we had to verify it in the community and then enter it into the computer ourselves and now we can update it.

As a community we had to know our data so we could fight for the issues important to us and we can plan with the information. In federation we say that “Information is Power.” We have to have that information on our fingertips so we can lobby and advocate for our services. We had to come up with a concrete report of our data, which can assist all of us – communities and municipalities – to assist us in planning and budgeting. We came up with the report and we asked the municipality to authorize it and say it is correct and that it will be used. From there council accepted and we have been working together to use the information. Council started recognizing the community as a key stakeholder in planning systems.

In collecting all this data we all had to do mapping which shows structures on the ground. We also did numbering of all structures. When you come to our office now you can come and get information on a person and his house number and it is an address system. After doing that all we came to know our challenges as a community and we began to negotiate better. Now we make proposals for our own projects and we take them to the Municipal Forum. We have a Community Upgrading Fund (CUF) at the municipality so then the proposals can go to the CUF Board for approval (Sarah Nambozo).

4.3 Negotiation and partnerships

“We are the ones making them plan for slums.”

Michael Kasede, NSDFU member.

As indicated by the testimonies above, comprehensive data that is owned by communities is used as the foundation of negotiations between slum dwellers and local government. As Michael Kasede, federation member from Jinja, noted, “We are the ones making them [council] plan for slums.”

Inclusive urban planning requires two key ingredients: 1) spaces for engagement between all urban development stakeholders – especially the urban poor; and 2) organizational capacity within communities of the urban poor so that their voices can be most efficiently and effectively communicated. We have already shown how the NSDFU organize and gather information. Now we will look at the spaces for engagement.

In the formulation of the Government of Uganda’s, Cities Alliance funded, Transforming Settlements of the Urban Poor in Uganda (TSUPU) program, the federation was able to work in partnership with national and municipal government to formulate the guiding documents and implementation strategies for these vital spaces for engagement between council and communities. Municipal Development Forums were launched in each of the participating secondary cities in 2010. Though there are still challenges with the implementation of the forum – ensuring they are convened regularly, that politics does not disrupt business, and that resources are available to host the forums and implement

resolutions – there is consensus locally that they are useful for participatory planning. The mayor of Jinja, acknowledging the principle challenge of implementation of plans and policies, noted that the forums are a vehicle that must be exploited fully: “We need to move hand-in-hand at the time of *planning* then the communities will implement, but if you come to them with your plans after you made them they will not.”

The municipal planner of Jinja sums up the contribution of the federation to the forums: “The federation engages us, challenges us, and they make proposals. Sometimes they bring in good new ideas that have come from their partnerships.” The forums have the potential to harmonize the efforts of different players in the municipality and the different departments without council. They also have the potential to improve information flow and build greater trust. The Jinja CDO remarks that, “In the forums, trust is created because issues are made clear and suspicions and rumors are kept at bay. Issues are clarified at the forum, which is a platform for dissatisfaction to be addressed.” The importance of trust in the planning and upgrading work of council cannot be overstated. Communities of the urban poor in Uganda have become very suspicious of development initiatives, given a history of eviction, land-grabbing, and corrupt governance.

The experience in the TSUPU program convinced the NSDFU that municipal forums should be launched in Kampala. This year the federation and its support NGO, ACTogether Uganda brought together all the mayors and town clerks of Kampala as well as top officials from KCCA. At the meeting the stakeholders agreed to launch the forums in Kampala in March 2014. These municipal forums can be seen to embody the kind of empowered participatory planning and governance detailed by the likes of Fung and Wright (2003).

5. Example from abroad

Though these spaces are only just emerging in Uganda, examples from outside of Uganda highlight their potential for institutionalized participatory planning. One example is the Community Boards of New York City. The Community Boards began as Community Planning Councils in 1951 to facilitate communication between the government and local communities. In New York, each of the 59 community districts has a Community Board. The board is comprised of 50 volunteers “residence, business, professional or other significant interest in the district.” The boards meet monthly and transact business publically. Each board has approximately 10 committees (aligned to specific city agencies and/or thematic areas).

The boards use local knowledge to advise⁴ city agencies on:

- 1) Budget preparation (according to a Statement of District Needs prepared by the board)
- 2) Land use issues (particularly when it comes to zoning changes)
- 3) Capital projects in the district

Community board veteran, Rob Witherwax, summarizes the role of community boards as follows:⁵

Community Boards are an essential two-way communication link between the city and its citizens. The city uses the Boards both to convey important information to the citizens, and to listen to what those citizens think. The Boards’ assessment of their District carries weight with city agencies and elected officials (city, state, and federal) because the Boards are the officially sanctioned ‘eyes and ears on the street’.

