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Evolution of Town Planning Ideas, Plans and their Implementation in Kampala City 1903-2004

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ABSTRACT

Title: *Evolution of Town Planning Ideas, Plans and their Implementation in Kampala City 1903-2004*

Through a descriptive and exploratory approach, and by review and deduction of archival and documentary resources, supplemented by empirical evidence from case studies, this thesis traces, analyses and describes the historic trajectory of planning events in Kampala City, Uganda, since the inception of modern town planning in 1903, and runs through the various planning episodes of 1912, 1919, 1930, 1951, 1972 and 1994. The planning ideas at interplay in each planning period and their expression in planning schemes vis-à-vis spatial outcomes form the major focus.

The study results show the existence of two distinct landscapes; Mengo for the Native Baganda peoples and Kampala for the Europeans, a dualism that existed for much of the period before 1968. Modern town planning was particularly applied to the colonial city while the native city grew with little attempts to planning. Four main ideas are identified as having informed planning and transformed Kampala – first, the utopian ideals of the century; secondly, "the mosquito theory" and the general health concern and fear of catching 'native' diseases – malaria and plague; thirdly, racial segregation and fourth, an influx of migrant labour into Kampala City, and attempts to meet an expanding urban need in the immediate post war years and after independence in 1962 saw the transfer and/or the transposition of the modernist and in particular, of the new towns planning ideas – which were particularly expressed in the plans of 1963-1968 by the United Nations Planning Mission. The post-independence era also saw the various ideas articulated under traditional land use and zoning practices especially expressed in the 1972 and 1994 plans.

While a great deal of planning work has been done in both the colonial and postcolonial eras, findings on ground show that almost all planning ideas expressed in the colonial planning schemes of Kampala City in 1912, 1919, 1930 and 1951 have had physical impact on the spatial structure of Kampala City compared to any period after independence. The postcolonial era experienced little application and implementation of the planning ideas and plans. This is attributed to several factors including: governance issues, lack of financial resources and manpower, the complicated land tenure systems emerging from 1900 Buganda agreement, lack of political commitment, and importation of foreign models without reorienting them to the local context, and so forth.

The study concludes by highlighting some of the reflections and the implications for future planning, considerations which perhaps may be useful for the planners of tomorrow and may influence the development of planning policy and perhaps 'new' planning approaches.

Key words: planning, planning ideas, implementation, colonial, postcolonial

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

CBD	Central Business District
CEDAT	College of Engineering Design, Art and Technology
DAPCB	Departed Asians Property Custodian Board
DTCP	Department of Town and Country Planning
DTP	Department of Town Planning
DTRP	Department of Town and Regional Planning
GKA	Greater Kampala Area
KCC	Kampala City Council
KMR	Kampala Mengo Region
KMRPS	Kampala Mengo Regional Planning Studies
KMUPM	Kampala Mengo Urban Planning Mission
KTH	Royal Institute of Technology, Stockholm
LPA	Local Planning Authority
MA	Metropolitan Area
PPD	Physical Planning Department
RPAA	Regional Planning Association of America
UN	United Nations
UIPP	Uganda Institute of Physical Planners
UK	United Kingdom
UNRPM	United Nations Regional Planning Mission
USAID	United States Agency for International development
WWI	World War I
WWII	World War II

PREFACE

This thesis is prepared with several objects in mind. In the first place I have endeavoured to bring together and set down in a popular form some facts of historical development of planning and planning ideas in both colonial and post-colonial times, which otherwise owing to the inadequate research in this field, complicated by the lack of a meaningful planning database and/or the lack of organised archiving systems and archives, may soon be lost forever. At the same time it occurred to me that several accounts of planning, the organization and transformation of Kampala and of the native city popularly known as the *Kibuga*, especially before the advent of, and during European colonization might as well be of interest to the readers.

On the key concepts, defining town planning is always a challenge. Planning means different things at different times and in different places (Gleeson and Low, 2000). Planning is also an intricate and constantly evolving concept, which is a reflection of its historical response to prevailing environmental, economic and socio-cultural challenges (Thompson, 2007). In this thesis, I have used the term 'town' planning to describe the activity of planning in totality and is taken to refer also to 'physical planning' as presently used in Uganda, or 'urban' or 'city' planning (as in the United States of America) and also encompasses what in Britain has been traditionally called 'town and country' planning. All the terms 'physical', 'town', 'urban' and 'city' make it clear that the focus of this discipline is the planning of the spatial, built, socio-economic, cultural and political environment, with an ultimate role of defining how land is used. I have used the term 'ideas' to mean a conception of what is desirable or what is thought to be ideal, what is deeply cherished or literally highly valued and which has a bearing on how the quality of the urban environment was envisaged and judged by planners to be of high quality or ideal. Additionally, I have occasionally used the term 'ideologies' to mean a set of ideas that constituted the planners goals, expectations and actions during each planning episode. On the other hand, by using the term 'implementation' I refer to the carrying out, execution, or practice of a plan produced based on specific ideas. As such, implementation is the action on ground that followed any preliminary ideas in order to create the ideal urban environment.

The international planning conferences I attended and participated in were all a source of inspiration. I had the privilege to meet and discuss some aspects of this research with some Great Scholars, who in various ways helped and encouraged me, particularly those I met through the Association of European Schools of Planning (AESOP) conference, 2009; and the International Planning History Society (IPHS) in Istanbul Turkey, where I won two prizes; the IPHS Postgraduate Student Best Paper Prize 2010, and the IPHS Young Researchers' Session Achievement Award in Research 2010.

1. INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Introduction

> *"Among history's imperialists the British were certainly not the greatest builders, but they were the greatest creators of towns. Conquerors since Alexander the Great had seen the strategic and cultural advantages of establishing their own cities across the world, but as the first modern industrial power, Britain was the chief exporter of municipalities and through the agency of her empire broadcast them everywhere. Half the cities of the American East owe their genesis to the British Empire, most of the cities of Canada, many of the cities of Africa, all the cities of Australia and the tremendous city-states of Singapore and Hong Kong. Sporting pastimes apart, and the English language, urbanism was the most lasting of the British Imperial legacies."[1]*

<div align="right">Morris, 1983:196</div>

> *"...Although the past is never completely knowable, it is more knowable than the future ..."*

<div align="right">Gaddis, 2002:65</div>

The history of towns and town planning in the most rapidly urbanizing parts of the world is still a relatively neglected topic. According to Home (1997), the growing body of academic work on planning history, nourished by networks such as the International Planning History Society, still deals mostly with Europe and North America, and is limited in the Third World Cities. Hall suggests that what can make history worth writing, and what can make some history worth reading is the understanding of all the multifarious ways in which cities have evolved. The process of learning and understanding the background and growth of a city can offer insight into origins, growth, theories, personalities, crisis, organizational culture, current trends, and future possibilities (Hall, 1998:5). While the history of planning and the built environment in western cities particularly in Europe and North America is relatively well researched, comparable studies of Ugandan towns including Kampala the major city is still limited. Tracing the historic trajectory of planning ideas has virtually never been done and the result is an enormous knowledge gap, which this study hopes to fill as

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[1] See for example Robert Home (1997)

well as make a contribution to the study of evolution and practice of physical planning in Uganda, with particular reference to Kampala.

Research Background and Context

Before the colonization of Uganda, areas of high human settlement concentration in central Uganda and Buganda in particular, which could by definition be equated to contemporary urban areas were only limited around kings and chiefs' palaces. In the pre-colonial African town or city (*kibuga*), the urban unit was a centre not only of population, but of governance, commerce, religion, military and the arts. Hull (1976) calls it a place which acted as a cultural transmitter as well as an attraction pole. These nuclei settlements and their location around the king's palaces are attributed to the fact that all political power in Buganda and other kingdoms was vested in the king who had a government formed by chiefs (Van Nostrand, 1994). Decisions regarding the organization of the *Kibuga*[2] were made by the *Kabaka*[3] and the chiefs. The city was organized on the basis of the Kabaka's interests and priorities, with focus on defence, residential houses for the wives of the polygamous king and accommodation for the chiefs and peasants whose task was *inter alia,* to build the city.

'Modern' town planning in Kampala is only traced from the inception of the British colonial government in Uganda (Lwasa, 2006:22) particularly after the enactment of the town and Country Planning Ordinance of 1903. The demands of colonial management, as well as the new technologies of the Industrial Revolution had created the need for new occupational roles in handling colonial affairs and accordingly, the setting of settlements and/or cities that would serve as headquarters for colonial administration overseas (Curtin, 1985:594). Byerley (2005) a Swedish scholar and Lefebvre (1991), a French sociologist, intellectual and philosopher, in their writings about production of space in Uganda, submit that the Protectorate's townships (principally Entebbe, Kampala, Jinja and Mbale) came to represent the 'nodes' of colonial administration from which the surrounding territories could be placed under the colonial gaze and made to resonate together as an ensemble, albeit a trifurcated ensemble.

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[2] Kibuga means City in Luganda language, a language spoken by the Baganda, the people of the Kingdom of Buganda
[3] Kabaka is the title of the King of the Kingdom of Buganda

Like in Europe, new professions particularly civil engineering, planning and public health in the 19th century, took centre stage in shaping the key Ugandan cities. Meanwhile, new currents in European thought about urban planning flourished in these same years – the key period for city planning in Africa (Curtin, 1985:594), when colonial capitals were either founded or redesigned. Concomitant with this development was the crystallization of a set of ideas and propositions that bore the set of an ideology – the planning Ideology (Njoh, 2007:167).

After the declaration of Uganda as a British Protectorate, the enactment of the Uganda Townships Ordinance of 1903, brought about the first town plan for Kampala of 1912 (Kendall, 1955), and the subsequent development plans of 1919, 1930, 1951, 1972 and 1994 respectively, which gave specific and broad outlines on how Kampala should develop. The various planning ideas at interplay during each planning episode provide an excellent backdrop against which to understand and evaluate colonial and post-colonial town planning as well as the means and the ends of town planning. Although the British development in Uganda can be traced back to the early days of their arrival, and an Advisory Planning Board existed as far back as 1918, Kampala city, a legacy from the colonial past has remained almost unstudied. Scholars and analysts have largely neglected this important subject in the assessment of planning of one of East Africa's major cities – Kampala. There is no explicit and detailed explanation, description and narrative of the ideas, values and/or ideologies that informed planning at each epoch and how these ideas, if implemented, have given physical expression in colonial and postcolonial Kampala. These issues therefore express epistemological concern of understanding the chronological and sequential evolution – the ideas behind planning at each period and their implementation vis-à-vis spatial outcomes since 1903 to 2004, which this study aims to achieve.

Research Objective and questions

The objective of this study is to analyse and describe the evolution of town planning of Kampala from 1903 to 2004. The following two research questions make up the focus of this thesis: What ideas informed the planning of Kampala in the colonial and post-colonial era? How and where were the planning ideas given physical representation in Kampala's urban space?

<u>Delimitations</u>

The ideas behind planning and the preparation of planning schemes at each stage form a better understanding of the chronological processes of planning and the analysis of how the ideas (in plans) have a bearing on the physical development of Kampala. This study focuses on the general structure/master plans (outline schemes), although something about the detailed plans (local plans) is also touched upon.

Originally, my interest was to also examine the institutional frameworks within which the planning ideas were conceived, and above all, implemented since 1903. However, I found the scope to be so broad and would require twice as much time to be able to complete.

Since this study focuses on two distinct time frames– the colonial and post-colonial eras, it is important to note that for the colonial era, the study is limited to the colonial capital of Kampala and in the latter era the study focuses on the broader geographical space of the politically independent Kampala, encompassing the indigenous capital at Mengo – the *Kibuga*. The areas of Kololo and Nakasero (European settlement), the Central Business District (commercial bazaar), Kamwokya (Asian settlement) and the "African quarters" of Naguru and Nakawa are selected for in depth analysis.

The time boundaries for this study have been broadly defined to the 20th century and the first four years of the 21st century. The period studied starts from the first physical planning episode in the Protectorates headquarters in Kampala – the enactment of the Town Planning Ordinance of 1903 and proceeds to the last planning episode of the century – the Kampala structure plan of 1994 whose plan epoch goes into the 21st century (2004).

<u>Why focus on the evolution of planning ideas?</u>

Since this study is a scholarly investigation, intended to reveal and create new knowledge, it is important to point out that research on the historical development of urban planning in Uganda has been neglected by scholars for quite some time. I must also admit that throughout my training as an urban planner, the university curriculum taught and the literature presented concentrated on planning in the United Kingdom and Europe in general,

and had virtually nothing to do with how planning and planning ideas evolved in Uganda, let alone in Kampala city, the country's capital.

Additionally, the most recent research on 'planning' in Kampala was done by Lwasa (2006) who focused on *Informal Land Markets and Residential Housing Development in Kampala: Processes and Implications to Planning* and Koojo (2005), who studied the *Implementation of Physical Plans with Reference to Wetland Land use in Kampala city,* respectively. These researchers had different focuses and do not delve into the historical development of planning ideas that may have influenced preparation of plans at each period, and that may have had an impact on the physical spatial urban development of Kampala. This study anticipates filling the knowledge gaps left behind by previous researchers, thereby contributing to knowledge that may perhaps form the basis of policy for urban and regional planning in Uganda.

It is also important to mention that some of the persons who took part in the planning of Kampala in the various epochs particularly after independence are still alive and in the 'evening' of their lives. This was seen as a blessing in disguise as a study of this nature would benefit greatly from oral testimonies from these persons, with lots of experience in the actual planning of Kampala.

Choice of Kampala

The choice of Kampala was motivated by the fact that it was the first urban area in Uganda to be planned during the colonial era. To date, eight physical plans have been prepared for Kampala since the planning evolved but not much is known about the ideas that informed the planning at each period, and the resultant spatial imprint. The information available is scanty and in danger of getting lost. A few reports by anthropologists: Gutkind 1960 and Southall 1968; and geographers, planners and scholars like Kendall 1955; Mirams 1930; Lwasa, 2006; and Koojo 2005 provide a starting point. Kampala therefore, as a contextual case reflects the actual research problem that must be studied.

Kampala is the administrative and commercial capital city of Uganda, situated 0 15° and 32 30° E and covers approximately 195 square kilometres. It is situated 8 kilometres on the northern shores of Lake Victoria with its centre located approximately 45 kilometres north of the equator. Kampala is bordered by Wakiso District to the North, East, West and South- West, while Lake Victoria is in the South East. Initially covering seven planned hills (Gutkind, 1960), the city later expanded and now stands on twenty four hills with average altitude of 3,910ft (1120m) above sea level, steeper upper sages, merging into undulating slopes ending into broad shallow valleys. Kampala is also defined and structured by the extensive papyrus swamps, and perennial streams/ channels. Kampala was gazetted as a township in 1902 and was granted Municipal status in 1950, when a Council was appointed with a Mayor as its head. Kampala became a city by the Royal Charter of 28th September 1962. Kampala city is a District under the Decentralization Act 1997 and has five political and administrative divisions (municipalities) namely; Central, Nakawa, Kawempe, Rubaga and Makindye. At the administrative and Management level, the Capital City is with effect from March 2011 headed by the Executive Director (financial officer), who is directly appointed by the President of the Republic of Uganda. Politically, Kampala City is headed by the Lord

Figure 1-1: Administrative Units of Kampala and its Location in Uganda (Source: Kampala City Council, 2007)

Mayor (ceremonial position), who presides over the Council that makes political decisions of the district.

Thesis Structure

This thesis is monograph. However, three papers containing empirical data previously published as peer reviewed articles are presented in the annexes.

The thesis consists of eight chapters. Chapter one presents a general introduction and background to the Study, and introduces the research problem, research questions and delimitation of the study, justification and significance of the study. This chapter also introduces the study area, both in terms of the location context and reasons for its choice. The second chapter presents methodological processes within which this study is conceived and executed. Both historical and case study strategies are presented as appropriate research strategy. Chapter three presents the theoretical framework on the evolution of physical planning and planning ideas in Sub-Saharan Africa and highlights the major influences during the various episodes. Chapter four presents the general overview of Kampala – the City in transition with focus on evolution, growth and transformation; the organisation of the *Kibuga* (native city) in pre-colonial times, an overview of Kampala as the British Uganda Protectorate and its transformation into a City. A brief account of the 1900 Agreement and the evolution of duality are presented together with general remarks on the chronological growth of Kampala from township status in 1902 to City status after independence when the original city boundaries were expanded to include newly annexed areas. Chapter five and six are both thematic and chronologically sequential. The chapters identify major themes, analyse, describe and discuss the evolution of planning of Kampala, traced successively through time, usually overlapping with the next from the colonial and postcolonial eras. Though the chapters explore a number of issues, there is one basic theme that runs throughout. The physical and spatial arrangement of Kampala is a unique product of society, culture, ideas and principles over a period of time, presented in chronological order. The outcomes of the spatial plans over time are yet another area of concern of these chapters. Chapter seven presents emerging issues, synthesis and discussion and the last chapter (eight) presents conclusions, lessons learnt and implications for future planning.

Three papers are contained in appendix VIII. The first paper titled "Planning of Kampala City 1903-1962: The Planning Ideas, Values and their Physical Expression" is published in the Journal of Planning History, and is part of the empirical data obtained in the first phase of this PhD research. The article suggests two major factors including inter alia, the discovery of malaria and the germ theory, the need to reproduce ''European type space'' in Kampala affected planning and consequently, the urban structure of Kampala city in the first half of the twentieth century. The paper is co-authored with Tigran Haas, Inga Britt Werner and Hannington Sengendo, who are all my thesis advisors.

The second and International History of Planning Society (IPHS) Award winning paper is titled "Two Cities in One: The Genesis, Planning and Transformation of Kampala City, 1903-1968" presented at the IPHS conference in Istanbul, 2010. This paper won a double prize – the IPHS Postgraduate Student Best Paper Prize 2010, and the IPHS Young Researchers' Session Achievement Award in Research 2010. The paper although published in the IPHS proceedings was accepted and is due for publication in the Journal of Planning Perspectives, an affiliate of the IPHS. This paper focuses on the transformation of Kampala city from pre-independence and dissects the concept of "two cities in one" as the coexistence of modern and traditional landscapes within a single geographical space, resulting from imperialist policies of the nineteenth century. The article also focuses on town planning ideas at play in the organisation of Kampala's urban landscape since the evolution of territorial and administrative dualism in the late nineteenth century.

The third paper is co-authored by Omolo-Okalebo Fredrick and Sengendo Hannington. The paper titled, "Perspectives on City Planning of Post-independence Kampala: The Emergence of the Metropolitan Growth Model and the Hexagonal Cell," attempts to discuss how metropolitan area growth model and the hexagonal city form that emerged in the early twentieth century and after World War II served as the dominant scholarly and professional response to the development problematic in the metropolitan Kampala. The paper is published in the Conference proceedings of *AET2011: Second International Conference on Advances in Engineering and Technology*, 31st January – 2nd February, 2011, Kampala Uganda, p.64-70.

2. RESEARCH STRATEGY AND METHODOLOGY

This study employed qualitative inquiry approach, which involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials – historical, case study, personal experience, interview, observational, interractional, and visual texts that describe the physical planning moments and outcomes in Kampala. In a broader perspective, qualitative research implies "any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification" (Strauss and Corbin, 1998:17) and instead the kind of research that produces findings arrived at from real-world settings where the phenomena of interest unfold naturally (Patton, 2002).

This study is premised on the argument that ideal planning reform cannot be carried out sustainably and achieved in a historical vacuum. Only by knowing the past, as well as the ideas that informed planning at each epoch, and the outcomes of these ideas, can future improvements be advanced on the physical planning practice. Gaddis for instance says;

> "…but we know these things about the future only from having learned about the past: without it we would have no sense of even these fundamental truths, to say nothing of the words with which to express them....history, in this sense, is all we have." (Gaddis, 2002: 65)

To understand the evolution of physical planning of Kampala and the ideas that led to planning in each planning epoch from 1903 to 2004, calls for the historian's skills to explore in detail and reconstruct the chain of planning events and practices. The choice of historical approach for this study was based on the premise that history seeks to reproduce and interpret concrete events as they actually occurred in time and space, and seeks to find out what actually happened and how it all came about. This study involves telling a story of the evolution and practice of physical planning and studying cases over a period of time from the (pre)colonial through to the first four years of the twentieth century, a process that Leedy (1997:173-177) describes as the gathering of significant historical data and facts about major events, the organization of these facts into a chronological sequence, and the meaningful interpretation of the "patterns

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of rationality" that make historical facts appear meaningful. Throughout this chronological sequence, descriptive, exploratory, explanatory, interpretive, and argumentative or justificatory approaches are used. The aim of using these intertwined approaches was to produce coherent and qualitative integrated accounts of planning events in each epoch.

Research Sources

No one does scholarly work in a vacuum. If you are interested in a particular problem, you naturally want to see what scholars have had to say on that subject. You need to do this because you form views of your own by reacting to what other people say: their arguments provide the framework within which you can at least begin to work out your own answers to basic historical problems (Trachtenberg, 2006). A pilot study was conducted from February to March 2009 and the focus was to explore the possibilities of using the interview method as a primary data collection tool, and also to explore what archival information was actually available. The former could not be easily achieved, since not many people could be accessed for this purpose. On the side of archival search, finding useful archives in Kampala was almost a night mare. A number of archives visited had very limited and in some cases no materials relevant to this study. Pilot work was therefore rewarding since the archives with useful information, although scanty and in some cases scattered were identified.

Much of empirical data contained in this thesis is taken from primary and secondary sources in public or private libraries and/or archives from within and outside Uganda. The secondary data obtained consisted of mainly documents in official and draft or semi published formats in reports covering the colonial and post-colonial eras. Development plans, outline schemes or structure/master plans, photographs and maps of Kampala in the different periods, were obtained from this source. However, obtaining records in Kampala for the post-colonial era, from the 1960s on wards was quite problematic partly due to poor record filing and storage, and destruction of some of the archives during the insurgency and political wars in the country especially in the 1970's.

Figure 2-1: Researcher searching through the Archives for planning documents at the Uganda Publishing and Printing Press. Only four legal documents, one planning document and three annual reports by the Uganda Protectorate (1951-1954) on housing were found after 10 days of going through the piles. (**Source:** Author, March 2008)

Very wary of not finding enough material for this thesis, I contacted some libraries and archives in the United Kingdom. To my advantage, Lucy McCann, Archivist of Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies at Rhodes House, South Parks in Oxford, gave a positive response listing collections available and giving clues on how and where to obtain the materials. I found some reports and telegraphic correspondences between the colonial office and the Governor in Kampala.

I also found a few reports about Kampala in the Colonial Times and the 1960s from the Nordic Africa Institute in Uppsala Sweden, the Anna Lindh Library and the Main Library, both at the Royal Institute of Technology, Stockholm Sweden.

In a desperate search for planning data on Kampala I also contacted Rolf Johansson, a Professor at the then Division of Built Environment Analysis. Rolf led me to meet two Swedish former Architect/Planners who worked in Kampala in the 1960's and presently live in Järna, a suburb in the south of Stockholm, Sweden. The duo - Lars Danielsson and Reidar Persson were so generous and gave up some of their personal copies of documents and archival materials (including: drawings, charts, books, and reports) that were not obtainable from the archives and/or libraries I visited/contacted, not only in Kampala, but also Sweden and the United Kingdom.

To complement historical strategy, the *Case Study Strategy* was used as a means to explore the cases under study. This was done through detailed, in-depth data collection involving triangulation. The cases explored is what Creswell (1998:61) calls a "bounded system", which is

bounded by time and place, and it is the case being studied – a program, an event, an activity or individuals. Since the objectives of this study are to examine the ideas behind planning at each epoch, and to establish the outcomes/implementation of the planning ideas, in colonial and postcolonial Kampala, then the planning ideas and the resultant physical-spatial form are treated as units of analysis. This strategic selection follows Patton's advice that the key factor in selecting and making decisions about the appropriate unit of analysis is to decide what unit it is that you want to say something about at the end of the evaluation (Patton, 1987).

This study, from the nature of the problem investigated, suggested use of an embedded unit of analysis (embedded single case design), which occurs when, the same case study, may involve more than one unit of analysis, and therefore attention is also given to the subunit or subunits.

KAMPALA

PHYSICAL PLANNING

Historical Development

Colonial Era
- Planning Ideas

Post- Colonial Era
- Planning Ideas

Outcomes
- Plans
- Physical-Spatial Form
- Spatial Areas affected
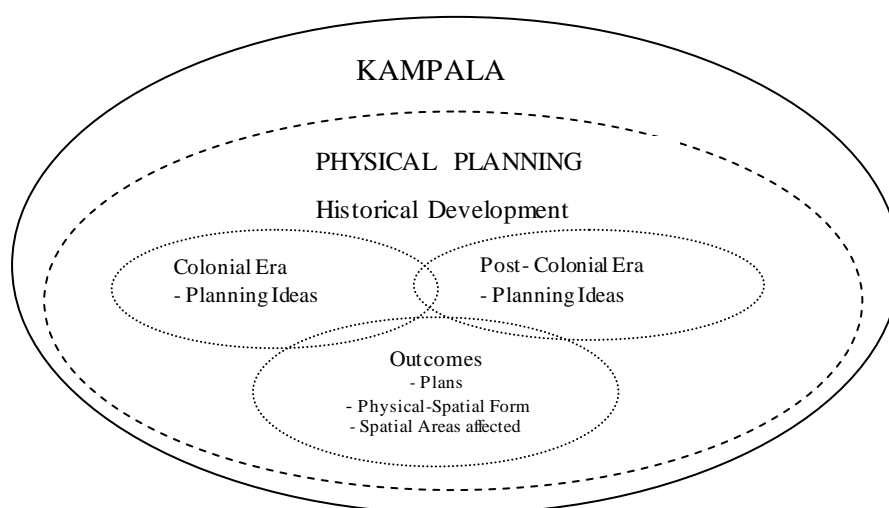
Figure 2-2: Author's Conceptualization of Embedded Units of Analysis (***Source: Author's own construct, March 2008)***

Methodological Triangulation

To complement and to compensate for the respective deficiencies of the various methods and in order to enhance confidence in the ensuing findings, the empirical data was collected and analysed using four key methods.

First, in-depth interviews were conducted. The purpose behind the interview was to establish new oral facts, and to corroborate some facts already established. Thus, interviewing persons who experienced planning

was a systematic collection of living peoples' testimony about their own experiences. A total of twenty persons, that is, one from Buganda Kingdom (Mengo); five planners currently serving in Kampala City Council Authority; six planners working at the Department of Physical Planning (Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development); two planners on private practice, but formerly with Kampala City Council; four retired Planners (formerly with the Department of Town and Country Planning at the Ministry); and two Makerere University Academicians in the planning field were identified to be interviewed. The overriding criteria or principle in the selection of these persons was based on the fact that they were knowledgeable about planning, had experience as long serving practitioners, and others as retired planners, and/or associates of former planners.

Despite making all appointments and arrangements, only eleven persons were successfully interviewed – Two from KCC; four from the Department of Physical Planning (at the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development); one retired former planner, who worked with the Planning Department in the 1970's; one elderly person from Mengo, who once served as an administrator in the Kabaka's government; and three Swedish nationals who in the 1960's lived and worked in Kampala Planning Office under the auspices of the United Nations.

The approach to the interviews was that, I asked the key respondents about their roles, experiences, as well as their opinions about events, and their insights into the planning efforts and outcomes in both colonial and post-colonial epochs. To guide the interview process, I used both a study protocol consisting of short questions and an interview schedule consisting of a list of issues to be addressed (see appendix III). Tape-recording and note-taking were used concurrently while conducting the interview. However, one must not forget that interview method especially in historical research depends upon human memory and the spoken word, which calls for proper corroboration of the findings with other sources.

The second method involved a field visit to the case study 'site' where an opportunity for direct observation was created. Since the phenomena of interest in this study were historical and contemporary, direct observation method was used to facilitate identification of spatial areas in Kampala, where plan implementation took place. A minimum of two and maximum of four visits were made to each of the areas with evidence of plan implementation. Conducting several visits was important

because in some cases the kind of urban form observed in the previous visit(s) was found to be eroded during second or third visit. This was particularly so with open green spaces being encroached on, and buildings in the old residential areas being demolished or undergoing renewal processes.

The general world belief that a camera does not lie and photographs transcribe the world as it was seen and recorded, was inspirational in the choice of the third method – photography. This method was used to capture situations on ground and to complement the direct observations and the field visits. Digital still photographs were taken of the different case contexts to show what still survives of the ideas expressed in the plans of the different periods. The photographs taken, though they represent pieces of the case contexts when pieced together with the narratives about the same contexts, produce a coherent story of the planning ideas that were implemented.

The fourth approach used is analysis of aerial photographs and town plans. Outline schemes, Master and Structure plans of Kampala prepared and implemented over the different planning periods; 1912, 1930, 1950, 1972 and 1994 were compiled and analysed to give a detailed account of the planning ideas and focus. To show the level of detail, the level of plan implementation and the spatial urban forms created over time and to corroborate evidence from direct observations, aerial photographs covering the planned areas of Kampala in each planning epoch were compiled into subsequent runs and flight numbers. Time series *photo mosaics* were prepared to provide an overview on the planned spatial areas of Kampala at an appropriate and manageable scale, and this too facilitated field visits and observations.

Table 2-1: Summary of Research Methods Selection by Theme

Research Issues / Methods	Historical development of Planning	Ideas behind Planning in colonial era	Planning Ideas /influences in postcolonial era	representation of ideas on plans	Implementation of ideas (on ground)
Analysis & Review of Documents	***	***	***	***	**
Archival Records	***	***	***	**	**
Analysis of Plans		**	**	***	
Aerial Photographs Analysis					***
Key person Interview	***	***	***	*	**
Direct Observation				**	***
Photography				*	***

Key:
***   Very Important - used
**   Important - used
*   Not very important - used
  Not used

In general, care had to be taken to ascertain the conditions under which the archives were produced, as well as their accuracy. My role as historian was to try to understand and interprete historical data without simply recounting whatever was written about certain historical phenomena. I adopted critical sources evaluation approach stipulated by Sven Ove Hansson, in his writings - the Art of Doing Science.

First, the *Dependence* criterion, if a source was independent of other sources then this increased its value. Hansson argues that the requirement of independence has two major aspects, that is, a good source is direct – it has no intermediates. This is why preference was given to eye witness reports. It is common to distinguish between primary and secondary sources, where the primary sources are those that satisfy the criterion of directness (Hansson, 2007). For example, a person who saw planning and witnessed its implementation was a primary source, well as someone who heard eye witnesses tell their story about planning practice and plan implementation was a secondary source. Secondly, a good source was *unadjusted,* which means that it was not adjusted to other accounts of the same events. For example, when the police interrogate witnesses of an accident, they do not want them to talk to each other before the interrogation. If they have not done this, then any concordance between their testimonies will have much higher evidential value.

Data Analysis and Presentation

Historical deduction of evidence in each planning period was the major tool of analysis, and since the study involved intra-case analysis (one contextual site – Kampala), explanation building in narrative form was employed. Chronological compilation of physical planning episodes was undertaken. In the analysis of qualitative data, the mass of data was organized and meaningfully reduced or condensed for the sake of manageability, and to be transformed so as to be made intelligible in terms of the issues being addressed in the study.

The other method used is called 'annotations'. Photographs, maps, and plans usually cover a wide panoramic view and to focus on particular issues, annotation was done to pin point or highlight the special areas of interest. In digital imaging technology, annotation is commonly used for visible data superimposed on an image without changing the underlying master image by use of forms like sticky notes, virtual laser pointers, circles, arrows, and blackouts.

Digitizing and redrawing of some maps was undertaken to enhance their clarity. This is especially so because some of the materials obtained from the archives were too faint and unclear to be used. For some plans and maps, careful digitizing and/or redrawing was undertaken with the help of Auto CAD, ArchiCAD and Arc map computer software. For others manual methods were applied using tracing paper and drawing pens to retrace followed by reprinting. For those that could not be redrawn due to the complexity of the work involved and time limitations are presented in their 'original' form.

Analysed data and information is presented in Microsoft word and illustrations, presented under the thematic topics and questions which form the focus of this study. Maps, tables supplemented by various photographs were used. Relevant text and copies of some of the documents that are considered crucial in the understanding of arguments in this study and whose bulk affects their inclusion in the main body of the texts are included in the appendices.

Reliability, Validity and Generalization

The question of validity was addressed through the use of multiple sources of evidence, what Yin (2003) refers to as "Convergence of evidence", a

process, which Patton (1997:323) describes as triangulation. In this way the multiple sources of evidence essentially provided multiple approaches to the same problem. In addition, the researcher himself took full control of the data collection and documentation process, including documentation of sources. After collection of data and compilation of the draft study report, the key informants were given the opportunity to read copies of the report and verify whether the contents reflected the empirical material given by them, without any misinterpretations and generalizations.

To generalise the results of this study may not be obvious, but may be possible where the theories that led to the evolution and practices of physical planning in this case may be similar to other contexts. According to Lewis Gaddis, *"... historians work with limited, not universal generalizations. We rarely claim applicability for our findings beyond specific times and places."* (Gaddis, 2002:63). In seeking to show how past planning ideas have produced present urban form in Kampala, subordinating generalizations to explanations is a chief priority. For the case of Kampala, the results about the evolution of physical planning and the forces; ideas, and assumptions behind planning of Kampala may be related to other contexts, however, the results about implementation, may not necessarily represent the situation in other towns within and outside Uganda, but might influence planning theory and practice. In support of relatability of study findings, Bassey (1981) argues that what is important in the observation of social phenomena is relatability, that is, the extent to which an observed social phenomenon is likely to occur in other contexts or settings. In support of relatability rather than generalization, Bassey says that:

> "…an important criterion for judging the merit of a case study is the extent to which the details are sufficient and appropriate for a (practitioner) working in similar situation to relate his decision making to that described in the case study. The relatability of a case is more important than its generalization" (Bassey, 1981)

Challenges Faced

Due to the inefficiencies at the archives in Kampala and Entebbe some information sources that were earlier available were found to be missing on second or subsequent visits. The consequence of which was that whichever

data and information I missed earlier under whatever circumstance could not be re-traced, if the source/document was found missing. I have belief that there is more information in the United Kingdom, especially in the Colonial Office archives compared to any archive anywhere in the world. A personal visit to the colonial office might have made a difference.

Since the interview method depends upon human memory and the spoken word, some would be interviewees declined because they could not recall most of the events. However, for those who participated, I had a few cases where I obtained totally conflicting findings especially about the periods (years) and population sizes. This called for proper corroboration of the findings with other sources.

3. TOWN PLANNING IDEAS IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

To begin with, the view which has dominated African colonial historiography is the belief expounded by Rupert Emerson, that,

> "...nations like individuals are products of heredity and environment...
> the environment enters into the heritage to change the direction of the
> national stream to enrich or diminish it..." (Emerson, 1960:60).

Tracing the historical roots of many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, (for example, Njoh, 1997; Njoh, 2008; Njoh, 2007; Sarin, 1982; Golany, 1984; Home, 1997) show that cities in these regions are more a product of colonial experience than economic influences as was observed in the rise of the capitalist society in the western world. Robert Home notes that while the concept of the colonial city is still useful for the development of theory, all cities are in a way colonial – they are created through the exercise of dominance by some groups over others, to extract agricultural surplus, provide services and exercise political control. The city thus becomes an instrument of colonization (Home, 1997:2). To the Europeans, the colonial construction of urban space was a physical demonstration of civilization. The formal colonisation of Africa in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was informed and legitimised by a set of discourses centring on ideas of racial supremacy and hierarchy fused with ideas about civilization. These basic premises inflected a range of distinct colonial practices and institutions alongside practical concerns arising from economic, extractive and exploitative basis of colonialism [4] and the imperatives of maintaining social order (Branwen, 2011).

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[4] Colonialism is generally defined as the appropriation, occupation, and control of one territory by another. This simple definition, however, masks a longer and more complex genealogy of the term and concept. The term *colonial*, derived from the Roman concept of *colonia*, originally referred to settlement. Roman colonies were viewed as the physical extension of the Roman Empire. This initial use was focused on Roman citizens. These settlements were places where Romans retained their citizenship, a practice reminiscent of extraterritoriality. Colonies were self-sufficient. This definition did not consider the position of the indigenous populations. The modern use of *colonialism* includes elements and characteristics that extend far beyond the initial sense of "settlement." And whereas colonialism always entails the settlement of people from the colonial state to a colonized territory, the practice of colonialism is characterized by more than simply immigration flows. Colonialism has come to refer to the conquest and control of other peoples and other territories (Warf 2006; cited in: Omolo, *et al.* 2010).

The town or city was the arena where these many ideological and pragmatic imperatives met. In addition to being centres of administration, many of the main colonial cities were established at vital nodes of the transport infrastructure constructed to enable the export of Africa's mineral and agricultural wealth to Europe, and the rapid mobilisation of armies in defence of colonial borders. Some colonial cities grew from within already existing and long established urban centres; others were established from scratch, in positions dictated by new infrastructures and transportation routes (Freud, 2007).

Ambe Njoh, a planning historian, argues that urban experience in East Africa, although not to the same extent as that of West Africa, pre-dated the European colonial era. Towns such as Kilwa and Mombasa (in present-day Kenya), Zanzibar (in present-day Tanzania), and Sofalla and Mogadishu (in present-day Somalia) boasted significant population sizes prior to the colonization of Africa. However, urbanization on a large scale did not occur in the region until later on during the colonial era, thus, most members of the indigenous population of East Africa were unfamiliar with the urban experience prior to the European colonial epoch. Colonialism, the establishment of colonial administrative centres and cognate activities gave birth to a brand of urbanization never before witnessed in the region. Colonial administrative centres eventually constituted the nucleus for the growth and development of the region's largest townships (Njoh, 2007:168). Thus, colonial urban planners saw in the colonised territory of Africa an opportunity to test newly acquired planning theories and techniques. To better appreciate this line of thought, it is necessary to understand that urban planning as a professional discipline emerged at the same time as European powers were initiating their colonial ventures in the Sub-Saharan African region. Accordingly the vast territories that were acquired in the region were considered timely and served as testing ground for the lofty planning projects that had been proposed by European urban architects and others interested in spatial order at the time (Njoh, 2007).

Orderly and efficient lay-out of suburban areas was the aim that defined the practice and thinking of colonial planning in general, and British colonial planning in particular. The residents of such suburbs were to be the colonialists themselves and, to some degree and in some places, members of the indigenous population involved in white collar work linked to the colonial power (Ogu 2007). Here, the schemes that were espoused by thinkers such as Patrick Geddes and Ebenezer Howard came to mind. Ideas

about garden cities/garden suburbs that dominated the planning discourses in Northern Europe in the first third of the 20th century defined the parameters of colonial planning practice. In part this was because both in the metropolitan homeland and in the colony the low-density suburb or self-contained garden city offered a practical alternative to the squalor of the old established urban area. However, one consequence was that the colonial planning approach paid relatively little concern to the native city which was typically a dense organic network of narrow lanes, bazaars, small industry and crowded houses. Thus anti-urbanism, and the aim to ensure public health by salubrious layouts of spacious new areas, meant that colonial planning was mainly concerned with fashioning an orderly, healthy alternative to the large city. "The basis was hygienic: the government medical service, invariably of military origin, had a virtual stranglehold over the planning system" (Hall 1998). According to Benevolo many of the cities in Asia and Africa which would subsequently grow out of all measure, were fortresses built according to the rules of European military architecture. Little heed was taken of the existing urban settlements, and the European cities existed separately from the previously existing indigenous ones (Benevolo 1993).

Town Planning and Public Health Ideology

Planning as an activity grabbed attention after the Industrial Revolution resulted in poor living conditions for a great number of people across the world (Lane, 2005; Wheeler, 2004). The misery of social problems thus prompted scholars to encourage purposeful actions, which over many decades resulted in a more formal discourse called planning.

The European colonial period began in Africa barely a decade following the emergence of town planning and public health as disciplines with one of their avowed purposes being to combat the health consequences of industrialization and the concomitant urbanization (Njoh, 2007). The science of sanitation held that 'by managing the environment and restructuring space using scientific principles, it is possible to banish disease' (Yeoh, 2003:86).

In Europe, the professions of town planning and public health emerged as a reaction to the unsanitary, overcrowded and inhumane conditions of the nineteenth century industrial cities. In the United

Kingdom, planning particularly at the municipal scale, evolved most significantly during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The formalization and professionalization of planning, as one facet of societal response to the impacts of rapid industrialization and conflict over the external effects of incompatible land uses, can be easily traced. Efforts in both professions of town planning and public health to wrestle with cholera and other epidemics from 1830 to 1880 focused intensely on functionality and hierarchical ordering of land use through zoning. The overall goal was to regulate the type of contact occurring between people and land use activities (Njoh, 2007).

Public health emerged to especially redress the real and potential health problems of a world that was becoming increasingly dominated by *laissez-faire* capitalism. Prominent amongst the pioneers of the movement to reassert public health in the public, as opposed to private, domain was Edwin Chadwick. Chadwick and his colleagues deployed relevant statistics to demonstrate that unsanitary conditions anywhere constituted a threat to healthy conditions everywhere (Njoh, 2007:202). As exemplified by Michael Hebbert, the health pioneers drew inspiration from established medical theories, such as "pythogenic theory" or 'filth theory' as it was called in the United States. According to this theory, a common cause of disease in human populations is the gas that is given up by decomposing organic matter. Thus illness is seen as a function of the air humans breathe. Therefore to prevent illness, it was necessary to construct buildings with ample ventilation, afforded by large windows, flues and ventilation bricks. Additionally, all windows must open into the exterior of the building. Apart from their interest in the form and structure of buildings, public health pioneers also strived to effectuate change on the design of urban layouts. In this connection, they were particularly interested in altering the morphological relationship between streets, blocks and dwelling units (Hebbert, 1999).

Accordingly, the protection of public health was central to town planning in colonial Africa. However, the health challenges faced by planners and public health authorities on the continent were unique and bore little if any resemblance to what their counterparts in Europe were used to (Njoh, 2007). One of the deadliest threats to humans, especially Europeans, in Africa during the colonial era was malaria. It was not until the twilight of the nineteenth century before it was discovered that malaria in humans is caused by four species of protozoan parasite of the genus

Plasmodium – *P.falciparum, P.vivax, P.malariae* and *P.ovale.* While all these species are dangerous and capable of causing severe debilitating illness, only the first, *P.falciparum*, is sufficiently virulent to be deadly (Desowitz, 1981). The carrier of these species, the anopheles mosquito was found to be indigenous to the Sub-Saharan Africa region, thus, living in this region effectively amounted to playing Russian roulette with one's life. Once the anopheles mosquito was incriminated as the vector of the malaria-causing parasite, colonial authorities immediately embarked on crafting and implementing a number of wide-ranging and arguably dubious health-promoting policies with spatial implications. Prominent among these policies were the following: the location of European living areas on hill tops or hill stations; nocturnal separation of the races in particular and racial residential segregation in general; maximum ventilation of European housing units; and the elimination of mosquito-breeding places, such as standing water and bushes and swamps (Njoh, 2007:205).

Ambe Njoh further argues that from the early to mid-nineteenth century, conventional wisdom suggested that particular locations, soils, temperatures and rainfalls were all determinants of health conditions. In other words, the health status of a place was considered a function of its location (on the hill or in the valley); the characteristics of the soil of the place (loose versus hard soil); the temperature of the place (hot or cold); and the extent or degree of rainfall at the place (heavy or light). This belief is one of a number of rationales that were advanced in defence of selection of higher ground, especially hilltops, as the location of choice for European residential and colonial administrative facilities. The belief was that higher altitude translated to cooler weather, which was in turn associated with good health. On the other hand, lower elevation was associated with warm or hot weather, which in turn translated into putrefaction and hence disease. This idea and belief that had been tested in India and the West Indies, saw the location of military personnel and Europeans, in colonial Africa on higher ground, and/or placed on stilts and elevated ten to fifteen feet above the ground (Curtin, 1985). Thus the choice of hilltops and plateaus was premised on the assumption that Europeans would enjoy better health in these locations. The case for hill stations in India was premised on a number of other factors. For instance, Sir John Lawrence, the first Viceroy[5] named after the 1857 rebellion, contended that the cooler climate of

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[5] A 'Viceroy' is a Royal official who runs a country, colony or province in the name of and representative of the monarch, in this case that of Britain

hilltops and plateaus would significantly increase productivity – an advantage that could not be ignored given what he characterised as the growing workloads of the British imperial government in India at the time (Kenny, 1997)

Apart from the hill station projects, there were a number of other aspects of British colonial health policies in India that were transplanted to Africa (Njoh, 2007). Particularly noteworthy in this connection are the sanitation reform measures that were instituted in India and later transplanted to colonial Africa. The best known of these measures are those that were adopted in 1863 to address health problems created by the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 and the Crimean War (Curtin, 1985). One aspect of these reforms that was later transferred to colonial Africa was to do with the establishment of the cantonment system (1870s and 1880s), which entailed the construction of permanent military camps in locations far removed from the native areas as a means of protecting the health of the European soldiers resident in the colonies. Colonial authorities argued that such locations were necessary to isolate British military personnel from 'noxious odours of native habitation' (Curtin, 1985:595).

The same argument was advanced in defence of the decision to locate European residential areas far away from native districts. Apart from their isolated locations, these units possessed another noteworthy feature that distinguished them from native housing, namely excessive ventilation. The requirement that European housing be generally ventilated was predicated on theories that linked the spread of contagious diseases to unventilated environment. However, such theories, like a number of others before them, were later found to be inaccurate, as the nature of germs became amply understood. In this regard, the efforts of Louis Pasteur and Robert Koch, to reveal that some bacteria can invade and live on an organism as a parasite before causing disease, deserves special attention. Njoh, (2007) submits that new germ theories such as the fore mentioned prepared the stage for a lot of noteworthy works, which significantly influenced health and spatial policies in tropical Africa. The most prominent development in this regard is Carlos Finlay's discovery in 1881 that mosquitoes were the vector for yellow fever. In this regard, the mosquitoes carried the yellow fever parasite from person to person. This assertion by Carlos Finlay was further strengthened by the discovery of Alfonse Lavernan of malaria parasites in the blood of malaria patients and evidence corroborating this theory from France, Italy, England and the

United States (Curtin, 1985). In England, particularly at the Liverpool school of Tropical Medicine, the findings of a team of British colonial medical officers led by Dr. Ronald Ross, which identified and concluded that the anopheles mosquito is the vector for plasmodia, the malaria parasite, which passes through one stage of development within the mosquito and another within the human host (Curtin, 1985; Frenkel & Western, 1988; Njoh, 2007; Njoh, 2008).

In 1899, Ross and a number of his colleagues were despatched to Sierra Leone, a bastion for malaria, to conduct studies ascertaining that the anopheles mosquito was indeed the vector for malaria in Africa. Two malaria control experiments were conducted in Sierra Leone in 1899 and 1900 (Njoh, 2007:207). In addition to establishing with certainty the link between the anopheles mosquito and malaria, Ross and his colleagues also determined that the anopheles mosquito did most of its biting and infecting at night and not during the day. Therefore, as a public health strategy, only nocturnal segregation of the European from the indigenous population was necessary. In practice, the scientist argued, it was possible for Europeans and members of the indigenous population to work together during day as long as they were spatially separated during the night. Thus, Europeans could work and visit the indigenous areas of town during the day and return to their homes in the European districts at night. Similarly, servants and gardeners could work in the European districts during the day and return to the indigenous districts at night. However, Ambe Njoh argues that these recommendations appeared fastidious at best as they conveniently failed to acknowledge the fact that some workers, such as the night watchmen, because of the nature of their jobs, had to spend the nights in the European districts (Njoh, 2007). Soon after Ronald Ross and his colleagues reported their findings and recommendations, Joseph Chamberlain, the Colonial Secretary at the time, adopted a racial residential segregation as the official policy in all Britain's sub-Saharan Africa colonies.

Among the many recommendations, Ross opined that the best way to deal with the malaria problem in Africa was to adopt the cantonment policy, which in his opinion had been successfully used in British colonial India. Accordingly, he recommended that housing for Europeans be located at least two kilometres from the indigenous settlements. This separation was based on two main, seemingly contradictory assumptions; first, it was believed that the African anopheles mosquito preferred the blood of Africans as opposed to that of Europeans, hence the mosquito would have

the propensity of flying within African settlements regardless of the distance they are capable of traversing. Second, scientific knowledge at the time suggested that, factoring in the possibility of being assisted by the wind, the anopheles mosquito could not traverse a distance in excess of two kilometres. These two assumptions, as it turned out, were erroneous. One more erroneous assumption with implications with spatial organization in general and town planning laws in particular was that malaria emanated from the soil. A little later on, as germ theory advanced, it was believed that African adults possessed some type of immunity against malaria. This conclusion was derived from a number of studies revealing that blood samples from adults in Africa rarely contained actual plasmodia. On the contrary, the blood of children manifesting clinical symptoms contained the parasites. Therefore, the 'malariologists' of that time concluded, African children and not adults were the primary source of malaria infection. However, this and identical theories regarding the source of malaria were later to be debunked by works identifying the anopheles mosquito as the disease's vector (Njoh, 2007: 208).

As a public health strategy, it was not enough, colonial authorities believed, to simply isolate European residential units from indigenous settlements. Medical scientists such as Robert Koch, who had had extensive experience in Asia and had conducted a number of studies, some on malaria and black water fever, in Africa in 1897-8, recommended the prophylactic use of quinine. Others such as Sir Rickard Christophers and John William Watson Stephens of the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine considered Koch's recommendation not feasible and therefore mistaken. They further criticized any suggestions to the effect that the vector of the malaria itself, namely the anopheles mosquito, be attacked. Instead, they recommended that every effort be directed at protecting the Europeans. Removal of the 'susceptible Europeans' from the midst of malaria was only one of the many strategies rooted in the recommendations such as these. Based on the erroneous belief that African children were the prime source of malaria infection, Europeans were strongly advised against being in the vicinity of native children from zero to five years of age (Christophers and Stephens, 1900).