He suggests that the members of the board should be:

“...above reproach. They hold amateur, as opposed to professional, status in the world of city politics. Their judgment as unsalaried appointees should be less suspect for ulterior motives or political posturing, than salaried, elected officials in similar circumstances would be. Members should not call this amateur status into question by pushing their financial self-interest or advancing their political careers.

Most members should be relatively **ordinary**: their primary expertise should arise from their daily life and exposure to their community. They should spot hyper-local social problems. [If the] entire Board should not be technocrats and policy wonks: the ordinariness gets lost.”

The NSDFU, ACTogether and partners believe the Kampala forums have the potential to serve this role in Uganda and support a participatory agenda by creating the space for communities to engage KCCA substantively. For the federation this means bringing their enumeration and profiling information, discussing it with relevant stakeholders, and jointly planning upgrading initiatives.

⁴ The city agency has decision making power. The boards role is advisory only.

⁵ Rob Witherwax quotes sourced from <http://prospectheights.patch.com/>

Just as the community boards of New York have not been perfect – sometimes plagued by a lack of expertise, conflicts of interest, poor participation etc. – so too will the Uganda forums face challenges. The point, however, is for citizens to have clear mechanisms for engaging in the planning process

6. Expanding the strategy in Kampala

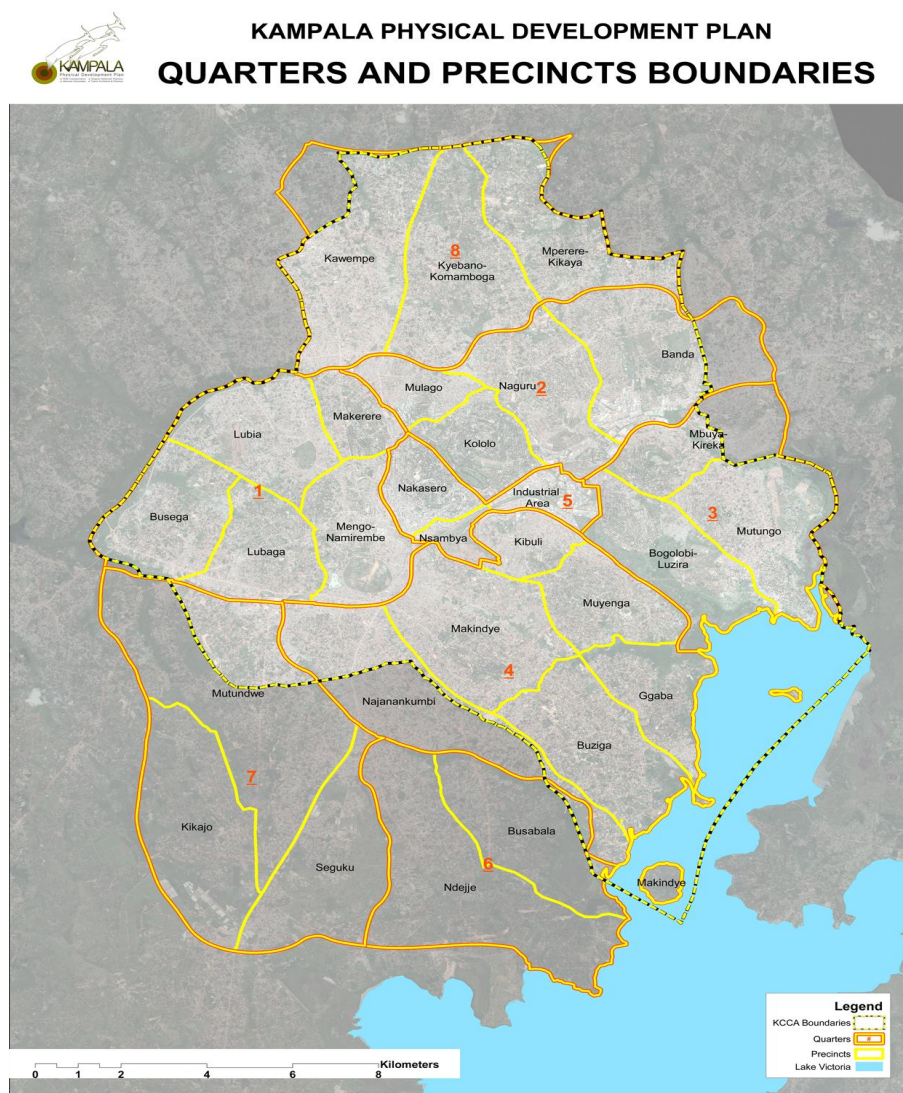
In this, the final section, we will propose the strategy developed and tested by the NSDFU and ACTogether can be expanded in Kampala in the following ways.

- 1) City-wide slum profiling of Kampala will generate information on Kampala's informal settlements that has never before been available
- 2) Municipal Forums in Kampala will enable slum dwellers to bring this invaluable information to the citizens of each division so they can engage substantively on development plans
- 3) Through negotiation and partnership, precinct/neighborhood development plans (PPDPs) can be developed that are rooted in on-the-ground realities and are understood and supported by communities
- 4) The comparative advantages of different players can be identified in the forums and external expertise and funds leveraged by the partners where need arises

We have touched upon 1 and 2 in detail. For the approach to have an impact at scale it is important to examine point 3.

The Kampala Physical Development Plan was approved in 2012. In the coming years detailed local development plans will be developed. According to KCCA, Precinct/Neighborhood Physical Development Plans (PPDPs) will be formulated at a scale of 1:2,500 with planning reference. The process of developing these plans is designed to allow for “orderly, coordinated, harmonious, progressive and sustainable development of the area.” The precincts delineated by KCCA are shown below.

Figure 12: Kampala precinct boundaries



It is proposed here that it will be critical for the work of the NSDFU and other organized slum dweller communities to be directed at supporting the development of such plans if Kampala is to bridge the gap between planning and implementation (while promoting inclusivity).

Under the proposed NSDFU strategy, a PPDP development would be informed by:

- 1) Community-led enumeration and profiling data
- 2) Consensus generated in forums (especially related to land use and relocation)
- 3) Negotiation on any deviations from KPDP required
- 4) Planning of community managed public service facilities
- 5) Development of joint action plans

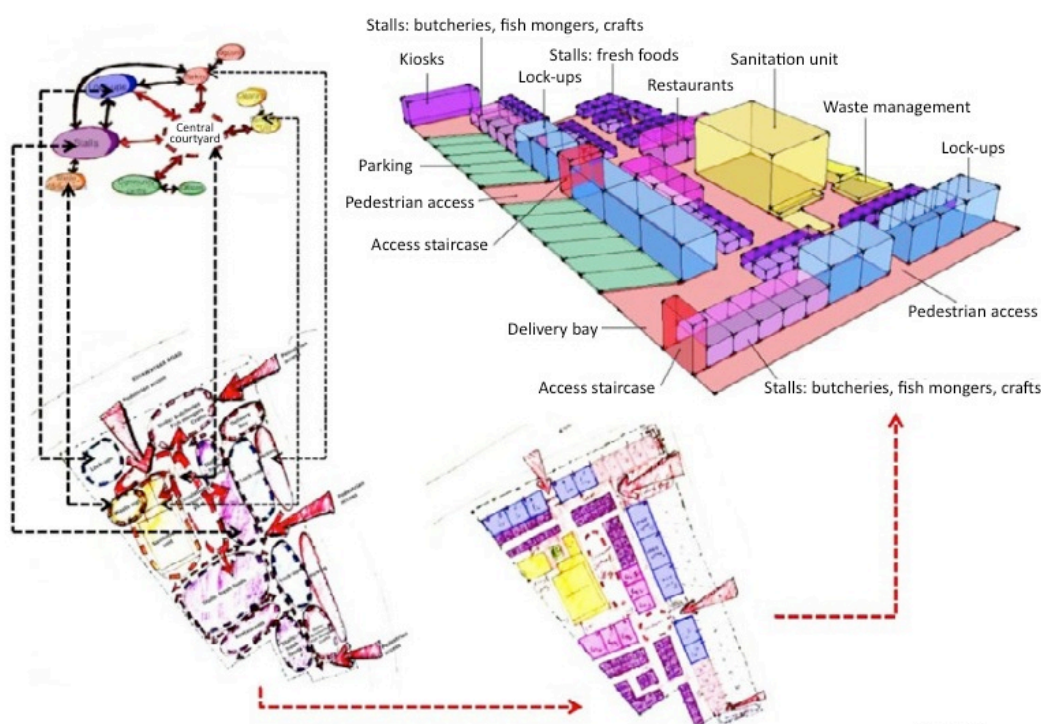
The NSDFU and ACTogether are demonstrating their capacity to be part of such work in many ways, including but not limited to the following ongoing projects planned for two of the slums prioritized by KCCA for redevelopment: Kisenyi and Kinawataka. These could be the first step in the incremental upgrading of