Njoh (2007) notes that the foregoing instructions were swiftly adopted by the colonial officials on the ground in the colonies albeit to significantly different degrees. In Sierra Leone, for example, the colonial government moved rapidly to incorporate the instructions into its spatial

planning schemes, with the most conspicuous manifestations of actions in this connection being the development of Hill Station. Work on Hill Station in Freetown, Sierra Leone was initiated in 1902 and by 1904, a considerable number of units, including the Governor's residence, were ready for occupation.

The ideas of Ross, especially his staunch and unwavering opposition to the prophylactic use of quinine and the screening of European residential units, appeared to have carried the day as they found their way into British colonial government health policy directives. For example, as of May 1900, the Colonial Office in London began distributing pamphlets that were prepared at the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine instructing colonial officials on the ground in tropical Africa to adopt strategies to eliminate the anopheles mosquito, protect Europeans against mosquito bites (not through the screening of European residential units) and spatially segregate European residential districts. Although colonial officials on ground were swift in adhering to these instructions, it is important to note that their strategies varied significantly in practice in colonies such as Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika (present-day Tanzania), Northern Rhodesia (present-day Zimbabwe), South Africa, and Sierra Leone, which were controlled by the British (and Europeans of Germanic origin) who believed in racial superiority, but also in territories such as Madagascar, Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea, Congo, and Angola that were under the colonial tutelage of Europeans of Latin origin, who adhered to a philosophy of cultural as opposed to racial superiority (Njoh, 2008:582-589).

Race and Power

Other ideas about planning are believed to have come from the superiority ideology common in the writings of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Barney Warf observes that Literary accounts of colonial relations[6], as well as school textbooks and maps, sought to inscribe the superiority of the colonizers by attributing positive character traits to them. For example, early 20th century literature on the global distribution of races and their characteristics frequently referred to the British, French, and Germans as muscular, strong, intelligent, dominant, and quick in their responses. In contrast, South American and African tribes might be

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[6] See also writings of Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*.

described as emaciated, weak, slow, and retarded. In addition, colonial maps often used regional attributes that portrayed colonized territories as less advantageous for commerce, unhealthy, or even mysterious, dark, and unexplored. Such attitudes, as portrayed by early geographers, were internalized by the general population, whose members continued to support their colonizing government and its practices of exploitation and expansion (Warf, 2006:373), by use of all the mechanism and tools available to them. Thus, the landscape of all so-called modern African cities, irrespective of the ethnic origin of their erstwhile European colonial masters, is replete with evidence of racial residential segregation. The danger is that such a vision especially that of a planner as a 'super-man', with qualities of strength, wisdom and goodness resembling those of an arch angel might well have led to vague eclecticism. Since then, society has become more complex, and the prospect of social change far more ambiguous, and yet the old ideas have been maintained and have become fixed prejudices (Njoh, 2008:582-589).

Urban Land Use Planning and Zoning

Evidence from the extant literature suggests that prior to colonialism some form of urban land use planning existed in Sub-Saharan Africa (Awuah, *et al,* (2010). Indeed cities like Timbuktu in current Mali and Zanzibar in current Tanzania existed as major trading centres with their own spatial configuration systems before the advent of colonialism (Mabogunje, 1990; Njoh, 2004, UNHabitat, 2009). Also settlement planning among the Akans, the largest tribe in Ghana dates back to 3,500 years or more ago (Farrar, 1996). However it is generally accepted that modern day urban land use planning in Sub-Saharan Africa is rooted in European particularly British, French, German, Belgian and Portuguese colonization of Africa at the turn of the nineteenth century (Mabogunje, 1990; Home, 1990; Njoh, 1997, 2004, 2009; Rakodi, 2001). For example, the nineteenth century Britain, when it realized that it was not just out to make money but had come to assume the moral responsibility of ruling millions of people in their own interest, always saw itself on a civilizing mission and soon began in earnest to educate and assimilate Indians (and later, Africans, Chinese, and so forth) in all the terms of modern life including planning.

According to Home (1990), Urban land use planning began as limited colonial government activity devoted to undertaking of

development schemes (planning schemes); and building of infrastructure including slum clearance. Evidence shows that earlier British town planning activities in its colonies included: road improvements, slum clearance and housing for the areas they ruled directly; layouts, building of administrative headquarters, railway/mining town for areas they governed under indirect rule; and conservation, garden suburbs parks for pre-colonial urban societies to company towns, garden cities for white settlers Oyugi and K'Akumu (2007) for example submit that the first master plan for Nairobi, Kenya's capital for example was prepared in 1910; whilst that of Lusaka, Zambian capital was undertaken in 1933 (Mwimba, 2002). Sixteen such development schemes and infrastructure projects undertaken within the French part of the Sub-Saharan Africa mostly at the turn of the nineteenth century are catalogued in (Njoh, 2004 cited in: Awuah, *et al,* 2010). These include: the 1890 urban development plan for the capital of the colony of Dahomey now Republic of Benin; and the 1890 first urban plan for the city of Doula in Cameroun (Awuah, *et al,* 2010).

As time went on and mostly after the Second World War colonial governments passed major urban land use planning legislations along the lines of their home countries that sought to make urban land use planning a comprehensive activity of government (Njoh, 2004, 2009). Planning schemes increased after the Second World War following changes in the conception of the imperial role in colonial development as was contained in Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1940 for British colonies, and Fund for Economic and Social Development (FIDES) instituted in 1946 for French African colonies (Mabogunje, 1990 Cited in: Awuah, *et al,* 2010). Consequently, planning legislations such as the Town and Country Planning Ordinance, 1945 (Cap 84) of Ghana, which considered urban land use planning as a comprehensive activity of government for the first time (Afrane, 1993) was enacted. This planning legislation was based on United Kingdom's Town Planning Act of 1932. Similar legislations such as the 1946 Town Planning Ordinance of Nigeria (Njoh, 2009), the 1948 Town Planning Act of Malawi (Wekwete, 1995, Cited in: Awuah, *et al,* 2010) and Town Planning Ordinance, 1956 in Tanzania (Kironde, 2006) and the 1948 Town Planning Ordinance of Uganda (Safier and Langlands, 1969:152) were all passed along the lines of earlier British Town Planning Acts. These planning legislations espoused rationalist principles; and the use of master plans (Mabogunje, 1990; Njoh, 2009). Underlying the planning regimes created by these legislations was the land use segregation

concept, which sets out four key principles. These are: unifunctional land use principle signifying specialization of land uses; for example industrialization, housing and religious; discreet zoning denoting the legal manifestation of land use specialization carved out under the unifunctional land use principle and defining permitted and non-permitted land uses as well as standards like plot sizes for residential housing development; regulatory principle, which was to ensure that the ideals espoused under the land use segregation concept are achieved through regulatory procedure for conformity to planning standards (Awuah, *et al,* 2010).

Zoning typically segregates land uses into three main categories - residential, commercial, and industrial (Rosenberg, 2011). Therefore, upon zoning land into specific uses developers are required to go through these procedures for the intended projects to be examined and obtain various permissions like building and occupancy permits to authorize commencement of constructional activities and occupancy of a project; and the principle of consensus signifying homogeneity of interest and consensus in society to the effect that all governmental decisions are taken in the best interest of the public (Afrane, 1993; Njoh, 2004, 2009 cite in: Awuah, *et al,* 2010).

'Modernism' and the 'New Towns' Idea

The post-independence era still saw the flow of planning ideas from Europe and America to Sub-Saharan Africa. The modernist planning ideas, despite having emerged at the beginning of the twentieth century, were still popular in most of Europe and America in the 1950s and 1960s. These ideas became a focus of the newly independent African states, initiated and implemented through various international agencies.

Hobson (1999) argues that new towns' planning is the ultimate form of modernist planning that emerged as a reaction to problems of the nineteenth-century industrial city. The theory of the desire to improve the quality of the physical environment of urban areas and a desire to improve accessibility within town dominated the physical planning practice of the 1950s and 1960s. It was presumed in Britain that a well-planned city was composed of an orderly 'cellular' structure of geographically distinct neighbourhoods and/or 'environmental areas'. The new town movement was about *"planning and building of a new environment."*

The starting point came in 1898 with the publication by Ebenezer Howard – then a shorthand writer in the Law Courts – of his now famous book *Tomorrow: a Peaceful Path to Real Reform*. Peter Self notes that Howard then was nearly 50 and had 'seen the world', yet he had the enthusiasm of youth in his eloquent condemnation of the smoke and squalor of the British industrial towns – "ulcers on the face of our beautiful land", he called them. And he had the vision of the prophet in his plans for a better way of life. To Howard, new towns were the better way of escape from the congestion and social evils of urban life in Britain at the turn of the century. He saw a town as a complete social and functional structure, with sufficient jobs to make it self-supporting, spaciously laid out to give light, air and gracious living and surrounded by a green belt that would provide both farm produce for the population and opportunity for recreation and relaxation. Half a dozen such towns, separate but linked by a rapid transport system, should, he suggested, form a "social city" catering for the complete needs of around a quarter a million people (Self, 1972:11). By the early 1960s extensive regional investigations had demonstrated the need for an even more radical approach to the problems that lay ahead.
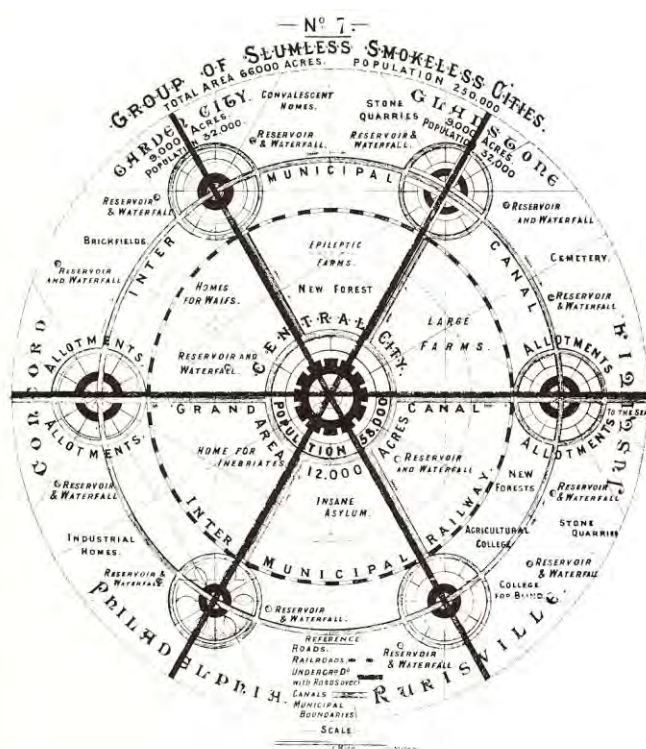
Figure 3-1: Howards diagram No.7 representing a series of clusters of towns (source: Self, 1972)

The new towns were acknowledged to be successful in economic, financial and social terms, and the machinery had stood the test of time. Wider use was clearly indicated. In 1967 the first "new city" was started at Milton Keynes for a quarter a million people and the new towns procedure was used to double the size of the ancient city of Peterborough, to add 100,000 people to the nearby town of Northampton and another 100,000 to Warrington to relieve pressure on Manchester (Self, 1972:13). In Britain, the idea was no longer a political issue. They were a

well tried instrument of physical and economic progress, accepted and supported by all the political parties. The idea spread to other European countries and the impact has been world-wide.

This presupposition was central to the view most town planners held at the time of the ideal urban structure. As Lewis Keeble had put it, 'the town ought to have a clear legible structure.' This ordered view of the ideal city found expression in two other ways: First, the ordered view of urban structure found expression in spatial distinct 'neighbourhoods' conceived as village-like communities (Keeble 1969:10). The Neighbourhood Unit idea was created by Clarence Perry and presented in a sociological conference in 1923 and after wards it was applied into a regional plan of New York City in 1929.

Perry defined a neighbourhood as a component of a town whose size was based upon a five minutes walking radius – measured from the centre. The neighbourhood unit idea was an effort to create residential neighbourhood to meet the needs of family life, focusing on four factors; centrally located elementary school, or church within walking distance – formed the central nodes of the unit – the number of children at school or members of the congregation determined limits of the neighbourhood district ranging from 5,000 to 10,000 people; well distributed neighbourhood parks and playgrounds for active and passive recreation; desired proximity of local shops to meet daily needs, grouped together at accessible areas; and a residential environment, characterized by harmonious architecture, carefully landscaped environments, carefully located community buildings, and organized internal street system with deflection of all through traffic, preferably on thoroughfares which bound and clearly set off the neighbourhood. Basic to the neighbourhood theory, was the idea that traffic which has no destination within the unit be discouraged from entering – roads internal to the unit were designed merely for local communication, the aim was to separate fast traffic from the residential area. This idea became popular in Britain and during the early post-war years, it was incorporated in British urban planning policy, especially in new town development.

By 1930 the loop and cul-de-sac model developed in Radburn, New Jersey, by Clarence Stein and Henry Wright featured. The primary innovation of Radburn was the separation of pedestrian and vehicular traffic. It combined Clarence Perry's neighbourhood unit concept (Perry, 1929) with a radically new street layout of Raymond Unwin's and Barry Parker's cul-de-sac method of residential layout for houses combined in super blocks (large block of land surrounded by main roads) of 30 to 50 acres plus (Stein, 1957). The houses were grouped around small cul-de-sacs, each of which has an access road coming from the main roads. The residential cul-de-sacs were separated by narrow pedestrian paths, which connected to a central park, a playground and a school site. The cul-de-sacs eliminated the rectangular grid's problem of through traffic on local streets, and pedestrian underpasses ensured that children did not have to cross a street to reach the parks or school (Stein, 1957).
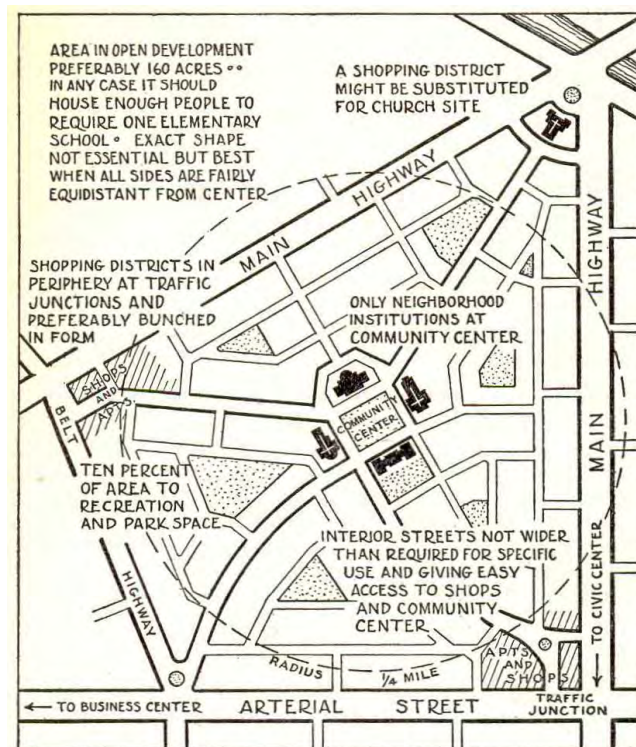
Figure 3-2: Clarence Perry's 'Neighbourhood Unit' of 1929.

(Source: Reproduced from Dahir J., (1947) "The Neighbourhood Plan: its Spread and Acceptance". Online: http://www.portlandonline.com accessed May 28, 2010
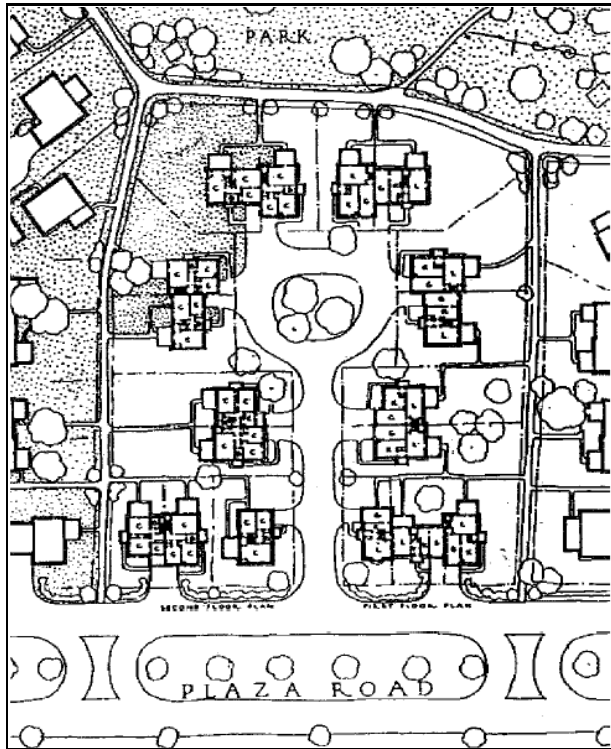
Figure 3-3: Cul-de-sacs at Radburn, New Jersey, Stein and Wright, 1929. (Source: Ben-Joseph and Gordon, 2000:256)
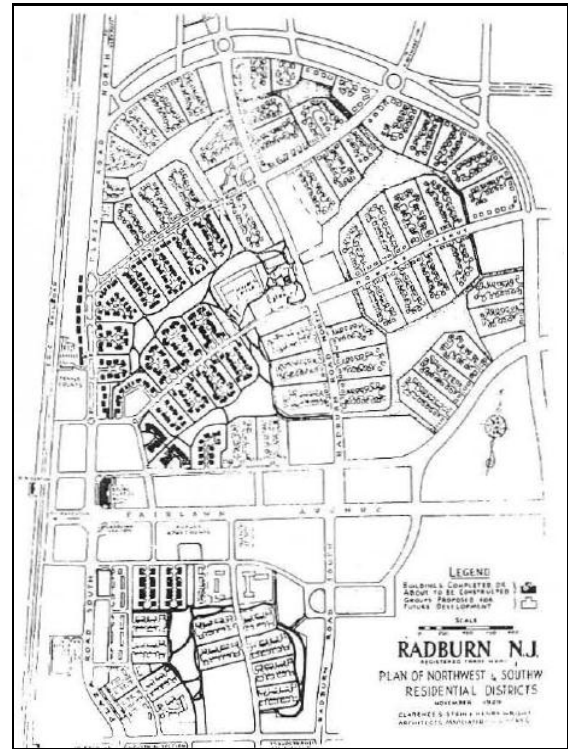
Figure 3-4: The final plan for Radburn by Stein and Wright, 1929. (Source: Eugenie Birch, 1980:126)

This Radburn theory was viewed as successful in the field of planning and architecture, Anthony Bailey, called it "the most significant notion in 20th Century urban development". Lewis Mumford considered it "the first major advance in city planning since Venice." The main thrust in the planning of Radburn can be summarized by the quote from Architect Clarence Stein, who said, *"We did our best to follow Aristotle's recommendation that a city should be built to give its inhabitants security and happiness"* (Ben-Joseph and Gordon, 2000).

Outside the United States of America, the influence of the Radburn Idea first showed up in England and later in Sweden at Vallingby, the huge Stockholm suburb; at the Baronbackarna Estate, Orebro and at the Biskopsgarden Estate, Goteborg. It was in post-World War II in England that Radburn achieved generic status and has since spread to Chandigarh, India; to Brazil; to several towns in Russia and to a section of Osaka, Japan (Ben-Joseph and Gordon, 2000).

4. KAMPALA: THE CITY IN TRANSITION

In East Africa, "new" colonial settlements were established, sometimes from scratch and sometimes on the sites of earlier settlements. Sometimes colonial settlements were superimposed on and attached to existing towns and cities. Uganda as it emerges from the mists of legend and conjecture was occupied by various clans, each under its own Chief (Van Nostrand, 1994). Areas of high human settlement concentration in central Uganda and Buganda in particular, which could by definition be equated to contemporary urban areas, were only limited around kings and chiefs' palaces. Kampala was founded next to one of the few important African Agglomerations in Eastern Africa – Mengo capital of the Kingdom of Buganda and the seat of His Highness the *Kabaka* (King). All political power in Buganda was vested in the king who had a government formed by chiefs (Van Nostrand, 1994). Roscoe[7] (1965:233), who was an Anglican missionary, submits that the Buganda Kingdom itself was divided into ten districts (awasaza), each ruled over by a chief; these were divided from one another by rivers or swamps, while others had valleys, or gardens, which marked their boundaries.

By the nineteenth century, Buganda had expanded considerably and comprised about 50 clans. These clans upheld traditional religious beliefs, involving the worship of deities and spirits. From the death of Kabaka Suna in 1859 until 1890 the capital changed at least ten times (Southall and Gutkind, 1957: 1)[8]. The capital usually moved from one hill top to another with the ascendancy of each new king. With the death of Kabaka Mutesa I in 1884, and the succession of Kabaka Mwanga, the palace was moved to Mengo where it still stands today (Southall, 1967:299).

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[7] John Roscoe was an anthropologist scholar and Anglican Missionary who became rector of Ovington, Norfolk, formerly of the Church Missionary Society

[8] Much of the literature on pre-colonial Kampala was obtained from this source. Peter Gutkind and Aidan Southall, are social anthropologists who worked in Africa in the immediate postwar period. Southall taught social studies in Uganda at Makerere University College, Kampala, now Makerere University, and in 1952 worked with the new East African Institute of Social Research at Makerere. He became the first professor of social anthropology and sociology at Makerere, and also chairman of the institute. Peter Gutkind's first research job was at the East African Institute of Social Research, Makerere, Uganda, in 1953. There, his research on urban areas in Kampala at a period of increasing migration from rural areas resulted in the report *Townsmen in the Making* (co-authored with Aidan Southall). The research directive had been to find out "what happens behind the bananas", and the report became a local best seller.

The *Kibuga*: the Native City

The Kibuga, which means "capital", is a region covering some nineteen square miles and skirts off the Kampala area to the north, west and south. It is the headquarters of the Buganda government, containing the Kabaka's enclosure and palace. The *Kibuga* functioned as a political and economic centre point of the Buganda Kingdom. It was the seat of the highest political authority, including the Kabaka's royal residence, the highest Courts of the Kingdom, a trading centre and the base of the army. Decisions regarding the organization of the *Kibuga* were made by the Kabaka and the chiefs. The city was organized on the basis of their interests and priorities, and certainly not in the interests of the peasants whose task was to build the city. For the *Kibuga*, the Buganda capital and the *Lubiri* (palace), the works of Sir Apolo Kagwa (1934), and of Reverend Canon John Roscoe (1911, 1921: reprint 1965) provide the oldest studies of its socio-political organization (Gutkind, 1960:30).

> "The capital was divided into a number of sites corresponding to the country districts; every leading chief was surrounded by the minor chiefs from his district, and a portion of uncultivated land was left on which peasants could build temporary huts when they were required to reside in the capital for state work. By this plan all the people from a particular district were kept together, and the sites remained the official residences of the chiefs of the district to which the sites belonged. Chiefs built high fences of reeds round their estates in the capital; the fence bordering on the main road leading to the capital was always neatly finished, and the space in front of the gate was kept swept and free from weeds. Within the enclosure there was a considerable amount of land cultivated, with plantain trees which were well cared for, and the fruit of these trees supplemented the food which was brought up from the country estate, and also supplied the table in any emergency. Every chief built a number of houses within his enclosure, not only for his own use and that of his wives, but also for slaves, retainers, and a supply too for casual visitors who might wish to stay with him for a day or two. When a chief was promoted, or deposed, he had to leave his site on which he had been living within a few hours; this was so ordered to prevent chiefs from using all the food on the site and from causing destruction to the property..."
> (Roscoe, 1911:192 quoted in: Gutkind, 1960)
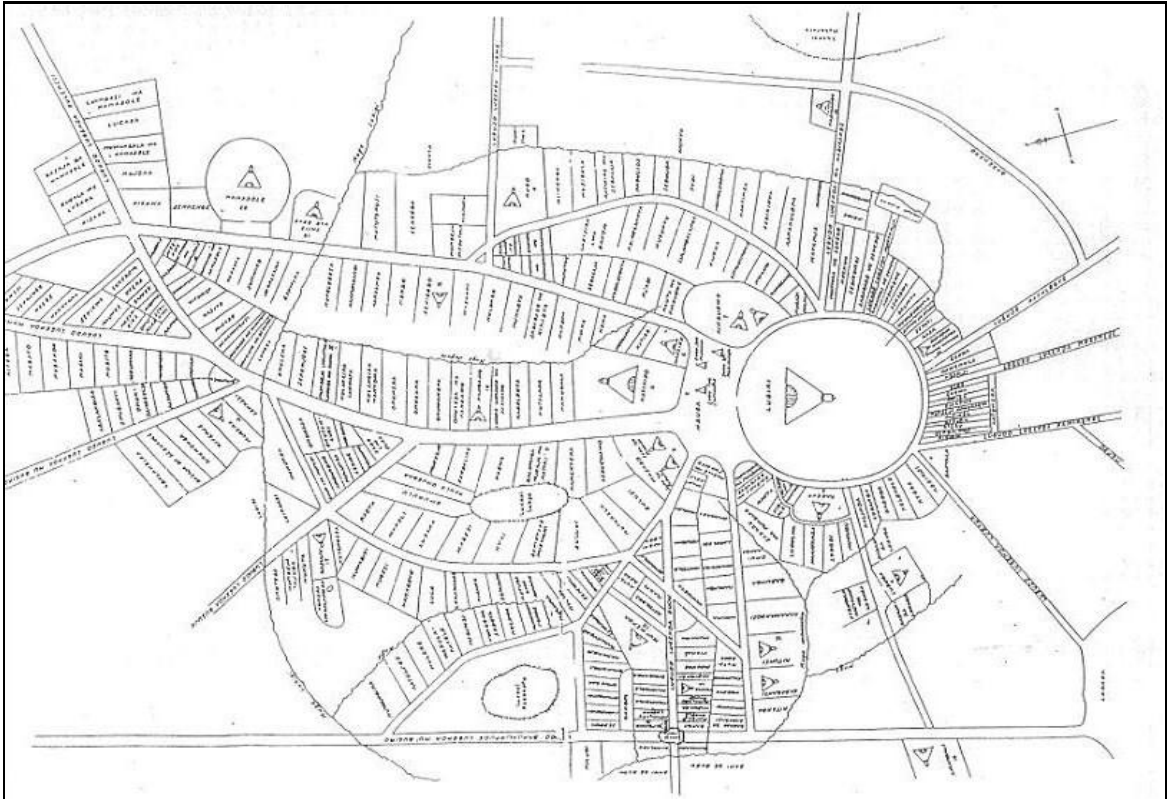
Figure 4-1: Plan and Organization of the *Kibuga in 1858*- each parcel of land was under control of a Chief. (*Source: Roscoe, 1911 in: P.C.W Gutkind, 1960)*

The Organization and Transformation of the Lubiri (Kings Palace)

In this feudal society, the *Lubiri* (kings' palace) was the nucleus and the *raison d'etre* of the *Kibuga* and therefore was the most organized place in the Kingdom (Gutkind, 1960). The *Lubiri* was designed in keeping with custom. According to Kagwa, as a rule the palace was built facing east which was the direction from which the ancestors were supposed to have arrived. The palace was an oval enclosure "about 1105 by 1122 yards by European measure" (Kagwa, 1934:74). According to Roscoe:

> "...the king lived upon a hill situated in the neighbourhood of the lake. The summit of the hill was levelled, and the most commanding site overlooking the country was chosen for the king's dwelling houses, court houses, and shrine for fetishes, and for the special reception room. Around these buildings on the lower slopes of the hill other houses were built; in front were huts for the guards and retainers, and the many houses for the wives, their maids and slaves, were built on the sides and at the back of the royal houses. The whole of the royal enclosure was divided up into small courtyards with groups of huts in them; each group was enclosed by a high fence and was under the supervision of some responsible wife.

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Wide paths between high fences connected each group of houses with the king's private enclosure. In the reign of the famous king Mutesa there were several thousand residents in the royal enclosure; he had five hundred wives each of whom had her maids and female slaves; and in addition to the wives were fully two hundred pages and hundreds of retainers and slaves. A high fence built of elephant grass surrounded the royal residence, so that it was impossible for an enemy with ordinary primitive weapons to enter. At intervals round the outside of the enclosure guard houses were built; there were four or five entrances which were strongly guarded; both inside and outside were huts with soldiers always on duty, to prevent any person except the slaves and wives from entering. Again inside the enclosure near each of the gates were other guard houses with soldiers on duty, who had instructions as to what persons were to be admitted by the gatekeepers. The main entrance in front of the royal residence was the only way by which the public were allowed to enter or leave the court. All the land between the royal residence and the lake was retained for the king's wives and here they grew their plantains..." (Roscoe, 1911:88-9 quoted in: Gutkind, 1960).
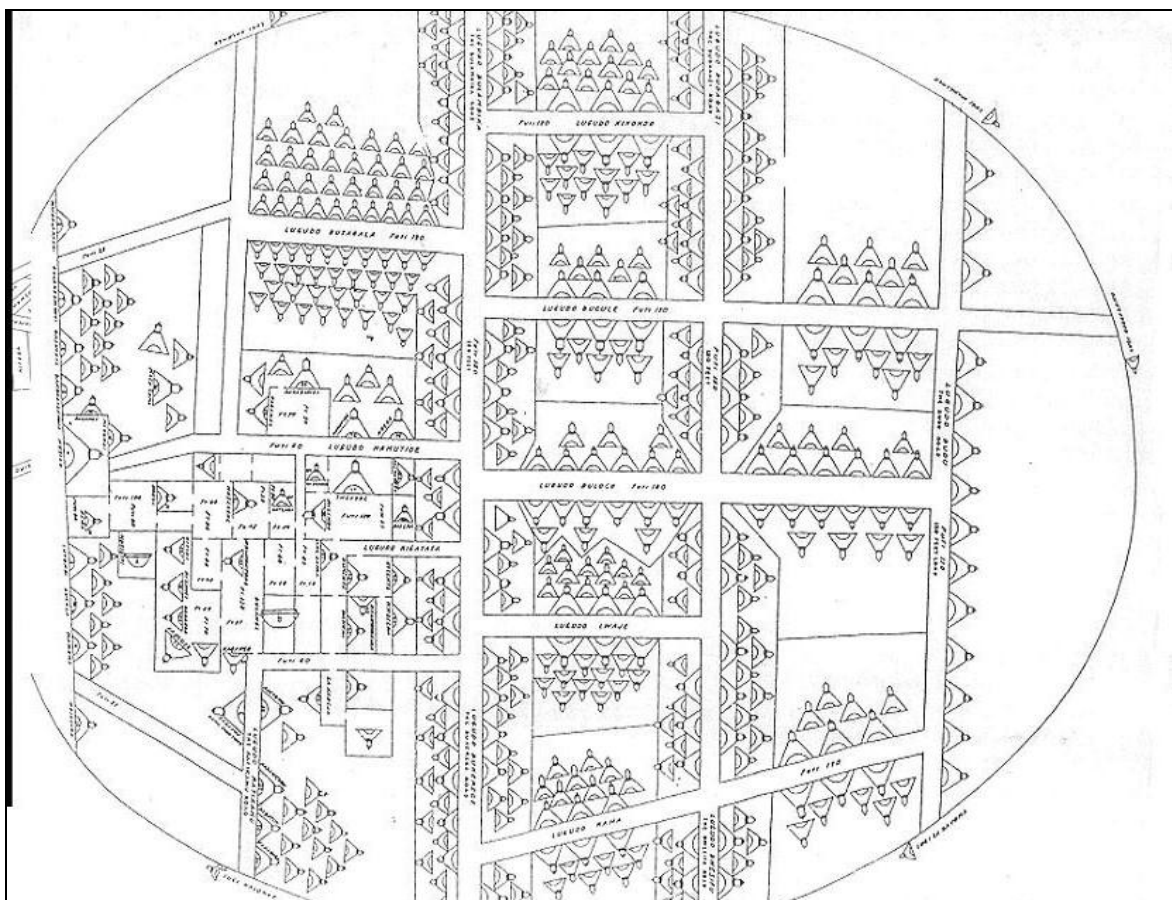
Figure 4-2: Organization of the Lubiri (Kings Palace) during the reign of Kabaka Mutesa I, 1859-1884 *(Source: Gutkind, 1960)*

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From 1884 onwards, the Lubiri was restructured, the main entrance infront of the royal residence was the only way by which the public was allowed to enter or leave the court. A manmade lake of approximately 2km^2 and about 200 feet deep was dug up by labourers on Kabaka's orders for sporting activities – especially swimming and fishing. Eventually, the Kabaka wanted this lake to connect to Lake Victoria so that he could have a water way all the way to his palace in Kampala at Lubiri. Given the number of hills in and around Kampala, this would have been quite a huge task, but it was never completed.
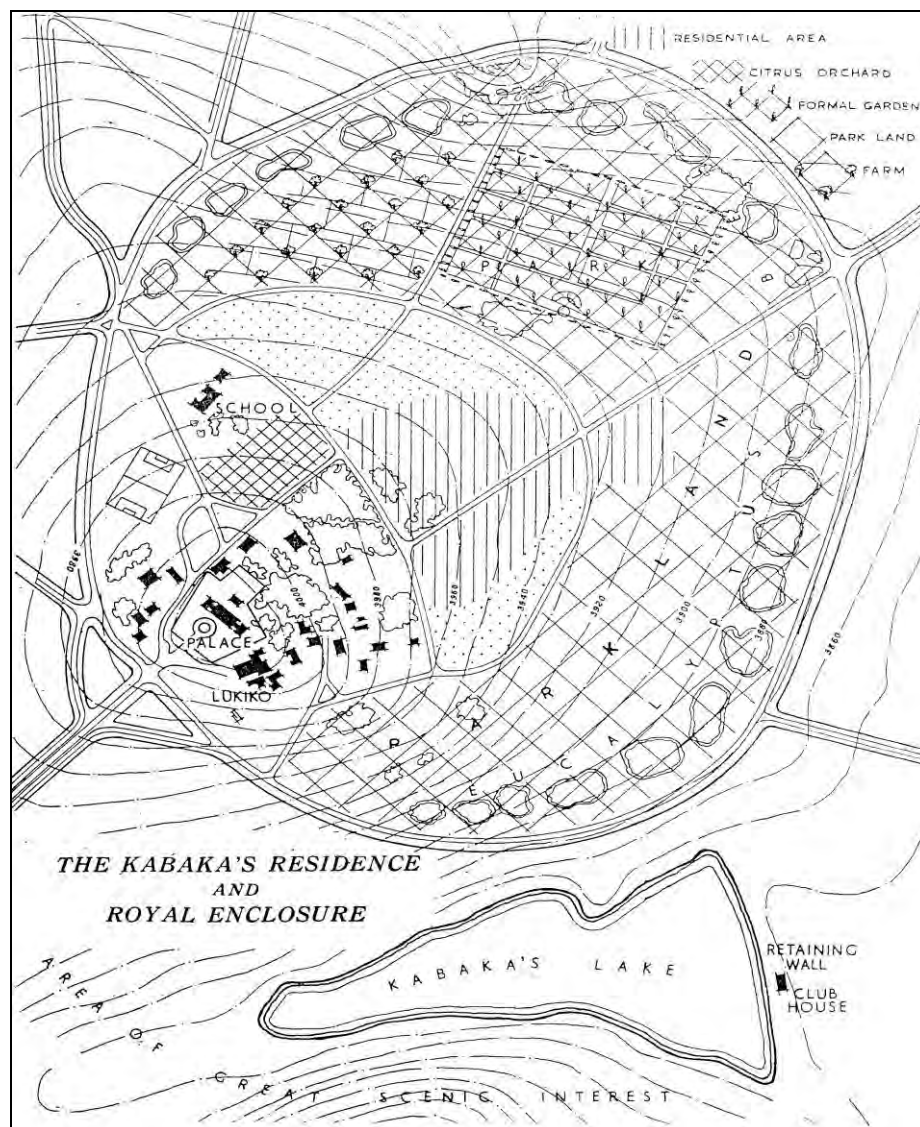
Figure 4-3: A map showing the Lubiri – from 1884 to date.
(Source: Gutkind, 1960)

Figure 4-4a-b: Kabaka's lake, dug in 1884: The pictures are taken from two opposite views. *(Source:http://picasaweb.google.com/CaseinUganda/KampalaPart3#5349516321136022370 Accessed, 26th September 2011)*

According to Roscoe (1921:89-90) two or three private roads ran from the King's enclosure to the lake, approaching it at different points; on these roads no man, unless he had a special permit might be found on pain or death; and along these roads, the King could pass to the lake without the knowledge of his subjects, whenever he wished to take exercise or amusement. The private land around was cultivated by the King's wives and their slaves; it enabled the King to pass to and from the lake without the knowledge of anyone except his own immediate followers and it was regarded as a back-door of safety should the King need such. On the lake shore at the inlet known as the King's landing place, there were several royal canoes kept ready for immediate use, and crews of paddlers were in attendance in case they were called upon in an emergency.

The British Uganda Protectorate and the creation of Kampala City

Okoth-Ogendo (2007:1-3), professor and one of Kenya's respected law scholars submits that the development of capitalism in Europe gave rise to a search for cheap raw materials and agricultural produce and for markets for manufactured exports. This economic reason led to the penetration of Africa by a number of European countries, which became political rivals. Belgian and German annexation of territory upset the balance of power, and the scramble for partition. When Otto von Bismarck, the German Chancellor convened the Africa-Congo conference between 1884 and 1885, it was to set out rules for the "orderly partition" of Africa among European

powers whose citizens, trading companies and church missionaries had already established some sort of presence in various parts of the continent. The importance of that Conference was that it led rapidly to the establishment of direct administration by Great Britain, Germany, Italy, Spain, France, Belgium and Portugal over specific spheres throughout the region. By this conference, the two East African nations of Kenya and Uganda fell under the British colonial administration, while Tanganyika (present-day Tanzania) was under the German administration and later after World War I, it came under the British.

William Hance submits that the capital of the ancient Kingdom of Buganda, which had one of the best evolved hierarchical administrations in East Africa naturally, drew the first European settlements to Uganda (Hance, 1970:216). In 1862, Speke and Grant, coming from the South, reached the capital of Buganda, the first Europeans to do so. On their return to 'civilization', they told of a Kingdom under the absolute rule of a cruel and despotic King, Mutesa. Life was held 'cheap' and human sacrifices practiced. Little more was heard of this land until Henry Morton Stanley, a British journalist turned explorer, explored Uganda. He found that conditions had improved as a result of the civilizing force of Islamic influence (Kendall, 1955: 13).

Following Stanley's request to King Mutesa of Buganda to allow missionaries, the first mission, the Church Missionary Society, established itself at Natete in 1877, and then moved to Namirembe Hill in 1884, the White Fathers from France were allocated Rubaga Hill in 1879, Nsambya Hill became the headquarters of the Mill Hill Fathers from England in 1895.
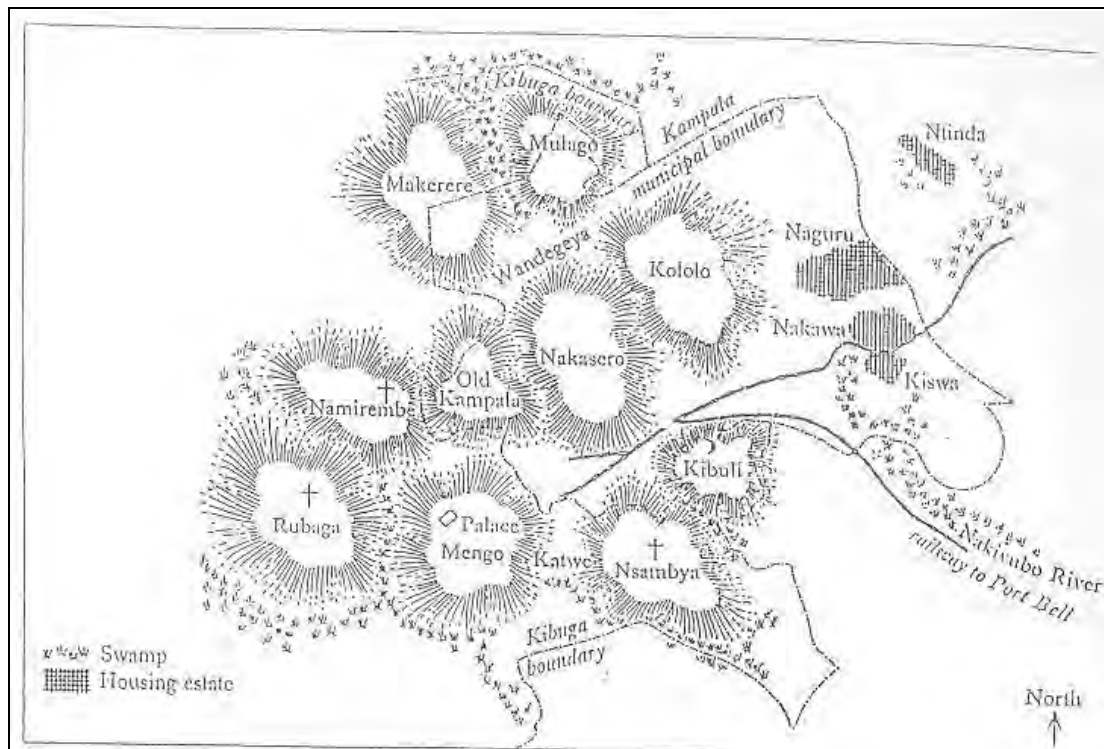
Figure 4-5: Central Hills of Kampala 1949 (**Source:** Adopted from Aidan Southall and Peter Gutkind, 1957)

Kibuli Hill was already occupied and was the headquarters and social focus of African Muslims. But as is evident from the following words of encouragement and wisdom emanating from Stanley, to his compatriots behind his religious zeal were the commercial possibilities of Uganda and the neighbouring regions – especially Congo. To quote:

> "There are forty million people beyond the gateway to the Congo, and the cotton spinners of Manchester are waiting to cloth them. Birmingham foundries are glowing with the red metal that will presently be made into iron work for them and the trinkets that shall adorn those dusky bosoms, and the ministers of Christ are zealous to bring them, the poor benighted heathen into the Christian fold." (Mukherjee 1985:117)

Mukherjee (1985) argues that besides the Missionaries, there were more direct powers of the Empire, the missionaries might have had reservations in regard to their role in colonial politics, and possibly shied away from directly being used by the colonial powers to further their aims. But the role of administrators – was more the 'frank and direct'. Thus Fredrick Lugard, a British army officer and colonial military administrator,

who arrived in Uganda in 1889, to establish the Imperial British East African Company declared quite candidly:

> "The scramble for Africa by the nations of Europe – an incident without parallel in the history of the world – was due to growing commercial rivalry, which brought home to civilised nations the vital necessity of securing the only remaining fields for industrial enterprise and expansion. It is 'will' then to realise that it is for our own advantage – and not alone at the dictates of duty that we have undertaken responsibility in East Africa. It is in order to foster the growth of the trade of this country and to find an outlet for our manufacturers and our surplus energy, that our far seeing statesmen and our commercial men advocate colonial expansion. I do not believe that in these days our national policy is based on motives of philanthropy only…..There are some who say we have no right in Africa at all, that it belongs to the natives! I hold that our right is the necessity that is upon us to provide for our ever growing population – either by opening up new fields for emigration, or by providing work and employment which the development of over sea extension entails, and to stimulate trade by finding new markets, since we know what misery and trade depression brings at home…" (Mukherjee 1985:118-119).

Within a few days of his arrival, Captain Lugard signed a treaty with King Mwanga on the 26th December 1890, and then built a stockade which was subsequently replaced by a substantial fort erected in 1891. On the 29th May, 1893, before setting out for England, Sir Gerald Portal, a British diplomat and Council General for British East Africa, and later special Commissioner to Uganda, signed a treaty with Mwanga taking Buganda under the protection of Queen Victoria and on 18th June 1894 the Protectorate[9] was formally declared over Buganda. Lugard then declared in 1893,

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[9] A protectorate is a state under the protection of another country, such a state can be a subordinate to the protecting power that in effect they lose their independent statehood as was the case in the colonial period, where the conditions differentiating between the colony and the protectorate were generally much less the same. A protectorate was often reduced to a *de facto* condition similar to a colony, but using the pre-existing native state as an agent of indirect rule. Occasionally, a protectorate was run by chattered company, which becomes a *de facto* state in its European home state but geographically overseas, allowed to be an independent country with its own independent foreign policy and generally its own armed forces. A colony on the other hand is a territory governed by another country. There is no sovereignty for a colony; it is under the direct rule of another country.

"We have a prescriptive right in East Africa and its lakes. They were all discovered by the British explorers…..our missionaries first penetrated to Uganda in the footsteps of our explorers" (Mukherjee 1985:118-119).

The 1900 Buganda Agreement and the Evolution of Duality

Mahmood Mamdani, senior scholar of African and international politics, and African history, and Herbert Lehman Professor of Government at Columbia University, argue that Indirect rule[10] came to be the form of colonial rule. While its basic features were sketched in the colony of Natal over five decades during the second half of the 19th century, it was really elaborated by the British in equatorial Africa early in the 20th century - by Frederick Lugard in Nigeria, Uganda, Cameroon, and Tanganyika - and then emulated by the French after World War I, the Belgians in the 1930s, and the Portuguese in the 1950s. Indirect rule was mediated rule - rule mediated through one's own (Mamdani, 1996).

In Uganda, indirect rule came into effect with the signing of the 1900 Buganda Agreement. This agreement set the seal for the colonization of the country and the establishment of the colonial administrative headquarters next to *Mengo* the indigenous capital. The principal parties to the Agreement were the Baganda oligarchy (who wanted to retain their traditional power and desired long-term British military support to guarantee their security from other tribes) and Johnston, the British Special Commissioner and representative of the British Crown (who needed to secure the best arrangement feasible for Britain's economic profit). Under the final terms, the British allocated 10,034 square miles of land to the 'great chiefs' and the Royal Household, and retained all uncultivated, waste

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[10] The ideological underpinning as well as the practical application of indirect rule in British colonialism is traced to the work of Frederick Lugard, the High Commissioner of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, from 1899 to 1906. The system of indirect rule, whereby external affairs, military, and tax collection and control was operated by the British, while most every other aspect of life was left to local pre-colonial aristocracies who had sided with the British during their conquest. The theory behind this solution to a very practical solution of domination of huge populations by a tiny group of foreigners is laid out in Lugard's influential work, *the Dual mandate in British colonial Africa*. Indirect rule was seen as cheaper and easier option to direct rule because it required fewer administrators. In the case of the monarchy of Buganda, the authorities empowered local chiefs to subdue their fellow natives and to collect taxes.

and forest lands for the British Crown. An additional eight thousand square miles of land were divided among notables and lesser chiefs (Mamdani, 1996). Peasants now became tenants of the new Baganda mailo[11] (mile-owning) landlords, and Native Councils would continue to exist and chiefs were required to collect taxes to enable the government of the Protectorate to be run on a basis of complete self-sufficiency (Gugler, 1968).

The hill on which the British fort was originally situated by Lugard in 1891 quickly became congested as the bazaar extended and trading took place on an ever increasing scale. It was imperative for colonial government to find a more suitable site than the fort area for trading purposes. Thus the Government transferred its offices and bazaar to the adjoining Nakasero hill to the east. When the removal took place the name **"Kampala[12]"** was given to the new settlement.

The immediate consequence of the Agreement led to the division of Buganda Kingdom into two distinct areas; the African dominated part administered by Buganda government called the *Kibuga*, centering on and around Mengo hill, and Kampala administered as a township by the British and dominated by Europeans and Asians. All the areas surrounding Kampala were under the Kabaka's administration, who resided at the Lubiri on top of Mengo hill. This division between Kampala and the *Kibuga* remained until 1968.