6.1 Kinawataka Market Upgrading Project

Kinawataka is an informal settlement in Mbuya 1 – Nakawa Division. It is situated in the eastern part of Kampala and its name is said to have been inspired by the muddy nature of the settlement during the rainy season. The settlement is approximately 150 acres and is located close to the main railway line. The settlement is plagued by inadequate housing, rampant crime, and high unemployment. Most residents eek out a living in the informal market. For more than 20 years, Kinawataka market (located off the Kampala-Jinja highway) has served the local communities of Mbuya, Kinawataka, and some part of Banda. The market was known for being the arrival point of fresh produce from Eastern Uganda. The market contains over 100 small business premises, ranging from permanent lock ups (made of brick and iron sheets), to temporary stalls made of wood and iron sheets or tarpaulin.

In partnership with the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development, KCCA, and local and international universities, ACTogether and the NSDFU have spearheaded the development of plans to upgrade the Kinawataka Market. The project seeks to upgrade the market in situ and improve the livelihoods of the present vendors. It seeks to develop an alternative to eviction, through organizing the urban poor and partnering with local and national government to plan and executive upgrading. The project will create social space and promote the retention and growth of existing businesses. The project seeks to demonstrate that authentic community organization can overcome many of the challenges that have impeded market development in Uganda to date: namely, politics, land wrangles, and over-priced solutions.

Figure 13: Conceptual drawings Kinawataka





(NTNU 2013)

ACTogether and the NSDFU have supported the partners to:

- 1) Organize the community
- 2) Enumerate a profile the area
- 3) Open up the boundaries
- 4) Survey the land
- 5) Begin the titling and zoning process
- 6) Conduct peer-to-peer exchanges to the Indian federation
- 7) Draw preliminary designs
- 8) Recruit an architectural firm to undertake a detailed feasibility

6.2 Kisenyi III Housing Project

Kisenyi is part of Kampala Central Division - one of the city's five divisions. Each division is made up of administrative units called parishes. The Kisenyi slum occupies three of the division's seven parishes. Being so close to the Central Business District (CBD), Kisenyi sits on potentially prime real estate land. For this reason the slum faces tremendous market pressure and is consequently gentrifying at an alarming rate for the urban poor. As small parcels of the slum are bought out and re-developed, the residents, many who are the reason for the CBD's colorful and vibrant informal economy, are being pushed out.

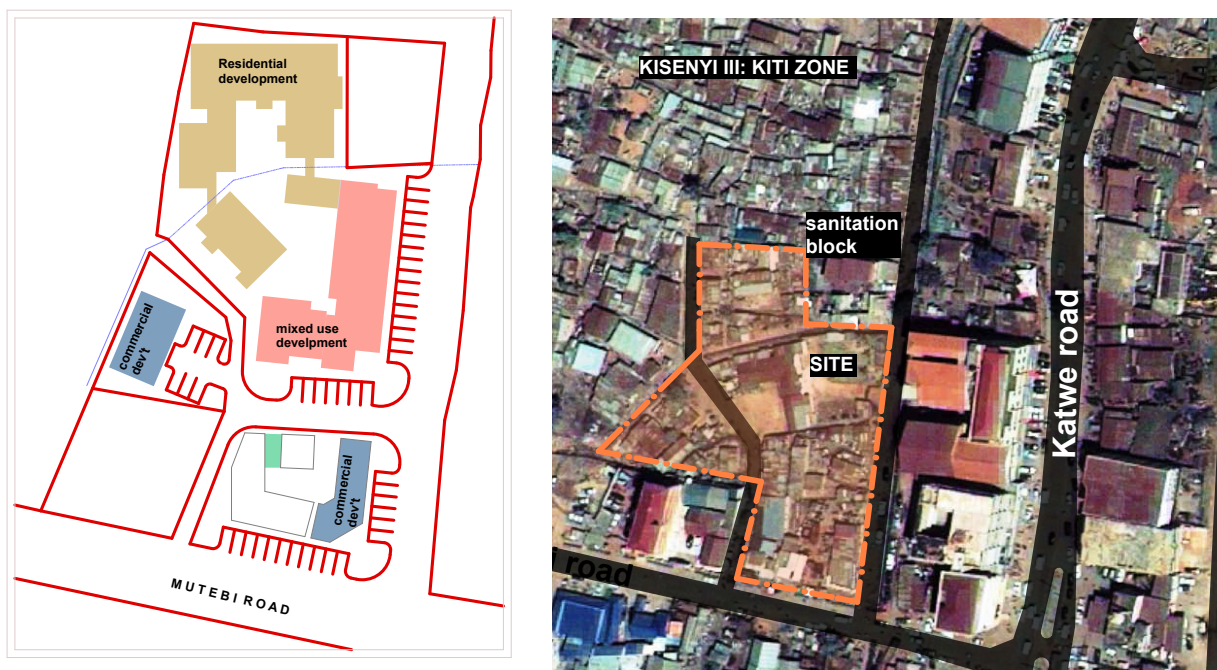
In view of the intricate, and indeed, direct relationship between the location of Kisenyi and the livelihoods of its residents, NSDFU's strategy is built to achieve an in situ solution. Following enumerations in 2004, NSDFU entered an agreement with the Kampala City Council and a local landowner to facilitate the transfer of land to Kisenyi's residents. In this agreement the residents and council would pool funds to buy out the landowners. As a result of this agreement, one parcel of land was acquired and a community sanitation and meeting facility was constructed to increase sanitation services in this desperately underserved community and also provide an income stream for federation members.

At the settlement-level, NSDFU and ACT has been engaged in negotiation with both residents and landowners. A current agreement reached for a parcel of land in Kisenyi III will lead to the development of a commercial and residential complex shared between the landowner and the residents. The landowner, an elderly gentleman, has resided in the

settlement with his family for over 50 years. He has not been able to reap full benefit from his increasingly valuable land because of the large number of tenants living on it. An important part of the negotiation process with this landowner was an SDI exchange to India where the local federation has considerable experience with land-sharing projects. The exchange helped both the landowner and the federation to understand the intricacies of land-sharing better. To build a coalition of support for the initiative, the federation also invited Kampala City officials, the Minister of Lands, Housing, and Urban Development, as well as Uganda's Commissioner for Urban Development.

For this project negotiation at the community-level between structure owners and tenants has been challenging. Structure owners can be found in most slum settlements and can prove very resistant to upgrading initiatives as they are often viewed as an attack on their livelihoods. These individuals do not own land, but have come to have rights over structures built on the land and thus the rents coming from residents. NSDFU has worked with partners from within the SDI network as well as students from local and international universities to facilitate the dreaming and modeling process amongst these interests as means of using design to compensate structure owners. Together they conducted a detailed enumeration of the land in question to identify not only the structure owners and tenants, but the commercial composition, affordability constraints, and linkages to the surrounding city. The community and students were able to propose an incremental, storied building with a small footprint that can accommodate the number of households presently on the said land on a much smaller parcel, enabling them to generate public and commercial space.

Figure 14: Preliminary designs Kisenyi



(DeZyn Forum 2013)

Again, in Kisenyi; ACTogether and the NSDFU have supported the partners to:

- 1) Organize the community
- 2) Enumerate a profile the area

- 3) Open up the boundaries
- 4) Survey the land
- 5) Negotiated with a land owner to avail his land for the project
- 6) Conduct peer-to-peer exchanges to the Indian federation
- 7) Draw preliminary designs for a mixed use development
- 8) Recruit an architectural firm to undertake a detailed feasibility

Conclusion

We have shown that a new form of participatory planning and governance is emerging in Uganda with tremendous potential for improving the implementation, inclusiveness, and responsiveness of urban planning. This kind of collaborative planning, as Watson (2014) suggests, goes beyond merely the debates required to shape plans, and extends community participation into the realm of delivery, implementation and management. The comparative competency advantages of communities and government are exploited for greater efficiency and scalability. It is argued here that there exists tremendous potential for the newly established KCCA to transform the way planning is managed at the city level and build an inclusive and prosperous Kampala.

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