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[11] *'Mailo'* is a Luganda word coined from English word 'Mile'. *Mailo* land is a form of tenure that resulted from allotments made out of the 1900 Buganda Agreement commonly known as the Uganda Agreement. In Uganda and Kampala in particular five types of land tenure exist: Mailo Land System, Leasehold System, Freehold System, Customary land, and Public Land. Land held under mailo tenure system is mainly in Buganda (Central region) and some parts of Western Uganda. The system confers freehold granted by the colonial government in exchange for political co-operation under the 1900 Buganda Agreement. Essentially feudal in character, the mailo tenure system recognizes occupancy by tenants (locally known as bibanja holders), whose relationship with their landlords is governed and guided by the provisions of the 1998 Land Act. Mailo land, like freehold is registered under the Registration of Titles Act (http://www.alconlands.com/ugandas-land-tenure-system.php. Accessed: 20th May 2011)

[12] 'Kampala' is derived from the Luganda word "impala", a type of antelope (Aepyceros melampus) that the Kings of Buganda used to keep and graze on the hills where the present Old Kampala stands.
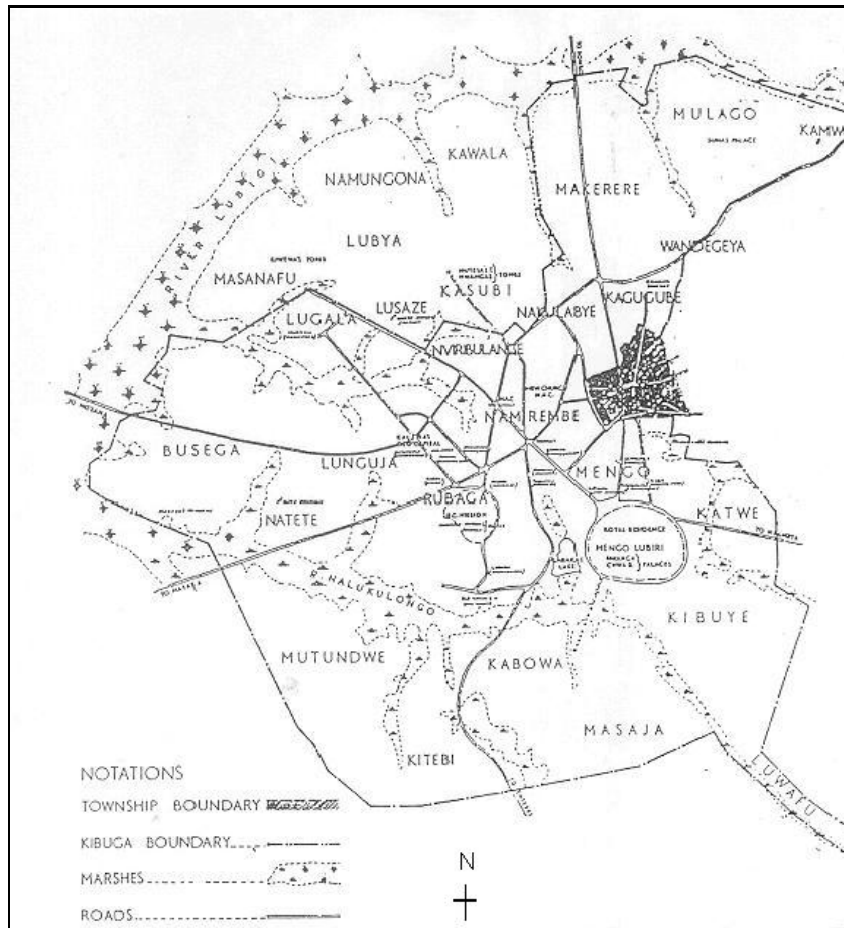
Figure 4-6: Dark spot shows Kampala Township in 1902 in Relation to the Kibuga. (Source: Prabha, 1993)

Kampala's Transformation – Township to City

Kampala started as a small settlement of 170 acres in 1902, designed exclusively as a European settlement. Kampala expanded steadily by continuous encroachment on Mengo and later onto "crown" land. In 1906, the boundary for Kampala Township was expanded as a 3-mile radius from the "present Nakasero Fort" (old Kampala). Kampala continued expanding and in 1920 Namirembe became a township with an officially gazetted trading centre, this all together made the colonial area coverage to total to approximately 3,200 acres in 1929.

In 1930, the railway reached Kampala and Kololo was officially added to Kampala. With unstoppable and continued expansion, areas of Makerere, Wandegeya and Mulago were added to Kampala in 1938. However, it is important to note that the Wandegeya market remained under the control of the *Kibuga* with the rent going to the Buganda Government.

By 1944 Kampala Township now covered more than 4,600 acres, most of it developing on crown land. From this period onwards, the town spread eastwards with the addition of planned residential and industrial zones. During this period, the colonial government attempted to acquire more land on Makerere hill, but there was widespread protest from landowners, tenants and politicians as this was interpreted as an attempt to further European control of the *Kibuga*. By 1948 Kampala's population was estimated at 24,198, and later in 1949 Kampala gained Municipality status. This was followed by inclusion of Kiswa to Kampala in 1952 (Prabha, 1993).

In 1955, Kawempe, which is now one of the five administrative divisions of Kampala, was declared a township, followed by the passing of the Urban Authorities Act in 1958, under which areas like Port Bell at the edge of Lake Victoria became a township.

The upper and eastward side of Kololo was built between 1954 and 1962. Mbuya was built later and both areas remained as European residential areas until after independence. A Committee on Unalienated (unalotted) Crown Land in Towns was set up to prevent unauthorized settlement in the urban areas and to look into the eviction of, or compensation for those persons already settled on crown land. According Hather (1956:1-6) the estimated acreage to land-use for Kampala (excluding Mengo) by 1956 was as follows:

Table 4-1: Acreage to land-use for Kampala

Land Use	Acreage	Percentage
Roads	795	10.8 %
Rail way s	243	3.4%
Residential	3220	43.7%
Industrial	356	4.8%
Central Area (business and office)	31	0.4%
Civic Centre (commercial)	174	2.4%
Markets	5	0.1%
Open Space	1745	23.6%
Major public buildings	104	1.4%
Other	46	0.6%
Undetermined (reserved)	234	3.2%
Agriculture	417	5.6%
Total land area	**7370 acres (11.5 Sq. miles)**	**100%**

Source: Hather, 1956:1-6.

In 1959, the first population Census of African and non-Africans within Kampala city boundaries was carried out and the population statistics released indicates 46,735 people living in Kampala. The city covered 81/4 sq. miles or 5,376 acres while the *Kibuga* covered an area of approximately 20 square miles with a population of 52,673. The combined population of the townships of Nakawa, Kawempe and the *Kibuga* and Kampala was approximately 123,000 people. Between 1958 and 1968, there were four municipalities with their own administrative bodies - Kawempe (1958-68), Mengo (1962-68), Nakawa (1963-1968), and Port Bell (1958-63).

Table 4-2: Non-African Population of Kampala 1959

	Non Africans Resident in Kampala – 1959								
	European	Indian	Pakistani	Goan	Arab	Somali	Mixed race	Other	Total
Kampala Town	3,179	16,749	1,381	1,140	41	7	73	111	22,681

Source: Uganda Protectorate, Uganda Census 1959: Non-African Population. East African statistical Department, Entebbe 1960

On the 9th of October 1962, Uganda attained Independence from the British colonial rule; Kampala became the capital of Uganda. The Kibuga was constituted into Mengo Municipality and Namirembe added to Mengo. The Public Lands Act was passed. Kampala's population was estimated to be 50,000. It is important to note that Kampala did not stop expanding with the attainment of independence. In 1963 Nakawa became a township and Port Bell added to Nakawa, thus adding another 11 sq. miles and 15,000 people to the urban population.

In 1966, there was a turn of events, the first prime minister of Uganda, Milton Obote, abolished all kingdoms in the country. The overthrow of the Kabaka of Buganda as well as the other monarchies by the Prime Minister led to the incorporation of the Kibuga into Kampala Municipality with Kampala City Council as the administrative unit and from 1967-1968 the size of the city of Kampala increased from 21 sq. km. (8sq. miles) to 195 sq. km. (75 sq. miles) with the inclusion of Kawempe, Lusanja, Kisaasi, Kiwatule, Muyenga, Ggaba and Mulungu. This today forms the physical and administrative jurisdictional area of Kampala (Prabha, 1993).
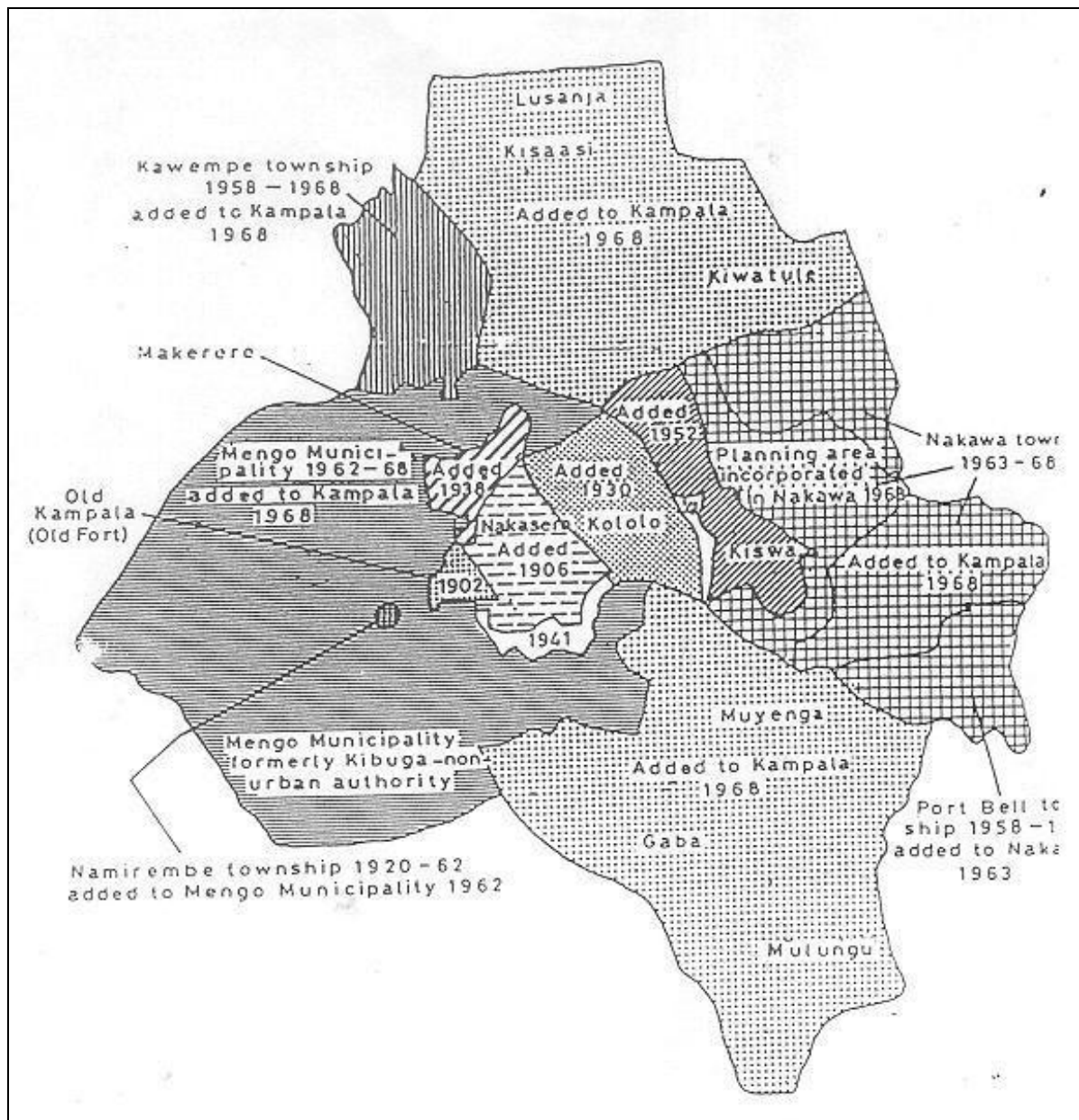
Figure 4-7: Map showing expansion of Kampala city. (Source: Prabha, 1993) Note: the word *'added'* used in the above figure and sections of this chapter denotes inclusion of both the physical and administrative boundaries of areas formerly under the *Kibuga* administration into Kampala administration.

5. KAMPALA CITY IN THE COLONIAL ERA: TOWN PLANNING IDEAS AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION

This chapter is both thematic and chronologically sequential. It identifies major themes, describes and discusses the evolution of planning of Kampala, traced successively through time, usually overlapping with the next. Though the chapter explores a number of issues, there is one basic theme that runs throughout, that is, the physical and spatial arrangement of Kampala is a unique product of society, culture, ideas and principles over a period of time, presented in chronological order. The outcomes of the spatial plans over time are yet another area of concern of this chapter.

The Beginning of Formal Town Planning – 1903

The Buganda Agreement of 1900, created the evolution of a dual-city structure under dual management: Kampala, governed by the British, and Mengo, by the Kabaka and the newly propertied Baganda chiefs. The colonial boundary of Kampala in 1902 covered approximately 170 acres. This was designated to be used, *"exclusively as European quarter and all native settlements (were to be) strictly prohibited"* (Kendall 1955). Lwasa points out that 'modern' planning in Kampala is only traced from the inception of the British colonial government in Uganda (Lwasa, 2006) and the establishment of Kampala Township in 1902. From its establishment as a township, Kampala developed on *ad hoc* basis, a condition that led to the enactment of the first legal framework for urban growth and development in Uganda.

The first town planning regulations in Uganda were enforced in the Township ordinance of 1903[13] (Uganda Gazette – East African Protectorate and Uganda – 1903, p.333, Act No.10 of 1903). The Ordinance provided for a wide range of urban legislations, to be applied to designated Townships under the 'Township Rules'. This permitted legislation to be passed easily upon such matters as street cleaning, operation of the market and so forth. The Township Ordinance remained in force for a long time (till the 1930's), but the Township rules which were applied under its

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[13] See Appendix VI – summary of the chronological overview of the planning ordinances/Acts/Regulations for Uganda.

umbrella were added to and modified from time to time, and the number of clauses applicable to each Township within Uganda was also made to vary.

The Ordinance stated that the Commissioner could declare any place in the Protectorate to be a township with the prescribed limits. However, the Buganda government protested against this Ordinance as being another attempt by 'Europeans' to reduce the size of the *Kibuga,* but their protests could not cause any changes in the Ordinance. In 1905, the administrative and government offices were transferred to the adjacent Nakasero Hill which was more spacious. Similarly, developments on Nakasero Hill took place very fast and in an ill-planned manner as described by Kendall, that;

> "…….a few good buildings (mud walls and nice enclosures) exist but as a whole the place is an incongruous mess with scarcely any paths…." (Kendall, 1955 cited in Lwasa, 2006:23).

Southall and Gutkind (1957) contend that the special administrative, sanitary, financial and other measures necessary to deal with the rapidly growing foreign town of European and Asian officials and merchants soon distinguished it sharply from the *Ganda* capital, whose character changed more slowly. The foreign dominated town of Kampala began to dwarf the African capital (Kibuga) centred upon Mengo. There was general acknowledgement on the part of the colonial authorities that the town area was getting congested as trading and business took center stage and attracted every individual to town. According to Prabha (1993:52) letters, communiques, notices, and other deliberations between the various Governors and the *Lukiiko* (the Baganda Parliament) centred on matters such as; the growth of slums, increases in population and housing densities, lack of housing standards, siting and building regulations, licensing and control of trading, beer making and selling, and noise and nuisance making.

In 1906 the boundary was set for Kampala as a 3-mile radius from the "present Nakasero Fort" (old Kampala) and the Kampala Local Sanitary Board was designated as the "Authority" for urban administration in the Kampala Township Area. In the very year (1906), the first decree by the government was passed that no private building should take place on Government Square in the centre of town as this was to be reserved for government buildings (Prabha, 1993:121, Kendall, 1955:19). The reservation was in contemplation that when funds were available, government would erect their own offices on this site. This stage in Kampala's history can be recorded as the first incident of zoning in the city.

In August 1910, the boundary for the township was redefined by natural features and, in effect, the town was made to consist of Old Kampala and Nakasero hills (Uganda Gazette 1910). By 1912, considerable development had taken place on Nakasero hill, most of which was informal. The question of what kind or ideal urban environment was needed featured. The conditions of the township at the time led to the preparation of the first planning scheme for Kampala in 1912 (figure 5.1). Many of the concepts which were implicit or explicit in the 1912 plan had a utopian origin. Using Glass' words, they are the idea of nineteenth-century reformers, and especially those of the utopian writers (Glass, 1959), who saw social conditions and relationships in 'physicalist' terms – a concern for quality of life through practical designs for street patterns and transportation, water mains and sewers, public parks and open spaces, and the form and function of housing.

According to Prabha (1993:123), by the time the first planning scheme (1912) was adopted, the population of the township numbered about 2,850 and the area covered by the plan was about 1,400 acres. Gutkind and Southhall (1963) submit that the Kibuga had a population of 32,441 in 1911 and therefore was considerably larger than that of the European Kampala. The figure for the actual population of the Township throughout this period has very little meaning in view of the fact that the main African concentration lay in Mengo and the Kibuga. Within the Township boundary, the resident African population always consisted of rather unrepresentative categories such as domestic servants, the Nubians of Frederick Lugard's army and the Swahilis from the Caravans who formed the most though the least influential.
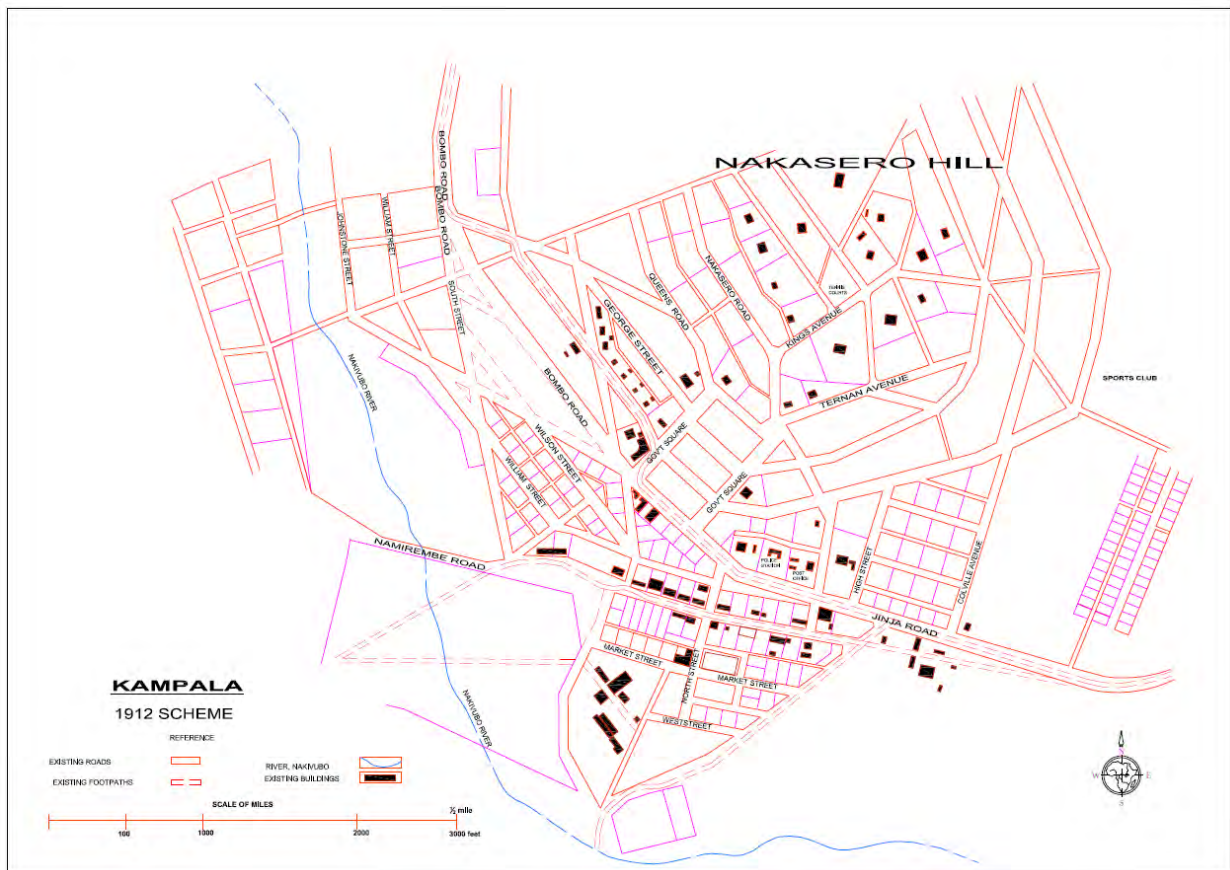
Figure 5-1: The First Planning Scheme for Kampala Township – prepared in 1912. (*Source: Henry Kendall, 1955,* The Plan was re-drawn by Author to enhance it clarity)

On adoption of the plan, the first road to be constructed was *Kyagwe road* - the road running due east from the old fort to a point near the former Uganda Company's premises. This was followed by Kings Avenue – one that ran at right angles to this one northward past the site of the High Court. The third road (present-day Speke road) was later constructed that ran past the Imperial Hotel (the present-day Grand Imperial hotel). Later, however, the Supreme Court (present-day High Court) was built at one end and the lower end was reserved as a green open space, presently called Constitutional Square (City Square), located along Jinja Road

In general, this study observes that the current Kampala spatial structure around areas of Nakasero, Kampala road, Sheraton hotel and areas around the present City Square, are a direct result of the 1912 Kampala's planning scheme which formed the basis for the layout of that central part of Kampala City, most of which still stands today (refer to figure 5.4), except for some buildings that were demolished and the sites rebuilt, within the subsequent years.

Figure 5-2: Kampala City Square- first area to be zoned as public open space.

(Source: Author, May 2009)

Figure 5-3: Kampala High Court (Formally Supreme Court) Source: Author, May 2009
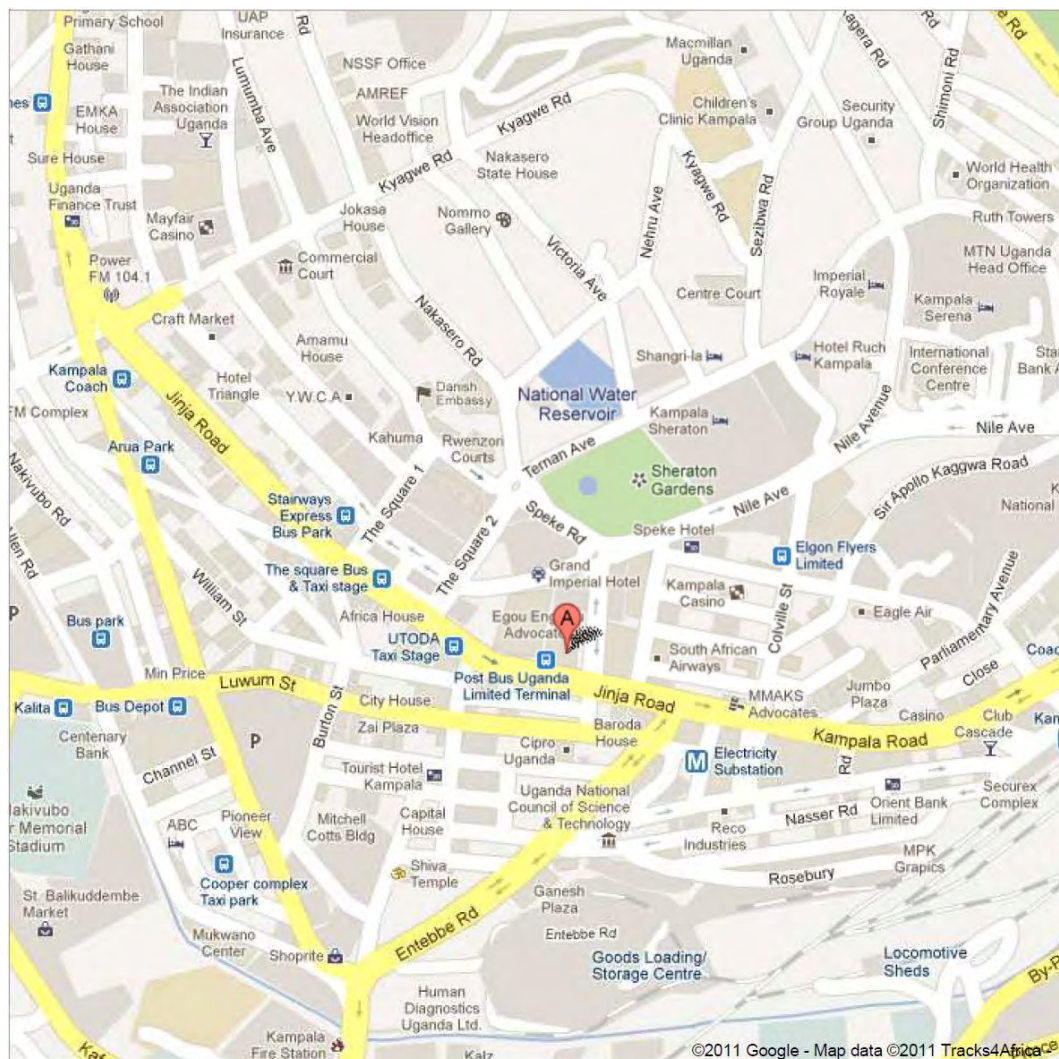
Figure 5-4: An Overview Map showing the (present) central part of Kampala developed on the basis of the adopted plan of 1912. (Source: http://maps.google.com/maps?hl=en&tab=wl , Accessed: October 08, 2011.

THE 1919 PLANNING EPISODE

From 1912, onwards, Kampala became a significant town, and was considered a control centre for economic development in the protectorate. Thus, it was necessary to accommodate new residential, office and commercial functions within the Township. Planning in this colonial era was specifically more concerned with the view taken of the ideal urban world planning should try to bring about. Ambe Njoh contends that, as a utopian project, planning in British colonial Africa strived to promote Euro-centric notions of environmental designs (Njoh, 2007). Like in most of British territories in Africa, Asia and the Americas, aesthetic values were central to the general conception of planning and these played a role in the creation and transformation of Kampala urban landscape. Earlier utopian ideas of planning were superseded by health concerns, and this was at the most critical time, when European powers were seeking methods of exercising control of colonies. King (1990) asserts that health concerns and the need to provide colonial administrators and early settlers with an acceptable living environment gave rise to environmental sanitation measures and the establishment of rudimentary local government, throughout the colonies. Njoh (2007) argues that the fact that diseases, especially those in tropical Africa, were communicable, dictated a need for colonial sanitation. The late nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century was also a period of rapid advance in tropical medicine, malaria was by far the most serious threat to Europeans living in the African tropics, and the mosquito theory made its appearance just when colonial administrations were struggling to keep soldiers and administrators alive in a difficult environment. New currents in European thought about urban planning flourished in these same years[14] – the key period for city planning in Africa, when colonial capitals were either founded or redesigned (Curtin, 1985:594). The play of these crosscurrents of thought during a period of crucial decision making offers an interesting example of ideas in action, one with implications for our understanding of human behaviour both in Kampala and beyond.

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[14] The time period referred to is the first quarter of the twentieth century

Segregation for Health: Origin of the Ideology

The fear of death or invaliding from epidemic diseases haunted the British in India. Within a few years of the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny, the high death rates among British troops at home and abroad brought about radical review of health provisions. A Royal Commission on the sanitary state of the army in Britain in 1857-61 was soon followed by similar commissions in India and the Mediterranean stations. The Royal Commission in India found annual death rates of 69 per thousand enlisted men over the period 1800 – 1856, compared to 38 for officers and 20 for European civil servants. Apart from the scale of human tragedy implied by these figures, the Commission calculated that a force of 70,000 Europeans would cost £200,000 annually in Europe, but an additional £388,000 in tropical service because of sickness alone (Curtin 1989).

In the absence of scientific knowledge about the causes of epidemics before the advent of microscopy and the 'germ theory' the Chadwick model for improving public health assumed disease to be caused by bad air, atmospheric impurities linked to decaying animal and vegetable matter. The conditions which could temper the intensity and frequency of disease were known: proper drainage, better housing and ventilation, better sewage disposal and water supply. In the tropics, an additional measure was the creation of distinct areas for European residence. The Royal Commission in India set a target of reducing death rates to 20 per thousand, and that was met within a decade, not because of specific medical remedies, but a range of empirical measures, which included relocation. The Military Cantonments Act XXII of 1864 was the first comprehensive health legislation for the British in India, instituting sanitary police under the overall charge of medical officers. Physical separating walls were to be built between the European and Indian populations to prevent the spread of 'miasmas.' The principles of cantonment planning were to be extended to the native areas through the Sanitary Commissions created in 1864 for the three presidencies[15]

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[15] The term "Presidencies" is used to mean the Provinces of India, formerly called the Presidencies of British India. Earlier Presidency towns and collectively British India, were the administrative units of the territories of India under the tenancy or the sovereignty of either the East India Company or the British Crown between 1612 and 1947. British India was divided into three, namely, the Bombay Presidency, Madras Presidency and Bengal Presidency.

After this success of reducing European mortality in the tropics, doctors grew in status and became all-purpose experts, and Western medicine obtained its greatest importance in imperial ideology and practice between 1880 and 1930. This was the period when European empires were at their most expansive and assertive, new trade, transport and imperialties were assisting the spread of disease vectors, particularly mosquitoes, flies and lice (Curtin, 1989:159-160).

A spate of laws, proclamations and decrees gave state sanction to various health measures, especially in response to the plague epidemics. In an era of competitive imperialism persistently high levels of epidemic mortality were a mark of poor colonial management, and the association of diseases like small pox, plague, cholera and malaria with the indigenous population deepened European suspicions of that population. Fear of catching native diseases thus provided a pretext for segregation, which became 'a general rubric of sanitary administration set by the Imperial government for all tropical colonies (Dumett, 1968:71; cited in: Home, 1997:126). The campaign for better sanitation was concerned with order, openness, ventilation and the spatial demarcation of different activities. From these medical ideas came the segregation of European Reservations by a non-residential area (sometimes called a building – free zone).

The discovery of the causes and transmitters of malaria by Dr. Ronald Ross from the Liverpool School of Public Health complicated the criteria for planning in all tropical countries. Dr. Ross conceived that anopheles mosquito transmitted the disease through biting of an infected person in the tropics, and most especially their children whom he viewed as a prime source of malaria infection because they were exposed to mosquitoes. In 1899 and 1900, two malaria control experiments were conducted in Sierra Leone, reputed as the most malaria-infested place in the British Empire at the time. According to the results of the experiments, the anopheles mosquito did almost all of its biting and infection at night. Thus, no more than nocturnal segregation of the races was called for. Therefore, it was possible, the medical officers argued, for Europeans to work safely with members of the indigenous population during the day, returning to their exclusively White enclaves at night. Based on this line of thought and the "scientific findings" on which it was premised, racial residential segregation was recommended as a measure for protecting the British colonial officers from malaria. The effectiveness of this spatial strategy hinged tightly, it was held, on the extent to which a distance too

great for the malaria-carrying mosquito to traverse separated the races. This was effectively the basis of the decision on the part of Joseph Chamberlain, the colonial secretary, to adopt racial residential segregation as official policy in British tropical colonies (Njoh, 2008: 589).

To preserve their health and purity, as well as their status and dominance, Dr. Simpson the expert on sanitary affairs in the colonies together with his counterpart Lugard argued that the solution to the peaceful settlement of Europeans in the tropics was through creation of exclusive, endogamous, and defensible enclaves by means of careful planning. He also advocated putting as much distance as possible between the races, he said:

> "The [European] house should not be surrounded by nor be close to native huts. Native children are seldom not infected with malaria, and hence living in a dwelling house in this position increases the risk of infection from that disease" (Simpson, 1916).

Lugard and Simpson echoed the views of Dr. Ronald Ross, the discoverer of the cause of malaria, who thought children were a prime source of infection. Lugard, in his book, entitled: *Revision of Instructions to Political Officers on Subjects Chiefly Political and Administrative,* advised all colonial administrators to stick to the segregationist policy. He candidly said:

> "The first object of the non-residential area is to segregate Europeans, so that they shall not be exposed to attacks of mosquitoes which have become infected with the germs of malaria or yellow fever, by preying on Natives, and especially Native children, whose blood so often contains these germs. Doctors, therefore, urge that that Europeans should not sleep in proximity to natives, in order to avoid infection. It is also valuable as a safeguard against bush fires and those which are so common in Native quarters, especially in the dry season. Finally, it removes the inconvenience felt by European, whose rest is disturbed by drumming and other noises dear to the Native" (Lugard, 1919; quoted in: Home, 1997).

Although not all colonial Governors accepted that segregation was the answer, medical officers of health became extremely influential on colonial urban planning in the early decade of the 20th century. For example, in 1909, the principal medical officers of British West African colonies

held their first joint conference, and promulgated a policy that all Europeans should be required to live in special reservations separated from the nearest African dwelling by at least 400 yards, a distance considered to be sufficiently wide enough as not to be traversed by mosquitoes or rats (Home, 1997). It is however, not clear where the figure of 400 yards emerged from or it was merely hypothesization from the medical scientists.

Other diseases: Plague

Although malaria provides the most important single argument for sanitary segregation in planning and residential location in Kampala, other diseases too played a role. Older ideas about how to control smallpox and plague through quarantine, including the *cordon sanitaire*, antedated the germ theory by centuries. In early colonial Africa, bubonic plague reappeared, and with it came some earlier forms of sanitary segregation. The plague had been absent from Africa and Europe for centuries, but it now returned in a pandemic that began in China, reaching Canton and Hong Kong in 1894, Madagascar in 1898, South Africa in 1901, the Ivory Coast in 1899 and 1903, the Gold Coast in 1908, East Africa by1910, and Dakar, the capital of French West Africa, in 1914 (Curtin, 1989).

The earliest definite record of plague in Uganda, that I have been able to trace is given by Baker (1921:39), whose writings intimate that, in about 1876, an army of Baganda who attempted to raid the Bakedi (one of the Bantu tribes) were so heavily attacked by plague that they abandoned the enterprise and on their return took the infection back to Buganda, which resulted into a wide spread epidemic in Buganda. The pioneer Missionaries who arrived in Uganda in 1877, give several records of what was quite clearly plague, for it was characterised by swellings in the armpit and groin and high fever, and it was known as "Kaumpuli," which is obviously "kawumpuli," the present Luganda name for plague. However, Hopkins (1949) notes that plague had been present in Mengo district at least since 1897, when Sir Albert Cook saw cases in Kampala, and probably very much earlier. Plague was caused and spread by the black rat (*Rattus rattus*) and other field-rats. Five hundred eighty seven (587) deaths attributed to plague had been recorded in Buganda (including in the towns of Masaka and Mubende) and these high rates were partly blamed on the lack of natural barriers (green corridors/belts) between districts.

The first definite reappearance of the disease in Uganda after 1899

was when three cases were recorded in Mbale – eastern town of Uganda, the identity of the disease being confirmed microscopically in the following year when more cases occurred (Curtin, 1985) and by 1910 the plague had already reached all the districts (Baker, 1921). Baker's first systematic study of plague in Uganda stated quite definitely the belief that there was a connection between cotton and plague in the Protectorate. He wrote: *"....there is no doubt that the spread of rats and plague has some connection with the cotton industry"* (Baker, 1921:39). When cotton was first introduced as an economic crop, it was naturally grown chiefly in the most densely-populated areas and in particular in those with better communications/road networks to facilitate shifting from one mode of transportation to another. In these centres, the British influenced the location of ginneries and cotton buying centres/markets. In this connection, Barrett (1933) remarked that:

> "A large number of ginneries and cotton buying centres operated, situated for the most part in the centre and south-east areas of the country which correspond to the areas of greatest cotton growing activity and population density. Plague was localised almost exclusively to these areas" (Barrett 1933:32).

Whereas segregation against malaria was mainly a matter of separating the Europeans from the African town, the favourite measure against plague was to remove those who became ill. In a racist era, the natural solution was to expel Africans from the European town (Curtin, 1985:608). The origin of the policy of Segregation for Health, popularly known as the 'Sanitation Syndrome' influenced the urban formations and patterns in a number of towns in Uganda. Like in other colonies, Home (1997: 219) observes that Colonial urban form increasingly sought to enforce separation: white from black, migrant from native, traditional from modern, men from women and family.

Kampala Township – Planning along Health Segregation Ideology

By 1913, the Kampala planning scheme prepared in 1912 required revision to accommodate more and newer functions within the Township. As the First World War (WWI) approached town planning received a more significant role in the Protectorate, and in 1913 the Colonial Government established the Town Planning Committee charged with planning affairs of

the township. In Kampala as in the whole of East and West Africa the thread of segregation was increasingly becoming stronger. Under the guise of hygiene and sanitation, policies were put in place to, what Njoh (2007:21) calls 'compartmentalize land use activities'. This was followed by racial segregation, particularly pronounced in the separation of races by residence. The most elaborate segregationist proposals, combining racist and sanitary objectives, came from Professor William J. Simpson of the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, who after consultations with the Town Planning Committee, had been invited to Uganda to survey and advice on the planning of Kampala Township (Prabha, 1993:123).

On his tour of Kenya, Uganda, and Zanzibar in 1913-14, Simpson made recommendations, followed by an elaborate final report filed in July 1914. In connection with the development of the town, Professor Simpson submitted a report embodying his advice as to the town planning and housing policy which should be followed not only in Kampala but in all new trading centres in Uganda. In this memorandum, dated the 3rd of November, 1913, Professor Simpson said:

> "The importance of the subject lies in its bearing on the healthy prosperity of the town and the advisability of a different policy to be adopted in the future, not only for Kampala but also for all the numerous trade centres that are bound to arise very soon in Uganda" (Kendall, 1955:19-20).

Simpson further observed that, owing to the wonderful development of the country, and the paucity of offices, there had been no time to prepare a well-considered plan of the town, from a health point of view, into separate quarters for Europeans and Indians, divided by a neutral belt on which neither can encroach. On one side of the town a small area divided the European official quarters from the others, while Indian and European dwelling houses and shops were close to one another. More than this, the situation of many of these buildings was so far down the slope of the hill in one direction as to be close to the swamp. The consequence of this arrangement was that malarial fever and black water fever were prevalent in the blocks of houses on the lower slopes of the hill amongst Indians and Europeans, and malarial fever, which was rare in the higher parts of the hill, had gradually travelled up as the intervening space had been decreased by houses being built on it (Kendall, 1955:19-20). Simpson believed that town planning in Europe, required the separation of commercial, residential, and

manufacturing areas, but in Africa different principles were necessary, He said,

> "... Something more is required where the races are diverse and their habits and customs differ from one another... It has to be recognized that the standards and mode of life of the Asiatic do not ordinarily consort with the European, whilst the customs of Europeans are at times not acceptable to the Asiatics, and that those of the African unfamiliar with and not adapted to the new conditions of town life will not blend with either. Also, the diseases to which these different races are respectively liable are readily transferable to the European and vice versa, a result especially liable to occur when their dwellings are near each other" (Simpson, 1914).

Simpson who was a great agitator of the segregation policies throughout British colonies in Africa and Asia, in a report to the Ugandan Government gave the following recommendations on the planning of Kampala Township:

1) "The necessity of securing its development on healthy lines; by physical separation of Europeans, Indians and Africans by the use of green belts that neither could "encroach" on.
2) The protection of its present water supply and the substitution as soon as possible by a public water supply from Lake Victoria.
3) The drainage of the marshes to prevent the breeding of mosquitoes.
4) The removal of the ginnery located in the town [16] and, in the meantime, the compulsory disinfection of certain stations of all raw cotton from infected districts before being brought to Kampala.
5) Systematic examination of rats for plague, establishment of an infectious hospital, and a properly equipped observation camp.
6) The setting up of plots of 50'x 100' with no right to subdivide."

Simpson then recommended that the whole question be referred to a town planning committee consisting of the principal medical officer as Chairman, the chief sanitary officer, the land officer, the director of public

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[16] To that effect, all ginneries in all towns in Uganda were removed from the urban area to the peripheries as a measure to control the spread of plague, a disease associated with rats. Rats were observed to be common in cotton stations and places of high density.

works, the medical officer of Kampala, and the district commissioner of Kampala, as members. It should be noted that this committee comprised of only Europeans. Simpson pointed out that a central and permanently constituted town planning committee would be very useful in dealing with towns and trade centres, and in controlling their development on health lines. He wrote:

> "…..in the interests of each community and of the healthiness of the locality and country, it is absolutely essential that in every town and trade centre, the town planning should provide well defined and separate quarters or wards for Europeans, Asiatics and Africans, as well as those divisions which are necessary in a town of one nationality and race, and that there should be a neutral belt of open unoccupied country of at least 300 yards in width between the European residences and those of the Asiatic and African" (Simpson, 1914).

Simpson's recommendations dominated the 1919 planning period, and formed the basis for planning in the 1930s and to a certain extent the entire colonial period. It must be remembered that large-scale experiments in town planning had only just begun in the United Kingdom at the beginning of the century, and that the Town Planning Institute was founded only in 1914 therefore all approaches in colonies had not stood a test of time and were purely on experimental basis.

Deliberations on Simpson's Ideas - the 1919 Planning Scheme

As alluded to earlier, the Central Planning Board, as recommended by Simpson, was constituted at the end of 1918 and was soon considering the preparation of a plan for Kampala. The Board was established as a coordinating and advisory Board for Kampala and other urban areas. On the 10th January, 1918, discussions took place regarding the number and type of leases in the Kampala bazaar area, and each member of the Board was asked to draw up a scheme for the removal of the existing bazaar to Kololo by the following meeting. The principles of the general draft plan were discussed at length, especially as regards the future of the existing Indian bazaar and the position of the green belt zones separating the residential areas of the three principal races from each other and from the commercial or bazaar area (Prabha, 1993:123).

Towards the end of January 1918, His Excellency the Governor was invited to attend the meeting of the Board and he actively participated in the discussion regarding the general planning of the town. It was ultimately decided that the new bazaar or commercial area should be situated on the south-eastern spur of Nakasero hill, and that the Asian[17] housing area be located across the Kitante valley. Various boundaries of the green belt zones were suggested and their final siting was postponed for further consideration. As a result of these deliberations, three draft schemes were prepared, "A", "B" and "C", and deposited for public inspection and comments at the Government offices in Kampala (Kendall, 1955).

Meetings were arranged which were attended by representatives of the Church Missionary Society, the Indian association, the Chamber of Commerce and other representative bodies who gave their views on the three proposals. These views were carefully noted and a report, together with the alternative plans, was sent to Government for a decision. In these meetings, the native African was not present and was also kept out of subsequent issues to do with management of the plan. The Central Government, on its part, dispatched the plans and relating materials to the Secretary of State, and early in 1920, news was received that scheme "C" illustrated herein (figure 5.5) had been approved. Due to decaying archives and difficulty in sourcing information, it was not possible obtain the copies of the other two - "A" and "B" alternative plans.

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[17] The word "Asian" is used to mean people of Indian origin. In some cases the two phrases "Asian" and "Indian" are interchangeably used.
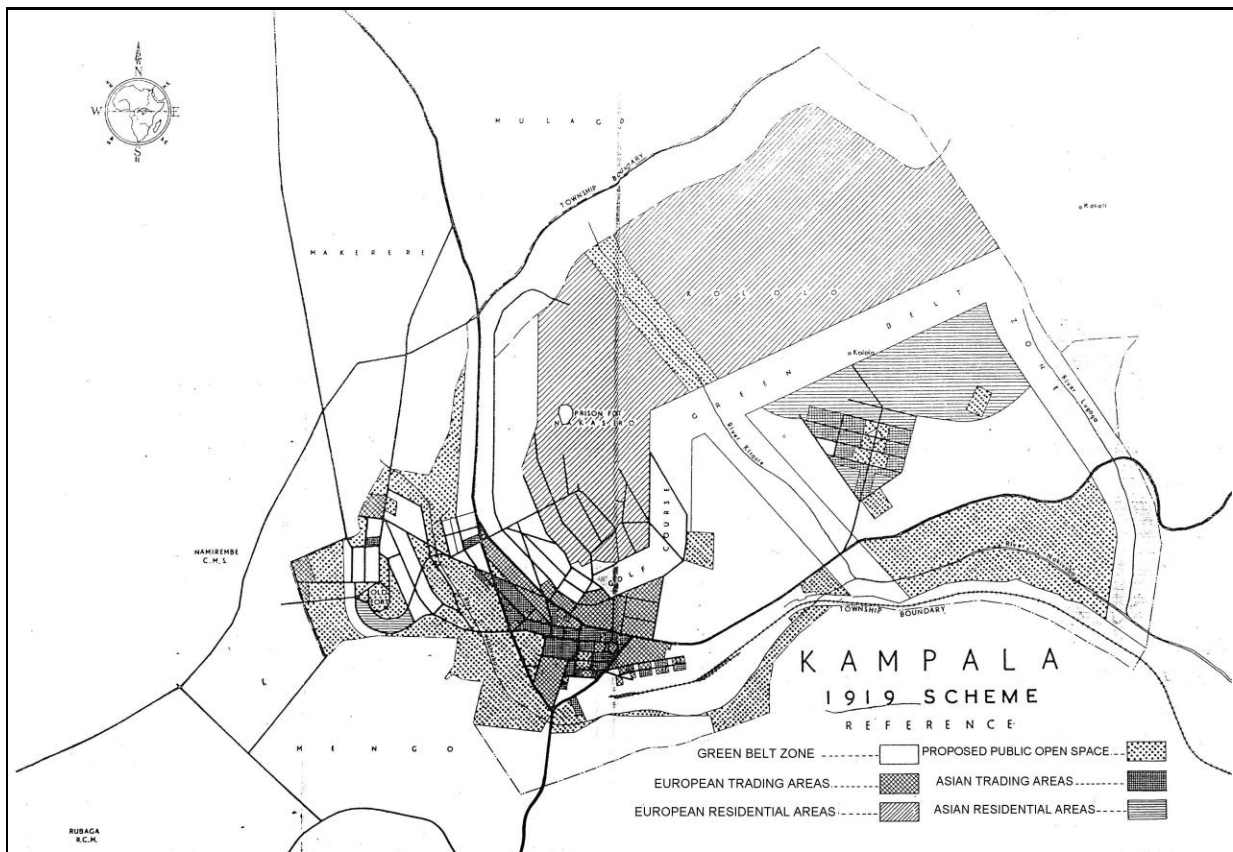
Figure 5-5: Schematic expression of Simpson's ideas - 1919 Planning Scheme "C" for Kampala (Source: Kendall, 1955)

This study observes that the 1919 planning scheme by Simpson does not provide for residential zones for Africans. The 'native' Africans were kept out of the township environment, as they were thought to increase the risk of malaria infection. The Africans lived in the rural areas, others in the periphery of Kampala, while others lived in the Kibuga, the native capital.

Implementation of the 1919 Planning Scheme

In bringing this scheme into force, the Board took careful cognizance of the recommendations made by Professor Simpson referred to in his report of 1914, where he draws attention to the interdependence of health with orderly planning and housing (Kendall, 1955). The Board lacked the advice of a trained planner although various qualified officials resident in Britain were consulted from time to time. It is difficult to ascertain after so many years to what extent such advice was followed. Nevertheless many of the

planning proposals adopted by the Board covered such matters as the location of zones for residence and commerce, the alignment of roads, the prevention of disease, but the absence of a much more detailed plan created a lack of continuity and *ad hoc* decisions became the rule rather than the exception.

As already mentioned, the Board was much concerned with prevention of the outbreak and spread of contagious diseases such as malaria and plague. This problem was closely connected with the prevention of slum conditions as was in the UK. A great deal of useful work in preventative measures was achieved; this was done by draining of the swamps and creation of the green belts to separate the planned residential zones of the Europeans from the other races. Today, from the air the most visible evidence of Simpson's recommendation, although being encroached upon is the natural barrier/green corridor (Kampala's present-day golf course) wrapped around the *boma* quarter, with varying width of 300 to well over 400 yards (figure 5.6).
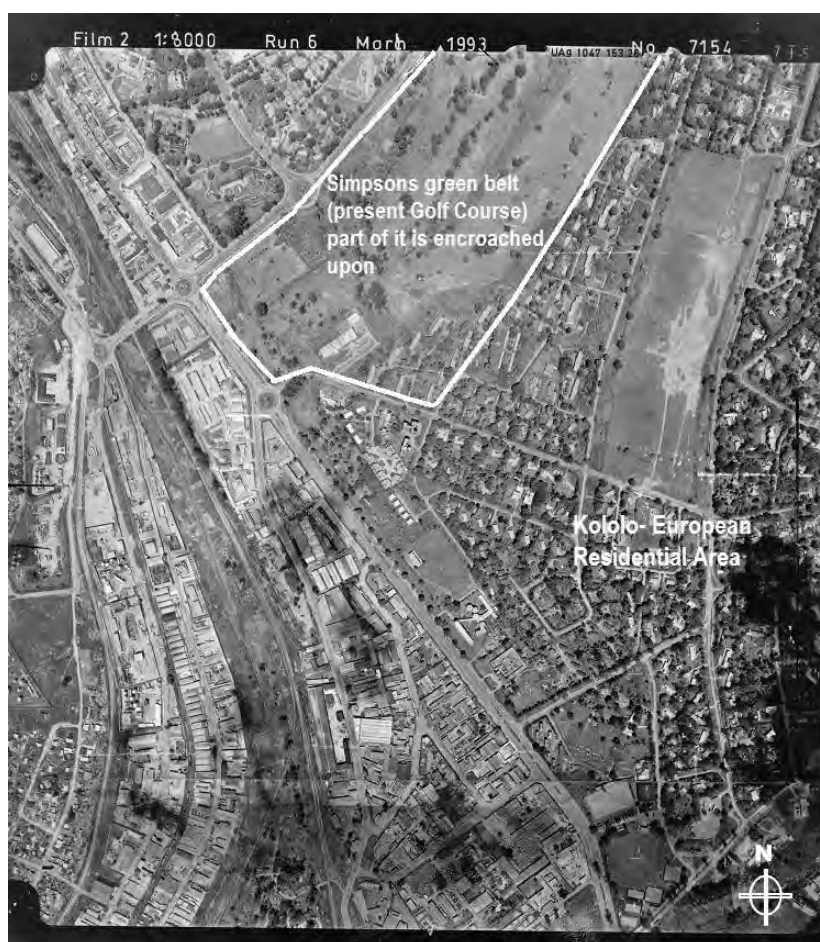
Figure 5-6: Aerial photograph of 1993 showing part of the Golf Course – with Author's Annotation. (Source: Surveys and Mapping Department, Entebbe, 1993)

THE 1930 PLANNING EPISODE – "PLANNING THE TOWNSHIP ALONG MODERN LINES"

In early 1920s, despite Simpson's plan, the Protectorate government frequently lamented about the poor sanitary conditions in the township, especially in the bazaar area in central Kampala. The enforcement of strict racial segregation by a non-building zone was, however, soon abandoned.

The colonial office decided in 1923 that segregation in East Africa by legislation was unjustified, while recognizing that 'in practice the different races will, by natural affinity, keep together in separate quarters (Curtin 1985; Home 1997:127). By 1927-1930, some changes were slowly taking place at the Colonial Office, and concern was being expressed for a strategic inroad into issues of colonial welfare. In 1929, a *Commonwealth Development Act* was enacted, which set aside some money for social development. The colonial administrators recognized that *"rigid insistence on racial segregation, as laid down by Professor Simpson, would involve fatal dislocation of trade and unwarranted expense to the Government"* (Mirams, 1931:32 cited in: Nilsson, 2006). Following this line of thinking, in 1929, the Uganda Administration asked the Colonial Office to provide "specialist officers" in town planning, anti-malarial measures and sewerage management systems for Kampala. This was seen as important for public health – not least to combat malaria. But there was also an idea of 'modernity' and development embedded in this request:

> "….much remains to be done if Kampala is to extend on the lines of a 'modern township' and if the health of its inhabitants is to be reasonably safeguarded." (Governor Gowers in a dispatch to the Colonial office, UK, dated 7th January 1929, Quoted in: Nilsson, 2006)

The Colonial Office was responsive and utilized its vast resource base, both in the United Kingdom and the rest of the empire. Through contacts with the Ministry of Health in the UK, a Mr. A. E. Mirams – the well-known planning consultant and land valuer who had served 15 years in India was engaged as a town planning expert.[18] The malaria expert, Lt Col. James, who was an adviser to the Ministry of Health and had been engaged in similar work in Kenya,[19] was engaged together with Mirams to come to

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[18] Letter dated 27th April 1929 from the Ministry of Health to the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (see also: Nilsson, 2006)
[19] Telegram dated 28th February 1929 from the Secretary of State to the Governor of Uganda

Uganda to prepare a report and plan for the expansion of Kampala and the neighbouring town, Jinja. (Nilsson, 2006) Mirams was also asked to advise Government in regard to the general layout of Kampala with special reference to future expansion; the siting of public buildings, co-ordination of arrangements for the layout of roads, drains, sewers, electric lights and power lines; the problem of a native location; the best means of refuse disposal; the revision of existing rules of the township generally, and the preparation of a town planning ordinance (Kendall, 1955). Mirams set up a temporary office in Kampala in 1929 and quickly settled down to work. In describing Kampala as it was at the time, he said,

> "Kampala is the seat of the native government where the Lukiiko or native parliament sits. The 'Kabaka', king of Buganda resides there. It is a town of seven hills, and is a strange mixture of the delightful and the hideous – glorious and entrancing scenery from splendid hillsides, over miles of valleys and open country, quite unsurpassed views of lake and hills, a town with many quite reasonably wide roads, and here and there a good building. On the other hand the valleys of death-dealing swamp, covered with papyrus and traversed by sluggish streams, brickfields and 'burrow' pits like ulcerous growths, corrugated iron shanties and sheds used both as shops and living places, with the entrails and skeletons of abandoned motor cars and other debris scattered all over the bazaar area, present a very different picture. It is by these and other signs that one is made to realize are the ravages created when our so-called civilization forces its way uncontrolled into the heart of a new country. Need it be wondered that the more thoughtful members of the community feel overwhelmed with convinced despair when they view this state of chaos and almost licensed breach of all reasonable development." (Kendall, 1955:22)

In his report, Mr. Mirams goes on to say:

> "…bad as it was, this state of affairs was susceptible to treatment if, when a scheme had been prepared, everyone concerned would energetically pursue its fulfilment..." (Mirams 1931)

Mirams focus was on such matters as the historical background, geological and meteorological conditions, the location of population composed of Europeans, Asians and Africans, land use and land tenure, roads and the dependent problem of traffic, housing (both Government and private), the architectural control of buildings, co-operative housing for the

lower income groups, the improvement of the existing bazaar area, the drainage of swamps and the improvement of health conditions, the siting of industries and the new railway station, sewage and refuse disposal, the siting of quarries and brickfields, proposals for open spaces, recreation and playing fields and proposed legislation to ensure the carrying out of the development plan (Kendall, 1955). To this effect, a scheme for Kampala was prepared in 1930 (Figure 5.7).

Figure 5-7: Mirams 1930 scheme for Kampala (source: Kendall 1955)
Redrawn by Author to enhance its Clarity, January 2010

Like Simpson's planning scheme of 1919, Mirams' plan of 1930, does not show any residential zones for the native Africans, much as Mirams in his planning considerations had thought of location of population composed of Europeans, Asians and natives Africans. Several authors (for example, Molohan 1957:1, 11-12; Mbilinyi, 1985; Obbo

1980:21) submit that the colonial authorities preferred native Africans to remain in the rural areas because the colonial government felt that urbanization would separate Africans from family, clan and tribal authority as well as social codes of behaviour, discipline, custom and perhaps religion which originally guided their thought and actions with the object of making them useful members of the tribe or community to which they belong. The reasons for keeping Africans out of the urban environment by the Colonial Government were justification and pretext for racial segregation. However, in the rural areas where the natives lived their lives, the villages were essentially composed of blood relatives who were kept together by well-defined and historically evolved social customs and traditions. For example, the authorship of Julius Nyerere, the former president of Tanzania explicitly describes the lifestyle of natives of Africa as collective. He wrote:

> "Africans lived together and worked together because that was how they understood life, and how they reinforced each other against the difficulties they had to contend with…These difficulties were such things like uncertainties of weather and sickness, wild animals, human enemies and "the cycle of life and death" (Nyerere 1968:106).

Implementation of 1930 Planning Scheme

The existing built-up area of Kampala, both in regard to the industrial, commercial and residential areas on Nakasero hill and sections of Old Kampala, is a direct result of the recommendations made by Mr. Mirams in his report and plans. The following examples are a result of Mirams recommendations.

Roads and Railways

Kendall (1955) observes that Mirams was far-sighted both in regard to his road network and zoning. Kampala has undoubtedly developed along the broad lines recommended by him in his report. The findings of this research are in consonance with Kendall's observation, the road proposals particularly in the entire town centre are still evident today, although the problem of parking and traffic jams remains to be solved.

In 1930, the railway reached Kampala and the Township boundaries were extended. According to Mirams (1931) the siting of industries and the new railway station was of major economic importance. Later the Uganda's Railways Headquarters was designed in 1938 under the auspices of the defunct Kenya and Uganda Railways & Harbours, and thereafter its construction together with other attached infrastructure commenced in Phases along present-day Station Road. It received some internal alteration in 1958. In 1961, finishes to its footbridge-stairways and canopy and drainage were completed and in 1962, its platforms underwent some extensions and its guardrails were also remodelled.

Figure 5-8: Google Image of Kampala Railways Station, and on the lower part is Industry (Source: Google Digital Globe 2009 and Europa Technologies 2009, with Author's annotation, June 2010)

Figure 5-9: Uganda Railways Headquarters on present-day Station road, Kampala (Source: http://tech.mak.ac.ug/oldsite/heritage/Kampala.php, Accessed: 7th May, 2009)

Open spaces and Gardens

Mirams' (1930) report on town planning for Kampala illustrates the emphasis placed on formal gardens and sports centres for the future development of Kampala. While his planning frameworks were obviously informed by their European environments, Mirams 1930 planning scheme catered for numerous open spaces in varying sizes and functions. Today some of the green spaces have been encroached upon and in some cases tall commercial and office buildings, and vehicle parks; among others now occupy the once pleasant green open spaces.

Figure 5-10: Nakivubo Stadium, Kampala (Source: Online: http://commons.wikimedia.ord/wiki/file: Nakivubo_stadium.jpg Accessed 27 May 2010)

Figure 5-11: Originally zoned as Kampala Gardens by Mirams in 1930, and presently a transport terminal - taxi park. (Source: Online: http://croptocup.wordpress.com/2009/11/04/ Accessed 27 May 2010

Figure 5-12: Green Areas in Kampala some of which were proposed by Mirams. (Source: Leonie Rhode, 2006). The numbers represent 1. Makerere University Kampala; 2. Kasubi Tombs; 3. Namirembe Cathedral; 4. Old Kampala Mosque; 5. Rubaga Cathedral; 6. National Museum; 7. Golf-course; 8. Kololo Airstrip / Freedom Square; 9. Lugogo Sports grounds; 10. Centenary Park; 11. Kibuli Mosque; 12. City Square; 13. Sheraton Gardens; 14. Main Station Square; 15. Pan African Freedom Square; 16. Nsambya Cathedral

Mirams' recommendations also included some insightful and cautionary notes about development on steep slopes such as in Bat Valley, off Bombo Road. These steep slopes could be better left and maintained green (Mirams, 1931:132). However, due to pressure on land, the stretch along Bombo road is at present fully covered with planned developments of three to eight storied buildings and in some sections fuel filling stations.

Figure 5-13a-c: Some of the buildings that now occupy the Bat valley Gardens along Bombo road. Mirams in his 1930 Planning scheme for Kampala zoned this area as gardens (Source: Author, July 2009)

Old Kampala

Like in Nakasero, Mirams plan of 1930 co-opted many of the buildings that existed in the Western part of Old Kampala. The history of Old Kampala dates back to 1890, when Captain Frederick Lugard built a stockade which was subsequently replaced by a substantial fort in 1891. Lugard's fort attracted and catalyzed the mingling of foreign colonial and local civic, political, and commercial developmental interests and rapidly transformed Kampala Hill from a small compact area to a sprawling urban agglomeration. After the colonial administration moved from Old Kampala to Nakasero Hill in 1920s, the abandoned structure of Fort Lugard housed Uganda Museum (founded in 1908) for some time until the fort structure was demolished. The Museum then moved to the present painting and Graphics Studios of Makerere University's School of Industrial & Fine Arts, a period before the purpose-built building of its present location was completed in 1954.

Figure 5-14a-b: Ruins of Fort Lugard shortly before complete Demolition in 2002 (source: http://tech.mak.ac.ug/oldsite/heritage/kampala.php, Accessed: 7th May 2011)

Figure 5-15: Replica of Fort Lugard, constructed after demolition of original Fort in 2002 (Source: Author, July 2009)

The site that was once occupied by the fort is now surrounded by the Gadaffi National Mosque, Moslem offices, health centre and commercial buildings for the Uganda Moslem Supreme Council, while a replica of the fort was constructed in 2002 on a new site adjacent to the mosque. The 'little' wooden kiosk in figure 5.16b is positioned on the exact site where the old fort once stood.

Figure 5-16a-c: New Mosque and Commercial buildings on top of Old Kampala Hill (Source: Author, July 2009)

The developments on Old Kampala are a direct result of the recommendations made by Mr. Mirams in his report and plans of 1930. Old Kampala is dominated by commercial and residential housing of mixed architecture built facing the street. The houses most of which were built between 1931 and 1939 are still in their original shape, although others have deteriorated due to poor or lack of maintenance.

Figure 5-17a-c: Commercial cum residential houses on Old Kampala Hill
(Source: http://tech.mak.ac.ug/oldsite/heritage/Kampala.php, 7th May 2011; Author, 2009)

The hill whose present structure has a bearing on Miram's plan is cross-pollinated by Anglo-Asiatic and local African building traditions. Whereas Old Kampala's shared colonial architecture is a product of co-mingling of foreign and local African design values and building crafts, the initial predominance of Anglo-Asiatic values and plans remains strong because of design philosophies that were mostly responsive to European and Asiatic commercial and cultural peculiarities. Because of this historicism, Old Kampala, contains several of these structures, rich in history and multiple values – artistic, aesthetic, stylistic, harmony, spiritual, social, symbolic, educational, religious, political, economic, commercial, and technical architectural achievement. Collectively, most of Old Kampala's buildings represent a significant and distinguishable entity.

The once affluent and attractive residential area known as 'Delhi Gardens' and 'Little Bombay' gardens has buildings facing inwards. The buildings of mixed architecture face triangular and oval shaped green open spaces (gardens), with access road surrounding the open space and with three gates for entrance and exit. Security, spiritual, social festivals and symbolisms of unity form the ideas behind these lay outs (Interview, July 20, 2009). [20]

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[20] Informal interview with one of the residents of Indian origin during field work visits.

Figure 5-18: Delhi Gardens –Asian residential housing Area on Old Kampala Hill (Source: Author, July 2009)

Figure 5-19: Bombay Gardens –Asian residential Area on Old Kampala Hill (Source: Author, July 2009)

Green Belt (Kampala golf course)

Like Professor Simpson, Mirams in his report also propagates the same ideology of using green belts to separate the races though he uses the phrase; location of population composed of Europeans, Asians and Africans. In the north-eastern part of Kampala lies the green belt (Present-day golf course) along Kintante valley separating Nakasero bazaar from Indian bazaar. It should however be noted that the size of the golf course started reducing from the early 1990's to-date due to encroachment. Several developments including hotels such hotel Africana, Golf Course Hotel, and shopping areas (large scale retail stores and super markets) such as Garden City, *Uchumi,* and *Nakumatt* among others have invaded the southern parts of the green belt that formerly bordered Jinja road.

Figure 5-20: Some of the developments that have encroached on the golf course (from Left-Right: golf course hotel, garden city shopping mall, Nakumatt shopping mall. (Source: Author, July 2009)
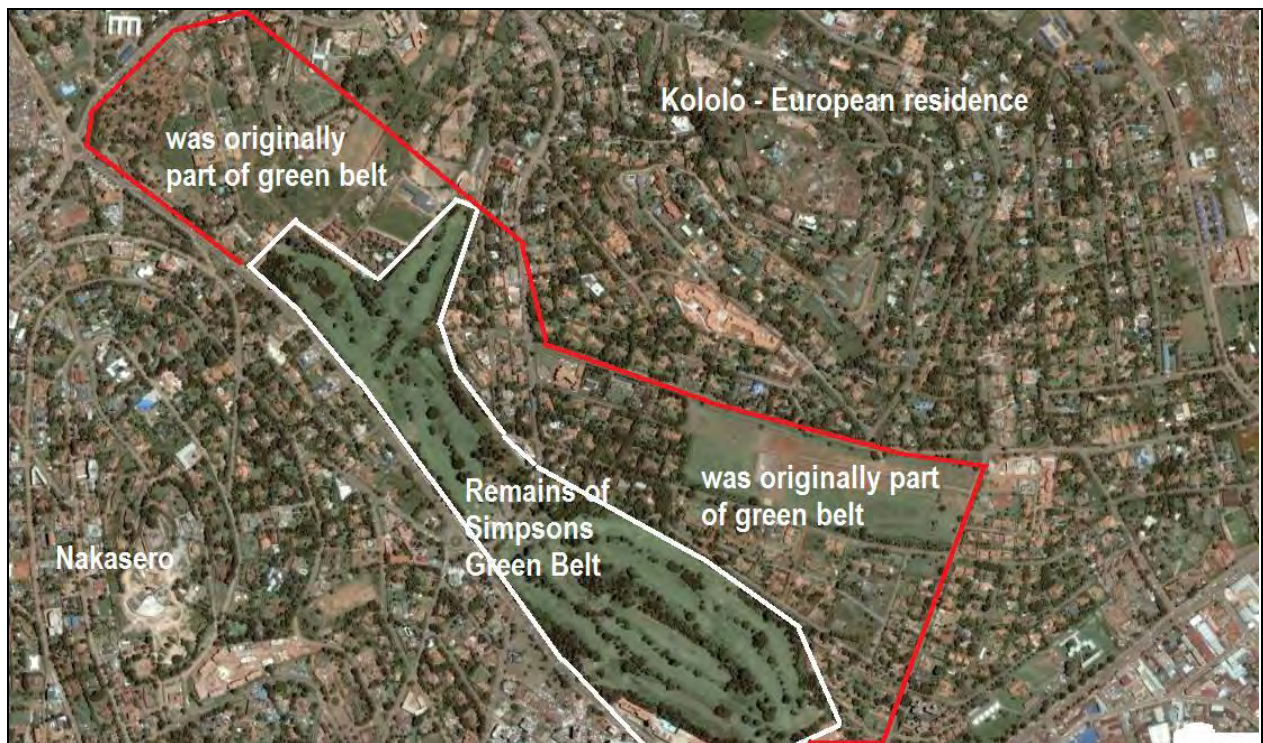
Figure 5-21: The Kampala's golf course (Source: google image 2009, with Author's annotations)

Kololo and Nakasero Residential Area

The European residential areas on the lower slopes of Nakasero developed in the mid-1940s and the entire Nakasero hill was occupied in the 1950s.

In 1930, Kololo was officially added to Kampala. This study reveals that Kololo, one of the major hills whose character and function had already been fixed by Professor Simpson, developed exclusively as a residential neighbourhood for the British and other Europeans who had commercial interests and transacted with the British. Kololo was separated from Kampala's central commercial bazaar by the golf course, green belt created to prevent malaria carrying vectors from traversing into the European zone. On the northern part was a green open space that separated Asian quarters along Kira road from Kololo area. Towards and after independence residential developments were built in this northern green belt and a section of it was reserved as a green open space, currently used as a football field. Kololo developed rapidly in the late 1940's and early 1950s. Buildings in

Kololo and Nakasero were mainly bungalows[21] built in large residential plots containing spacious, usually one storey houses, low residential density (less than 15 persons per acre), and amenities such as water, electricity, sewerage, telephones, open spaces. There are many different dispositions of rooms and verandas, but the types are recognizable at a glance.
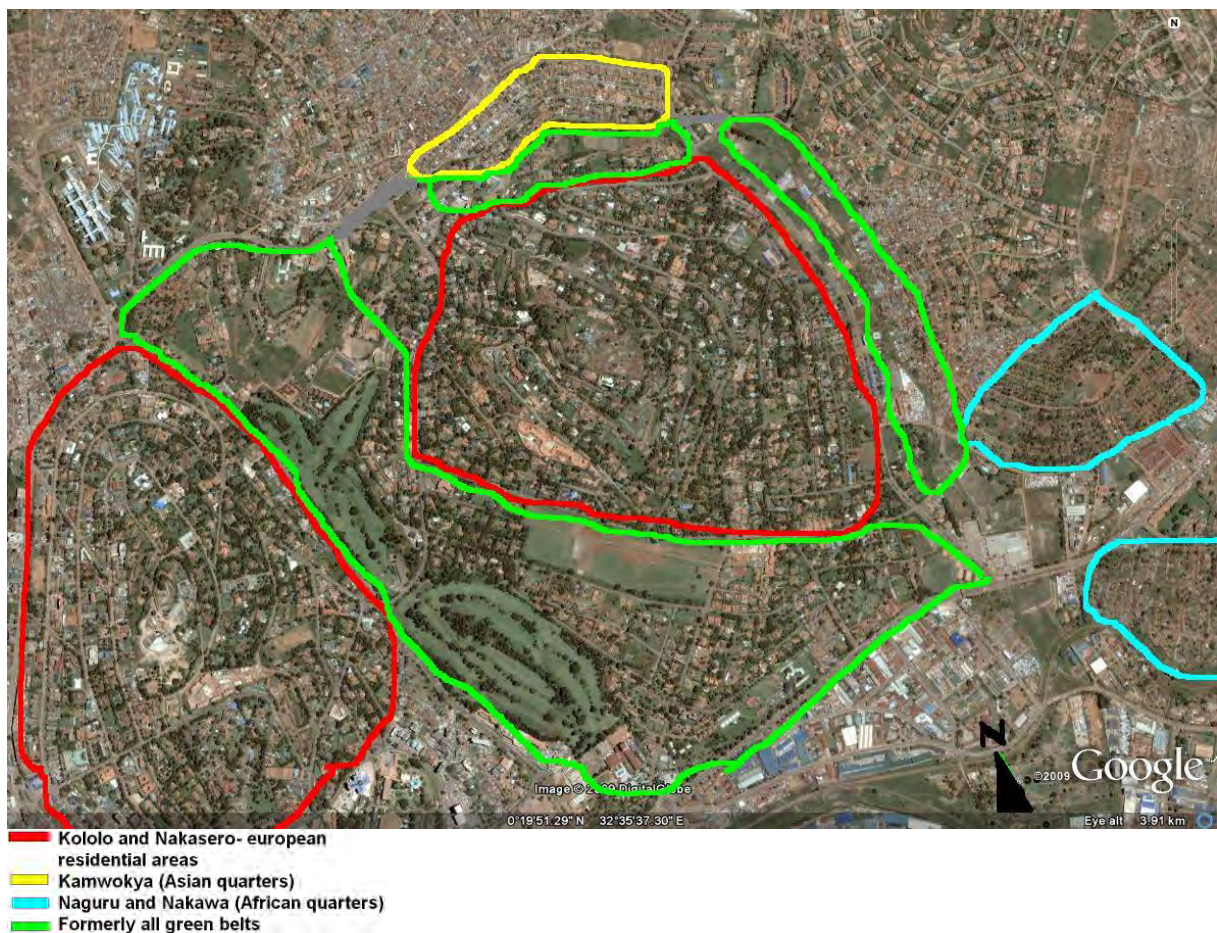
Figure 5-22: Location of Kololo in relation to Asian Quarter and the Green Belts (Source: adapted from google images 2009. Formatted and annotated by Author, 2009)

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[21] 'Bungalow' is a term that originates from India, and means a type of house mainly detached – single or double storey. It was commonly used in the nineteenth century to describe spacious homes or official lodgings of officials of the British and other Europeans living in colonies.

Figure 5-23: Nakasero hill that developed as centre of European city in the 1940s – *true north perspective*. (Source: Quick Bird Image of Nakasero, 2008. Obtained from Regional Centre for Mapping, Nairobi).

Lower Nakasero: Commercial bazaar

On the lower side of Nakasero developed the commercial bazaar, around the present Nakasero market constructed in 1927. The majority of shop buildings were owned by Asians, who controlled and dominated the trading activities in the city. Since scientific investigations in Sierra Leone had proven that the anopheles mosquito did almost all of its biting and infection at night (Njoh, 2007), it was acceptable for Africans to conduct their

businesses in the market, and mixed freely with other races during the day, and each returning to their enclaves at night. The Indian commercial architecture combined business premises and dwellings above, a style which according to an eminent settlement geographer, David McMaster, was clearly introduced from India (McMaster, 1968). The shop buildings bear features of stepped masonry splinth – in accord with the early fire and sanitation rules in towns – windowless, stucco-fronted shop, with heavy folding doors, some with elaborate wooden balconies, a roof of corrugated iron sheets. Roof colour is typically red, perhaps to simulate tiles.

Figure 5-24: Nakasero Market built in 1927, Now under threat of demolition (Source: http://tech.mak.ac.ug/oldsite/heritage/kampala.php, Accessed: March 2009)

Figure 5-25: Shop Building (Jina) on Market Street, Built by Asian businessmen in 1934 (Source:http://tech.mak.ac.ug/oldsite/heritage/kampala.php, Accessed: March 2009)

Across Kitante valley: Asian quarters

Areas along Kira road developed as Asian residential areas between 1930 and 1950. By comparison Asian quarters were more crowded; with less open space, high building density, and interfaced the lower valleys of Kamwokya that the native Africans found home in.
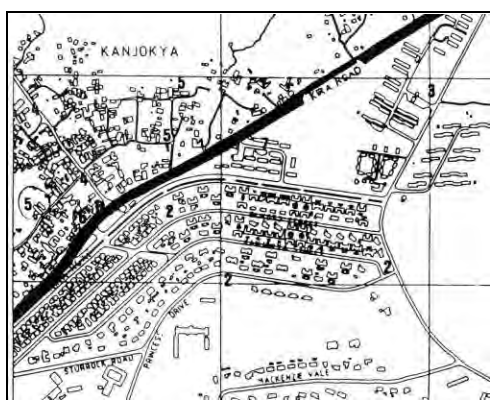
Figure 5-26: Topographic map of Asian Residential Area along Kira road, Kamwokya, 1968 (Source: Calas, 1997)

Figure 5-27: Google Image of Asian Residential Area along Kira road, Kamwokya, March 2009

In this quarter, the Asiatic architectural collection still exists and forms the historic 19th and 20th Century architecture. The Asians developed distinct regional styles that remain apparent. The buildings are roughly of rectangular and square forms of single, double or three storeys, in massive form, with flat roofs and others with crenellated parapets, others roofed over with iron sheeting as protection against the heavy tropical rains. Windows face the street and any adjacent open spaces. Some of the buildings have concrete splinths – often carrying both an inscribed date and benchmark.

Figure 5-28a-c: Forms of buildings in the Asian Residential Area along Kira road, Kamwokya, with splinth inscribed with date (Source: Author, May 2009)

KAMPALA AFTER WORLD WAR II

The end of World War II brought significant changes in the British Empire. The extensive physical rebuilding of cities following the war lent new urgency to town planning.

The 1930's witnessed a number of influential reports of poverty and ill health in the colonies. These included the 1939 *Report of the Committee on Nutrition in the Colonial Empire* and Lord William Malcolm Hailey's *African Survey* of 1938[22]. This is the period that some elements in the colonial administration started to argue that colonialism would not last forever and that there was a need to create a new environment, which would define new Commonwealth relationships favourable to the colonizing countries, after the reigns of power had been relinquished. A Statement of Policy on Colonial Development and Welfare, (White Paper of February 1940) outlined steps to be taken in improving conditions in the

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[22] The 1938 African Survey report published in London (Oxford University Press) is subtitled, "A study of Problems Arising in Africa South of the Sahara"

colonies. This formed the basis of the first Colonial Development and Welfare Act, of 1940 in Britain, in which a sum of five million pounds a year was to be made available for ten years, for schemes for any purposes likely to promote the development of the resources of any colony, or the welfare of its people (Kironde, 1995:50-52).

It should be noted that before the Second World War, the interest of the Uganda Government in African Housing was almost solely confined to the provision of staff housing, but small estates had been started at Masaka in 1936 and at Entebbe, Masindi and Mbarara in 1939 (Uganda Protectorate, 1954). By 1944, Kampala Township now covered more than 4,600 acres, engulfing residential and industrial zones in the Eastern direction of the town.

At this point, it is important to note that by 1945, the Development Plan for Uganda, just like in other colonies, began to raise the issue of housing for Africans and their right to urban space. It stated:

> "In towns housing schemes are urgently needed and while the aim must be to establish them on an economic basis, heavy subsidies will certainly be required. In Kampala area for example slum conditions have already developed and may grow rapidly. Nowhere in the world has it been possible to institute slum clearance and healthy housing for the urban poor on an economic basis and Uganda is not likely to prove an exception." (Uganda Protectorate, 1954)

African Housing Zones - Invitation of Ernst May

The first and only planning works before Ernst May came to Kampala were the colonial planning efforts of 1912, 1919 and 1930. These plans were prepared by the Town Planning Committee, and the English colonial planners – Professor Simpson and A.E. Mirams respectively, who focused primarily on the central business district between the old fort and Nakasero hill. Gutshow (2009)[23] observes that, the earliest British improvements to the area had been the draining of swamps to rid the area of the tsetse-fly menace. Consultant A.E. Mirams' 'far-sighted plan' proposed zoning

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[23] Much of the literature on Ernst May's Kampala Planning was obtained from this source. The article originally written by Kai K. Gutschow,*" Das Neue Afrika*: Ernst May's 1947 Kampala Plan as Cultural Program," forms Chapter 7 of Colonial Architecture and Urbanism in Africa: Intertwined and Contested Histories, edited by Fassil Demissie (2009)

ordinances to control sprawl and the random growth of the city. It also laid out European-style infrastructure such as running water and electricity, and recommended the construction of a modern, non-commercial 'civic centre', with rigid building codes for institutional buildings such as a national theatre and museums. Mirams attempted to impose social control, order and segregation, yet he all but ignored Africans, who were relegated to living at the edge of town or in neighbouring Kibuga township.

Perhaps as a result of the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts of 1940 and 1945, which funded many housing and planning projects through the British colonies, Ernst May was hired by the British colonial authorities in January 1945 to institute a plan for the rapidly expanding city in the post-war building and economic boom. May worked for over two years creating a theoretical framework and beginning construction projects on crucial pieces of the urban plan, especially on much-needed native housing.
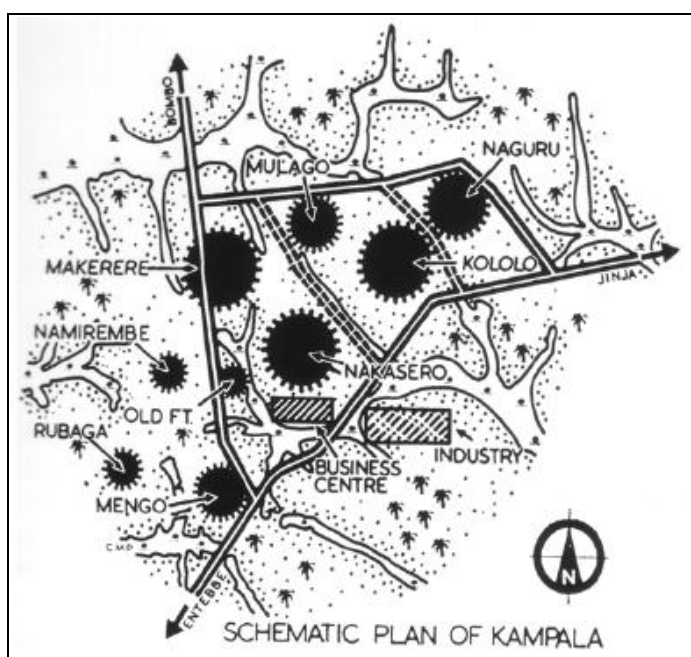
Figure 5-29: Ernst May's diagrammatic Plan for Kampala as a multi-centred *Trabantenstadt* (satellite city). Source: May 1948, Report on the Kampala Extension Scheme, Kololo – Naguru, Nairobi Government Printer

His plan stands out for the progressive element of being among the first in East Africa to include large settlements for low and middle-income Africans and Asians, especially those who had been displaced in the expansion process and now lived on the periphery – both socially and physically. Ernst May began his Kampala plan with the observation that the existing city was a 'beautiful garden city.' On the cover of his final report, as well as in his first diagram, May conceptualized Kampala as a grouping of nine separate but interrelated settlements, each on its own hill (Gutshow, 2009:246).

This segmented layout, he argued, was not the product of previous planning efforts, but the natural result of the local topography. May's schematic plan proposed expanding infrastructure in distinct new developments around the hilltops east of the existing downtown. Kololo was set aside for European and Asian inhabitants, and Naguru was strictly for Africans. A small housing tract for native workers was planned close to the Nakawa industrial zone and rail line.

Overall, May's plan was to allow for a doubling of Kampala's total population, to about 40,000 (Gutshow, 2009). By conceptually organizing the city and its extension into nine separate, mixed-use communities, May revealed his intellectual debt to Ebenezer Howard's Garden City and related regionalist urban planning principles, as well as his opposition to the rigid zoning advocated by the International Congress of Modern Architecture (C.I.A.M) and Le Corbusier. He believed Ebenezer Howard's Garden City was the best model for Kampala and earmarked several areas as green belts. May had implemented these garden city and regionalist ideas already in his earliest independent planning work in Silesia, in his canonical housing developments (*Siedlungen*) in Frankfurt, and even in his urban master plans in the Soviet Union.

In each case, May worked towards dissolution of the crowded metropolitan center into a looser constellation of 'satellite cities' (*Trabantenstädte)* or regional 'garden colonies.' (Gutshow, 2009:247-8). However, May faced pressure from his British government clients to focus on the conservative tradition of colonial urbanism. Some radicals within the British colonial administration never wanted the colonized to live in similar environments as themselves, and cited the lack of enough public financial resources to cover most of the housing that had been envisaged. May later abandoned his modern planning ideas and reverted to earlier, more traditional curvilinear garden city and flexible organic plans (Gutshow, 2009:247-8).
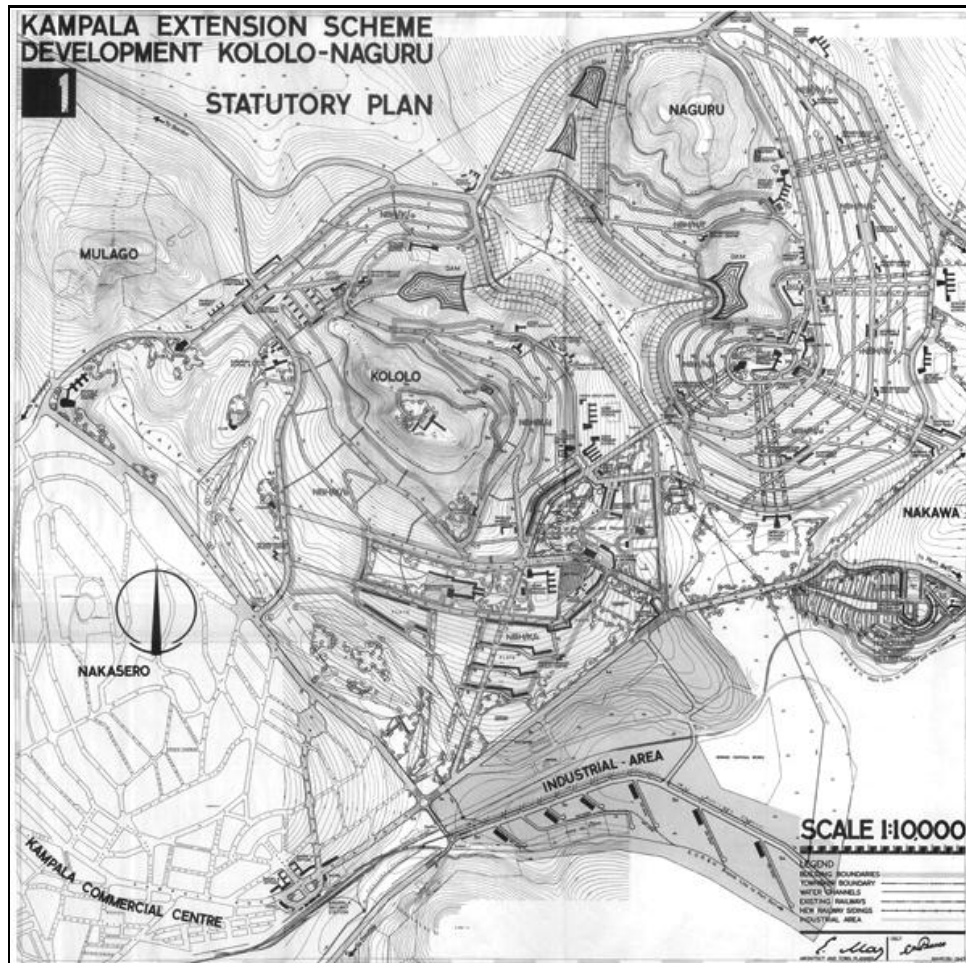
Figure 5-30: Statutory Plan of Kampala Extension 1947 showing the new areas of Naguru and Nakawa in relation to the already existing urban structure (Source: May, 1947)

Ernst May and other planners in East Africa also believed that natives seemed to have little desire to settle permanently, and only wandered into town only long enough to work off their poll tax and then returned to their villages. When they did stay in town, they afforded themselves only crude mud huts with metal roofs. Based on these experiences, May wrote extensively,

> "...if naively, on the problems of the colonial situation in Africa he hoped to solve through planning. He hypothesized that Africans, being closer to nature and 'childlike,' initially needed a simpler, more natural architecture and planning. Introducing such a 'natural' and 'primitive' architecture, he hoped, would set in motion a process of acculturation, the familiarization with Western ideas, and eventually the invention of an African form of modern architecture and a Western culture and lifestyle..." (May, 1947 quoted in: Gutshow, 2009:251)

May explored the positive forces of Western urban planning in an article written after his return to Germany in 1953:

> "The indigenous population of East Africa has been in contact with highly developed cultures for many hundreds of years, without inspiring them to raise themselves from their primitive life-style... One could perhaps understand this stagnation of the native, if the conditions in which he lives were even remotely as paradise-like as Europeans imagine it to be. Only with the intensive contact between the native population and the colonists of the last generation, is it possible to detect in the settlement centers, and only there, a striving for a higher standard of living. The urbanized African clothes and feeds himself better. He acquires a bicycle, and, when under strict European discipline, works quite intensely ...With reading and writing (the native) was given the means of acquiring a higher cultural level, but hundreds of years of hard work and discipline will be necessary in order to instill in him those values that form the bedrock of European civilization: love of work, honesty, trustworthiness, fidelity, and humanity (*Menschlichkeit*)" (May, 1947, quoted in: Gutshow, 2009:251).

Urban planning, May speculated, could provide a stable social and civic system for the natives 'without previous training in citizenship,' thereby 'inducing the African labourer to become more stable, and to cease wandering back to his village after a few months, a practice which is most detrimental to any kind of systematic trade or production.' Settling down would elevate the African to enjoy what he called *"a full share in the duties and benefits of modern civilization and culture"* (May, 1948). According to May, a mix of modern amenities and very traditional planning would help Africans undertake their evolution from pre-industrial nomad to productive modern city dweller. He projected a mix of row, semi-detached and detached houses arranged on both sides of the curving green streets, very much according to traditional garden city ideals. Even within this category, May distinguished between the more spacious Asian (or Indian) sections in Kamwokya-Kololo and the denser African settlements on Naguru, but displaced the lowest classes of Africans to the 'Nakawa Settlement for Itinerant labour' between Kololo and Naguru, near the industrial area, in what one contemporary review called rather optimistically "an African 'suburb' for non-government workers... similar to the non-Government European!" (May, 1947)

Like Simpson and Mirams, May firmly believed he was respecting difference among the three races social and cultural habits by differentiating between the various groups at all levels of planning, rather than resorting to universal standards. In so doing, however, he was clearly reinforcing a colonial hierarchy of race and economic potential, promoting a paternalistic policy of viewing the lowest classes of African society as needing European acculturation.
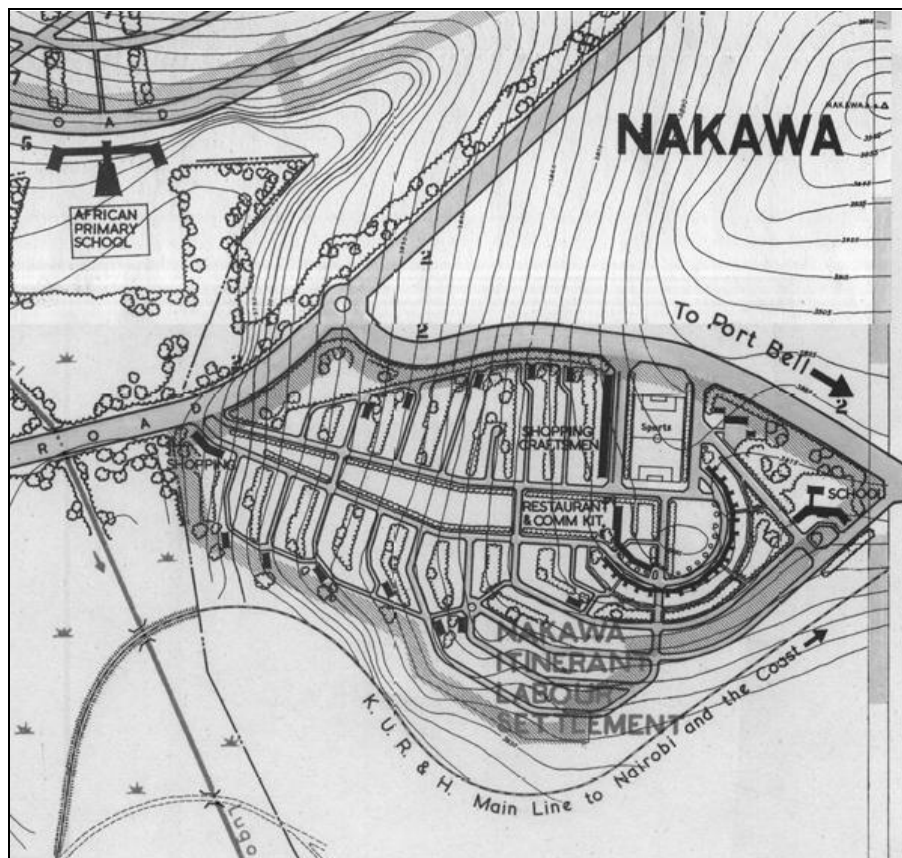
Figure 5-31: Detail of Nakawa Itinerant Labour Settlement Camp proposed by Ernst May in 1947 for the poor African labour force. (Source: May, 1947)

May's Kampala plan was prepared before the 1947/8 British Town Planning Act that centralized control over all colonial plans in the empire. The results of his planning work were published in his *Report on the Kampala Extension Scheme, Kololo-Naguru, prepared for the Uganda government in September 1947*. These plans were not implemented immediately, but were later incorporated in the next episode of planning by Henry Kendall, that resulted in the 1951 scheme for Kampala.

Between 1947 and 1948 several events with implications on Kampala's planning took place both in the United Kingdom and within

Kampala. For example, Home (1997) notes that in 1947 Great Britain enacted its significant Town and County Planning Act, which placed all development under regional control. The new colonial policy issued in the mid-forties was built on new principles that aimed at leading the Colonial territories towards self-government. Partnership[24] was now replacing the old trusteeship[25] policy. Local governments were supposed to play a critical role in this process of conferring more political representation and autonomy to the local people.

On the economic side, the Colonial Office also launched important modernisation programmes that aimed at setting up the economic framework for the development of the colonies. In 1948 the Central Town Planning Board of Uganda that was formed following Simpson's recommendations in 1914 was replaced by the Town and Country Planning Board with similar duties as before but with greater powers of review of planning decisions made by the various urban authorities (Prabha, 1993). From 1948 the tendency for Kampala town to develop in an easterly direction was noted. This was partly for economic reasons – the location of industry within the vicinity of the railway station, east of Kampala attracted other developments to the region. By 1948, Uganda's population was almost five million with Indians numbering approximately 35,000, Europeans 6,000, and Arabs 1,200 (Morris, 1959). An influx of migrant labour into Kampala to meet an expanding urban need in the immediate post war years gave rise to a sudden demand for accommodation within Kampala-Mengo region. By this very year (1948) Kampala's population had reached 24,198 (Prabha, 1993:126). The building development was at its height throughout the township and it therefore became imperative for a plan to be quickly prepared and approved so that all development could follow orderly lines, as laid down in the scheme.

The new zoning proposals would be more in keeping with the character of Kampala as the leading commercial and business centre of the Protectorate. According to Kendall delay in the enforcement of such a plan would have been most unfortunate for the future of Kampala, so all concerned pressed ahead with the task (Kendall, 1955). Later in 1949

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[24] Partnership, also called self determination is a principle/policy in international law that nations have a right to freely choose their sovereignty and political status with no external compulsion or interference.
[25] Trusteeship policy involved the administration or governing of a territory, colony by foreign country under the supervision of trusteeship council of the United Nations.

Kampala gained Municipality status; this however took effect in 1950 when a Council was appointed with a Mayor as its head.

KAMPALA 1950-1951 PLANNING EPISODE

Kampala in this colonial time had the special feature of being the centre of the settler economy in the Uganda Protectorate – although the administrative centre was Entebbe. At this time there were negotiations for incorporation of areas from the Kibuga (capital of Buganda kingdom) into Kampala municipality in order to be able to raise the service standards in these areas such that they could also then be developed as part of the colonial economy – for instance Asian business men were keen on establishing themselves in some parts of the Kibuga (Southhall and Gutkind 1957). However, the Buganda government was hesitant to accept the Kampala administration taking over responsibilities in the Kibuga that the Colonial administration had hidden motives – remember this took place during independence struggles.

The 1950 period witnessed significant changes in the Colonial office, resulting in shift of planning ideologies. The enforcement of strict racial segregation by a non-building zone was, however, soon abandoned. This period was dominated by the ten year development plans using the Colonial Development and Welfare funds. Undertakings included construction or improvement in infrastructure like roads, water supply, drainage, sewage networks and airports; and construction of public buildings including schools, hospitals, and health and social welfare centers. Kampala had its plan prepared in 1951 and meant to run for ten years, till 1961 though it eventually served till 1972. The development plans prepared contained a whole series of proposals bound together in a single package. This was the period when Comprehensive planning was accepted in most colonial cities. It was a period of Town and Country Planning Acts and urban master plans.

Comprehensive planning was given prominence as opposed to zoning and development control of the previous era. This was because the comprehensive plan was seen as one that is adopted and maintained with regular revisions. The plan receives its day-to-day expression in a series of legal documents – town planning controls, subdivision regulations, and building and housing codes – that establish standards of land use and quality of construction. The comprehensive plan was seen to serve many

purposes, including: bringing together the analyses of the social, economic, and physical characteristics (such as the distribution of population, industry, businesses, open spaces, and publicly built facilities) that led to the plan; it examines special problems and opportunities within the city and establishes community-development objectives; it coordinates land development with transport, water supply, schools, and other facilities; it proposes ways to accomplish these coordinated objectives over time. The comprehensive plan is the guide to making daily development decisions in terms of their long-range consequences.

On the basis of the 1930 scheme and the experience of development trends between 1930 and 1950, the Local Planning Authority (LPA), on the direction of the Town and Country Planning Board, commenced the preparation of a comprehensive development plan in 1949.
This occurred at the interesting period when Kampala had just been raised in status from a township to a municipality. The Planning Committee, which was charged with the responsibility of the preparation of the scheme, met under the chairmanship of the Government Town Planner and was composed of a mixed body of officials and non-officials and included technical as well as non-technical members (Kendall 1955).

Considerations for the Preparation of 1951 Planning Scheme

1) A positive step was taken to lay down rules for the architectural development of the civic centre, recommended as far back as 1930, when Mr. Mirams, in his scheme of that year, had proposed the moving of the railway station eastwards and the development of a centre which would concentrate local government as well as civic uses such as the town hall, public library, national theatre, among others. The local authority was of the opinion that in this centre shops should not be allowed since such a use would clash with the general character of the neighbourhood. In a heterogeneous town such as Kampala, containing so many different peoples and races, a commercial area is far more difficult to control and discipline from a health point of view than would be the case in the United Kingdom and Europe, hence the decision was taken to exclude shops from the civic centre since, in the opinion of the Planning Committee, adequate land in the vicinity had already been zoned for commercial purposes (Kendall 1955).

2) The categorization of the municipality into land use zones of residential (Zones; A, B, C, D, and E); commercial zone; industrial zone; forests areas; and open spaces, both public and private. Owing to the general topography of Kampala, the forests and open spaces were located in the valleys and low-lying areas, while the elevated sites on the slopes of various hills were zoned for residence. The scheme provided for an optimum population of 100,000 and a word or two might be added regarding the division of the area into so many residential zones – the distinction between zones lies primarily in the type of buildings encouraged in the respective zone by the local authority. Persons building in zone "A" were expected to lay out more capital when doing so than those building in zone "C". In zone "A", the plots were larger and with increased amenities, larger gardens, less noise and better street lighting. Also, the rates were higher and more had to be paid for the lease of land from the Government. Care had to be taken by the authorities in maintaining existing values when considering plans for new buildings in the various zones (Kendall 1955).

3) In a restricted sense, each hill to be treated as a neighbourhood unit on its own, except for Kololo and Nakasero whose character had already been fixed.

4) Based on Ernst Mays 1947 Report to Government, reservation of Nakawa area and Naguru hill for African housing, in the same way the north of Kololo (areas along Kira road- present Kamokya and Bukoto) were almost entirely occupied by sections of the Asian population comprising Government officials and those engaged in business and trade.

5) The rear elevations of buildings to be carefully designed in view of the sloping character of the ground in the civic centre.

6) The establishment of a cultural institute in the area, (this led to the siting and development of the present national theatre)

7) With the rapid expansion of the town, the planning Authority had in mind the necessity of making legal provision for housing schemes promoted by Government, the Municipality and by private enterprise. Such housing schemes were to contain flats, detached or semi-detached houses, terraced houses or any of these buildings. Provision was to be made for at least twenty-four units for the proposal to be treated as a housing scheme. The LPA had powers to impose special

conditions in regard to density, setbacks, heights, number of flats, quality of materials, adequate drainage, layout and upkeep of vacant spaces, the planning of trees and shrubs and any other matters connected with the scheme for which, in the planning authority's opinion, provision was to be made (Kendall 1955).

The above list of considerations formed the basis for the preparation of the 1951 planning scheme (illustrated herein), and henceforth were a factor in deciding the urban landscape for Kampala from 1951 onwards.

Figure 5-32: Henry Kendall's 1951Town Planning Scheme for Kampala (source: Kendall 1955)

Implementation of the 1951 Planning Scheme

Naguru and Nakawa African Housing Estates

The 1951 planning scheme addresses, *inter alia,* two major issues; first, the inclusion of newly annexed areas of Nakawa and Naguru into the Kampala Municipal plan, secondly, the zoning and detailed planning of Nakawa and

Naguru areas as African residential estates. These two aspects are today considered the major outcomes of the 1951 plan.

The issue of housing for Africans and their right to urban space as raised by the Development plan for Uganda in the mid 1940's led to the detailed planning of these two residential zones and the subsequent construction of houses for the natives. Naguru housing estate provided a better standard of housing for the higher income group of wage earners, while Nakawa housing estate provided housing mainly for unskilled workers. The houses were grouped in blocks facing central courtyards within a conventional single family, and two family home block layout. A schematic layout, though with modifications followed Ernst Mays general pattern of house layouts with central gardens. Van der Bijl in his description of Native residential houses at Vanderbijl park in South Africa calls this form of layout the *"the traditional kraal formation"*, (Van der Bijl, 1947 quoted in: Home, 1997:209). The principle of location of the African estates also followed the recommendations given by Professor Simpson in 1913 that the best way to deal with the health (malaria and plague) and sanitation problem in East Africa was to separate European residential areas from the native housing areas, in this case by two kilometres. Even, thought the reasons for spatial separation were erroneous in this edge of the century, the implementers of the 1951 planning scheme still believed in the clear separation of the different races.

Figure 5-33: Layout of Naguru Residential Estates (source: Lars, 1965)
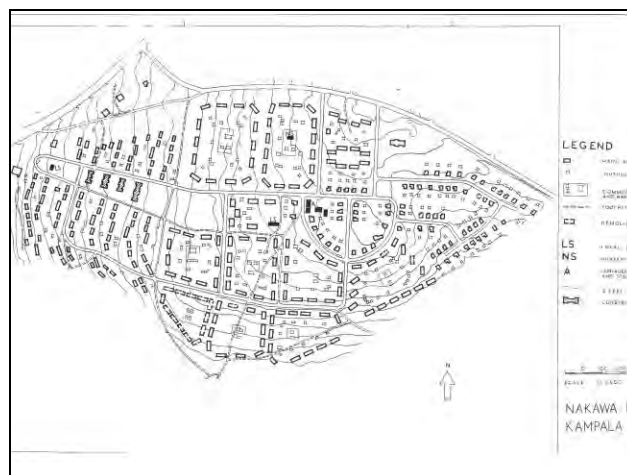
Figure 5-34: Layout of Nakawa Low-Income Residential Estates (source: Lars, 1965)

Figure 5-35 a-c: African Housing Typologies at Naguru and Nakawa Housing Estate (source: Author, 2nd July 2009). The over 500 housing units were demolished on July 4th 2011 by purportedly UK based private company (OPEC) to pave way for private apartment developments. The demolition left over 1500 tenants homeless.

Comparative analysis of the 'European' areas of Kololo and Nakasero, and the Native estates of Nakawa and Naguru shows that the native areas had high residential density, very low level of amenity and transport was by foot. In Naguru housing estate, which then had a higher rate of car ownership than other estates in the region, provision was made for one fenced and guarded car park within the estate. A small number of shops were provided at both Naguru and Nakawa estates. Insufficient consideration appears however to have been given to their location and design. According to former Architect/Planner of Kampala, Lars Danielsson, provision of small open markets, centrally located, with a limited number of surrounding shops for specific trading would have been a more acceptable approach. No provision was originally made either at Naguru or Nakawa for nursery and primary schools, but was later rectified by provision of at least day nursery schools (interview with Lars Danielsson, May 2010). The low level of services provision in native areas of East Africa was advocated for by proponents such as Lord Lugard who upheld the notion that investment in infrastructure in African areas was a waste of resources, he said,

> "Such a community has no desire for municipal improvement. It neither appreciates nor desires clean water, sanitation or good roads and streets." (Lord Lugard, 1965)

However, from 1952 onwards, the conditions of services in African areas became major concern of government. Services and infrastructure such as roads, storm water drains, water supplies and in some cases electricity for street and house lighting were installed. In his address to Legislative Council on the 20th November, 1952, the Governor said,

"... one of the main tasks which Government now faces – a task of great magnitude and much difficulty – lies in the creation of better social conditions in the main urban areas and in the neighbourhood of the new industries. This problem arises in its most acute form in the neighbourhood of Kampala and Jinja... But if we are to escape the bad conditions which have accompanied industrial development in other parts of the world, and if we are to avoid a squalor and discontent, it is not simply a question of providing housing. The problem is to create proper communities for those who go to live and work in the urban and industrial areas; communities which offer a hope of reasonable life and provide for the education of children, for social welfare and for sport and recreation; communities designed to a minimum the evils of drink, immorality and disease which accompany badly planned towns. I say, 'without any hesitation whatsoever, that this problem is as important as anything we have had to face in this country. The Government will give its full attention to the solution of it and to the building up of properly planned and properly organised town.' Any other course would lead to disaster. This was one of the main purposes which I had in view when I asked for the creation of the new post of secretary for social services and Local Government" (Uganda Protectorate, 1954:6-8).

In a Statement of Policy on African housing, the Protectorate Government wrote: *"The basic need is sound planning to ensure that the people's homes are built in suitable surroundings and that the town plan provides for all the services and amenities which the full development of the community will demand..."* (Uganda Protectorate, 1954:8). In this regard, any town planning should consider that, if Africans are to adjust themselves to settle permanently in urban conditions, it will be necessary both to plan the creation of neighbourhood units and to establish forms of local administration which will take the place of tribal discipline. Contented communities cannot be created unless new social values and disciplines are found to replace the old, and for this reason it will be necessary to create new standards of amenity which are at least as attractive to urban dwellers as those enjoyed by rural communities. Plans must be based not only on physical building needs but also on the basic social needs and must include a program of social development which will provide for the steady attention to the development of the amenities and services of the community over a period." (Uganda Protectorate, 1954)

Summary of the Planning Epoch 1903-1951

The foregoing sections have traced the urban heritage in Uganda, as emerging from the British colonial tendencies marked by a reorientation of urban patterns to serve the needs of trade and administration. The main foundations of planning in Kampala are greatly linked to colonialism in the last part of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century. Various ideas informed planning and consequently transformed the structure of Kampala city from forested hills, vast hunting and grazing lands, and small concentrations of chiefdoms into 'civilised' forms of urban settings – though without tampering with the centre of the native administration. The 1903 Uganda Townships Ordinance, brought about the first town plan for Kampala of 1912, followed by a series of plans in 1919, 1930, and 1951, in that order. Three main ideas can be noted and these were expressed diagrammatically and in many ways, were implemented and influenced the formation and growth of Kampala city. First, the utopian ideals of the century; secondly, the health concerns – fear of catching 'native' disease especially malaria and plague; and thirdly, racial segregation. Throughout this colonial era till the beginning of 1950, the majority of Uganda's village communities lived their own lives, without being closely integrated with colonial government and other aspects of the greater society.

6. PLANNING IDEAS IN THE POST-COLONIAL ERA

The beginning of post-independence era saw significant changes in government's attitude towards urban planning and towards the task of master planning for Kampala in particular following upon the government's representation at *Conference on Urbanization Problems in Africa* held in Addis Ababa in 1962 (Hather 1969).

Over the forty-two year [26] period since Uganda's attainment of independence (1962-2004), Kampala City has experienced significant shifts in planning of her urban space. Three major planning episodes have been undertaken at different periods; 1963-1969, 1972 and 1994; resulting in formulation and production of physical plans and accompanying policy documents that gave direction on how Kampala was to develop. As alluded to in the previous chapter, while Kampala's pre-independence urban landscape is associated with British planning ideals in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in the colonies, the history and the origin of planning ideas at interplay in this postcolonial era can be traced not only to Britain, but across Europe, and the United States of America. Detailed account of the three planning episodes is given in chronological sequence starting with the 1963-1968 UN Planning Mission(s), and ending with the last planning episode of the twentieth century – the Kampala Structure Plan of 1994-2004.

THE 1963-69 EPOCH: UNITED NATIONS KAMPALA-MENGO PLANNING MISSION

The immediate effect of Uganda's independence in 1962 was increase in urbanization[27] that showed a remarkable spurt of growth in Kampala city itself and all major towns neighbouring the city. The gradual transfer of government ministries and departments from Entebbe (once administrative

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[26] The forty two years is a time period within which all planning after independence has taken place, that is from 1962, 1972 and to the last planning episode of the century – the Kampala structure plan of 1994 whose plan period goes into the 21st century (2004).

[27] International comparisons of urbanization are difficult because the definitions used differ between countries. Although the level of urbanization, estimated at 30 percent for most African countries is low by world standards, African cities have not been adequately prepared to handle the post-colonial rural-urban influx of people.

capital) that started in the nineteen fifties was accelerated when Kampala was granted city status from Municipality, in 1962. The National Parliament was established there. With Independence foreign missions arrived. The Treaty for East African Co-operation led to the establishment of the headquarters of the East African Posts and Telecommunications Corporation and the East African Development Bank in Kampala. More importantly, the operations of the corporations administered by the Community, that is, railways, harbours, posts and telecommunications, airways, and certain services, all had their offices in the new administrative and commercial capital of Kampala. Described as the expatriate headquarters, many Africans from beyond the borders of Buganda, and many from neighbouring Kenya, came in search for opportunities and settled in the national capital, in domestic quarters and in the housing estates (Gugler, 1968). Already the densest African settlement was in Mengo, the capital of Buganda that had the greatest degree of urban development than any indigenous centre in Eastern and Southern Africa (Southall 1968). Kisenyi area, that was under Mengo Municipality was convenient service area for Kampala's poorest workers: uninhibited by controls, providing services that were legal, but often below the standards required in Kampala, or illegal altogether; entrepreneurs, barred from activity in the City by lack of capital and lack of qualifications as well as institutional obstacles; were all working in Kisenyi (Gutkind 1963:107).

The substantial increase in the labour supply that was attracted to Kampala by wage employment brought population to well over 50,000 people within Kampala city and over 150,000 in the city and the new Mengo Municipality. The need for housing and services was already tremendous. Southall (1968) notes that unplanned housing continued to be constructed and many townsmen appeared to greatly prefer the homely and congenial, if materially rudimentary, accommodation which they could secure in the laissez-faire situation of Mengo and the peri-urban areas. Worse still unplanned high-density quarters had sprung up in the swamps and low lying areas between the many hills and in several peri-urban areas, where the masses of unskilled, uneducated, poorly paid migrants built crude houses or thatched units, "getting practically nothing in the way of increased material amenities such as roads, power and light, water, drainage, sanitation, religious and educational services or police protection" (Southall, 1968; see also: Hance, 1970). Despite not having any "shanty town" development comparable to that of other major African

cities, like Lagos, Kinshasa, Dakar, or even Nairobi, Kampala's urban planning related problems were nevertheless severe – uncontrolled and substandard developments, with its health and social problems, existed and would continue to spread if not addressed (United Nations, 1965).

In describing the state of Kampala and Mengo, Southall said,

> "Kampala-Mengo is interesting because it contains within itself most of the major factors, combined at different strengths, which are found in African cities of quite varied type, such as the older, more traditional West African cities and the newer, European dominated cities of East and Central Africa. It combines both segregation and political dominance of a particular African tribe; it includes both European and African controlled land, traditional and modern roles, local African residents of long standing and high status as well as thousands of temporary migrant labourers of many ethnic backgrounds" (Southall 1968:326).

The Greater Kampala Area was composed of Kampala City, Capital of Uganda; Mengo Municipality, Capital of the Kingdom of Buganda; Kawempe Town, Nakawa Township, and the urban parts of Kyadondo County. The governing authorities over the different parts were different and divided. Their powers were not the same, and the development standards and regulations varied from high in Kampala city to practically nil in the counties. These divisions in themselves complicated the problems of the whole area. Crime was organized without respect to the civic boundaries; the variation in industrial development, commerce, and housing meant that some authorities had much more resources than others perhaps because they had broader tax base. While the

Figure 6-1: Location of Kampala City in Relation to Greater Kampala Area.(Source: Scaff, 1964)

problems called for a more unified approach, the divisions made that impossible (Scaff, 1964:1-7).

This was the situation which led to a request for a United Nations Urban Planning Mission to Uganda. The government sought direction and assistance in solving its most difficult urban problem – the planning and development of urban Mengo – which involved directly a large part of the African urban population, and which had ramifications that extended throughout the Greater Kampala Area and concerned the interests and policies of all the constituent authorities.

The First UN Mission: "Kampala-Mengo Urban Planning Mission"

Responding to the request of the Uganda Government to the United Nations, an urban planning team was recruited under the auspices of the UN to advice on the development problems of the then Mengo municipality and to produce a master plan for Mengo. The team that arrived in Kampala on 29th June 1963 for a one year assignment was composed of a physical planner, an advisor on Local Government (Municipal Finance), and an urban sociologist. In August a public health Engineer under the auspices of the World Health Organization joined the team for two months; then rejoined the team for its final work during March-April-May, 1964 (Scaff, 1964). The team was accordingly designated – 'The Kampala Mengo Urban Planning Mission' (KMUPM).

At a meeting on 30th June 1963 between the Planning Team, the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Regional Administration, the United Nations representative, and the Minister of Regional Administrations, it was agreed to include the Greater Kampala Area within the scope of the Teams' work. This was simply an affirmation of the logical necessity; Scaff (1964) contends that no member of the Team could have met his assignment without examining the Greater Kampala Area and for some purposes an even wider field. The KMUPM team noted that the timeframe and the resources available for the task were too limited to produce a master plan for Kampala-Mengo, but went ahead to carry out a study and gave recommendations. Studies and surveys on the existing situation (including fundamental problems of water supplies, sewerage and sewage disposal, and the health and sanitation aspects of housing especially of the Kibuga area) were carried out, and the report known as the

'Recommendations for Urban Development in Kampala and Mengo (UN reference TAO/Uganda/1) was released on 31 August 1964. This report compelled the UN to call upon a new team to extend the work of the first team. Before their departure at the end of 1964, the KMUPM, concentrated on some urban renewal projects in Kisenyi, and produced several detailed schemes (Scaff, 1964: 89-119).

The Second UN Mission: "Kampala-Mengo Regional Planning Mission"

The recommendations of the first UN Mission, contained in a report to the Ugandan Government; and the Government's recognition in 1964, that issues affecting Kampala and its hinterland were of regional nature and required well thought policies, were reason advanced for the Government's request for continued UN assistance to deal with the identified problems and to prepare master plans for the Greater Kampala Area. This support was granted through the Africa Development Bank and the World Bank. Interview with Lars Danielsson and Reidar Persson, former Architect/Planners with the second and third UN Missions, respectively, reveals that the United Nations requested Sweden to send a diverse team of junior planning professionals (ages of 27-35years – that comprised; two Physical Planners, two Architects and two Statisticians) to Kampala to continue through the two years from 1964-1966 the work initiated by the first UN Urban Mission, its frame of reference however being expanded to the 'Concept of Metropolitan Region', and extending its long range projections up to the year 2000 (Interview with Lars Danielsson and Reidar Persson, May 22nd 2010)[28]. The second team of Swedish Nationals was led by an Englishman – Mr. Sydney Litherland, the British Government Representative of the Special Commonwealth African Assistance Plan and Senior Regional Planner in the British Ministry of Overseas Development, who arrived in Kampala in September 1964 (United Nations, 1966).

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[28] Lars Danielsson and Reidar Persson are Swedish Architect/Planners who took part in the Second and third UN Missions' planning efforts in Kampala, respectively. Their testimonies and narratives have been very useful in this research. At the time of the interviews Danielsson was 85years old.

Towards the last quarter of 1964, the name of physical planning organization of Uganda Government was changed from Department of Town Planning (DTP) to Department of Town and Regional Planning (DTRP). This was to mark a significant change in the approach to physical planning and for the first time planning on a regional scale was envisaged (Winblad, 1966). According to Lars Danielsson and Reidar Persson, *"planning in Uganda was quite unstructured, the Department seemed unprepared and there was nothing to guide us."* (Interview, May 22nd 2010). Despite unstructured nature of the task, the UN Team together with newly recruited six Ugandan staff from the DTRP in Kampala, undertook several studies code named Kampala-Mengo Regional Planning Studies (KMRPS) with emphasis on urban growth trends (including population growth and projections to the year 2000); basic structure for the extended Metropolitan Area; industrial location; residential housing; transportation; and physical planning legislations (Safier and Langlands, 1969); as background investigation for the production of an appropriate physical

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[29] For full letter, see Appendix II. The letter sent by Lars Danielsson to Fredrick Omolo-Okalebo, highlights experiences and ideas generated in the Planning of Kampala by the Second UN-Mission 1964-1966.

model for the Greater Kampala Area (GKA), a physical plan for the expansion of the central business district, and a physical plan for residential areas and housing typologies to be built therein.

From the concluded studies, the Mission presented their reports to the Ugandan Ministry of Regional Administrations embodying their findings, as follows:

1. **The Metropolitan Area** (MA) of Kampala comprised of four separate local government authorities: Kampala City, Mengo Municipality, Nakawa Township and Kawempe Town Board. The first one was controlled by Uganda Government, and the other three by the Kingdom of Buganda Government. These were all different types of local authorities, and at different stages of development. The problem lay in the coordination of the different authorities, which proved difficult, yet co-operation was moreover lacking between the different authorities. Litherland, a UN expert on town planning in his submission said;

   > "....the more local authorities there are the more difficult is the task of bringing them together and getting them to agree on the coordination of matters which transcend their own boundaries, and the more complex are the matters which have to be coordinated. It is desirable to have one metropolitan development authority to undertake with Government the physical planning and control of physical development in the future Kampala metropolis" (Litherland, *et al.,* 1966:15).

2. **Population pressure on existing housing stock.** It had been forecast that for several decades to come, the metropolitan population of Kampala Mengo would continue to grow at a rate of between 5.2 and 6.4 percent per year. This meant that the estimated population of 180,000 at the time would increase to some 500,000 people by early, 1980 and to about 1,500,000 by the end of 2000, and this would have a devastating impact on the city's housing stock (Winblad and Ponzio, 1965). The situation was immense that fourteen thousand more housing was needed for greater Kampala alone in the next five years. Already, little attempt had been made to resolve the housing problems of the lower income groups, that were left to find shelter in substandard development in the peri-urban areas. At the edge of the city, houses were built individually and independently without any regard to

systematic provision of roads, urban and social services or co-ordinated land use planning and control. Thus buildings spread very thinly over wide areas (Litherland, *et al.,* 1966).

3. **The Central Business District (CBD)** was expanding at a rapid rate. By 1964 it was 0.68 of a square mile and projections had intimated that the city would expand to about 2 square miles in extent by 1980, and 8½ square miles, by the year 2000. Such growth was seen as dynamic and needed nurturing, rather than confine the CBD to any single or final size (United Nations, 1965). In highlighting the problems, the UN Regional Planning team issued the following statement;

> "It is inevitable that considerable expansion must be envisaged. Perhaps the assessments of the CBD size may be subject to variation since so much depends on so many unassessable factors dependent on national prosperity and world trends and events. But, in a country of rapid population increase still to undergo large-scale urbanisation, it must be expected that the expansion of the National Capital's CBD will occur with certainty. Moreover, in a society of rising prosperity with increasing standards of living, demands occur for even more space for additional activities. The assessment of 'ten times as large' could prove to be a conservative one" (United Nations, 1965:7).

4. The centre was rapidly becoming congested with motor vehicles. To develop an efficient and pleasant centre for Kampala, control of motor traffic was necessary as long as it was not allowed to strangle the centre. The continuous and impressive growth of the CBD required great planning efforts and firm policy making. According to Winblad and Litherland (1966), the general aim was to plan the expanding centre for the convenience, safety and amenity of the people who walk and shop there, and those who come for entertainment or other purposes. The prime method of achieving this was by separating pedestrian traffic from vehicular traffic and the creation of pedestrian shopping, business and civic precincts. Winblad and Litherland in a report to the Government of Uganda wrote:

> "...traffic planning should aim at the creation of good connections within the Central Business District and if no long term remedial action was taken, the traffic situation was likely to be untenable as early as 1970". (Litherland and Winblad, 1966:6)

Approaching the issues: "the Modernization Ideology"

Anthony King argues that despite the ending of formal European colonialism with the Second World War, the export of values, ideas and models of Western planning still continued (King, 1990). Contact between developing countries and developed countries, seemed to offer solutions to the various planning problems in post-colonial Africa. Ambe Njoh (2008) in his publication; *the Ideology and public health elements of human settlement policies in sub Saharan Africa*, submits that the ideology in vogue in Africa during the twilight of the European colonial era, and for about two decades following independence, in most of the countries was modernization. Modernization theory emerged after World War II and served as the dominant scholarly and professional response to the development problematic in Africa and other developing regions during that period. Njoh (2008) wrote: *"…the progress in traditional societies can be achieved if and only if they maintain contact with modern societies…"*

In Kampala, the UN Mission noted that past development in Uganda provided little guidance and for the future there were no comparative models elsewhere. Winblad (1966) in a report to the Government of Uganda further echoed the lack of comparative models for Kampala's planning, he said,

> "Physical planning in the already urbanized parts of the world is mainly concerned with reshaping worn out and obsolete cities, most of which were large in area and population before they felt the full impact of modern technology – there the scale of development will for a long time impede any radical change. In Uganda most of the urban expansion is still to come. The pattern is not set and many alternatives are available. Uganda can now profit from the accumulated experiences and advanced techniques of developed countries and avoid their mistakes by planning for continuing, dynamic growth. With farsighted planning, adequate tools and methods for implementation, it will be possible to avoid inefficiency and formlessness. This is important for many decisions taken today on location of roads, industry, public buildings; and residential areas will have far reaching implications on the future urban pattern" (Winblad, 1966:1-2).

The Swedish model of urban planning was seen to be appropriate for Uganda (interview with Lars Danielsson and Reidar Persson, 22nd May

2010). Andrea Branzi, Italian scholar, notes that Sweden represented a social democratic and organised country. In those days it seemed that all the values promoted by the modern movement had been gathered into one single optimistic, rational theorem, for which Sweden and other Scandinavian countries were important points of reference. The purpose of this theorem was to prevent the great chaos – the lacerating contradictions in society. Industry was seen as a mechanism of order, rationalisation of reality. This same modern development was also seen as the best strategy for carrying out industrialization (and thus the salvation of the world), the employment of many of the population that had moved into the city and its suburbs in search for employment after independence. Thus the model for such well planned community was the great north, efficient and civil, a perfect and credible diagram of industrial/employment centres next to living areas, and this would be acceptable to all and by all (Branzi, 1988 cited in: Self, 1991)

In this era of modernist planning, dealing with city regions was popular and various ideas and models to deal with urban growth were formulated. Eran Ben-Joseph and David Gordon submit that the onset of World War I in 1914 and the destruction of parts of European cities sent many city reformers to the drawing table. As the city boundaries expanded in an unrestrained fashion, a new apparatus of planning to bridge the gap between the city, the suburbs and the open region was sought. At the same time, the UK models of comprehensive planning and the garden city ideals were taking root in planning circles world-wide (Ben-Joseph and Gordon, 2000). The Regional Planning Association of America (RPAA) was established in 1923 by twenty planners and architects, among them Clarence Stein, Lewis Mumford, Henry Wright, Frederick Ackerman and Clarence Perry (Parsons, 1998; Ben-Joseph and Gordon, 2000). They developed principles for community planning to better design the metropolis and the region.

A metropolitan Growth Model: A Regional Perspective

In Uganda, the idea of a metropolitan area for Kampala arose from the need to have one Metropolitan Authority that brings together the core Kampala City that had been a domain of the colonial administration and residence; Nakawa Township that developed as native African center; Mengo

Municipality, the seat of the *Kabaka* of Buganda and Kawempe Town Board. The assumption was that this model that combined an agglomeration – the contiguous built-up area with peripheral zones not themselves necessarily urban in character, or a large metropolis and its adjacent zone of influence would improve coordination and management of the urban activities, provision of infrastructure and services, and the development of transportation routes and physical growth of Kampala-Mengo region.
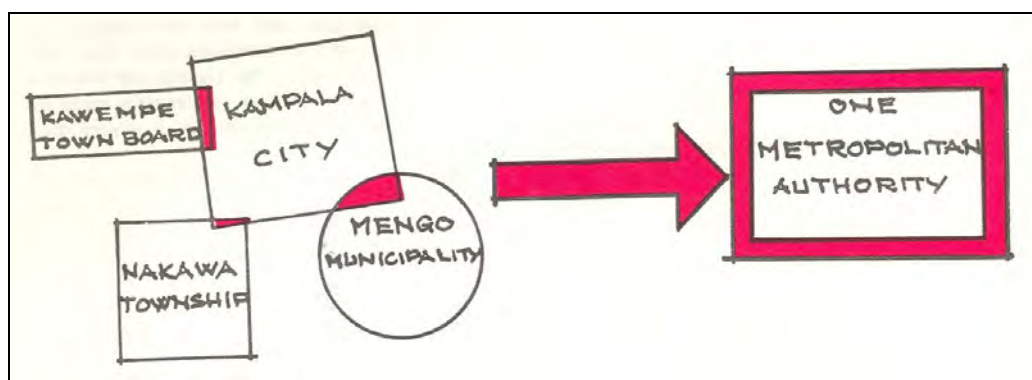
Figure 6-2: Conceptual Proposed Direction of Growth for Kampala.
(Source: Litherland, *et al,* 1966)

The second assumption was that Kampala-Mengo would be given every possibility to develop the advantages of a large metropolitan area: a varied job market, specialized services, first class cultural and educational institutions and a wide choice of recreational activities. For Uganda as a whole it was important to have one M.A of such a size, that it could attract and offer facilities and services compatible to those of the neighbouring countries. The third assumption was that the population of Uganda would continue to grow at a rate of 2 ½ -3 percent per annum up to the end of the century and that an increasing portion of this population would leave in the urban areas (Litherland, *et al,* 1966).

In Kampala, the UN Regional Planning Mission (UNRPM), observed and recommended that population and development in and around Kampala region was concentrated to a wide belt along Lake Victoria. Within this belt, the areas suitable for major urban expansion were marked (figure 6.3). The important limiting factors apart from travel time were topography, forest reserves and large plantations. According to Winblad

and Ponzio (1965) the identified areas would contain three to four million people if built up at densities similar to those of British New Towns. (This was said for comparison only – not to be taken as a recommendation). Therefore, the growth model was to be linear and open-ended, and capable of accommodating a continuously increasing population, an expanding economy and a rapidly changing technology. It was to make possible a shift from one mode of public transport to another as development progressed. The objective was to keep down the total cost of urbanization. Costs of roads and public transport, water and sewerage facilities, power and telephone networks, were to be kept at a minimum by concentrating developments.
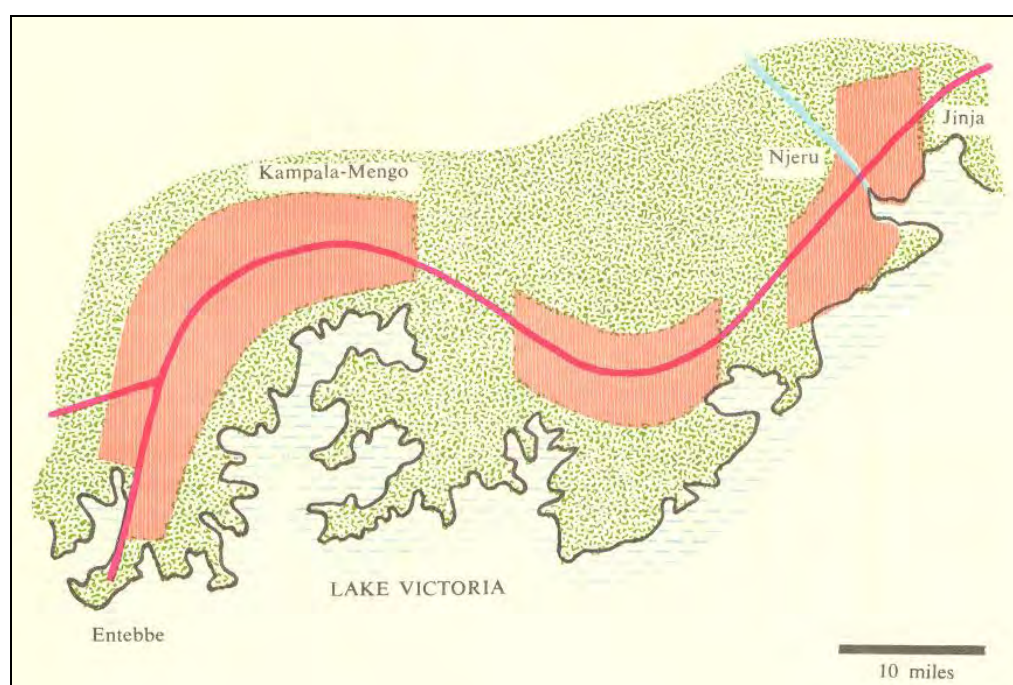
Figure 6-3: Linear Metropolis Model by the UN Mission (Source: Reproduced from Winblad, (1966:7), A Metropolitan growth model: Kampala-Mengo Region Planning Studies, No.6, September, Kampala)

Conceptual Variations for the Linear Metropolis

The UNRPM argued that within the basic pattern, several variations were possible. Among those illustrated here, the first was characterized by a heavy concentration to the existing centre and adjacent areas. The second has two large centres outside the main central area and indicates a more linear development. The third and last variation is highly decentralized and clustered around a number of centres along the motorway spine.
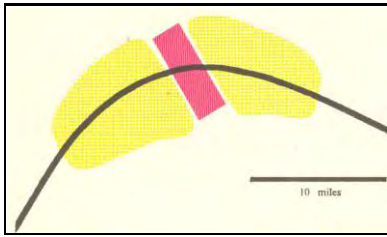
Figure 6-4: Shows Concentration to the existing centre
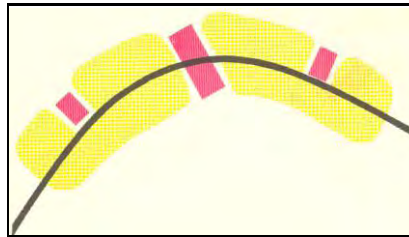
Figure 6-5: Linear development with two large centres outside the main central area
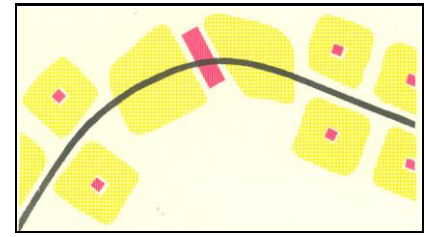
Figure 6-6: Decentralized and clustered developments

In the assessment of the concepts advanced in the planning of Kampala-Mengo Region (KMR), Uno Winblad a member of UN mission team was in favour of variation three (Figure 6.6) – the idea of new and decentralized towns for Kampala. He wrote:

"Where planned decentralization has taken place, it has often been in the form of new towns grouped around a large city. Often they were quite small; 20,000-60,000 inhabitants, and built on the assumption that once they had attained a predetermined, desirable size there would be no further growth. However, historical evidence and recent experience point to the opposite and new towns built today are often planned for a much larger population and for continuing growth. The main advantage of new towns apart from the fact that they could, at least temporarily, relieve the pressure on the parent city – is that land is cheaper and that they could be built without being hindered by existing structures. The main disadvantage is the high initial cost of development as in an entirely new town all housing and community facilities would have to be provided from the start. Another disadvantage was that it limited the choice of jobs available to any one worker unless the satellite towns are located within commuting distance of the parent city, in which case they would eventually be incorporated in the main body of the city" (Winblad, 1966: 5).

Steven Ward, a planning historian calls this arrangement of having new cities surround a major urban centre as 'metropolitan decentralization.' In his book – *Planning and Urban Change, 2004,* Ward submits that some municipalities in the UK adopted elements of the emerging model of 'metropolitan decentralization' in some of their large estates; most prominent ones were Wythenshawe in Manchester and Speke in Liverpool. The objective was no longer to replace the big city, but to accommodate metropolitan growth in an alternative form of continuous suburbanization (Ward, 2004). This idea was further strengthened by the introduction of a

Bill, passed in 1946 as the New Towns Act, which provided for the setting up of satellite towns. This Act, together with other legislation (the Distribution of Industry Act of 1945, the Town and Country Planning Act of 1947 and the National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act of 1949) provided the necessary machinery to impose a new concept of national planning for employment, new towns, land use and national recreation (Bassett, 1980:5).
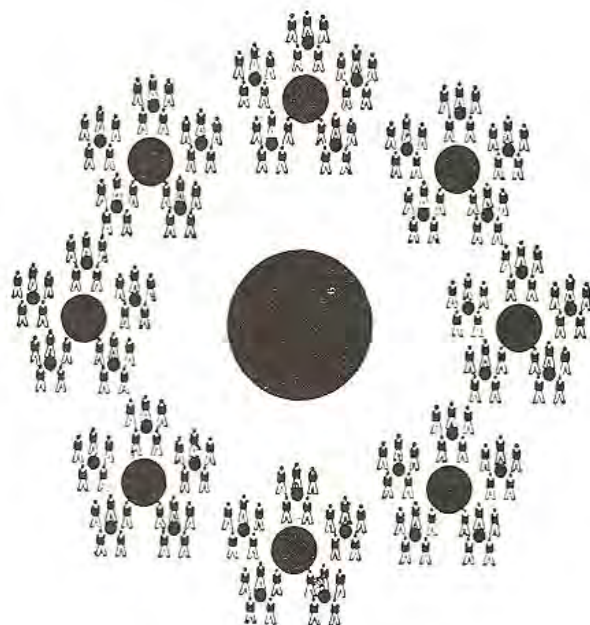
Figure 6-7: Neighbourhood planning with service centres surrounded by residential districts of three sizes; 1,000 or 5,000 or 40,000 residents. After British influence, 1943 (source: Eva Rudberg, 1991:101)

After World War II, similar events took place elsewhere, a number of European countries, especially Sweden, France, The Netherlands, Germany, and the Soviet Union undertook the building of new towns (comprehensive new developments outside city centres) as governmental enterprises. Post-colonial governments used new towns approach as a tool for various purposes (Gilbert and Gugler, 1981; Turner, 1980; Stewart, 1996), including in response to problems in large cities (Hobson 1999).

The Pre-determined Form for Kampala-Mengo: Geometry of the Ideal Settlement

The predetermined forms advocated for by the UNRPM in Kampala have roots in the nineteenth and early twentieth century planning. The twentieth-century Swiss/French architect and town planner, Charles Edouard Jeanneret, who preferred to be called by the name Le Corbusier, adored the ideal city planning tradition and advocated the design of modern ideal cities, He wrote:

"Geometry is the means, created by ourselves, whereby we perceive the external world and express the world within us. Geometry is the foundation. It is also the material basis on which we build those symbols which represent to us perfection and the divine. When man is free, his tendency is towards pure geometry. It is then he achieves what we call order. In his mind he sets up a framework of constructions based on the order which is imposed upon him by his body, and so he creates. All the works that man has achieved are an 'ordering.' Seen from the sky, they appear on the earth below as geometrical objects… As we move higher in the scale of creation, so we move towards a more perfect order; the result is the work of art" (Le Corbusier, 1929).

According to Micheal Chyutin and Bracha Chyutin, planned settlements were designed on rational principles, in contrast to the accidental development of the spontaneously growing city. The geometrical starting point of many of the planned settlements was the use of simple perfect geometrical forms, especially in the absence of dominant unique local geographic and environmental conditions. When an architect or urban planner endeavours to express a perfect world through geometric shapes, he naturally tends to opt for perfect shapes: a circle, square, rectangle, hexagon or octagon. This was the custom of the scientists, mathematicians, and philosophers of ancient times when striving to present models of the cosmos. Each culture created its own model of the universe (Chyutin and Chyutin, 2007:3).

Stockholm's Vällingby Model and the Hexagonal Cell

Uno Winblad who was in favour of searching for new approaches to deal with Kampala region argued that the future settlement of Kampala-Mengo must not be a projection of past trends which would only lead to formlessness low density sprawl. The growth should be guided into a predetermined form of settlement units providing accommodation for households made up of a balanced cross-section of the community (Winblad, 1966).

The hexagonal city form was proposed based on the earlier decentralised and clustered variation of 'Metropolitan Growth Model'. The cell was to contain a centre with a market, shops and community buildings, a park belt with schools and sports grounds, and an industrial estate with residential areas for 20,000 to 40,000 people depending on density (figure 6.8). The size of the cell was limited by maximum acceptable walking distance to the centre, school and public transport; here taken as ⅔ mile or

one kilometer (Winblad 1966). In congruence with Winblad's (1966) arguement, Lars Danielsson had the following to say,

"…after independence, the main idea in the planning of Kampala was to integrate city development and rapid population growth. The question was how should it be built? Sweden had belief that to build the social welfare state, everything could be planned in relation to human needs; transportation, security, and so on. Vällingby, the huge Stockholm suburb that had been built based on the popular radburn and the neighbourhood unit ideas was a symbol of planned community and this, together with the hexagon model was seen as great model for Kampala. Already by 1930, hexagonal planning was a leading theoretical alternative to the rectangular grid for residential subdivisions in Europe… It is true that when we come to Africa, we bring with us ideas from Europe, but these should be technically advised…." (Interview, May 22nd 2010).
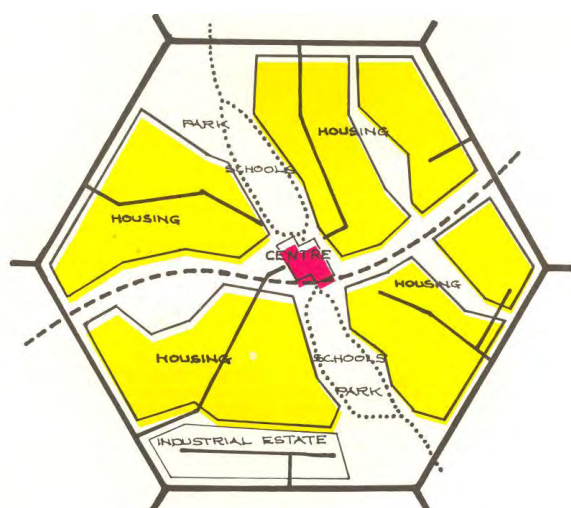
Figure 6-8: Hexagonal Cell Form developed for Kampala-Mengo region by UN Mission. (Source: Winblad 1966)
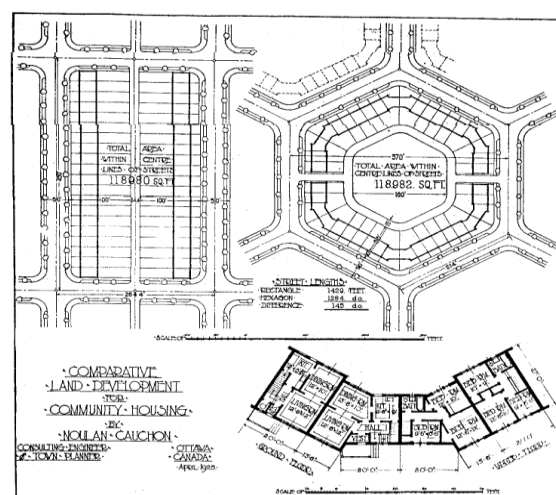
Figure 6-9: Regular Grid and Noulan Cauchon's 1925 Hexagonal block (Source: Cauchon 1925)

Like Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr (1910) and Cauchon (1925), Winblad (1966) derived his hexagonal form on the assertion that Y-shaped roads are better suited to motor traffic than conventional crossroads. When assessed from sightlines and probable accident-spots perspective, a three-way intersection was theoretically greatly superior to a four-way intersection because the 120° angle has improved sight lines compared with

the right angle. The three-legged intersection has only three potential collision points, compared with 16 in the other.
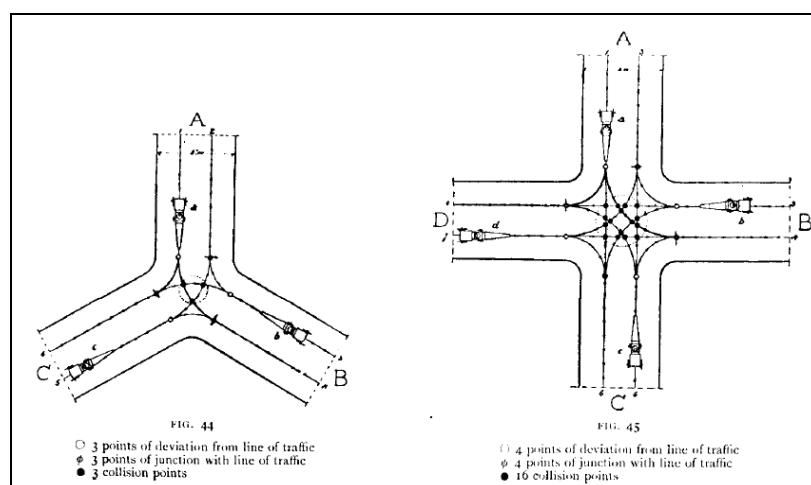
Figure 6-10: Road intersections and collision points (Source: Triggs 1909, In: Ben-Joseph and Gordon, 2000:250)

A similar argument held by Winblad in 1964 had already dominated the 1920's and 1930'. For example, in 1929, Noulan Cauchon, one of the strong proponents of hexagonal planning succinctly stated,

> "…the crux of the traffic solution in hexagonal planning is that over the greater area of a city – which is always for residence use, the streets meet in three-way junctions and not as cross intersections. Cross intersections cause the holding up of traffic on one street while it is moving on the other, that is, a theoretical efficiency of 50% at the most, which in practice rarely amounts to 30%. Where the traffic meets in three-way junctions, traffic forces are deflected, instead of interfering as they do at cross intersections, then there is visibility of the wider angle of approach at a three-way junction, which obviates such frequent slackening of speed as is entailed for contingent safety at cross intersections" (United States National Housing Association, 1929:153-155)

In further support of the hexagonal city form, the UNRPM argued that for Kampala-Mengo region, the cellular structure would make it possible to establish a more uniform traffic load than could be achieved with the existing radial pattern which imposed extremely high concentrations of traffic towards the centre. Public transport was to be effected by buses for many years ahead. The argument was that as the

metropolitan population increases, roads become crowded and travel speeds reduced, some kind of high frequency passenger service independent of the roads would become feasible.
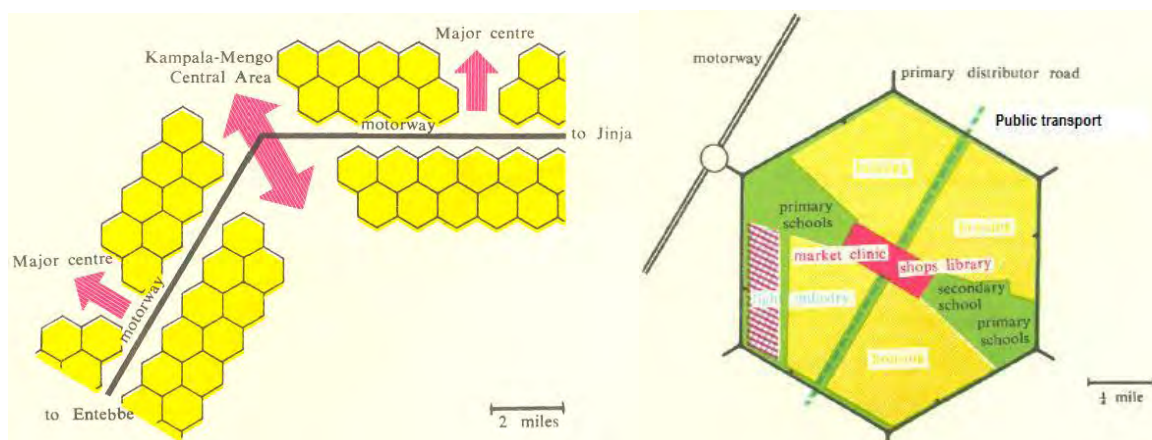
Figure 6-11: Linear Growth Model around Hexagonal Cell Structure developed for Kampala-Mengo Region. (Source: Winblad, 1966; Litherland, *et al*, 1966:23)

In addition to engineering and planning benefits, the UNRPM also believed that the hexagonal system was seen to have public health benefits. If the hexagonal grid was oriented so that it pointed due north, there would never be buildings with a northern exposure, and all rooms in the block would receive direct sunlight every day. Natural day lighting was therefore an important factor in orientation of houses (Interview with Lars Danielsson, May 22nd 2010). Direct sunlight had been identified as a *possible cure for tuberculosis in the 1920s* and adequate daytime lighting was a strong concern of housing reformers throughout the decade (Source: Cauchon 1925, Cited in Ben-Joseph and Gordon 2000:251-252).

The other important factor behind the cell pattern was that, it could easily be adapted to the special topography of the southern part of Kampala Region, with low hills rising 200 to 500 feet above valleys covered with papyrus swamps.
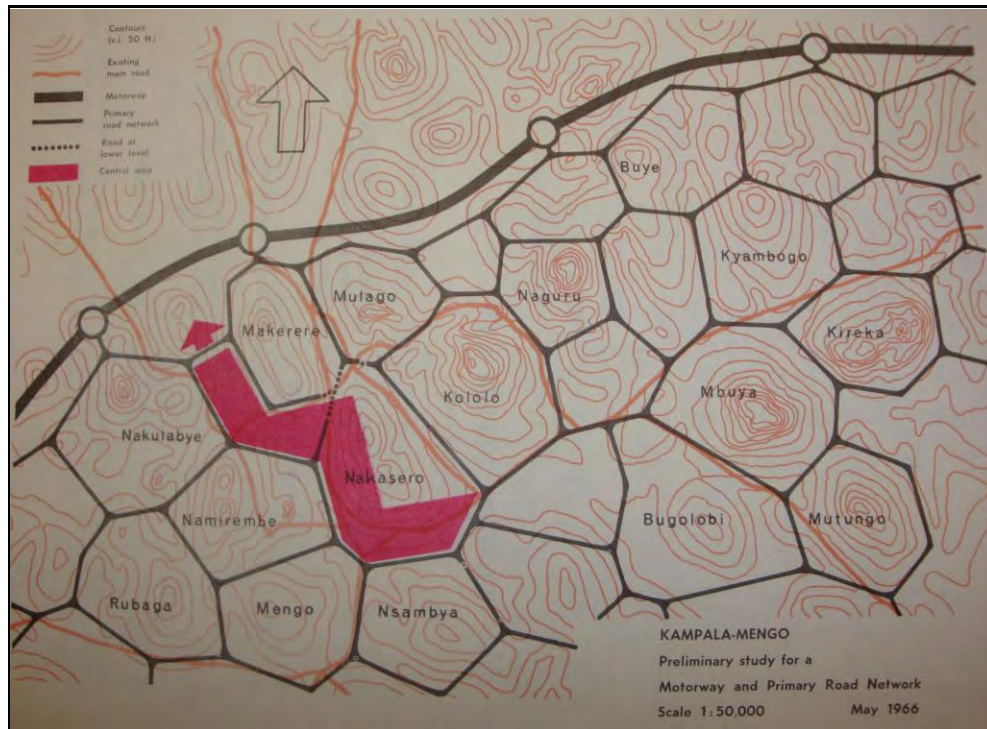
Figure 6-12: Applying Hexagonal cell over Kampala-Mengo hills (Source: Litherland, *et al*, 1966)

In line with location suitability of the model on the hills of Kampala-Mengo region, the hill tops were seen to be suitable for agriculture and building development but could be expensive to service. The wet valleys were problem areas but they could undoubtedly in most cases be drained and rendered suitable for some development, in particular for transportation lines, open spaces, playing-fields and industrial buildings (Litherland, *et al*, 1966:12).
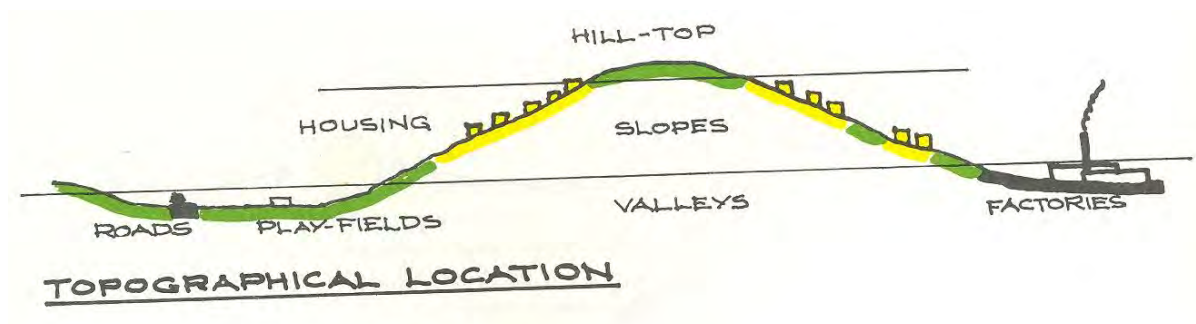
Figure 6-13: Hexagonal Principles and Topography (Source: Litherland, *et al*,1966:12)

To summarize: "Hexagonal planning" was seen to provide swifter and safer traffic and more freedom from accidents, wider accessibility to home land and the keeping of it more cheaply available for the extension of healthy home areas; obviates congestion; provides more "mothers' parks" and home supervised playgrounds; gives accessibility to sunshine to every street and external house surface – resulting in better homes, more amenity, more efficiency, and more healthiness. It thus meant better business, longer life and happier homes, increasingly for all.

Inside the Residential Unit: Cell Tissue

As part of the proposed residential pattern for the Metropolitan Area, a pilot project was earmarked on some 870 acres, situated approximately four and half miles from the centre of Kampala on two hills (Nakulabye and Namirembe), rising 100 ft. and 200 ft. respectively. A plan for a housing project for some 30,000 persons, representing a cross-section of the urban population of Kampala-Mengo was prepared based on the residential unit model. Projected at a population of 30,000 persons the overall density would be 35 persons per acre (Interview with Lars Danielsson, May 22nd 2010). To the KMRPM, the approach to residential development based on the residential unit model proposed would be the model for similar units on all the other hills surrounding the CBD.

The aim of the scheme was to provide housing in a good-living environment at a reasonable cost. This was to be accomplished by using a series of basic techniques including: the separation of vehicular and pedestrian movements; the provision of schools and a shopping and community centre within easy walking distance of homes (approximately up to two-thirds of a mile); the provision of ample open space for recreation; the reservation of a route for a possible future rapid public transit system; the provision of an industrial estate giving some work opportunities near the home; the provision for the development of housing of many types to suit the varying incomes of the people; and orderly planning with the provision of adequate urban infrastructure (United Nations 1966). Lars Danielsson's description of accessibility system within this residential layout is similar to that of Clarence Stein and Henry Wright in the radburn principle, as well as that of Clarence Perry, expressed in the neighbourhood unit (see for example; Perry, 1929; Eugenie Birch, 1980:126; Stein, 1957). In describing his plan, Lars Danielsson wrote:

"…the Layout of the proposed unit is hexagonal in form, and is circumscribed by primary roads referred to as primary distributors. Vehicular traffic is to have access into, but not through the area by a stopped feeder road from each distributor internal communication in the form of pedestrian pathways and cycle tracks is laid out independent of the road pattern. The advantage is that the inhabitants will be able to move freely within the area without the necessity of crossing a road…" (United Nations 1966:6)

Figure 6-14: Lars Danielsson's Residential Unit Model for Kampala, for 30,000 residents. The model was to be experimented on Nakulabye and Namirembe hills and later to all the hills of Kampala. (Source: United Nations, 1966)

According to Lars Danielsson, throughout the development pattern safe access was possible to other parts of the city. The housing layout was planned around the feeder roads on the slopes of the hills leaving the valleys and hill tops for public parks and open space. To serve the needs of the community, provision was made at the centre for shops, community buildings and a transport terminal. Eight primary schools were distributed throughout the area with provision for extension to secondary level on

ultimate development. A light industrial estate of some 50 acres was planned for the south-west part of the area as an adjunct to the main industrial areas (United Nations 1966: 6-7).

By the provision of basic services and amenities, it was hoped that housing would largely be generated through self-help, and four basic schemes were proposed; serviced plots for development in traditional and semi-permanent building materials; ⅓ acre serviced plots for high class private development; core-housing; and 3-4 story flats. The major part of the proposed layout was small serviced plots of 35 x 80 feet (minimum) on the periphery, meant for individual family occupancy on single plots. Commercial residential use, that is, lodging houses were meant to occupy over 2-3 plots. Basic services to be provided were roads, piped water, water-borne sanitation and street lighting.

Figure 6-15: Serviced plots of 35 x 80 feet in Cul-de-sac layout, prepared by Lars Danielsson for Kampala-Mengo (Source: United Nations, 1966:7)
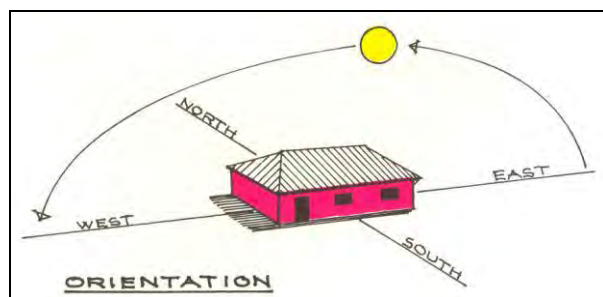
Figure 6-16: Proposed building orientations (Source: Litherland., *et al.,* 1966: 11)

On the layout and orientation of buildings, Litherland, *et al*, (1966:11) submit that Kampala-Mengo region has a humid climate without any great extremes and can be considered to be a very comfortable climate. This means that it is possible to make considerable use of outdoor living. Over the year there is an average of about six and half hours of sunshine

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each day. Direct sunlight into living rooms through windows and doors makes rooms uncomfortable because of heat and glare. This is most apparent in the late afternoon, indicating that unshaded western windows and openings should be especially avoided. Conversely the low morning sun, when air temperatures are lower is not unpleasantly hot and can usually be tolerated or even enjoyed. It is apparent that climatic considerations are usually ignored, the possibilities for outdoor living are rarely utilised in urban areas but they are spontaneously practiced in rural areas. It is possible without difficulty, to design buildings in Kampala for comfortable indoor living and without resort to mechanical ventilation and air conditioning. This can be achieved by conscious orientation of buildings, by using window shading devices, by good roof designs, and by having controlled ventilation.

Kampala Central Area

According to the KMRPM the approach of linear metropolis was the logical, most efficient, in the long term, cheapest means for the nation in effecting order out of very rapid population and urbanization increases. A wholly complementary CBD to such an organized MA was seen, in general form, as one which was also linear, but developing in cross direction to such spines.

In the light of the contents of the concerns and planning ideas raised by the KMRPM, it was noted that expansion of the CBD would be at the expense of existing residential uses, for example, low-density residential development (at Nakasero) would be replaced by high or higher density residential development. This expansion was seen as 'move to increase the value of the use and with it the value of the land and buildings,' in this way existing uses were not to impede development. A national road to motor-way standard was envisaged as a requirement by the year 2000 to skirt Kampala on its northern edge, with a southern loop edging the environs of Mengo and Nakawa. The primary distributor road directly related to the CBD, as referred to above, was assessed as required to be a 3-lane each direction traffic mover following the line of the Nakivubo Valley. Over much of its length would be required to be built on stilts. It, and other adjoining primary distributors, would provide direct links to the motor-way (Uganda Government and United Nations, 1965:6-7).

For expansion of the CBD, five areas were identified for reorganization, control and management. These included, the western areas of Makerere University Campus as the CBD would expand along its western edge; areas of Kisenyi and Bakuli were to be established as two residential zones with ancillary facilities, with full pedestrian and bicycle movement to and from the CBD; Kabaka-Anjagala road was seen as an attractive mall and would continue to line with the civic and cultural buildings between the Bulange and the Lubiri, which was to be maintained undeveloped and remote; and Nakasero (European enclave in colonial times), that was selected for densification was to have separate pedestrian and bicycle access to the CBD (Uganda Government and United Nations, 1965:7). Following this, a comprehensive physical plan (Figure 6.17) was prepared for the central area.
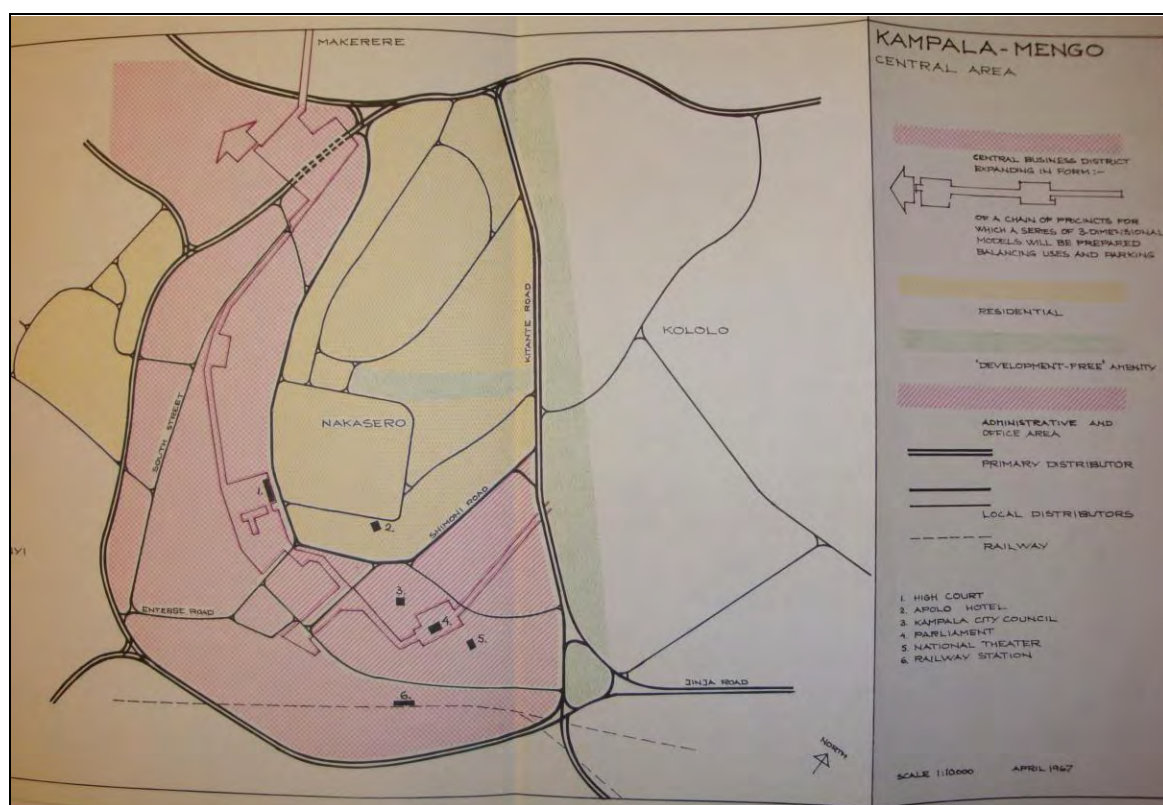
Figure 6-17: Proposed Plan for Kampala's Central Business District. (Source: Uganda Government and United Nations, 1965:20)

On industrial development the KMRPM noted that Kampala industrial area was well developed, covering almost entirely 400 acres, living very little room for expansion, consequently extensions were taking

root in the eastern direction – around Bugolobi and Nakawa areas. In summary the KMRPM stated:

> "…the overall picture shows one satisfactory industrial area, it is in Kampala City, and is almost fully developed. All further industrial development will have to be outside Kampala city. The Port bell development is valuable, but needs to be much larger. The Kawempe industrial area is adequate in size but most unsatisfactory in layout and development. The industrial development and industrial zoning in Mengo Municipality is of no consequence." (United Nations, 1966:12)

Implementing the KMRPM Ideas and Models

Box 6-3: Excerpt 3 - of Lars Danielsson's Letter, June 12, 2011.

At the exhibition *"Planning for the Future – A Plan for the National Capital"* in the Kampala National Theatre in August 1966 we showed our proposals for Kampala of the future. I included *The Mulago Hill Housing Scheme* as a pilot project. Having first presented it to the Minister of Housing I had then revised it at his request. It contained proposals for *"self-help"* construction, which would mean that *house-owners* could – in an organized fashion and for the purpose of reducing costs – help build their own houses according to the plan. I had a personal insight into this method as the City of Stockholm as early as the 1920's had organized settlement areas for self-help construction for families with low income. One such suburb was Enskede where Louise (my wife) and I at the time owned a house whose former owner around 1932 had participated in such a self-help scheme and helped build his own house. It was at the time of economic recession in the western world and he was at times unemployed.

Mr. Litherland was a man of modest attitudes and he accepted the fact that we had a broader experience of modern urban planning and he was confortable to assist in doing regional planning studies on land use and legislation. In the coming period two other team members arrived from Sweden, Åke Flaker and Olof Tyrstrup. After my two years in Kampala more staff members were to arrive.

Mulago Hill Housing Project, Kampala

At the request of National Housing Corporation (Ministry of Housing and Labour), the KMRPM further prepared a scheme to provide housing for the lower income groups on Mulago hill, behind Mulago hospital in an 18 acre area originally zoned for residential use.

The scheme was presented to the minister of Housing and Labour on the 24th of December 1964 for consideration, but the minister raised objection to the scheme on grounds that car parking was separated from some of the houses by up to over 200 feet and recommended for the review of the scheme (Figure 6.18). Based on the typical twentieth century planning ideas, the new scheme was planned around the neighbourhood unit, Clarence Stein's and Henry Wright's radburn combined with Raymond Unwin's and Barry Parker's cul-de-sac method of residential layout for houses combined in blocks. The houses were grouped around small cul-de-sacs, each of which has an access road coming from the main roads. The main consideration was to achieve utmost economy in services and land use as well as in the design of houses, and providing for easy access.
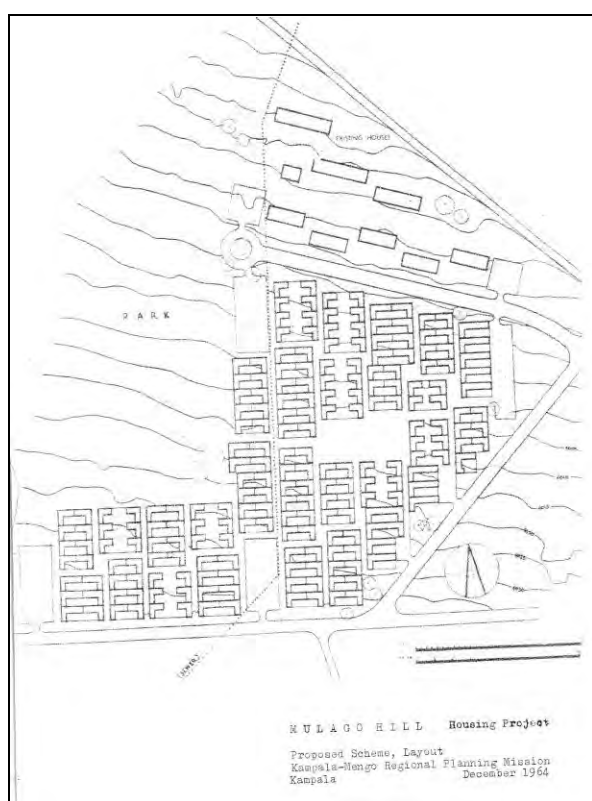
Figure 6-18: Lars Danielsson's 1965 Proposed Scheme for Mulago Housing Project on Mulago hill. (Source: Lars, 1965)

Figure 6-19: Revised Schemes for Mulago housing project on Mulago hill. (Source: Lars, 1965)

The revised scheme of 171 houses of the same type as the original scheme provided for a series of narrow cul-de-sac roads reaching into seven 'squares' within the development area. Each of the squares provides for car parking for the houses clustered around and immediately adjacent to them. The square was meant to be a focal point for those living around it

and adjacent to it. Its scale was such as to give comprehensiveness to the immediate surroundings of individual houses, which were grouped in blocks of 8-12 separated by the footpaths, laid out in east-west (lengthwise) direction. Road access to the area was through an approximately semi-circular road connecting to Lira – Gayaza road and through a cul-de-sac road (Lars, 1966). Lars Danielsson however, notes that the higher standard of car accessibility and car parking of the revised scheme as well as its generally higher standard of layout implicit in the 'square-concept' had to be weighed against the increased cost of external services and road construction (Lars, 1966).

An interview with Lars Danielsson, the architect of house plans in this project reveals that the proposed house types were single-story courtyard units based on a 'core' of one room, kitchen and latrine, one and two rooms respectively, with a store added to the basic unit. A central open area within the plan layout (scheme) was reserved as a children's playground." (Interview with Danielson, May 9th 2008). On the instruction of the Minister, ten houses were built around one cul-de-sac and park as sample and on experimentation basis. Later the other construction of the rest of the houses followed according to plan.
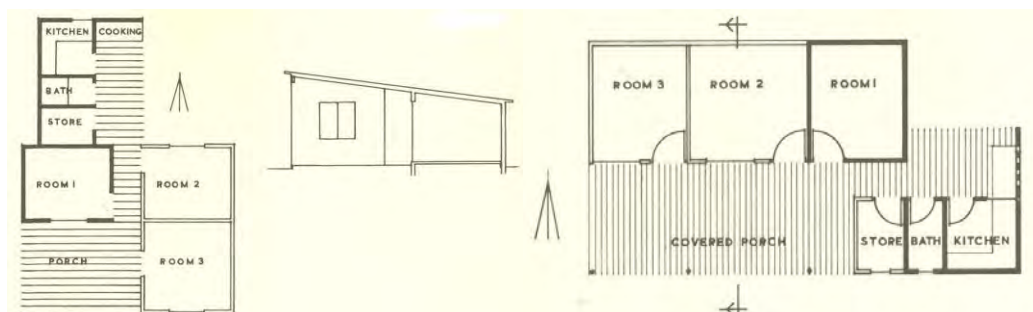
Figure 6-20: Lars Danielsson's single-story courtyard units proposed and built at the Mulago Hill (Source: United Nations, 1966:13)

Figure 6-21a-c: Houses on the Mulago Hill, built in 1964 based on Lars Danielsson's layouts (Source: Author, March 2010)

The implementation of Mulago Hill Housing Project to its full length renders this project as the most successful of all the works undertaken by the UNRPM. The 18 acre area zoned for residential use still stands as planned, despite poor maintenance and management. The parks are covered with overgrown grass and trees, with footpaths crisscrossing at any point and the housing originally designed for low income groups is presently occupied by the nursing and junior staff of Mulago hospital. The housing typologies include detached and terraced houses as proposed by Lars Danielsson.

Was any hexagon built in Kampala?

Despite the hard work from the KMRPM – the scientific analysis and the resources committed to conduct studies and prepare the relevant plans including the vigorous promotion of these plans, not a single complete hexagon was ever built in Kampala-Mengo region by 2004. Other than the Mulago hill housing project, nothing viable was put to test. According to the United Nations (1966) plan implementation involves expenditure. No physical plan is without costs. Due to lack of resources both human and economic, it was not possible to implement the decisions immediately. Even with resources, the nature and comprehensiveness of the plans would have rendered implementation to be a slowly expanding process taking many years to complete. In a report to Uganda Government in 1966, the UN mission was doubtful of the Government's ability to implement the plans in place, and wrote;

> "...the implementation of planning on the scale envisaged would require new legislation and positive approach to planning. The object of the present system was the negative one of controlling private initiative and did not provide Government and local authorities with adequate tools for an effective solution of the physical problems facing the metropolitan area. There was an urgent need for planning to serve as a guide to public action. The metropolitan growth model proposed for Kampala-Mengo region was based on three general aims: flexibility, economy and concentration. This model gave a very broad framework for which development was to progress. The implementation of this model on its own was impossible without much more detailed action plans produced at much larger scales, especially for the CBD (Litherland, *et al,* 1966).

The political state of affairs in Kampala-Mengo was not conducive for plan implementation to take its course. A duality continued to exist between Kampala city and Mengo Municipality, with the latter accusing the Central government of plotting to take over its properties, namely land and reducing the powers of their King, a situation that worsened after the Kabaka fled to exile in 1966.

The Third UN Mission: "Kampala-Mengo Regional Planning Mission"

The third UN Physical Planning Mission (under Mr. B. Nehaniv) was recruited in 1967 with the object of extending the work of the 1964/66 UN Mission firstly to Jinja region and subsequently to Mbale and Tororo regions in Eastern Uganda. However, following the realization that a considerable amount of basic survey data, considered essential to the production of the Master Plan, had been omitted from all previous studies, this last Mission was called in during the latter part of 1968 to carryout detailed survey of the then present land-uses and the basic essentials of a master plan programme (Hather, 1969).

At the beginning of February, 1969, a survey report was handed to the Department of Town and Country Planning. The report comprised a series of illustrations and maps; estimates of future total population; estimates of future employment and income based upon assumptions concerning the future growth of the Ugandan economy which were based upon the interpretations of the intentions of government as expressed in the 1966-1971 Five-Year Development Plan; and a broad quantitative basis for establishing total land-use requirements for residential areas, and major employment centres (Hather, 1969). Deo Kajugira a town planner at the Department of Town and Country Planning (DTCP) in Kampala notes that for several reasons, including inadequacy of resources, the third UN Mission did not go beyond producing the detailed survey report, but their findings were later to be used in the next phase of master planning. Since the DTCP in Kampala had lobbied to Government for funds to prepare a comprehensive development plan for Kampala, all the works of the third UN mission, together with the Final Report submitted at the end of 1969 of a firm of consulting traffic engineers engaged by Kampala City Council to prepare a transportation plan for the Kampala area up to the year 2000, were to comprise the background information for the master planning

process, which was to start in 1970 and conclude in 1972 (Interview with Deo Kajugira, February 16th 2010).

THE KAMPALA DEVELOPMENT PLAN, 1972

The 1972 planning episode follows recommendations of a 1969 report of the detailed survey of the land-uses and the basic essentials of a master plan programme by the third UN-Mission. This report followed a major event in Kampala – the February 1968 expansion of Kampala administrative boundaries from 28 square kilometres (area covered by 1951 scheme) to 195 square kilometres, through annexation of neighbouring areas of Kawempe Township, Mengo Municipality, Lusanja, Kisaasi, Kiwatule, Nakawa Township, Muyenga, Ggaba and Mulungu areas. When the boundary of the district was expanded, the decision placed Kampala City Council (KCC) in a difficult situation due to having a vast area on which to extend its jurisdiction. The City Council was already facing the challenge of developing a consistent policy for the provision of services for an area of considerable heterogeneity both in terms of past developments and its present population (Gugler 1968).

The continued population growth of Greater Kampala area was due to natural increase as well as rural to urban migration. The government's economic development policies tended to concentrate commercial and industrial investment in the Kampala region thus creating new job opportunities and attracting even more people from the rural areas (Giddings 2009).

As rapid development continued to take place in the city centre, the Town and Country Planning Department in conjunction with The Town and Country Planning Board found it necessary to start the preparation of the "Kampala Development Plan" in 1970, with the aim to include the newly annexed areas into Kampala Metropolitan Area that was already expanding towards the southern and eastern directions. It was however assumed that by the time the Development plan for Kampala was completed, there would be an administrative machine operational over the extended areas to ensure that the policies outlined in the plan could be satisfactorily implemented.

Planning Ideas, Aims and Considerations

The major ideas behind the 1972 planning episode were enshrined in a vision for a future growth of the city beyond the then present day boundaries. The Kampala Development Plan report (1972), stipulates the following aims and considerations:

a) Address the amalgamation of KCC and surrounding municipalities. This increased the area under Kampala City Council's jurisdiction from 28 square kilometers to 195 square kilometres;
b) Allocate sufficient land for forecasted growth of Kampala for 15 to 20 years;
c) A plan capable of modification and extension to allow growth into the 21st century;
d) Develop a pleasant and healthy City for all citizens including the low-income earners;
e) Locate residential areas, work areas, social facilities to give maximum convenience to people in all parts of the City;
f) Provide ease of movement to all parts of the City by both public and private transport;
g) Effect metropolitan strategy as a tool to manage urban sprawl.

Three alternative plans were prepared accompanied by a series of nine documents. The plans were put on deposit on October 23rd 1970, for a period of three months, until January 23rd 1971. During this period the public was invited to make representations or objections to various aspects of the plan. Due to low response from the communities, the deposit period was extended to February 11th 1971. When the deposit period ended, the final plan and best preferred alternative was completed at the beginning of 1972, however, this Plan was not approved by Cabinet and the Town and Country Planning Board not until 1974 due to several reasons, including political instability that was already rocking Uganda in the early years of former President Idi Amin's military and dictatorial rule (Interview with Deo Kajugira, March 6, 2010).
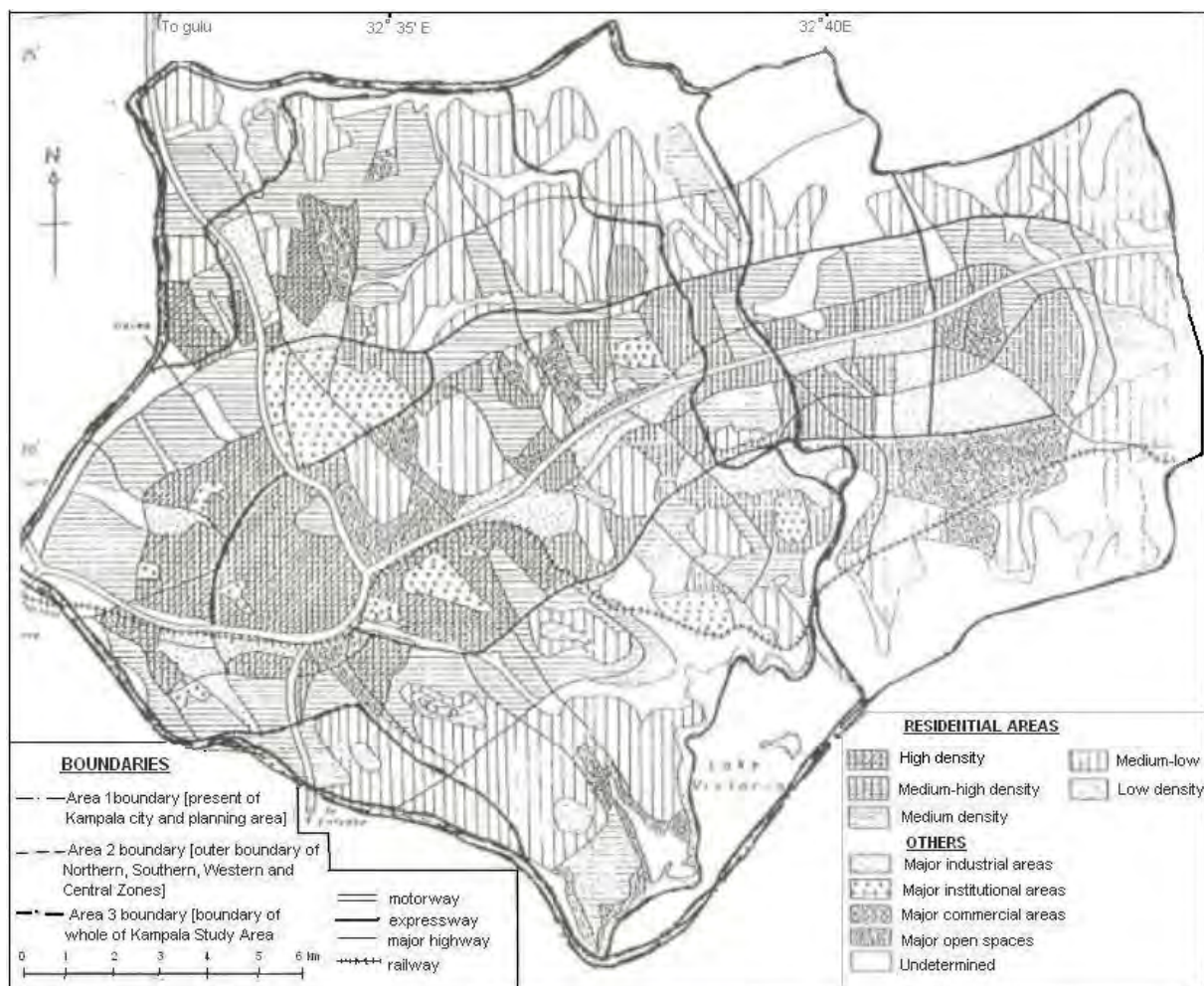
Figure 6-22: Kampala Development Plan 1972 (Source: Kampala City Council, 1972)

The scheme prepared was a comprehensive one with sectoral plans and elaboration of implementation schedules and was accompanied by written reports and outlined a number of policies ranging from housing, industry, city centre and local centre, water supply and sewerage, transport, land use to future planning. Other sectors were also covered and proposals made but housing and Industrial related activities took a big proportion of the land allocations since the two land use categories were observed to have had a profound influence on the development pattern of Kampala.

Major Outline Scheme Proposals

Housing and Residential areas

The 1972 plan provided zones for residential areas on already existing sites and newly proposed sites including; Kololo, Lubaga, Natete and around

Kawempe township. The DTCP recognized the need for segmented housing policies and recommended a policy that would foster government private partnerships to construct low-cost housing using the sites and services scheme, and also recognized the need for paying attention to the peri-urban areas. These peri-urban areas had already developed in a haphazard manner and required improvement by providing adequate services (Kampala City Council 1972). Residential allocation mainly remained for the middle and upper slopes of the hills, as had been recommended by the UN Regional Planning Mission in 1966.
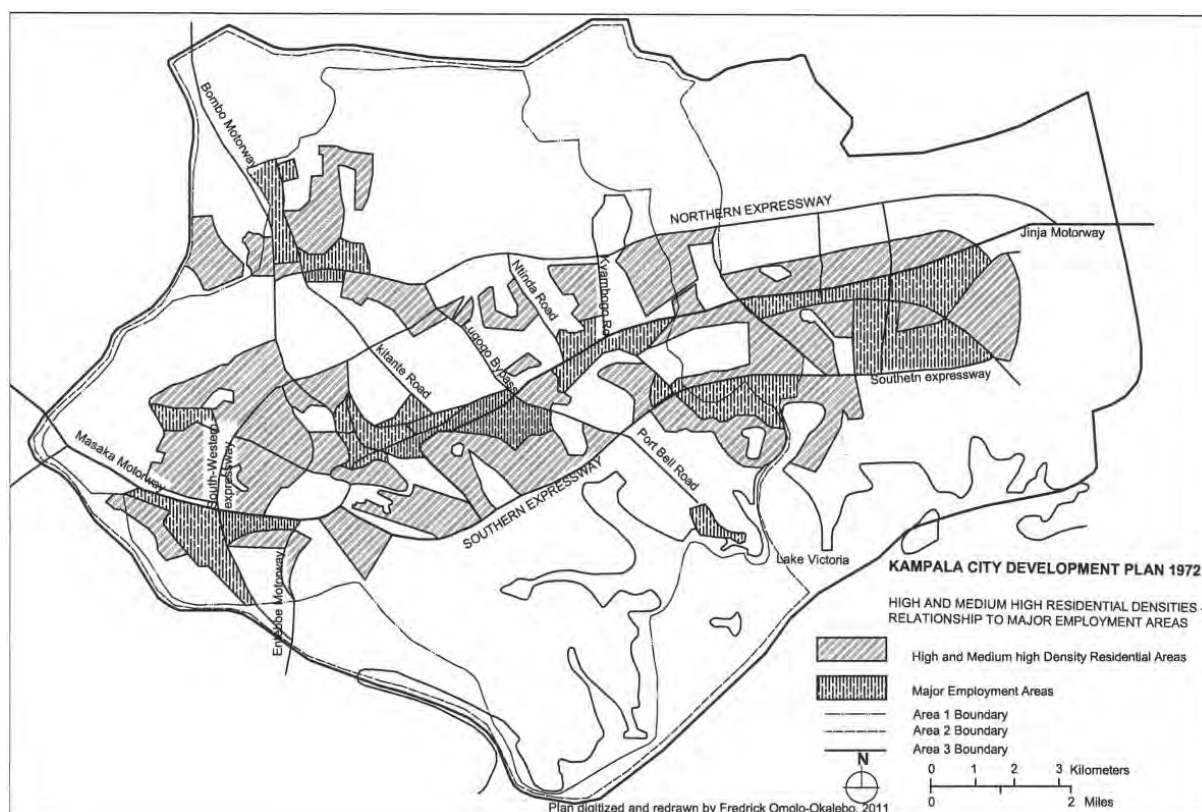
Figure 6-23: The 1972 Planning Scheme (digitized and reprinted by Author, November, 2011) showing high and medium-high residential density relationships to major employment areas (Source: Lwasa, 2006)

Industry

The Kampala Development Plan of 1972 took care of the industrial areas, old and new. The old industrial area planned in the 1930s along Jinja Road by British Consultant, A.E. Miram was maintained and new industrial sites were proposed based on a number of principles, including: location near high density residential areas; dispersed in various parts of the urban area; and location on relatively flat land.

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Following the above principles, a total of 1,678 hectares of land was reserved for industrial use in the Development Plan. The areas proposed included; Nakawa/Ntinda, Nalukolongo, Portbell and Kinawataka (Kampala Development Plan, 1972). It should be noted that the current Namanve Industrial Park was gazetted as forest reserve in the 1972 plan and was only converted as industrial park in the 1990s by the Uganda Investments Authority. Its prime and central location along Kampala-Jinja highway, and abundant acreage (approximately over 894 acres) that were considered fairly enough to accommodate factories, business offices, warehouses, and distribution centres were some of the reasons for the selection of the site.
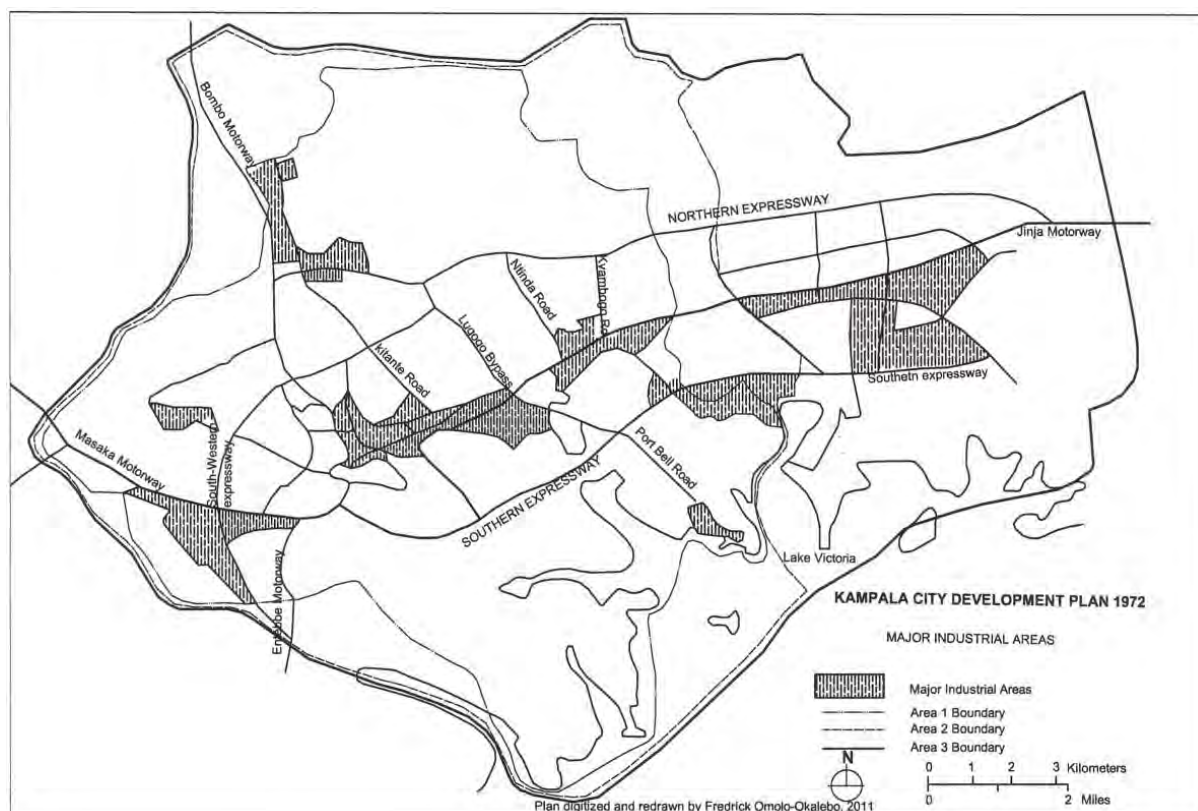
Figure 6-24: Major industrial zones in the 1972 Kampala Development Plan (digitized and reprinted by Author, November 2011) (Source: Kampala City Council 1972)

Transportation

The idea of improvement of the transportation system in Kampala and the peripheral areas was a factor in the preparation of the 1972 plan as recommended by the UN Planning Mission in 1966. In their report to Government, the KMRPM stated:

"…studies should be carried out on the location of the proposed motorways and of a reserve for future rapid transport system. It is important to make these reservations while undeveloped land is still available as such actions would in the long run result in considerable savings" (Litherland and Winblad, 1966).

Following this recommendation, the transportation Study in 1970 filled a very obvious gap existing in previous studies, and resulted in the basic design of a highway network (the southern express way and the present-day Northern bypass/Expressway) for the year 2000. This network was based upon the Linear concept proposed by the 1964/66 Mission, a preliminary urban structure map, which at the commencement of the Transportation Study was submitted by the Planning Department and which comprised an outline road network together with the locations of the major employment centres and residential districts.

Figure 6-25a-b: Sections of the 1972 plan showing the Northern Bypass layout (source: scanned archival material, Department of Geography Makerere University, February 2010)

The final report, which included a detailed and phased breakdown of capital costs for the whole of this primary road system, became the basis for the 1972 transportation plan. As Kajugira, the former Chief Planner at the Planning Department succinctly said;

"The 1972 planning scheme had an elaborate strategy for the improvement of transportation network in Kampala. The plan provided for the present Northern bypass (Northern Expressway); Southern motor way – starting from Bweyogerere, Muyenga to Entebbe; Entebbe motorway – starting from Masaka road up to Entebbe; Bombo motor way – starting from Lugogo, present-day

Kiira Police Station upto Bombo; and the second Bombo motor way –
starting from Kibuye, Nakivubo, Makerere up to Bombo. The study
by Nor Consults and City Engineers resulted in a good transportation
plan with flyovers, bypasses and motorways, but KCC failed to
implement it." (Interview with Kajugira, February 16th 2010).

Implementation of the Outline Scheme Proposals

Kampala Northern Expressway/Bypass

The Northern bypass, also referred to as the northern expressway is a 21
km road that forms a semicircle across the northern suburbs of Kampala
city. The long awaited road, whose construction only commenced thirty
two years later (20th May 2004), was constructed by Salini Construction
Company with funding from the European Union. The aim was to relieve
traffic congestion within the city centre, allowing cross-country traffic to
bypass the city's downtown area. The essence was that vehicles from the
Eastern to Western side of the country (and vice versa) do not have to pass
through the City center, but rather use the Northern bypass that stretches
from Bweyogerere, approximately 13 kilometres (8.1 miles) to the east of
downtown Kampala, winding through the suburbs of Naalya, Kiwatule,
Kulambiro, Kigoowa, Bukoto, Mulago, Makerere, Bwaise, Kawaala,
Namungoona, and Busega.   The road ends in Nateete approximately
8 kilometres (5.0 miles), west of the city.
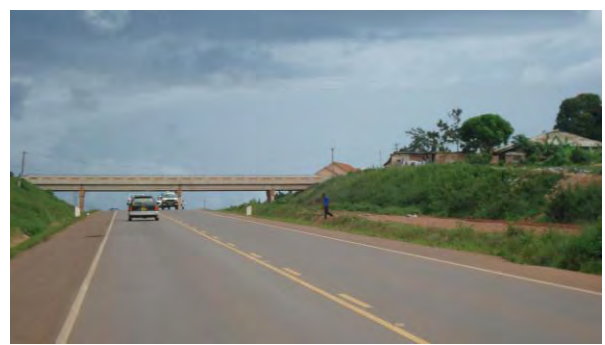
Figure 6-26: Sections of the Northern Bypass/express way. The 1972 design was however
altered at implementation. Some sections like this one (right) on the way to Naalya are single
carriageways but given the span of the bridges, there is possibility of expanding to dual carriage
highways. (Source: Author, March 2010)

Recreation Area: Namboole International Stadium

The 1972 plan report had specified the need for a national stadium, but this was not represented in the two-dimensional plan, because no suitable site had been identified.

The findings of this current study show that in 1974, the Ugandan Government obtained a grant from the Chinese Government (exact amount not known) for the construction of a national stadium and in 1976 a Chinese delegation came to Kampala to identify a suitable site for the construction of the same. The Chinese delegation identified Lugogo area, but, the then Chief Physical Planner at the Department of Town and Country Planning, Mr. Deo Kajugira, advised the Chinese team to locate the stadium outside Kampala. Mr. Deo Kajugira narrated the ordeal succinctly – as quoted verbatim herein;

> "As the then Planner in charge, I rejected the Chinese proposal to construct a stadium at Lugogo citing a number of issues that would arise including relocation of people, lack of adequate space, traffic implications… and so many others, including tampering with the transportation study that had been on-going. The Chinese on receiving negative response from me, decided to inform the then President of Uganda, His Excellency, President Idi Amin Dada. The president summoned me for meeting in his office, and he asked why I did not approve of the proposed site. "Tell me, why the stadium cannot be at Lugogo?" He pulled his pistol and pointed at my face! My response to the President was that the new stadium would lead to destruction of the environment and surrounding areas, destruction of the health facility at Lugogo, and would require a lot of space for circulation and traffic management. The President on hearing this got convinced and said… the 'technician has valid reason'. In 1986 the Chinese returned, still with same reason of locating the stadium at Lugogo. I was still involved and I took them around to look for another site. On our return from Jinja road, I saw a hill on the left around Bweyogerere area. At night, I thought of the hill and asked myself, why not take these Chinese to this Namboole hill. In the morning I went to the site and looked at it, and then I called on the Chinese and asked them, how about this site? They agreed, it was a good site… and that is where the current Mandela National Stadium, was built." (Narrative by Deo Kajugira during Interview, February 13th 2010)

The 45,202 capacity sports complex named after former South African President Nelson Mandela is currently the only ground for international sports engagements. Built with a US $36 million Chinese government grant and opened with aplomb in 1997 – with a concert by Lucky Dube (RIP), a reggae artist from South Africa.

Figure 6-27a-b: Mandela National Stadium: *From Left-Right*: view to east and aerial view, respectively) (Source: Online: http://farm5.static.flickr.com/4066/4476237054_dfec6c0b7a_b.jpg Accessed: 2010-11-30)

While the two-fore mentioned projects – the northern bypass and the national sports stadium present evidence of implementation of the 1972 plan for Kampala, it is important to note that most of the proposals on industrial locations were implemented. However, in general, the implementation of the 1972 plan experienced a number of serious bottle necks. Apart from the usual 'cancerous' cry of KCC not having adequate funds to implement plans, UN-Habitat (2007) points out that the military government that took over power in 1971 did not recognize the importance of planning, hence took no serious steps to implement the 1972 Development Plan. Yet, this plan was meant to serve as a basis for planning of the greater Kampala that had been expanded in 1968. The declaration of 'economic war' in 1972 by the military regime seriously affected the revenues of the city. Property owners, the majority of whom were Asian and Europeans were forced to leave the country and the properties were entrusted to Departed Asians Properties Custodian Board (DAPCB) a parastatal whose ability to maintain and pay property rates for these properties left a lot to be desired.

THE KAMPALA STRUCTURE PLAN 1994

With increased expansion of Kampala City in the early 1990s, former agricultural and vacant lands within 15-20 kilometre radius of the city, primarily to the north, east and south, increasingly became converted to residential, mostly with unplanned, inadequately serviced, low-density and poor quality housing. Urban growth began to spill into the city's former wetlands which are prone to flooding.

At city scale, the competitiveness, attractiveness and productivity of the city was marred by its poor infrastructure, particularly its road network, its water and sewer systems, poor rail access and unreliable supply of energy. Virtually no major road improvements had been made in years and with the unstoppable growth in the number of vehicles, traffic jams became a way of life. For example, traffic bound for Kenya along the main road between Kampala and Jinja, 70 km to the east could on average travel at 50 kilometres per hour during much of the day. Commuters from suburbs less than 20 kilometres from the city centre took well over an hour to get to and from work. This was the scenario that motivated KCC to undertake planning efforts in the City. With funding from the World Bank, Planning-Alliance a consultancy firm founded in 1978 by John van Nostrand in Toronto, Canada, worked alongside counterparts from the national and city government to prepare a comprehensive Strategic Urban Development Plan for Kampala to guide urban development over a 10-year period. The Kampala Structure Plan (1994) comprises of two major elements; The Kampala District Plan (1994), and the Written Provisions.

Like the 1972 plan, the 1994 structure plan was to cover not only Kampala district but also parts surrounding the district, including the natural features such as wetlands that form the boundaries of the district, and also some adjacent but fast growing centers such as Kyengera, Kira, Maganjo and Makindye which fell within the jurisdiction of Wakiso district.

The idea was to address and provide a physical socio-economic and financial framework for the direction and management of urban growth for Kampala for the period 1994-2004. The assumption was that this plan once it was operational and implemented would address vital questions including; Increased economic productivity in the private sector, particularly the informal private sector, and provision of improved access to land, housing

and services in order to improve the living conditions and alleviate poverty for all income groups in proportion to their demand.

According to Van Nostrand (1994) specific objectives (for complete list, see Appendix V) were categorized into institutional/financial, demographic, social, environmental, infrastructural, administrative and urban development objectives, some of which are listed as follows:

a) To encourage consolidated urban growth which makes full use of existing infrastructures – as opposed to dispersed, expensive, urban sprawl.

b) To encourage, and plan for the intensification and occupancy of existing lower –density areas such that they might accommodate new urban residents

c) To encourage a full range of mixed land-use zones in order to promote live-work relationships.

d) To provide a full range of recreational and open spaces uses

e) To encourage orderly patterns of land subdivisions which not only ensure direct access to existing or future roads, but also allow for on-going intensification and the associated progressive upgrading of infrastructure

f) To protect and enhance the natural environment of Kampala including the quality and integrity of air, water, and land resources

g) To promote tourism within Kampala District

h) To protect, enhance and/or support urban agricultural and forestry activities in appropriate locations within, and adjacent to the city.

i) To improve access to affordable water and sanitation services

j) To upgrade and improve existing infrastructure to accommodate full range of users

k) To explore the potential for greater local municipal and community involvement in the planning and maintenance of urban infrastructures

l) To encourage on-going public participation during the planning process

Philosophy and Ideas behind the Kampala Structure Plan, 1994

Plan Alliance proposed a revised approach to land-use zoning that reflected the present and anticipated socio-economic and political situations in Kampala. The primary objective of the new land-use zoning was to encourage, rather than discourage, the kind of mixed use which had arisen in an *ad-hoc* basis in Kampala over the past 15-20 years. The assumption was also that mixing land-uses only partially achieves an improved urban environment. The relative mix, or balance of uses (particularly residential and employment uses) was seen as critical to the attainment of increased economic investment. In the context of this approach, balance simply implied achieving a good proportion of housing and employment within a given community or zone. A perfect balance would therefore be achieved if there were local jobs available for every worker living within that given community[30]. In many respects this was what the residents of Kampala had been trying to achieve on their own accord without major planning interventions. The growth of secondary and tertiary forms of economic activity, predominantly in the informal sector, over the past 20 years resulted in a highly mixed range of land-uses occurring within neighbourhoods, many of which were originally zoned solely for residential or commercial uses (Van Nostrand, 1994).

The range of land-use designations as introduced in the 1972 Development Plan were to be replaced by five basic zones: residential, commercial, industrial, institutional and environmental. While it was anticipated that a mix of land uses would occur throughout Kampala, the purpose of the aforementioned designations was to give primary preference to particular uses in particular areas. For example, while it was recommended that priority be given to residential uses, within a residential zone, it was also recognized that there are a variety of commercial and industrial uses (for example, small shops or offices, cottage industries, markets, and so forth.) which, provided they were compatible, were also appropriately located in that zone. Similarly it was also recognized that while commercial uses should have priority areas such as the Central Business District, and along main streets, the plan also sought to support

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[30] This definition of "balance" was advanced previously in the "study of the reurbanisation of Metropolitan Toronto," as prepared by Berridge Lewinberg Greenberg Ltd. Toronto, December 1991.

and encourage the introduction of residential uses to support the commercial activities.

District/Division/Parish Relationships:

Traditionally, structure planning was assumed to involve the preparation of a broad conceptual plan for the entire city, implemented through a series of more detailed follow-up plans prepared for particular neighbourhoods. The intention of working at the three scales of District, Division and Parish scales was to ensure that conceptual ideas which may be introduced at the District level could be translated in a coherent and swift fashion, into more detailed plans at the Division and Parish levels. This was certainly the case with the 1972 Kampala Development plan. The problem was that, these detailed plans were often not completed. This was evidenced in Kampala where the detailed plans were yet to be completed for about 90% of the city. Conversely, it was intended that changes or ideas which were introduced at the Parish level may be tested for their applicability across the city at the Division and District levels. In the end, the Division plan was to be consistent with the District plan, and correspondingly, the Parish plan was to be consistent with the Division plans. This approach was thought to match a decentralized approach to planning with a decentralized political structure in order to maximize public input at all levels (Van Nostrand, 1994).

Kampala comprised a complex mix of highly regulated, former colonial developments and a wide range of largely informal, urban neighbourhoods. The principal challenge facing its Planners was how to deal with the City, which continues to be created largely at the hands of the informal sector. Van Nostrand wrote:

> "...urban planning in Uganda can no longer simply involve the preparation of physical planning regulations; it must also rely on a complementary and thorough understanding of existing social, economic and institutional arrangements. Consequently traditional land-use planning cannot exclusively address the current urban situation adequately. Such planning must be supported by specific urban design strategies, as well as enabling policies and programmes, which address urbanization on multi-sectoral basis. The planning process should result in the identification of achievable and affordable action programmes which benefit all income groups. Consequently,

these programmes must be based on the reinforcement of already established urban activities which strengthen the economic viability of the urban process... It was necessary for future urban development of Kampala to take place on an environmentally sustainable basis, in full recognition of the significance of existing local and regional urban eco systems, concentrate on consolidation of the existing city rather than its further dispersement and/or fragmentation…" (Van Nostrand, 1994)

Conceptual Approach

The *Kampala Urban Study Final Report* by Van Nostrand (1994) exemplifies the change in approach towards stakeholder involvement. A thorough analysis of existing urban conditions was carried out with outputs comprising of detailed physical, social, financial and environmental plans and priority action programs. Two fundamental approaches to the growth of Kampala up to 2004 were proposed and evaluated – *expansion versus consolidation*.

Expansion approach would involve the immediate expansion of the urban boundaries to include not only the existing Kampala district, but also those additional urban areas which had developed in neighbouring Mpigi and Wakiso Districts, and which were included in the Planning Area. The second approach, *Consolidation* comprised concentrating development within the existing Kampala District boundaries, around existing and proposed infrastructure until full use had been made of available land. On evaluation of the two conceptual approaches, the planning team acknowledged that Kampala was likely to continue growing into Mpigi District (present-day parts of Wakiso District), and recommended that emphasis over the ten year planning period (1994-2004) be placed on consolidating growth within the existing Kampala District boundaries, provided it was shown that sufficient land and services were available to accommodate the anticipated increase in population. The team also recommended however, that Kampala and the then Mpigi Districts collaborate during the ten year planning period, on the preparation of a plan for the eventual formal extension of urban development beyond the Kampala District boundaries after 2004.

To achieve consolidation, the preferred approach to future development, both *Greenfields Versus Intensification* criteria were

proposed for evaluation. Greenfields approach assumed that all new developments would occur on undeveloped (vacant/agricultural) land within Kampala District. The assumption was that adequate land was available. With Intensification approach, the assumption was that all new developments would be concentrated within areas that had already been developed and serviced, but which had the potential to accommodate additional development. On evaluation of both approaches, Plan-Alliance concluded that Kampala would continue to grow in two ways; first through the on-going expansion on vacant lands, and secondly, through the intensification (densification) of existing developments/communities. Both forms of growth were to be encouraged. To that effect, two planning schemes were produced in 1994 – proposed Kampala central business district plan, and Kampala structure plan, 1994.
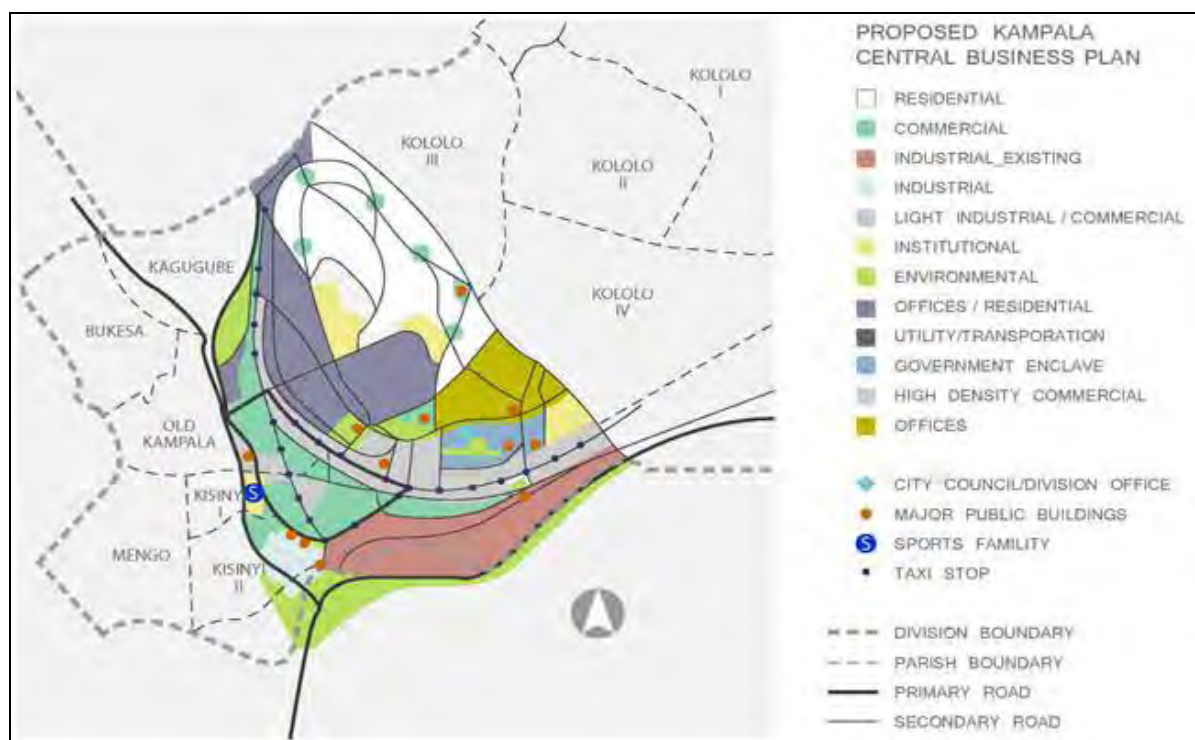
Figure 6-28: Proposed Kampala Central Business District Plan, 1994 (Source: Plan alliance, 2009. Online: http://www.planningalliance.ca/portfolio/regions-cities/kampala, Accessed May 21, 2011)
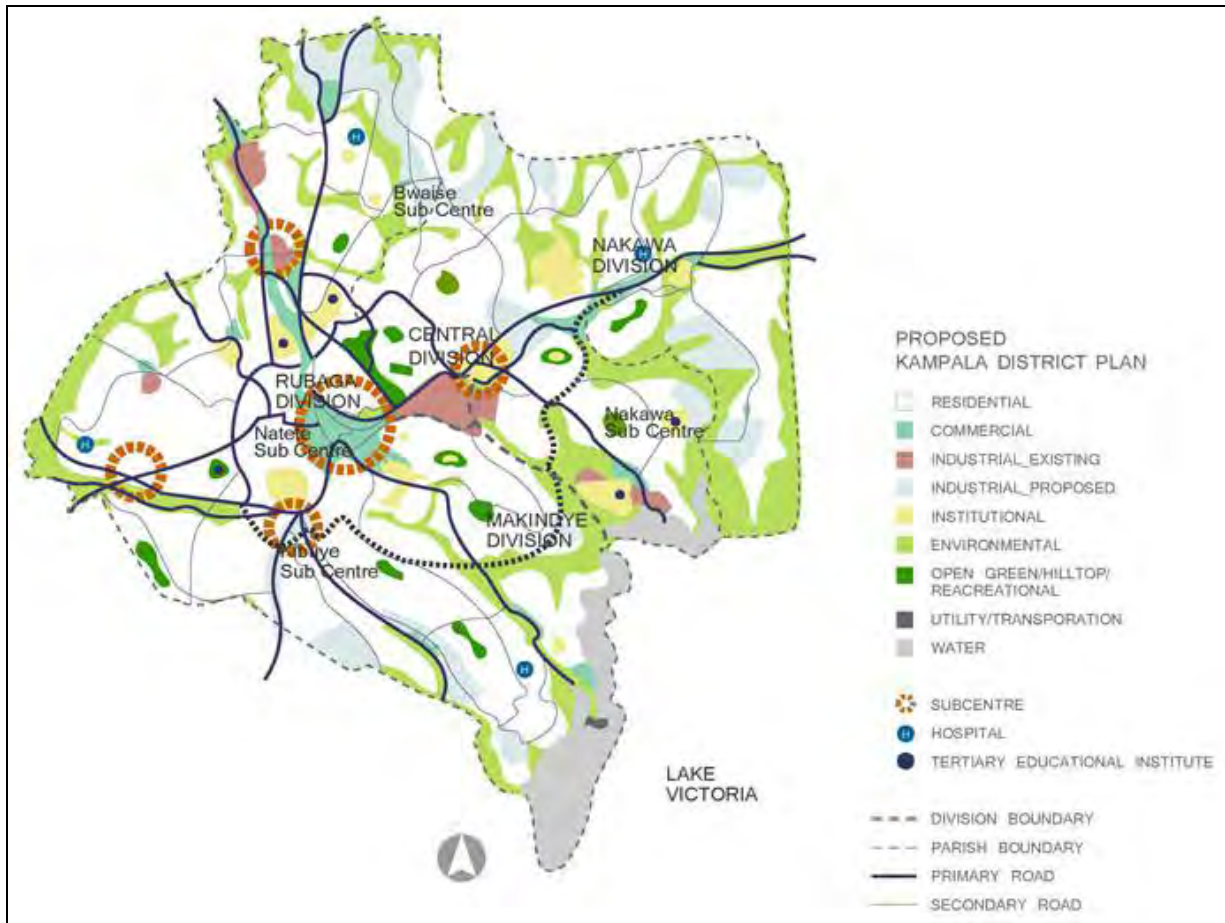
Figure 6-29: Kampala Structure Plan, 1994. (Source: Plan alliance, 2009. Online: http://www.planningalliance.ca/portfolio/regions-cities/kampala, Accessed May 21, 2011

Major Contents of the 1994 Kampala Structure Plan

Environmental Land-use

The plan provides for several green spaces intended to provide improved environmental protection for important ecological areas, particularly the existing shoreline and wetlands, but also to accommodate permanent urban agricultural activities and major dedicated pedestrian and bicycle paths. The idea behind this was the understanding that wetlands perform a critical role in the drainage of ground water and the natural treatment (scouring) of polluted water. In further support of the Plan's objective to improve water conditions in Kampala, it recommended that the existing sewerage works be relocated from the Lake Victoria watershed to the Lake Kyoga watershed in order to separate the city's major water intake from its largest sewerage outlet.

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Industrial Land-Use

It was proposed that all vacant land/industrial lands having slopes of less than 10%, and lying outside the wetlands (that is, approximately 5,000 acres) be designated as potential industrial zones in order to reinforce the priority which needed to be given to accommodate the full range of anticipated formal and informal businesses. The plan also sought to consolidate existing industrial zones so as to render them more directly accessible both on foot and by bicycle from adjacent residential communities. Both these proposals were intended to reinforce the strategy of ensuring that a balance is maintained between residential accommodation and formal and informal jobs at the local community level. In turn this was intended to promote increased economic activity in the private sector, particularly the informal private sector.

Commercial Land-Use

The Structure Plan designates the existing Central Business District (CBD) as well as series of existing commercial nodes, and major shopping streets as commercial land-use zones. Four new commercial sub-centres were also proposed at Nakawa, Nateete, Kibuye and Bwaise with the aim that these centres would relieve the pressure that was placed on the CBD. These sub centres were also meant to serve as secondary transportation nodes. It is vital to note that these centres were already in existence and served the populace informally.

In addition, the Structure plan identified and recommended for upgrading and expansion of a series of local centres spread throughout Kampala, these included; Kabalagala, wandegeya, Nakulabye, Gaba, among others.

Residential Land-Use

The Plan proposed to designate as 'residential' all existing lands which were occupied primarily by residential uses or such vacant/agricultural lands not designated primarily for industrial, commercial, or environmental uses. Unlike the previous plans for Kampala, the 1994 Structure Plan does not differentiate between high, medium and low densities at the District level, but assumed that such differentiation would be made at the Division

and/or Parish levels. The assumption was that densities would be regulated by the availability of infrastructure. Van Nostrand (1994) succinctly said;

> "Urban services which are affordable and appropriate in scale to the form and density of urban development should be provided. The highest levels of servicing would be provided to the highest densities, and the lowest levels to the lowest densities."

Transportation

The Structure Plan was based on the assumption that the upgrading and maintenance of the existing primary and secondary roads structure was of key importance over the plan period of ten years. One of the major components of upgrading of the existing primary road system was the inclusion and improvement of public transport, bicycle and pedestrian traffic routes and furniture. While a limited number of new road links were proposed, it was acknowledged that the ministry of Works would build a Southern by-pass. However, there was disagreement between the Plan Alliance consultants under the leadership of John van Nostrand and the Ministry of Works over the road alignment, and the matter remained under discussion, and eventually it was put aside with no solution.

Written Provisions

The Written Provisions as part of the Kampala Structure Plan (1994) constitute a legal code governing the administration and enforcement of the Structure Plan, superceding many other laws having to do with planning and land-use in Kampala. Together with the Kampala District Plan, they constitute an outline scheme under the then Town and Country Planning Act 1964.

The Written Provisions include provisions regarding their legal effect, the hierarchy of Structure Plans, land development standards, subdivision of land, minor works, roles and responsibilities of authorities, development permission, land allocation, one-stop-shops, provision of infrastructure, land readjustment, enforcement, existing developments, and appeals.

The written provisions had a purpose of setting out a comprehensive code governing administration and enforcement of the Kampala Structure Plan. Land development standards were developed in which definitions of permitted constructions for each land use were laid down. The major land uses permitted included;

a) Residential use
b) Small-scale commercial use (limited to home-based shops and offices, professional offices, retail businesses and other commercial uses of similar scale)
c) Small-scale industrial uses including but not limited to; home-based workshops, studios, cottage industries, home-based agriculture and non-noxious light industries
d) Institutional or social uses including educational, health, religious and government uses.
e) Environmental uses including conservation of valued environmental components such as wetlands, forests aquatic resources and watersheds.
f) Open green or recreational uses including parks, playgrounds and parish as well zone sports facilities

Standards on plot sizes (minimum 200 square meters), road access and plot coverage small-scale industrial uses and mixed commercial use were also formulated. Subdivision of land was also provided for in the written provisions specifying the principles on the basis of which such can be done.

Implementation of 1994 Plan

The 1994 plan, of all the colonial and postcolonial planning efforts has remained puzzling. If implementation success spectrum is the belief that plan intent and policy outcomes should follow somewhat a strict linear association, this study by simple comparisons of the 1994 plans with subsequent development activity up to the year 2004 does not identify any obvious similarities within the plan and developments on the ground. As Koojo (2004) points out, no one knows the proportion of the 1994 structure plan that has been implemented. There is continuous debate and

disagreement as to whether politics or planning failures and or financial problems have led to general failure of the plan's implementation.

What might have happened?

Typical of the characteristics of master plans and/or structure plans, the Kampala Structure Plan of 1994 gave a very broad framework for which development was to progress. The implementation of this plan on its own was impossible without much more detailed action plans produced at much larger scales. However, the study observes that small scale planning was undertaken incrementally by private landowners on their parcels of land. Since the Town Planning section of KCC has a responsibility to prepare detailed city planning schemes; action plans; as well as carrying out land subdivision on any form of tenure according to the laid down procedures stipulated by the 1994 Structure Plan provisions. Shuaib Lwasa notes that the plans and/or plot subdivision schemes (layout of streets, access ways, and other urban infrastructure) are designed by developers and approved by the parish and division authorities, and the proposed plans go through the scrutiny of the physical planning section and of a technical planning committee that includes the planners from the headquarters and the five KCC divisions, who recommend for the approval of the plans by the Council (Lwasa, 2006:188-189), but the implementation takes place as according to the client or owner of the land, and not necessarily in compliance with the Structure Plan of 1994.

Summary on Post-Colonial Planning Episodes 1963-1994

The post-colonial era from 1962 did see a remarkable urbanization growth in Uganda – the economy, growth of political, administrative and industrial sectors that contributed to employment opportunities, and consequently a rise in migration into Kampala city and neighbouring areas.

The UN Mission experts invited to plan Kampala-Mengo region noted that past development in Uganda provided little guidance and therefore no comparative models elsewhere, henceforth the importation and transfer of planning ideas and models from the developed western world. Planning of Kampala in this 'modern' era was influenced by no single idea, but a combination of ideas and theories dating back to the early twentieth century, and through to the 1950's and to the 1960's. The UN Missions

scientific approach to planning of Kampala-Mengo settlements was based on the modernist conviction that the present problems of cities can be transcended by looking to the future, generally involving an expert led and 'top down' process of producing plans.

The idea of the city region influenced the planning through that period and consisted of a constellation of the larger core city, and decentralized towns (new towns) in a particular form and in an integrated pattern. With utopian visions similar to those behind the Garden City, these 'New towns' were seen as ideal and offered a solution to the problems of Kampala-Mengo Region and a model for a new type of urban settlements, which were self-supporting growth points with satisfactory economic, social and cultural facilities. Despite all the effort put into planning, all idealized geometrical schemes and plans remained on paper, except for an experimental cul-de-sac residential layout on Mulago hill. No single hexagon was built in Kampala-Mengo to date and the Kampala and the surrounding areas continued to grow and expand on ad hoc basis, a trend before the involvement of the UN team.

In this post-colonial era, two other important planning episodes took place in 1972 and 1994. The major ideas behind the 1972 planning episode were enshrined in a vision for a future growth of the city beyond the then present day boundaries, with aim to allocate sufficient land for forecasted growth of Kampala for 15 to 20 years. Like the 1972 plan, the 1994 structure plan was to cover not only Kampala district but also parts surrounding the district, including the natural features in form of wetlands that form the boundaries of the district, and also some adjacent but fast growing centers such as Kyengera, Kira, Maganjo and Makindye which fell within the jurisdiction of Wakiso district. The idea was to address and provide a physical socio-economic and financial framework for the direction and management of urban growth for Kampala for the period 1994-2004. The primary objective of the new land-use zoning was to encourage, rather than discourage, the kind of mixed use which had arisen in an *ad-hoc* basis in Kampala over the past 15-20 years.

7. EMERGING ISSUES: SYNTHESIS AND DISCUSSION

Planning Ideas and their transfer

In retrospect there is no doubt that colonialism looms large in the history of town planning of Kampala which became the centre of the British settler economy and later, administration. Colonialism became the vehicle of the town planning approaches, legislations and practices to Sub-Saharan Africa, specifically, in townships and cities where the Europeans lived and worked. The colonial period was marked by a reorientation of urban patterns to serve the needs of trade and administration using urban planning theories and ideologies of the era which flourished strongly as Britain the occupying power established her presence in the country. From 1903 urban planning and building control in Kampala were inseparable. Planning was based on the civic design tradition with its strong links to the field of architecture, engineering and surveying. The physical qualities of the built environment were believed to be of paramount importance and the planner was perceived as the 'master-designer' of the built environment, arranging activities on land to produce balance and order throughout the city.

From 1913 onwards, health concerns and the need to provide colonial administrators and early settlers with 'comfortable' living environment shaped the structure of Kampala city, informed by ideas of classifying and controlling society. Planning as an activity was technical and so was a domain of a few technocrats, mainly consultants from the United Kingdom such as William Simpson, a professor from the London School of Hygiene and Consultant Mirams, who had been deployed in India and transferred to Kampala to give advice on residential location and malaria control, Ernst May, a German consultant hired by the British and Henry Kendall, a British expert in comprehensive planning. Arguably, these consultants saw town planning as a tool for the manipulation of space, as a means of fostering hegemony; providing colonial administrators and early European settlers with attractive, comfortable and acceptable living environment. Thus, the systems of land control, extent and character of racial and ethnic identity, structure of settlements, form and function of the city, organization of workday and workplace, and every means of existence changed radically for many of the native peoples. Like Omolo-Okalebo, *et al* (2010) argue, by using racial and health segregation ideas, expressed in

the plans of 1919, 1930 and to some extent 1951, colonial urban planning increasingly sought to enforce separation: white from black, migrant from native, traditional from modern, men from women and family, which consequence brought about disparities in the quality of urban space created, with the initially European areas having better facilities and the native areas more marginalised. However, it is worthwhile observing that Kampala's case is not unique, many other towns in East Africa, and the African continent and other areas under colonial rule experienced similar forces of planning ideas and/or ideologies and outcomes, although varying in dimension.

Transfer and diffusion of planning ideas in Kampala should not only be seen as a colonial project as it was before 1962. It should be noted that while most of the Western urban planning ideas and models came to Kampala during the colonial period, some of the more important influences arrived through non-colonizing powers, especially after independence. Prominent among these is the United Nations. In congruence with Sarin's (1982:8) argument, the process of exporting planning theories continued even after the decolonization of nations after the mid-century. In the present world, globalization and cultural colonialism continued with the export of values, ideologies, and planning models, particularly as a part of international development through development programs of the World Bank, The United Nations, United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and other development agencies as well as the training of Third World planners in the western society and institutions.

The influence of global forces in the planning of Kampala after independence goes beyond the creation, transfer and transplantation of ideas in the design and spatial layout of Kampala's urban landscape to provision of loans or official development assistance, in most cases referred to as 'financial assistance' or 'grants' whose monetary value has often been kept as classified information. One candid argument for this level of dependence after independence could be that, despite obtaining political autonomy, Kampala and Uganda in general had not fully achieved economic and technical autonomy to be able to deal with the new planning and housing challenges, which required both better understanding of the phenomena in towns and to offer ideal solutions for guiding and directing urban development. Right from the colonial period, except for the 1972 episode, all physical planning of Kampala City (1964-68 and 1994 episodes), has involved foreign consultants', some of whom carried along

with them already prescribed solutions to Kampala's urban space. For example, after independence, all the three United Nations Planning Missions to Uganda in 1963, 1964/66 and 1968 were all by European Consultants (specifically, British and Swedish), who in a report to the Government of Uganda, pointed out the lack of comparative models for Kampala's planning, and that Uganda could profit from the accumulated experiences and advanced techniques of developed countries. The UN consultant planners, despite undertaking contextual studies about planning issues in Kampala, and making quite accurate forecasts, and reports, believed that models in Europe and most especially the modernist ideas applied in Stockholm suburb of Vällingby were directly transposable to Kampala. This seems to have been done without understanding the cultural, political and socio-economic competences in Kampala.

Racial, Social and Residential Segregation

It is arguable that in Kampala segregation according to race was a fact associated with colonial planning. The impetus for urban planning in Kampala from 1913 was explicitly both race and hygiene related. To use Mabogunje's (1990:137) phrase, ''it was improvement in sanitary conditions for the white population who were the resident agents of colonial capitalism that provided the rationale'' for planning.

But, was segregation necessary? Segregation of areas is seen to perform numerous functions, the first of which was to minimise contact between the colonizer and colonised populations, with the excuse of fear of catching native diseases. Segregation was not only aimed at minimising contact, but the colonial community acted as instruments of control, both of those outside as well as those within their boundaries. They helped the group to maintain its own self-identity, essential in the performance of its role within the colonial social and political system. In other words they provided, to use King (1976) words, *a culturally familiar and easily recognisable environment which – like dressing for dinner – was a formal, visible symbol providing psychological and emotional security in a world of uncertain events*. Secondly, segregation of the indigenous population provided ease of control in the supervision of 'native affairs' including collection of taxes. It was economically useful in cutting down the total

area subject to maintenance and development, thus, colonial environment offered a model for emulation by members of the indigenous society.

Segregation was also an essential element in preserving the existing social structure where residential separation in environments differing widely in levels of amenity and environmental quality simply reflected existing social relationships. Though the overall distribution of power was fundamentally important in maintaining this system of social and spatial segregation, this process of classification was greatly assisted by the fact of physical segregation by those who had the power. Rex (1970:20) puts it more explicitly, that the colonial city was a 'container' of cultural pluralism but one where one particular cultural section had the monopoly of political power. The extensive spatial provision within the colonial settlement area, as well as the spatial division between it and the indigenous settlement, are to be accounted for not simply in terms of cultural differences but in terms of the distribution of power. Only this can explain why urban amenities were available in the spacious, cultivated areas in the colonial settlement, but not in the indigenous town. On the issue of amenities, other proponents of the segregationist policy such as Frederick Lugard however, also believed that provisioning amenities in native areas would perhaps remove their indigenous and traditional identity; again, this was an excuse for social segregation, and intimation that availability of services in African areas equals monetary power.

By contrast, after the end of the Second World War, British colonialism reached a 'turning point' in Uganda following the enactment of the first Colonial Development and Welfare Act, of 1940 in Britain. The Act among other things, provided for the improving of conditions in the colonies. The British recognition in this epoch that native Africans had a right to urban space, and their realization that colonialism would not last forever thus a need to create a new environment, which would define new Commonwealth relationships favourable to the colonizing countries, after the reigns of power had been relinquished, drove the British administrators back to the drawing table, to forge 'new' ways of handling urban affairs. In terms of town planning and housing policies, this 'second colonial occupation' which saw native Africans getting admitted to Kampala, in reservations at Naguru, Nakawa and Ntinda areas, meant what Freud (1998) calls a firmer coordination and larger funding base from the metropole for use in comprehensive and master planning and the development of housing estates, as part of a much broader network of social investment. The

approach to provision of the housing estates in the three reservations can be equated to the 'modernist' provider model, which is candidly described by scholars such as Turner, 1976; Hamdi, 1991 and Vestbro, 2008:7; as involving provision of ready-made standardised housing units – provided through a centralised production, based on consolidated building industry. This 'gesture' of providing small housing units facing a common courtyard, did not necessarily mean that segregation had come to complete end. The dictates and recommendations of the implementers of the imperialist ideologies such as Lugard and Simpson continued to influence space forming processes, with the native African quarters located between one and half to three kilometres away from the European or Asian sectors.

By spatially separating or defining the geographical order of ''native'' areas or, to use Mitchell's (1988:44) words, "enframing them" the colonial state sought to cement its dominance within them. The idea was to make the African landscape "readable, like a book." Mitchell (1988:45-62) identifies three broad, everyday spatial strategies for colonialism's enframing order. The first of these involved altering African settlements from "orders without frameworks" to an order reducible to a segmented plan. Racial segregation was inherent within this orderly segmentation. This observation is similar to what Yeoh (1996), in description of other African towns, argues was meant to extend the effectiveness of routine health and sanitary inspections by colonialists, reinforcing the ordinariness of their power. Each of these strategies, can be seen as part of colonialist's effort to separate "container" (the colonizing powers) and "contained" (the Native African community).

In contrast with the colonial urban settlement, very low levels of amenity existed in the native reservations of Naguru and Nakawa, while the European city or sector was properly laid-out and adequately serviced; comprised of the main administrative and commercial quarters and a restricted residential zone, usually of remarkably low density. King (1976) describes such colonial settlements as what might be comparable to an early twentieth-century upper, or middle-class European suburb: large residential plots containing spacious, one-storey houses, broad, tree-lined roads, low residential density (less than 20 persons per acre) , and the generous provision of amenities (water, electricity, sewerage, telephones, open space). This form of inequality may be attributed to the earlier arguments of the nineteenth century in India and the 1890's in East Africa by the likes of Lugard (1893) that,

"…the standard accommodation for white officials was the bungalow, set in one or two acre compounds, ….the colonial official's 'dwelling house' should be as superior to those of the native as he is himself superior to them, …such a native community has no desire for municipal improvement. It neither appreciates nor desires clean water, sanitation or good roads and streets".

Such a view was still being cherished in the 1940's and early 1950's. These sentiments are not different from what Lusugga Kironde, associate professor of Land and Urban Economics in the school of Real Estate Studies of Ardhi University of Tanzania cites as the colonial planners' writings about Nairobi. He quotes,

"… the majority of Africans are not craving for a higher standard of living; they are often quite a happy folk in their squalor, dirt, and customs, which for many of us can only be described as wretched, degrading and revolting" (Kironde 1995: 46).

The form of social, racial and residential segregation as seen in Kampala seems to have been an old practice even in the western countries as can be seen in the notion of the "ghetto" in America and medieval Europe. The ghetto initially referred to the forced consignment of Jews to special districts by the city's political and religious authorities. In medieval Europe, Jews were commonly allotted quarters wherein they resided, administered their own affairs, and followed their customs. These measures were designed as an alternative to expulsion, to enable the city-state to reap the economic benefits brought by the presence of Jews (including rents, special taxes, and forced levies) while protecting their Christian residents from contaminating contact with bodies perceived as unclean and dangerously sensual, carriers of syphilis and vectors of heresy, in addition to being the taint of money making through usury which the Catholic Church equated with prostitution (Sennett, 1994:224 cited in: Wacquant, 1998).

In America, the ghetto was contracted after World War II under the press of the Civil Rights Movement to signify mainly the compact and congested enclaves to which African Americans were forcibly relegated as they migrated into in the industrial centres of the North. Clark (1965:11) in his dissection of the Dark Ghetto and its woes says, *America has contributed to the concept of the ghetto, the restriction of persons to a special area and the limiting of their freedom of choice on the basis of skin*

colour. The dark ghetto's invisible walls have been erected by the white society, by those who have power." This diagnosis, according to Wacquant (1998) was confirmed by the Kerner Commission (1968:2), a bipartisan task force appointed by President Johnson whose official report on the "civil disorders" that rocked the American metropolis famously warned that, due to white racial intransigence, America was moving towards two societies, one black, one white – separate and unequal." This ghetto syndrome was even more glaring in the instance of the "caste cities" built by colonial powers to inscribe in space the hierarchical ethnic organizations of their ethnic possessions such as Rabat under French rule over Morocco and Cape Town after the passage of the Group Areas Act under the Apartheid Regime of South Africa (Abu-Lughod 1980).

Health and Sanitary Syndrome

The discussion on how the colonial authorities employed racial and residential segregation policies as a tool for planning is particularly interesting, and the different features herein give a clear understanding of how town planning as profession was (mis)used, or perhaps efficiently used to influence Kampala's urban landscape.

Before the advent of microscopy, and even in these (post)modern times mosquitoes have always been particularly reviled for their annoying bites and as vectors of devastating diseases such as elephantiasis, dengue fever, rift valley fever and west-nile virus. To the colonialist in Kampala, control of mosquito associated diseases especially malaria brought about drastic changes in the planning mix. This argument is clearly expounded by Omolo-Okalebo, *et al* (2010) in their article, *Planning of Kampala City 1903 – 1962,* published in the Journal of Planning History, where they argue that to prevent infection of the European in Kampala, the colonial state was in a position to formulate and implement policy and to channel this through the dominant urban planning ideologies of the era that were founded largely on the "medicalization" of space – did, however, facilitate a strategy that eventuated a *de facto* racial segregation. The argument, for example that the close proximity of European residential areas to other races endangered the health of the British colonial settlers, and the 'logical' thinking that green belts or building free zones of between 300-440 yards separating the three principle races would ensure good health of the British colonialists and would prevent malaria carrying vectors (female anopheles

mosquitoes) from traversing into their residences, was in itself an excuse for social segregation, which led to end desired state of the 'so called' liveable environment. It is surprising that this kind of reason characterised planning practice! This approach can be equated to what Hardin (1982) calls being efficient in securing ones self-interest, and the ideology can be viewed as actions performed by purposeful and coordinated agents for their own sake.

Abdel-Malek (1966), professor of insect ecology at Cairo University points out that, since the discovery that malaria was transmitted by the female anopheles mosquito, the extent of dispersal and the flight range of anopheles mosquitoes became of direct importance in anti-malaria operations. The question to ask is, *was Simpson and Lord Lugard's idea of the building free zone, or the 400 yards recommendation a hoax?* As seen in chapter five, to protect the health of the 'European', a policy introducing expanse of green belts separating the European residences from the other races, that were thought to be immune to such diseases, had been introduced for all British territories abroad, with Lugard advocating for a building – free zone of a width of 440 yards, while Simpson in Uganda, in 1914 was content with 300 yards (Curtin, 1985). Though the flying range of a mosquito was probably not known, Lugard wrote of the need for the zone to be wide enough not to offer 'resting-places for mosquitoes (Lugard, 1965:150). On the contrary, the arbitrary nature of the recommended width is shown by the view in the 1930's of a planner working on the Haifa Bay project that the flying range of an anopheles mosquito was quite different, about three kilometres (Hyman, 1994:613; quoted in: Home, 1997:127).

Other studies and experiments on flight range of various species of anopheles by Rusell and Santiago (1934), indicate that *funestus-minimus* of Philippines covered arrange of 2000 to 2200 meters; *Anopheles gambiae* in East Africa was estimated to fly a distance of 1km and maximum range of 2.25 miles (Gillies, 1961); both male and female sexes of *anopheles stephensi,* are capable of flying a distance of 4.3 kilometers, and could fly 1.8 kilometers overnight. Likewise, *anopheles sergenti* in Palestine was observed to cover a distance of over 4 kilometers (Shapiro, *et al*, 1944) and *anopheles sergenti theo* in the Oasis of the United Arab Republic, covered distance of between 2.5 and 3.7 kilometers (Abdel-Malek, 1966).

In discussing the flight range of mosquitoes, the role of wind should not be forgotten. It is, important to consider that, the distances may increase or even double depending on the availability of winds, their direction and

strength. These distances covered by mosquitoes, which if it could have been proven, would have proved both Simpson and Lugard wrong, and probably would have influenced further the spatial structure of Kampala and other colonial cities alike in another direction.

From the above analogy it suffices to pronounce that the planners of the day, did not only base on untrue 'facts' in creating the urban landscapes of Kampala, and other towns in the British Empire. It is probable that they had different motives, including keeping the other races out of reach, and so a hypothetically 'scientific and technical' incontestable excuse had to be borne on 'medical' grounds and therefore a justification for social and residential segregation. The misconception that buffer zones formed the only scientific measure to malaria was totally inadequate, since the knowledge and information of mosquito flight range was available as far back as the 1920's and besides, quinine treatment had proved a workable solution. More to this, the 400 yards green belts were not entirely circumscribing the European areas, leaving some spaces 'unprotected', and one wonders whether the enforcers of this segregationist policy assumed that anopheles mosquitoes flew from a particular direction – perhaps the direction of the native Africans and Asian settlements.

Drainage of Marshes/Swamps

Another feature of this scientific approach can be seen from the point of draining marshes/swamps. Swamps were seen as breeding grounds for mosquitoes and therefore, their drainage and/or elimination was seen as the only way to eliminate malaria in town. This stand was strongly pronounced by Simpson, in his recommendations to Government in 1914 that swamps in Kampala must be drained and cleared since they posed a danger to the health of the European. As reported by Kendall (1955:17), Simpson and Mirams argued that *"improvement in health conditions of the low lying areas was due to careful drainage works including subsoil drainage undertaken by the health authorities and the planting of various types of eucalyptus by the forest department"*. Questions to be answered are; what were the criteria for evaluating the improvement in health conditions of low lying areas? Who were the inhabitants of these areas, especially when most natives were kept out of town life? There is however, no indication in any of the historical documentation and reports that options other than drainage were considered or any other attempts were made to control

mosquitoes by other means. The approach to swamps by the planners shows that swamps were not recognized as a critical part of the ecosystem, yet particularly useful for natural filtration within the uniquely hilly topography of Kampala. Nonetheless, Kampala remained a town surrounded on all sides by large swamps where the incidence of malaria has by no means yet been eradicated, despite attempts by the Medical Department and the Municipality to actively pursue preventive health measures recommended by Simpson.

Positioning the Planning Traditions

From the foregoing chapters, it is not easy to place the planning tradition under only one of the planning paradigms. However, the description and discussion of planning of Kampala, especially in 1912, 1919, 1930, 1951 and 1964-66 episodes reflects the strong elements of 'rationality', where the technical person, who was the town planner, possessed some specialist knowledge and skill, some substantive expertise, which the layperson did not possess. And since a central condition of professionalism is being borne of a certain specialist discipline and the possession of some specialist knowledge or skill, it was this, too, which justified any claim town planners made to constitute a distinct 'profession'. Arguably, this approach to planning of Kampala fell within the tradition which saw planning as rational activity, the planner as an independent and objective technician. The city was considered an artefact to be designed and controlled by planners in the same way as architects shape buildings. Smith (1991) says: "the rationality of these planning systems is characterized by *information, efficiency, optimization, implementation, design, authority, control, coordination, rules, directives* and *performance programs*", which the British colonial administrators equipped themselves with and therefore determined the nature of the colonial urban landscape. Planning as a rational process of decision-making was directed at the analysis and control of urban systems.

The 1960´s presents a new trend in planning tradition. As Winblad (1966) had clearly stated and advocated that for Uganda to profiteer from the accumulated experiences and advanced techniques of developed countries, this study observes that a wide array of technical and ideological factors collectively produced a number of urban 'visions' for Kampala-

Mengo region. In an attempt to produce a neat, and ordered region by the year 2000, under the 'new towns' approach, there was a diffusion and infusion of ideas.

Apart from the planning orthodoxy that the major land uses of the city should be clearly distinguished and provided for in separate 'zones', and in a restricted sense, each hill to be treated as a neighbourhood unit on its own, except for Kololo and Nakasero whose character was already fixed, new ideas and models from Europe, particularly Sweden were transferred and transplanted to Kampala. Vällingby, the huge Stockholm suburb that had been built based on the popular Clarence Stein's and Henry Wright's *Radburn* and Clarence Perry's *Neighbourhood unit* ideas, combined with Raymond Unwin's and Barry Parker's *cul-de-sac* method of residential layout for houses combined in blocks was a symbol of planned community and this, was seen as great model for Kampala. Like Healey (1998:8) says, the approach to planning in this period was based on *blue print* model of urban development, with a focus on transportation, neighbourhood quality, central places and the spatial separation of industry from places of work, while implementation involved public sector investment projects, land use zoning and regulations to control private development. The assumptions held in this period of planning were that the Central and Local authorities had a major role to play in the actual implementation of development and actual provision of housing. Government was to act as a regulator of private development, ensuring compliance with the building rules and standards. These adopted and transplanted theories and models failed in so many ways related to different, technical and economic conditions and failure to adopt them to Kampala's physical, social – political environment.

However, despite failure to implement the imported models it is of great importance to point out that the preliminary studies conducted in Kampala especially by the second UN planning mission was followed by the forecasts and projections that turned to be quite accurate. A number of the predictions made, ranging from population growth, housing demand, transportation situation and requirements, matched approximate values and outcomes at the end of the projection period – year 2000. This level of accuracy of data and statistical projections, and reliance on data is what characterized the planning of that time.

The 1970s is quite an important period in the history of planning of Kampala. This is when the Town and Country Planning Department in Kampala, on its own, with its own man power[31] and resources, for the first time, took on planning activity – the preparation of the 1972 Development Plan. The major ideas behind this planning episode were enshrined in a vision for a future growth of the city beyond the then 1968 physical boundaries with major focus on relationship between work places and industry. This is perhaps most easily seen in the high point of much of this kind of planning endeavour, namely the so-called 'master plan'. Here par excellence we have the limitations of traditional practice exposed, even where such a plan has been prepared most diligently and itself relies on a most elaborate and detailed survey. Its dominance is that of an 'architectonic' design laid down at a particular point in time as a vision of what the physical distribution of activities and land-uses in an urban area will be, based upon the standards and regulations enshrined in the Town and Country Planning Act of 1964.

The 1990s is no different, apart from the change in name to structure planning approach. Structure plans were intended to be a framework for strategic plans and policies to guide the social, economic and physical development of Kampala City. The planning of the time was based on more 'substantial' participation, and with intention to have a more managerial approach with continuous review and adaptation, and with emphasis on the planning concepts and strategies, all these to be operationalized by the "Written Provisions" which constituted a legal code governing the administration and enforcement of the Structure Plan, superseding many other laws having to do with planning and land-use in Kampala. Together with the Kampala District Plan, they constituted an outline scheme under the then existing Town and Country Planning Act 1964 (revised 2010). One of the criticisms against structure planning is the formulation in most cases of unrealistic and unattainable goals and objectives. The 1994 Structure Plan Report presents a list of thirty one specific objectives, some

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[31] Town planning education was not yet established in Uganda's Universities till 1995 when Makerere University started the Masters program under the sponsorship of German Technical Cooperation (GTZ). In 1996 the University and the Government saw the need to train planners at undergraduate and effectively the programme was started in 1997. However, between 1967 and 1995 a number of native elites received training abroad especially in the United Kingdom, and consequently there was some development of professionalism and of professional bodies. The planning education received was based on the British institutional practice.

of which are quite too ambitious and would be taken as 'wishful' thinking (refer appendix V). Also the approach of 1994 required that the plan had to be constructed at a two-tier level of structure plans and local plans. The local plan also popularly known as the detailed plan with 5-10 year time horizon has a function of providing detailed proposals and policies for the use of land, thereby providing a framework for development control functions and guidance for public and private investment. Although this revised approach was intended to address shortcomings of the previous plans, and ease implementation, it fell short of its objectives and consequently failed implementation. One underlying cause for the failure could be that the process of local plan preparation never took off at the same time with the structure plan, and this situation has prevailed for most of the parishes of Kampala.

While physical planning in Kampala in the post-independence period has been noted to be characterised by a heavy reliance on land use zoning, which was and is still used to effectively 'stratify' urban planning form, ranging from the higher income, business, government and residence areas down through one or more 'intermediate' stages to the marginal settlements, it is arguable that the symbol of residential segregation initiated by Simpson, Mirams and Kendall during the colonial epoch was accepted as a normal planning concept from the 1960's to date. For residential land use zoning, another form of segregation is identifiable. Racial segregation has been replaced by social segregation, through standardization of low, medium and high densities, and the idea remains that low density equals high income. The three districts are in fact, a meeting place of three cultures. The low density zone bears a mark of European influence: the medium" density zone bears a mark of Asian culture and the high density residential zone shows a confusion of standards (Omolo-Okalebo, *et al.* 2010; Banyikwa, 1989). The grading of buildings into three grades with the style of housing and density of housing varying accordingly has ensured the preservation of a characteristic English urban morphology – that turns out to be one of the lasting legacies in most colonies that bear the foot print of British colonial planning; of the rich living at the top of the hill and the poor at the bottom. Although the ethnic character of this stratification may be a feature of the 'past', the social class stratification is still clearly evident. The same altitudinal stratification was encouraged in other colonial administrative towns in Uganda, including Mbale, Mubende, Masaka, Kabale. Where there may be no hill to utilise for this purpose, the

same high grade low density area remote from the commercial and industrial areas can be distinguished, for example in the towns of Soroti, Tororo and Fort Portal, protected from the high class by the golf course – a green space that served as a separator between the 'civilized' and the natives from 1913 to 1962.

To sum up, the result of this segregation approach can be seen in the bulk of urban planning legislations (the Town and Country Planning Act of 1964, recently revised in February 2010), and control practice: a reliance on strict building regulations, the enforcement of lay-outs and density standards, and the clear interpretation of zoning as a means of activity categorization, and so on.

Implementation of Planning Ideas

In retrospect, the Town Planning Board in Kampala was constituted in 1918 and was more concerned with containing mosquitoes, prevention of the outbreak and spread of contagious diseases. This problem was closely connected with the provision of planned and orderly settlements for the Europeans on the hills of Nakasero and Kololo. The state of affairs in the colonies was that planned development of the major towns was the rule rather than the exception! The question of non-implementation did not arise. The Township rules were preserved in the codification of laws, ordinances, proclamations and regulations and had to be abided by any one of the Europeans who had interest to develop any part of the town. If implementation success spectrum is the belief that plan intent and policy outcomes should follow a strict linear association, then there is a clear evidence on ground that almost all planning ideas expressed in the colonial planning schemes of Kampala City in 1912, 1919, 1930 and 1951 were implemented compared to any period after independence.

On the contrary, the post-independence era, is noted to be characterised by 'poor' implementation of the planning ideas expressed in several of the plans. From observations and field visits to the case contexts, it is obviously evident that the Planning Department has carried out more planning and experienced far too little application of those plans on ground. Instead what appears to have taken place informally is enormous urban expansion and growth contrary to the planning ideas. This analogy can be approached by questioning, did meaningful implementation of planning ideas in Kampala end with colonialism?

The problem of implementation is a serious one as is observed by El-Shaks, who says,

"Governments' ability to enforce rules and regulations is generally very weak in Africa. Plans are often not respected even by those government bureaucrats and politicians who approved them in the first place. In addition, projects are frequently abandoned before they are given a chance to mature…" (El-Shaks, 1997: 505)

This observation is in congruence with and confirms Friedmann's (1969:311) argument that there is a tendency to separate the activity of making plans from the business of implementing them – the idea that planning and implementation are two distinct and separable activities 'dies hard'. In Kampala, KCC and the Physical Planning Department at the Ministry have often given a spectrum of issues ranging from governance issues, lack of capacity – financial resources and manpower, the complicated land tenure systems emerging from 1900 Buganda agreement – especially the *mailo* land tenure, lack of political commitment, importation of foreign models without reorienting them to the local context, to mention but a few, as reasons for failure to implement the plans.

From the governance and management aspect, it is also probable that plan implementation was affected by the duality that existed in Kampala for nearly seventy years (1900-1968). Kampala City was an urban authority from 1947, when it was gazetted as a Municipality till 1962 when it was designated as a City. Subsequent to 1968, Government recognised the two Local Governments of Mengo and Kampala City as being responsible for management of the City. Mengo was governed under the Buganda Government Act with its own Planning Authority. Consequences of which are the informal and uncoordinated developments still prevalent in Rubaga, Makindye and Kawempe Divisions. Mengo as a Municipality had constitutional functions articulated under the Buganda Land Board established under the Public Land Act of 1962. The Board had powers to cause surveys, valuation, allocation of land and effect physical planning. However, Mengo's capacity to execute the above tasks was constrained by inadequate finances unlike in Kampala City where land was taxed, and there was a stable financial cash flow. For Mengo, most of the revenue came from markets and trading licenses, which was negligible, yet the Buganda government refused to implement the Property Rating Act. Moreso, *mailo* land was not responsive to planning. From 1930's land had

acquired market value and there existed a philosophy of maximising rental returns from high-density developments.

From the 1930's urban developments in Kampala were taking place both inside and outside the official Kampala boundaries. Developments inside were generally well planned and laid out, while those outside grew up with much less control. Although Mengo Municipality had planning status and law - *Buganda Township and Sanitary Law of 1931* and Buganda Town Planning Law 1947, these regulations were far less efficient in controlling development. This was attributed to inadequate finances and poor enforcement. The latter still prevails, to date.

It must also be noted that after declaration of independence in 1962, the population of Kampala city was growing by leaps and bounds, caused partly by the relaxation of restrictive colonial roles hence allowing people to migrate to towns. Secondly, the expulsion of Asians followed by the allocation of their businesses to Africans by the military government of Idi Amin attracted more Africans from the rural areas in search of these economic benefits. The population that immigrated into town had to find accommodation thereby boosting the informal building industry that has often developed without respect to the plans in place.

As the Town and Country Planning Act, 1964 aimed at consolidating the provisions for orderly and progressive development of towns. It provided for planning to be carried out in gazetted planning areas. This law was obsolete in several ways and was not compatible with the 1995 constitution and other laws that have a bearing on the spatial development of land. The Constitution, much as it accords powers to KCC to plan for areas under its jurisdiction, the same Constitution and the Land Act (revised 2000) provide that land belongs to the people. This conflicts hampered plan implementation. However, there have been attempts to reconcile this, through the newly revised and enacted Physical Planning Act 2010 that now declares the whole country a planning area.

It is also important to note that successful implementation of planning ideas expressed in plans will depend on the nature of the plans prepared. For example, structure plans and detailed plans have different competencies. While the detailed plans or local plans are more strategic – open and flexible, the structure plans are 'blue prints' prepared for the intended end state of physical development. Once prepared and adopted, these plans are ambiguous guides to action in which outcomes must conform to the specifications detailed in the plans. Evaluation of these

plans is very necessary to be able to follow the logic of means and ends and conformity of outcomes to intensions. However, due to uncertainties involved in the process, and the social political complexities of plan implementation, a direct cause and effect relationship may be an unrealistic expectation for most structure plans, unless the Physical Planning Department in Kampala and the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development begin to devise new, strategic and integrated approaches towards more result oriented planning.

For the 1994 structure plan, the implementation of the plan in some very few cases was undertaken incrementally on private land in some small areas where individuals initiated the process. However, it is difficult to pin point that the exact outcome is in line with any particular section of the general plan, since the structure plan only points out the general land use zones, and the plan was never backed by any action or strategic intervention plans.

Thus, though a great deal of money and man-hours may have been invested in planning the urban environment of Kampala, the master plans produced after independence often became pregnant with implementation constraints, and the plans in most cases remained collecting dust in the City Council, the Ministry and Planning Department, and the National Archives at Entebbe, until they are destroyed, or perhaps get lost in unexplainable circumstances.

Table 7-1: Summary of Planning Influences in the Colonial Period

Planning Epochs	Themes	Actors	Influences	Spatial Outcomes
Colonial Era	1912	• Government town planning committee	• Utopian origin (UK) ideas of nineteenth-century reformers, and especially those of the utopian writers, who saw social conditions and relationships in physicalist terms. • Aim was to distinguish the European City from the indigenous settlements and create ideal urban environments similar to those in UK, emphasis on building control using building regulations contained in 1903 Town Planning Ordinance.	• Formed the basis for the layout of the central part of Kampala, most of which still stands today. • The Supreme Court (present-day High Court) and Constitutional Square became centre point.
	1919	• town planning committee (i.e. principal medical officer as Chairman, the chief sanitary officer, the land officer, the director of public works, the medical officer of Kampala, and the district commissioner) • Town Planning coordination and advisory Board • William Simpson (Consultant from UK)	• first, the utopian ideals of the century which strived to promote Euro-centric notions of environmental designs, aesthetic values were central to the general conception of planning; secondly, the health concerns - fear of catching 'native' disease, malaria, yellow fever and plague; thirdly, racial segregation • *Greenbelts*, circa 1900 (UK-India/mosquito experiments in Sierra Leone): wide buffers of open space of 300 – 400 yards to surrounding European residential settlements to prevent disease carrying vectors from native areas and Asian settlements traversing into European settlements. Green belt concepts were used differently in Kampala compared to UK where they originated.	• Upper Nakasero and Kololo residential areas for the Europeans, • Green belt of 400 yards (present-day golf course) separating the principal races (Asians, Africans and Europeans) such that neither could encroach upon. Natives not accepted in town and not included in the plan.
	1930	• Consultants from the UK; A. E. Mirams (planner) and malaria expert, Lt Col. James, who was an adviser to the Ministry of Health	• Influenced by same factors as the 1919 period • emphasis on modernism; infrastructure - roads and the dependent problem of traffic, housing (both Government and private), the architectural control of buildings, the improvement of the existing bazaar area, the drainage of swamps and the improvement of health conditions, the siting of industries and the new railway station, sewage and refuse disposal, the siting of quarries and brickfields, proposals for open spaces, recreation and playing fields	Natives not accepted in town and not included in the plan. • Implemented according to plan; • More residential spaces for Europeans in Kololo, Asians across the Kitante valley in Kamwokya, • Maintained the green belts set up by Simpson in 1919
	1950/1	• Henry Kendall (Consultant from UK)	• The new colonial policy issued in the mid-forties (UK) aimed at leading the colonial territories towards self-government (Partnership replacing the old trusteeship policy) • A Statement of Policy on Colonial Development and welfare (White Paper of February 1940) outlined steps to be taken in improving conditions in the colonies. • Commonwealth relationships (inclusion of Africans in urban life. UK provided funds and technical expertise for Comprehensive planning	• Inclusion of African residential areas into Kampala in Nakawa and Naguru (distance of 1-2 kilometres from the European and Asian residences) and 2-3 km from city centre, respectively.

Table 7-2: Summary of Planning Influences in the Post-Colonial Period

Planning Epochs / Themes		Actors	Influences	Implemented? (Spatial Outcomes)
Post colonial Era	**1963-69**	• UN Mission (1,2 & 3) Comprising of Team leader from UK, and consultants from Sweden, • Funded by the World Bank	• *The garden city*, circa 1900 (UK): small, self-contained satellite towns, detached dwellings, large plots of land, low densities, separation of incompatible land uses, *Greenbelts*, circa 1900 (UK): wide buffers of open space surrounding a town or city to prevent it from expanding outwards, and to separate it from new satellite towns (garden cities or new towns) beyond the belt. • *The neighbourhood unit*, 1920s (US, Sweden): low-density expanses of open space, focused on community facilities, minimizing conflict between cars and pedestrians by confining arterial routes to the periphery and discouraging through-traffic; assumption that this layout will create social communities. Used Example of Vällingby in Stockholm. • *Radburn layout*, 1928 (US): closely related to garden cities, is characterized by culde- sacs and superblocks free of traffic; cars and pedestrians are separated from each other, public facilities and shops are located on pedestrian networks and embedded in open space. • *Hexagon Cell and Roads hierarchy*, 1920s – 1930s/1950 (UK and US): informed by the utopian ideas of scholars such as Noulan Cauchon (1925), Charles Lamb 1904. At the lowest level of the hierarchy an environmental cell (or residential area) carries only local traffic on 'local distributors'. At higher levels, district and primary distributors (freeways) carry passing and longer-distance traffic. • *New towns*, (war and post-war UK): as a regional response to a perception of problems of growth in major cities (de-concentration), but also seen as a tool of development in lagging regions.	Mulago housing project. All other plans remained on paper.
	1972	• the Town and Country Planning Department • The Town and Country Planning Board	• *Traditional land use planning* (UK), zoning and forecasting (master planning). This was motivated by: Availability of funds from Government for to prepare a comprehensive development plan for Kampala. • February 1968 expansion of Kampala administrative boundaries from 28 square kilometres (area covered by 1951 scheme) to 195 square kilometres meant that un planned areas with higher population were annexed and needed to be attended to. • the works of the third UN- mission, together with the Final Report submitted at the end of 1968 of a firm of consulting traffic engineers (Nor plan – Norwegian company) engaged by Kampala City Council to prepare a transportation plan for the Kampala area up to the year 2000, comprised the background	Little implementation – two notable cases: Northern bypass/express way Namboole National stadium
	1994	• Kampala City Council • World bank funded • Consultants from Toronto (Canada)	Traditional land use planning (UK) - Plan Alliance proposed a revised approach to land-use zoning. The relative mix, or balance of uses (particularly residential and employment uses) was seen as critical to the attainment of increased economic investment. *Expansion* and *Consolidation approach were preferred* – concentrating development within the existing Kampala District boundaries and expansion of the urban boundaries to include not only the existing Kampala district, but also those additional urban areas which had developed in neighbouring Districts (Regional and metropolitan planning – as in the 1960s)	Not easy to determine on ground, some form of implementation done incrementally

Source: Author, May 2011 **Note:** Circa is used to mean "approximately", or an approximate date in genealogy and historical writing. When used in date ranges, "circa" is applied before each approximate date, while dates without "circa" immediately preceding them are generally assumed to be known with certainty.

8. CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE PLANNING

Conclusion

As far as the contribution of this thesis is concerned, I argue that despite the growing interest in the body of work pertaining to town planning of Kampala, there has not been any scholarship on planning ideas and their consequent spatial expression. The historical development of planning was relatively neglected as important loci of research for re-evaluations of not only colonial but also post-colonial urban enframing. These issues therefore expressed epistemological concern of understanding the chronological and sequential evolution – the ideas behind planning at each period and their implementation vis-à-vis spatial outcomes since 1903, which this study aimed to achieve.

This thesis has explored, analysed and described evolution of town planning of Kampala centring on the two distinct landscapes of (pre)colonial spatial ordering that resulted directly or indirectly from British administrations' capitalization on making treaties and provoking new divisions within the once dominant Kingdom in East and Central Africa through a fashion of rule which emphasized working through native leaders and utilizing native social structures. The original native capital (*Kibuga*) functioned as a political and economic centre point of Buganda Kingdom. It was the seat of the highest political authority, including the Kabaka's royal residence, the highest courts of the kingdom, a trading centre and the base of the army. Settlements had conscious spatial layout, although not in the sense of modern formal planning as in the western world.

The colonial period was marked by a reorientation of urban patterns to serve the needs of trade and administration using urban planning theories and ideologies of the era. The ideas that informed planning and transformed Kampala can be summarised into four major categories – first, the utopian ideals of the century; secondly, the health concerns- fear of catching 'native' diseases, malaria and plague; thirdly, racial segregation and lastly, the growth of the modernist planning ideas such as hexagonal ideas, neighbourhood unit, radburn, and land use and zoning ideas, which became popular in the colonies most especially after independence.

Health concerns and the 'mosquito theory', and the need to provide colonial administrators and early settlers with an acceptable living environment transformed the structure of Kampala city from forested hills, vast hunting and grazing lands, and small concentrations of chiefdoms into 'civilised' forms of urban settings – though without tampering with the centre of the native administration. Planning as an activity was technical and so was a domain of a few technocrats, mainly consultants from the United Kingdom who saw planning as a tool for the manipulation of space as a means of fostering hegemony and thus the alienation of native residents from the urban environment using racial and health segregation policies.

Given the prevailing conception of town planning as centred on physical planning and design, it was natural that the normative ideals which town planning sought - its vision of a better urban future - were conceived in 'physicalist' terms; in terms of the overall pattern and size of urban settlements and location of residences across the city. In keeping with intellectual informants, the colonial planners assumed that through "the application of scientific knowledge and reason to human affairs, it would be possible to build a better world, in which the sum of human happiness and welfare would be increased" (Healey 1997). But, the planning ideas of the era especially in Kampala ensured that the conservative traditional rural societies would not be polluted by the sophistication of the European-based trade centres and towns (also see: Omolo-Okalebo, 2010) Thus for several years there existed two worlds in one, with limited contact and little understanding of each other – the world of the *muzungu* and the world of the *Mwafirika – the 'native'*. The duality persisted and still persists the bright modern towns which are sort of little Europe and America, surrounded by a sea of poor, dull and dirty country side where the great majority of the natives – over ninety percent live and work. But this is not a unique situation. The material and cultural antagonism between the town and the rural areas is an old problem that persisted – glaring the duality that for decades was very evident until 1968, and today the duality can still be seen in certain sections of the City, despite the various transformations the city has experienced.

The 1960s present a new trend in planning tradition. The UN Missions scientific approach to planning of Kampala-Mengo settlements was based on the modernist conviction that the present problems of cities can be transcended by looking to the future, generally involving an expert

led and 'top down' process of producing plans. The idea of the city region influenced the planning through that period and consisted of a constellation of the larger core city, and decentralized towns (new towns) in a particular form and in an integrated pattern. The *New towns* planning was used as a tool to create new and ideal urban societies which represent some form of break from the past, in both physical form and tradition, attempting to transform society and create towns which are free of urban injustice, where social benefits are distributed among all inhabitants (Hobson 1999).

Apart from the planning orthodoxy that the major land uses of the city should be clearly distinguished and provided for in separate 'zones', and in a restricted sense, each hill in Kampala was to be treated as a neighbourhood unit on its own. Many of the concepts which are implicit or explicit in this epoch have a utopian origin. They are the idea of nineteenth and twentieth-century reformers, and especially those of the utopian writers, who saw social conditions and relationships in terms of straightforward interactions. They believed firmly that environment directly determines human character and social structure and that their recipes for the reform of environment (such as industrial villages and garden cities) had universal validity. The love for formula making is attributed to the utopian influence, visible in ideas such as those of the neighbourhood unit and the garden city, which are imbued with nostalgic ideas about the virtues of the small scale, "balanced" and self-contained communities. Zoning became a collective instrument to accomplish some of the goals of divisionalism and later formalized the separation of industrial, commercial, and residential activities from each other as was particularly the case with the 1972 and 1994 Kampala development and structure plans. Residential activities were further subdivided into low, medium and high density areas. What fell short of most of the planning efforts of this postcolonial era is implementation of the plans formulated at the different periods.

Implications for future planning

The questions now to be considered are; what lessons have we learnt from the evolution of planning of Kampala, and the ideas behind each planning episode? What implications do these forms of planning have on future planning in Uganda?

Regardless of the question of urban origins, one must see the town as it exists in Uganda today as having been formed by various ideas most of

them alien with varying competences; some were found to be quite erroneous and others were sound.

It would be unfair to conclude this thesis without pointing out the link between public health and town planning policies, and the way planning ideas and ideologies were at interplay in Kampala and other colonies alike based on form of "guess-work" science which eventually translated into the 'medicalisation' of Kampala's urban space. Such linkages ought to be based on real scientific proven evidence – sound science and less on vague experimentation of ideas.

Similarly, although it is close to a century since the planning of Kampala took off in the hands of the British planning experts; native authorities have since made no efforts to alter the segregated spatial structures they inherited from their colonial predecessors. However, it is necessary to note that rather than by race, residential areas in urban districts throughout Kampala and by extension Uganda are segregated by socio-economic class today through standardization of low, medium and high densities, and the idea remains that low density equals high income, medium density equals middle class income group and so on. Thus, the economically better-off members of these societies, mainly the political and bureaucratic elite, inherited the residential quarters of the erstwhile colonial officials in Kololo and Nakasero hills. This form of zoning mentality or otherwise "native self-segregation" has taken route in all planning practices in the country, thus leaving low income areas (high density) zones with equally low services and amenities as in the colonial era. These, older forms of planning are not only inappropriate for addressing the new, complex and rapidly changing factors that are affecting urban areas, but in some circumstances may be directly contributing to the exacerbation of urban sprawl, poverty and spatial marginalization, and increased costs of infrastructure provisioning.

Ideologically-based policies are neither novel nor unique to Africa. Most policies in the developed world have ideological roots (Njoh, 2009), and many planning ideas and policies have come from Britain, and others were 'brewed' from the United States of America and adopted by other countries like Sweden. It is therefore necessary to re-examine any ideas and ideologies that are adopted from either internal or external boundaries of the country. It is important that this is done to avoid a repeat of the instances of plan or policy failures as was the case with the United Nations Planning Missions of the 1960s. Foreign models are not directly

transferable but should be well thought out and contextualized. There are a lot of planning successes around the world, but there are a lot of failures also, and we should learn from the failures may be even more than from the successes.

Planning should also be based not on the imagined ideological aims of the "sophisticated" *elite* whose interest will very often be at variance with those of the ordinary man, but should touch and concern the real conditions and needs of people of the area in question. Ideas should be generated consultatively and not imposed from above, and therefore the plan should be responsive to the needs of the majority, rather than expecting the majority to understand the assumptions contained in the plan.

Until recently, much of the town planning efforts in Kampala were largely *physical* in approach with very little regard to the implications of economic and social policies on town planning. There is urgent need for closer coordination between economic planning and physical planning, if the ideas expressed in several of the planning episodes are to be implemented. It should be accepted that both physical planning and economic planning are vital to Kampala and Uganda in creating sustainable urban landscapes, thus happiness and wellbeing for its people, yet neither can stand in isolation. It is important to avoid at political level to plan things considering aspects of economic planning while ignoring the needs and requirements of physical planning. Likewise, it is no good for physical planners to design wonderful plans for Kampala and other areas, when the town planners do not know government plans for allocation of resources, or when the planning departments do not have own budgets to sustain the planning activities. On a similar tone, new approaches such as strategic planning, and those advocated for by the UN Habitat; for example, integrated planning which involves appropriate budgeting and integration, plans need to make effective linkages to private and public budgetary processes. Neither plans by themselves, nor unregulated market processes, can deliver more sustainable settlements.

As a result of the persistence of older approaches to urban planning, there is now a large disjuncture between prevailing planning systems and the nature of 21st-century cities. Urban areas are now highly complex, rapidly changing entities, shaped by a range of local and global forces often beyond the control of structure plans and/or local plans, and planners. Kampala city and many other towns in Uganda now display the relics of planned modernist urban cores, surrounded by vast areas of informal and

'slum' settlement together with elite, developer-driven, commercial and residential enclaves. Older forms of modernist planning have little relevance for either of these forms of development. Moreover, with the process of decentralization in the country, there is a significant need for updating and reform of curricula in many urban planning schools, where urban planning education has not kept up with current challenges and emerging issues. Planning schools should embrace innovative planning ideas. In particular, there should be increased focus on skills in participatory planning, communication and negotiation as well as sustainable urban development and planning for multicultural cities. Recognition and respect for societal differences should be part of tuition in ethics and social values, since effective urban planning cannot take place and equitable solutions cannot be found without a good understanding of the perspectives of disenfranchised and underserved populations. A complementary measure is the strengthening of professional organizations like the Institute of Physical Planners and other professional networks to ensure that there is one voice on the implementation of projects and programmes.

On the question of plan implementation, land which unfortunately has been a very touchy subject for over a century in the *Kibuga* was native-owned contrary to the situation in Kampala – the European sector, where over ninety percent of the land in the planning area belonged to the Crown dating back to the Buganda Agreement of 1900. The Crown had powers and was free to develop the land within the Kampala boundary as envisaged in any planning scheme approved by His Excellency the Governor. In the *Kibuga*, where land was of *mailo* tenure, individuals who were the owners often never submitted to regulations. To complicate matters, the 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, much as it accords powers to Kampala City Council to plan for areas under its jurisdiction, the same Constitution and the Land Act (revised 2000) provide that land belongs to the people. In fact experience from developed countries which have attempted and seem to register successes in planning indicates that without nationalization of, for example land, or without clear plans and resources to purchase land for implementation of planning projects and programmes, planning efforts can only be achieved at very great expense to the ordinary man – the peasants and the workers in the case of Uganda – who bear the burden of providing the basic services and utilities for themselves.

And, finally, we have to be rather modest. Urban planning is not an 'exact science'. We are all still learning in all parts of the world. Nobody possesses a complete methodology which is "fail proof," so we have to learn, we have to face our own failures, acknowledge them and learn from them, and eventually we would be able to demonstrate that urban planning really adds something to a city and makes a city more efficient.

Suggestions for Further Research

This thesis proposes some areas that need much deeper study and analysis:

This thesis has delved into the ideas behind planning between 1903 and 2004, but falls short of examining the institutional and legal frameworks within which such ideas were hatched and implemented. Issues relating to for example, the institutional context of planning are complicated and crucial enough to warrant more than passing attention. In planning, plans take concrete forms through the organizations or institutional bodies within which they are conceived, formulated and above all, implemented. Focusing on the institutional context of town planning, in and of itself constitutes a movement in the direction of broadening not only the planners' but also the policymakers' view to encompass more of the

reality in which they function, and ultimately shed some light on the connection between plans (policy) and actions (implementation) from an inter-organizational perspective.

Plan implementation: Despite the importance of expression of ideas in plans and for plans to serve as guide to development, the success of plan implementation that has so often been judged among other means by simple comparisons of the plans with subsequent development activity has been a subject of debate. Evaluation of plan implementation is an area that deserves much attention. However, the systematic inadequacy or lack of such evaluation may be due to several factors including obstacles such as the fact that the plans are long term policy instruments and the time for evaluating their successes is quite subjective. More studies on plan implementation should be conducted, with focus on the methods and obstacles.

The scope of this thesis is examining what ideas influenced planning between 1903 and 2004. From 2004 onwards, there may have been new ideas and several changes especially in the planning practice and institutional frameworks which this thesis has not captured. It would be of interest to discover in detail the new trends in planning, the challenges and the competences within the new institutional structures.

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APPENDIX I: Summary of Planning Schemes for Kampala 1912-1994

1. 1912 Planning Scheme for Kampala Township by Government town planning committee

2. 1919 Planning Scheme "c" by William Simpson (Consultant from UK)

3. 1930 Kampala Planning Scheme by Consultants from the UK; A. E. Mirams (planner) and malaria expert, Lt Col. James, who was an adviser to the Ministry of Health

4. 1951 Town Planning Scheme by Henry Kendall (Consultant from UK)

5. 1965 Kampala Residential Unit Model by Second UN Mission Comprising of Team leader from UK, and consultants from Sweden.

6. 1972 Kampala Development Plan by the Town and Country Planning Department The Town and Country Planning Board

7. 1994 Kampala Structure Plan by John Van Nostrand and Plan Alliance - Consultants from Toronto (Canada)

Järna, Sweden June 12, 2011.

To FREDRICK OMOLO-OKALEBO,

Kampala, den 22 september 1964.

Arriving in Kampala today I was informed that Mr. Young, American UN-senior expert, who had already spent some time in Uganda preparing to lead our group of urban planners recently recruited in Stockholm, *had left* the country, and because of changes within the ministries no preparations had been made for our arrival; - At about the same time mr Litherland, British colonial civil servant having serviced elsewhere in Africa, arrived in Kampala.

We negotiated with the UN in New York and the appropriate ministries about our very work assignments, which in essence was about the end of colonial practice of planning and the beginning of a modern model of urban development for an independent Uganda with Kampala proudly to become its capital city. Our group of UN-experts (junior) was established as the *"Kampala-Mengo Regional Planning Mission 1964-66"* with mr Litherland as its leader.

To begin with we were three team members from Sweden later to be followed by others. Who were we and would we be able to live up to expectations and did mr Litherland have enough background and insight in modern urban planning to lead the team?

My family and I were met by Mario and Helga Ponzio whom we had previously seen in Stockholm. Mario was soon to devote himself to an

intense study of expected population growth of Kampala up to the year 2000. His forecast became the solid base for any future planning of the region and the city. My wife Louise and I with our two children decided to share a big house in Mengo with Mario and Helga, who were at the time expecting their first child.

Then I met with Uno Winblad, architect like myself, and he made it clear that his main interest was in the planning for large urban settlements, which he subsequently proved by introducing his *"growth model"* for Kampala. It was a network of hexagon-shaped settlements each for 30 000 inhabitants and it was based on current traffic research showing that an urban intersection of three roads is a lot safer than one of four roads. When Uno put his "hexagon model" over the map of Kampala it fitted beautifully with the pattern of city hills leaving the valleys for traffic. Kampala was in fact – like Rome – founded on a series of hills. Uno carried out his sketch to a final city layout and then went on to make a study of the Central Area District which was, in his model, to grow in a right-angled direction to that of the general growth pattern.

With Mario´s study of population growth indicating that Kampala by the year 2000 would have grown from 165 000 inhabitants to over a million and with Uno´s growth model for the expansion of the city as well as the central area district, it was then up to me to study in some detail one of the "hexagons" for 30 000 people – a sort of suburban settlement, like Vällingby in Stockholm, that I knew well. In my layout, housing in the centre of the hexagon would be dense four-storey buildings and would then become lower and less dense as you reach the periphery, where detached houses would prevail. My proposed layout included sites for schools and green belts, shops and markets, industries och areas for trade and handicraft. Mass transport would be by buses.
It was all according to a manual for urban development of that time.

Kampala in the future would not be in the fashion of colonial segregation but would be an integrated city for all its citizens.

At the exhibition *"Planning For the Future – A Plan for the National Capital"* in the Kampala National Theater in August 1966 we showed our proposals for Kampala of the future. I included *The Mulago Hill Housing Scheme* as a pilot project. Having first presented it to the Minister of Housing I had then revised it at his request. It contained proposals for *"self-help"* construction, which would mean that *house-owners* could – in an organized fashion and for the purpose of reducing costs - help build their own houses according to the plan. I had a personal insights into this method as the City of Stockholm as early as the 1920th, had organized settlement areas of self-help construction for families with low income. One such suburb was Enskede where Louise and I at the time owned a house whose former owner around 1932 had participated in such a self-help scheme and helped build his own house. It was at the time of economic recession in the western world and he was at times unemployed.

Mr Litherland was a man of a modest attitudes and he accepted the fact that we had a broader experience of modern urban planning and he was comfortable to assist in doing regional planning studies on land use and legislation. In the coming period two other team members arrived from Sweden, Åke Flacker and Olof Tyrstrup. After my two years in Kampala more staff members were to arrive.

We never saw mr. Young. He had left a rapport which was, as I recall, a collection of statistics.

The Housing Advisory and Demonstration Service within one of the Ministries made, in my opinion, a major contribution to improve standards of housing at the time, by publishing a portfolio of type plans and instructions for improved building practices. It was in this connection that I had the opportunity to visit various parts of the

country and experience its beautiful landscapes. Continued educational work on house types and improved building methods are needed as well as programs for affordable self-help housing.

The population of Uganda was then estimated to be 8 million people or the same as the Swedish population. Two small nations in a large world of uncertain future. Sweden is of course now a wealthy industrial welfare state but only by the middle of the 19th century it was poor indeed and a considerable part of its population emigrated to the USA. The modern development of Uganda was postponed a decade or so by the reign of Idi Amin, but it has since grown into stability.

Our efforts to prepare a workable plan for Kampala turned out to be a failure. None of the "hexagons" and the traffic pattern that were related to them were ever built. Only 18 houses of the Mulago Hill Housing scheme were erected but with no self-help method applied. Hopefully the portfolio of type plans which included some of my designs, came to use over the years.

My concern is now the global *climate change* for which the western world is responsible. I believe there is an urgent need to regard urban growth in its relation to rural development. In essence it all is about the *recycling* of resources in an *urban-rural context*. In his book *"Garden Cities of Tomorrow"* from 1898, Ebenezer Howard argues that garden cities should grow with alternating rural areas for production of food to the urban population and for reception of city waste.

In the developing world there is now a growing concern for national *food security* as there are big corporations in the west and major countries like China and Saudi-Arabia in the east, which are currently purchasing large tracks of arable land *("land-grabbing")* in some developing countries for their own needs. It is new colonial situation.

I hope to write a book about the transition to *a society of recycling* and where there would be a balanced *urban-rural* development. If I were to visit Uganda in the future I would be keenly interested to see not only the growth of Kampala itself but also the development of the surrounding countryside. Possibly I could extend some advices in this context.

In conclusion I have my two years in Uganda long ago still in vivid memory and the reading of your study, Fredrick, on the Physical Planning of Kampala 1903 – 2004 has been most enlightening. Many thanks.
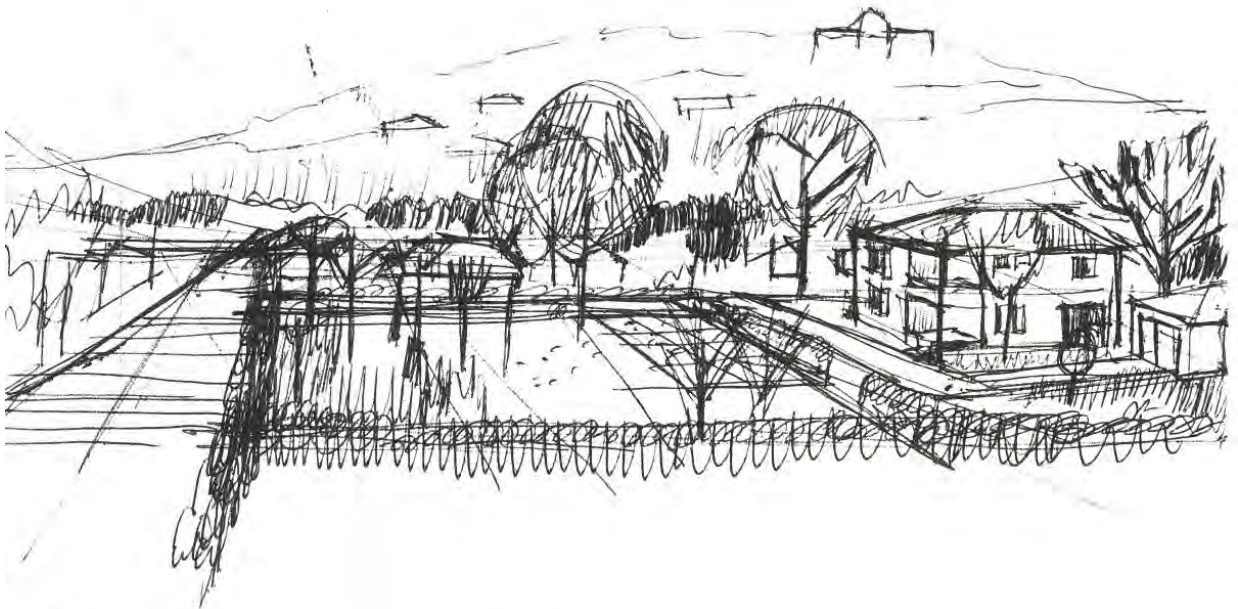
The house in Mengo that we and the Ponzios rented in our first year in Kampala with Namirimbe in the background and the garden where we grew vegetables.

A: Interview Questionnaire

The following questions will be used as a general guide for the interviews:

1. What is your name? When did you join planning profession? What is/was your position in planning department?
2. What do you know about physical planning during the colonial times? Are there any stories about its history or origins?
3. Do you know any stories about how physical planning first came to Kampala?
4. What problems was planning meant to solve?
5. What stories have come down to you about how the British started to settle in Nakasero and Kololo, and the Indians in Bukoto and Kamokya? Do you know anything about Naguru and Nakawa estates?
6. Several planning schemes have been prepared for Kampala since independence. Can you offer suggestions about which concerns, values and/or ideas were most vital in the planning of 1972 and 1994?
7. Are you familiar with the Kampala development plan of 1972?
8. What do you think are the plan's best and worst qualities? Was this plan implemented at any time? Do you have any idea of areas/places that benefited from the plan?
9. The 'recent' plan for Kampala was in 1994, do you have any information regarding that plan?
10. How effective do you believe that Kampala City Council implemented the 1994 plan?
11. Who were the actors involved in planning at the time you were employed in the planning department?
12. Who was in charge of implementing the planning schemes that were produced?
13. Did the persons, institutions in charge successfully implement any of the planning schemes?
14. If yes, do you recall areas in Kampala where these plans were most implemented?
15. If No, might you have any idea as to what constrained the implementation of the planning schemes?
16. What are your top two or three concerns about physical planning of Kampala?
17. One of our jobs is to identify past and existing efforts that may serve as models for physical planning of Kampala and Uganda in future. Can you offer any suggestions about best practices?
18. What's the best way to encourage implementation of planning schemes?
19. In the next few years, if we could change 2-3 things about how physical planning is practiced and how plans are implemented, what would you like to see changed?

B: Interview Schedule

Colonial Era
▪ What was planning meant to solve?
▪ Ideas, concerns and values
▪ Actors in the planning field
▪ Who was responsible for implementation?
▪ Areas with evidence of implementation

Post Colonial Era
▪ Purpose of planning

- Ideas
- Implementation
- Actors and institutions
- Legal frameworks
- Lessons to learn
- Ways to improve future planning

APPENDIX IV: Names of key interviewees

1. Mr. Lars Danielsson, Former Architect/Planner with the Second United Nations Kampala Mengo Regional Planning Mission (1964-1966)

2. Reidar Persson, Former Architect/Planner with the Third United Nations Kampala Mengo Planning Mission (1968)

3. Mr. Savino Katsigaire, Ag. Commissioner- Physical Planning Department and Senior Physical Planner, Ministry of Land, Housing and Urban Development.

4. Mr. Peter Katebalirwe, Asst. Chief Town Planner, Kampala City Council

5. Mr. John Mpambala, Ag. Chief Town Planner, Kampala City Council

6. Mr. Vincent Byendaimira Ateenyi, Senior Physical Planner and President of Uganda Institute of Physical Planners, Ministry of Land, Housing and Urban Development.

7. Mr. Deo Kajjugira, Planner (retired). Formerly, Chief Town Planner, Department of Town and Country Planning.

Note: Persons who did not want to be named do not appear in this report

APPENDIX V: List of Specific Objectives of 1994 Structure Plan

The more specific objectives were categorized into institutional/financial, demographic, social, environmental, infrastructural, administrative and urban development objectives.

Institutional/financial Objectives
- To strengthen institutional capacity by supporting Uganda's policy of decentralized local urban management and increasing Kampala City Council's capacity to manage urban development at the local level, in collaboration with the Local Councils.
- To improve Uganda's urban financial management capacity by strengthening the KCC revenue base and promoting sound urban cost recovery policies
- To create an enabling regulatory framework at the municipal level which serves to promote and enhance productive activities within the city.
- To identify planning and action programmes which can be implemented and monitored by KCC working in collaboration with the appropriate local councils

Demographic Objectives
- To accommodate anticipated future growth based on realistic achievable growth rates
- To ensure that planning proposals and policies address the full range of socio-economic groups resident in Kampala, including in particular, lower-income residents, women, and members of the informal sector.
- To ensure that affordable land, housing and services are provided in proportion to the actual need.

Social Objectives
- To manage growth and change to enhance the social, economic and cultural viability of Kampala.
- To provide access to appropriate social facilities and programmes
- To encourage and support the efforts of local non-governmental agencies involved in urban related issues
- To promote an active Women in development programmes

Environmental Objectives
- To protect and enhance the natural environment of Kampala including the quality and integrity of air, water, and land resources
- To pursue policies of energy, water and waste reduction and conservation through the reduce-reuse-recycle approach.
- To promote tourism within Kampala District
- To protect, enhance and/or support urban agricultural and forestry activities in appropriate locations within, and adjacent to the city.

Infrastructure Objectives
- To make efficient use of existing and new infrastructure and common services
- To improve access to affordable water and sanitation services
- To upgrade and improve existing infrastructure to accommodate full range of users
- To explore the potential for greater local municipal and community involvement in the planning and maintenance of urban infrastructures

Urban development objectives

- To encourage consolidated urban growth which makes full use of existing infrastructures – as opposed to dispersed, expensive, urban sprawl.
- To encourage, and plan for the intensification and occupancy of existing lower – density areas such that they might accommodate new urban residents
- To explore the de-densification of high-density housing areas
- To encourage a full range of mixed land-use zones in order to promote live-work relationships and informal sector activities.
- To provide land-use regulations which are encouraging of appropriate new development, inclusive and easily understood by residents, and easily administered by KCC and local resistance councils.
- To provide for a full range of housing types including, in particular, all appropriate forms of lower income housing.
- To provide a full range of recreational and open spaces uses
- To encourage orderly patterns of land subdivisions which not only ensure direct access to existing or future roads, but also allow for on-going intensification and the associated progressive upgrading of infrastructure.

Administrative Objectives

- To consider the provision of decentralized programme of planning administration which would encourage the full involvement of local communities
- To reinforce the District – Division – Parish structure and explore its adoption as an implementation framework.
- To encourage on-going public participation during the planning process
- To establish a comprehensive cadastral records base

The first town planning regulations in Uganda were enforced in the Township ordinance of 1903 (Uganda Gazette – East African Protectorate and Uganda – 1903, p.333. Act No.10 of 1903).The Ordinance provided for a wide range of urban legislations, to be applied to designated Townships under the "Township Rules". This permitted legislation to be passed easily upon such matters as street cleaning, operation of the market and so forth. In designating a Township thereafter, it was the practice to specify which rules were to apply, and with rare exceptions the rules concerning sanitation were the only ones enforced.

The Township Ordinance remained in force for a long time (till the 1930's), but the Township rules which were applied under its umbrella were added to and modified from time to time, and the number of clauses applicable to each Township within Uganda was also made to vary.

The rules were substantially expended in 1914 (Gazette, 31 January, pp. 26 – 62) when building regulations; the size of the commercial plots (commonly accepted at the size recommended by William Simpson at 100 x 50 feet), maximum coverage of residential plots permitted at 50 percent, the requirements for cemented foundations and so forth were all legislated for, and have to some extent conditioned the appearance of shops and residence in Uganda's Townships today. The layout of streets however was not regulated, and reasons for this could not easily be established.

After minor modifications in 1916 (Gazette, 31 January 1916, pp.24 – 89), the next major revision was in 1924 (see Laws of Uganda Supplement 1926, pp.116-183, which gives the rules as passed under Chapter 49 of an order of 1924). Under these rules, there appeared a regulation concerning town plans – "all buildings shall conform to the alignment fixed by the Town ship Authority and shall be in accordance with the general plan of the Township". By 1918, a Central Town Planning Board had been established (Gazette, 16 December 1918, p.491).

The main later legislation is the Town and Country Planning Ordinance of 1948 and its various modifications, especially in 1951 (which is the Ordinance under which the Outline scheme of 1950/1 was implemented). It is worth noting that during this time and in the immediate post-independence epoch, Uganda had two physical planning organizations and two separate laws, the one for Uganda and the second for the Buganda Kingdom. Each organization and law operated quite independently. However, the Department of Town and Regional Planning, a technical department of the Uganda government occasionally gave advises to both governments on technical planning matters.
After independence, the 1951 Ordinance was revised and became known as the Town and Country Planning Act of 1964. As with the 1935 and 1948 Ordinances, the Township rules continued to be preserved in the codification of laws, ordinances, proclamations and regulations of 1951 and 1964 (Langlands, 1969:152). Like the earlier laws, the major aim of the 1964 Act was to consolidate the provisions for the orderly and progressive development of land, towns and other areas whether rural or urban.

The laws in principle only acknowledged two plan types/levels, namely Outline Schemes prepared by the Town and Country Planning Board and Detailed Schemes

prepared by the respective Planning Committees in a town, municipality or rural area. This hierarchy of plans lies nascent in the Act, which also shows that detailed schemes are subordinate to outline schemes.
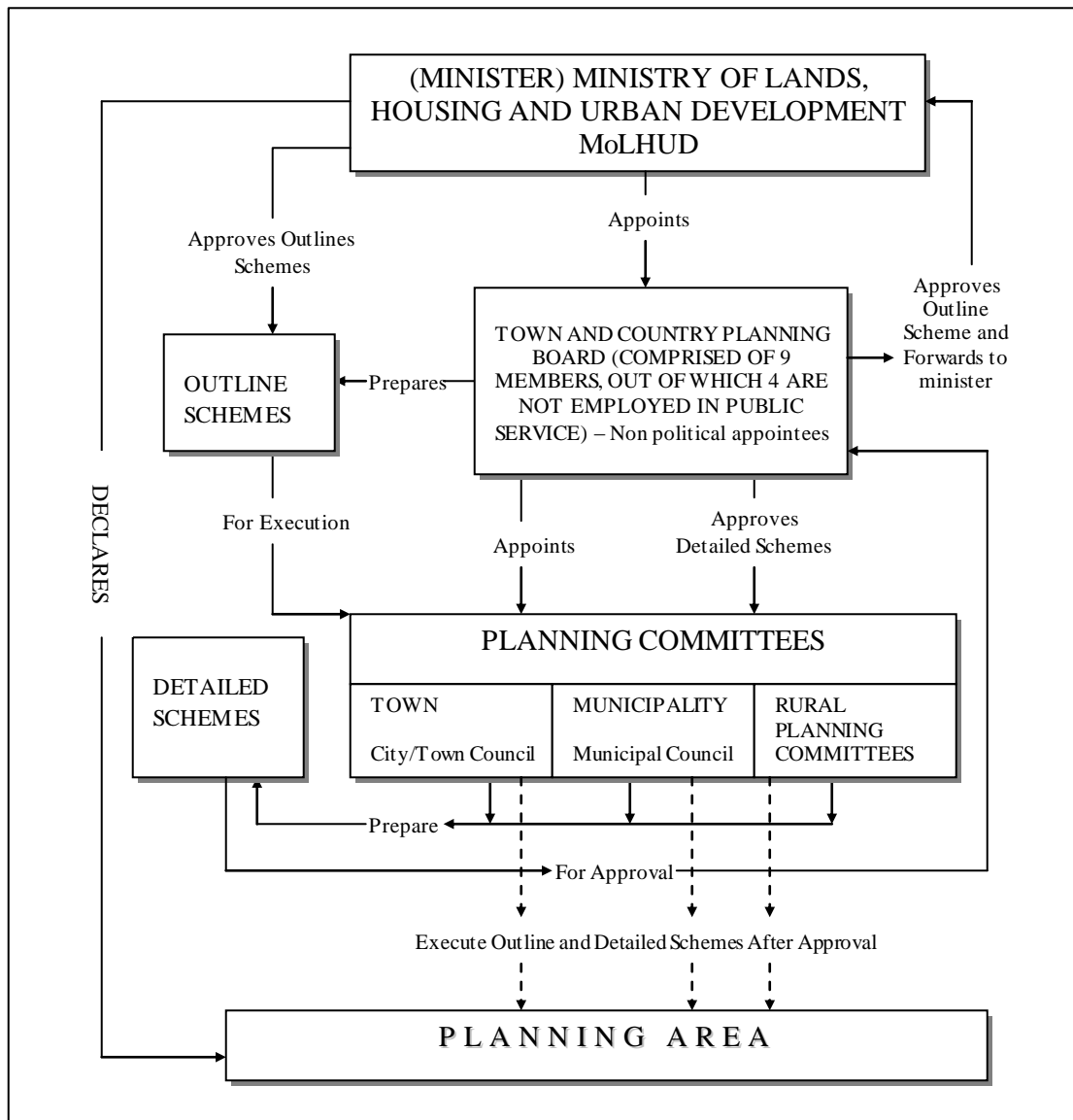
Model of the Planning System According to the Town and Country Planning Act 1964

Source: Conceptualization by Cato Lund, 2007, Department of architecture and Physical Planning, Makerere University (Formatted and redrawn by Author, April 2007)

Since independence, the Town and Country Planning Act 1964, has been the overreaching guideline for physical planning in Uganda, and it remained in force till February 2010, when a new Act (revised) was ascended to by the president of the Republic of Uganda.

For centuries, the *kibuga,* the capital of the Buganda kingdom has been on one or the other of the hills where Kampala stands today. With the accession of each king a new hill was usually chosen for the site of the new palace. The Kabakas' palaces during various periods were located on the hills of Banda-Balogo, Rubaga, Nakawa, Kasubi and finally Mengo. Apparently from the death of Kabaka Suna II in 1856 until 1890 the palace site was moved at least 10 times. Thus historically, the *Lubiri* - the palace and its grounds has been the nucleus of the urban area of Greater Kampala.

1877   First mission established by the Church Missionary Society at Nate1e.

1879   The original French Catholic White Fathers mission was established at Kitebi between Rubaga and Lake Victoria.

1884   With the death of Kabaka Mutesa I, the *kibuga* was moved for the last time - from Rubaga to Mengo.

1885   Roman Catholics were given a site on the southern slopes of Rubaga and in 1891 they moved to the hill top.

1889   The protestant Church Missionary Society was given a site on Namirembe hill.

1890 Lugard sets up camp on Kampala Hill.
        The name Kampala means the place of the Impala and is derived from the Luganda word Mpala - a type of antelope. The Kabakas of Buganda used to graze their herds of Mpala on the slopes of Kampala Hill now know as Old Kampala.

1892   Arab settlement in Natete.

1893   The colonial administrative headquarters moved to Entebbe from Kampala.

1895   The English Mill Hill Catholic Mission was "granted" the Nsambya hill site for their diocesan headquarters.

1900   The 1900 Uganda Agreement sets the seal for the colonization of the country and the establishment of Kampala. Thus, began Kampala's origin in the dual cities of Mengo - the indigenous capital of Buganda Kingdom and Kampala - the colonial capital. For the Baganda ruling class the agreement was seen as a "protection" agreement and not as an acknowledgement of having been conquered.

1902   The colonial boundary *of* Kampala covered approximately 170 acres. This was designated to be used, "exclusively as a European quarter and all native settlements (were to be] strictly prohibited." The administration set out the Preservation *of* Order by Night Ordinance No.2. which was intended to keep noise down at night by prohibiting" dances and noisy merrymaking" Section 5 of the same Ordinance stated that "No person shall use the streets of any town or area to which these Regulations may be applied between the hours of 9 p.m. and

sunrise, unless he (sic) carry a light ..." (Also enforced in the *Kibuga* these regulations were obviously a means of political control of the population).

1903   Uganda Townships Ordinance leads to the first legal framework for urban growth. The Ordinance stated that the Commissioner could declare any place in the Protectorate to be a township with the prescribed limits. The Buganda government protested against this ordinance as being another attempt by Europeans to reduce the size of the kibuga. First decree by the government that no private building should take place on Government Square in the centre of Town as this was to be reserved for government buildings. Later the Supreme Court was built at one end and it is now called City Square and located on Kampala Road. This was regarded as the first incident of zoning in the city.

1905   Colonial township transferred from Kampala to Nakasero hill.

1906   Boundary set for Kampala as a 3-mile radius from the "present Nakasero Fort" (old Kampala) and the establishment of a township. The Kampala Local Sanitary Board was designated as the" Authority" for urban administration in the Kampala Township Area.

1912   First Planning Scheme for Kampala.
The population numbered about 2,850 and the area covered was about 1,400 acres. The population of the *Kibuga* was over 32,000.

1913   Town Planning Committee established.
The government invited Professor Simpson to survey Kampala and give his recommendations as to how Kampala should develop in the future. His recommendations released in 1915 were as follows:
1) The necessity to secure development along health lines;
2) The protection of the present water supply and the substitution as soon as possible *of* a public: water supply frcJII1 Lake Victoria;
3) The drainage of marshes;
4) The removal of the ginnery located in the town and in the meantime, the compulsory disinfection of certain stations of all raw cotton from infected districts before being brought to Kampala;
5) Systematic examination of rats for plague, and the establishment of an infectious hospital and or a properly equipped observation camp; and
6) The setting up of plots of 50'x 100' with no right to subdivide.

Furthermore, for "health" reasons Professor Simpson was in favour of the physical separation of Europeans, Indians and Africans by the use of green belts that neither could "encroach" on.

1918   The Central Town Planning Board was established as a coordinating and advisory board for Kampala and other urban areas.

1920   Namirembe became a township with an officially gazetted trading Centre.

1925   After a series of legislations regarding "natives and liquor" the government

finally declared that "No person shall be allowed to hold any drinking bout during the day time."

1928   The passing of the Busulu and Envujo Law. This legislation defined the respective rights of landowners and tenants of mailo land, including landlords' rights of eviction and tenants' rights of succession. Also established was the amount of rent in cash and payment in kind for crops grown.

1929   The colonial township covered an area of more than 3,200 acres. A.E.Mirams brought in to study Kampala and to present options for its growth.

1930   The railway reached Kampala. Kololo added to Kampala.
Mirams presented a physical plan for the city centre which became the design for Kampala. This period marked the development of a planned civic centre for the town, the beginning of the policy of separating residential, commercial and industrial functions and the draining of the swamps.

1931   Kampala Township Boundary Sanitary Rules established and the *Kibuga* instituted the Baganda Township Sanitary Law.
This was the first law passed by the *Lukiko* withregards to urbanization and it also involved the setting up of the Baganda Township Sanitary Board.

1935   The Public Health Act adopted.

1938   Makerere, Wandegeya and Mulago added to Kampala.
But the Wandegeya market remained in the *Kibuga* with the rent going to the Buganda Government.

1941   Law for the Prevention of Prostitution.
This law made it an offence for girls under 20 to he employed at all place too far away from their home so that they could not return in the evening. The law" gave" the Buganda Government the power of deportation of non-Baganda women.

1944   Kampala township now covered more than 4,600 acres.
From 1944 to 1954 the town spread eastward with the addition of planned residential and industrial zones. The European res1dentJai areas on the lower slopes of Nakasero developed in the mid 1940s and Kololo in the late 1940s. 1947 to 1950 Kira Road developed as b n Asian residential area.
Additionally, the colonial government attempted to acquire more land on Makerere hill. There was widespread protest from landowners, tenants and politicians to further European control of the *Kibuga.*

1945   The Development Plan for Uganda began to raise the issue of housing for Africans and their right to urban space.

1947   The Baganda Town Planning Law was passed and a Town Planning Board was set up for the *Kibuga.*
Anyone wishing to erect a new building on surveyed land in' this area had to obtain the consent of the Board which was also authorized to survey land and to pay compensation for any property damaged or destroyed.

1948   The Central Town Planning Board was replaced by the Town and Country Planning Board with similar duties as before but with greater powers of review of planning decisions made by the various urban authorities. The Town and Country Planning Ordinance gave the governor power to declare any area a planning area in consultation with local authorities. This included regulation of development and the settlement of boundaries. Kampala's population reached 24,198.

1949   Kampala became a Municipality.

1949 To 1952 Nakawa and Naguru estates were the first African residential estates to be built in Kampala.

1950   In the early 1950s witnessed the development of an unplanned Asian industrial area in Kawempe.

1951   To compensate for the rapid growth since Mirams's 1930 plan the Kampala Outline Scheme was drafted by the Town and Country Planning Board.

1952   Kiswa added to Kampala.

1954   The Government issued its statement on Policy on African Housing. For the first time a department was established to address African, housing needs.

1955   Kawempe declared a township.

1958   Urban Authorities Act passed and Port Bell became a township.
The upper and eastward side of Kololo was built between 1954 and 1962. Mbuya was built later and both areas remained as European residential areas until after independence. A Committee on Unalienated Crown Land in Towns was set up to prevent unauthorized settlement in the urban areas and to look into the eviction of, or compensation for those persons already settled on crown land.

1959 Census shows 46,735 people (African and non-African) living within Kampala city boundaries. The city covered 81/4 sq. miles or 5,376 acres. The *Kibuga* covered an area of approximately 20 sq. miles w a population of 52,673. The combined population of the townships Nakawa and Kawempe and the *Kibuga* and Kampala was approximately 123,000. Between 1958 and 1968, there were four municipalities with their own administrative bodies- Kawempe (1958-68), Mengo (1962-68), Nakawa 0963-1968), Port Bell 0958-63).

1962 With independence on 9th October I Kampala became the capital of Uganda. The Kibuga was constituted into Mengo Municipality and Namirembe added to Mengo. The Public Lands Act passed. Kampala's population was estimated to be 50,000.

1963 Nakawa became a township and Port Bell was added to Nakawa, thus adding another 11 sq. miles and 15,000 people to the urban population.

1964 The revised Town and Country Planning Act of 1964 is the current legal document

on urbanization directives. The Public Health Act and the Urban Authorities Act were also revised in the same year. - The Urban National Housing Corporation was established as a parastatal under the Ministry of Works.

1964/1966 The United Nations Kampala-Mengo Regional Planning Mission in Uganda to study and recommend on various aspects of regional planning.

1965 Population of Mengo/Kampala estimated to be between 170,000 to 180,000.

1966 The overthrow of the Kabaka of Buganda as well as the other monarchies by Milton Obote, the Prime Minister. This led to the incorporation of the Kibuga into Kampala Municipality with Kampala City Council as the administrative unit.

1968 After 1967 the size of the city of Kampala increased from 21 sq. km. (8sq. miles) to 195 sq. km. (75 sq. miles) with the inclusion of Kawempe, Lusanja, Kisaasi, Kiwatule, Muyenga, Ggaba and Mulungu.

1974 The adoption of the 1972 Development Plan for Kampala.

1975 Idi Amin passed the Land Reform Decree abolishing freehold and nationalizing all land in the country with permitted leaseholds of 199 years for public bodies and religious institutions and 99 years for individuals. In practice, this Law was not really implemented or enforced.

1986 The National Resistance Army/National Resistance Movement comes to power.

1991 Census indicates the night time population of Kampala to be of 774,241 inhabitants with the city covering an area of 195 sq. km.

1992 A new Development Plan for Kampala in progress.

1994 A new Structure plan for Kampala is completed. Drawn by consultants- John Van Nostrand and Associates Ltd of Toronto. The new Urban Development Plan for Kampala was earmarked for a period of ten years, 1994-2004

1994 Ministry of Health condemns the Nakawa/Naguru housing estates as unfit for human habitation.

1995 A master's program – Bsc Physical Planning is introduced in the Faculty of Technology, Makerere University. The program is run under the German Technical Corporation (GTZ) Sponsorship

1997 Urban Planning Course is introduced in the Department of Geography, Makerere University

1998 The Uganda Institute of Physical planners is started in the Department of physical Planning, Ministry of Lands Water and Environment.

2001 Kampala City Council (KCC) now KCCA condemns the Nakawa-Naguru housing estates.

2003, Nakawa-Naguru housing estates tendered for redevelopment by the Government

2006 Physical Planning Department under new ministry- Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development. Planning becomes a directorate

2006 First Regional Conference on Urban Planning is held at Munyonyo, Kampala

2006 Draft Planners bill is taken to parliament for discussion

2006 On 28th December 2006 Advertisement for Country wide planning comes out in New Vision newspaper. Private companies are encouraged to bid for the 16 clusters comprising several of towns.

2007 Government signed a contract with Opec Prime Properties to re-develop the land occupied by Nakawa-Naguru housing estates into a modern satellite town at $300m, including the construction of low-cost houses/apartments. But the implementation of the project was hitherto put on hold due to disputes.

2007 Successful companies that competed for the clusters start consultancy work on the preparation of Structure and Central Area Detailed Plans for the towns. Planning time frame was six months and all companies were expected to conclude by 15th December 2007, with exception of a few that concluded in early 2008

2007 Discussions of new land bill in parliament of Uganda

2010 Enactment of the new Physical Planning Act (February 2010)

2011 In the morning of 4th July 2011, over 1500 tenants woke up to the sounds of graders and caterpillars which razed down the popular colonial African residences at Nakawa and Naguru. Many of the tenants were left homeless a UK based company, OPEC started morning evictions and demolitions with purported aim to redevelop the estates into apartment blocks at a cost of US 300 million dollars.

APPENDIX VIII: List of papers

Paper 1: Omolo-Okalebo, F., Haas, T., Werner, I.B., & Sengendo, H. (2010) Planning of Kampala City 1903-1962: the planning ideas, values and their physical expression. *Journal of Planning History,* Sage Publications, 9(3) 151-169

Paper 2: Omolo-Okalebo, F. (2010) Two cities in One: the Genesis, Planning and the Transformation of Kampala City 1900-1968. Conference Proceedings: *IPHS2010 Urban Transformations: Controversies, Contrasts and Challenges*, 12-15th July, Instanbul, Turkey; Accepted in Journal of Planning Perspectives.

Paper 3: Omolo-Okalebo, F., and Sengendo, H. (2011), Perspectives on City Planning of Post-Independence Kampala: The Emergence of the Metropolitan Growth Model and the Hexagonal Cell. Conference proceedings: *AET2011: Second International Conference on Advances in Engineering and Technology*, 31st January – 2nd February, 2011. Kampala Uganda, p.64-70

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Planning of Kampala City 1903—1962: The Planning Ideas, Values, and Their Physical Expression

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Planning of Kampala City 1903–1962: The Planning Ideas, Values, and Their Physical Expression

Fredrick Omolo-Okalebo[1], Tigran Haas[1], Inga Britt Werner[1], and Hannington Sengendo[1]

Abstract

The historical association between the planning of Kampala city and colonialism is unquestioned. The empirical observation indicates that the spatial structure of Kampala is partly a unique product of European colonial planning—their inherent ideas and principles. Scholars and analysts have largely ignored this important aspect in the assessment of planning of Kampala. This article attempts to fill the knowledge gap on the historical planning ideas and how the ideas were implemented in Kampala's urban space. Through a descriptive and exploratory approach, and by review and deduction of archival and documentary resources, this article suggests two major factors including inter alia, the discovery of malaria and the germ theory, the need to reproduce "European type space" in Kampala affected planning and consequently, the urban structure of Kampala city in the first half of the twentieth century.

Introduction

Planning is a key issue in urban development because it plays a significant role in influencing what types of development will occur, where they will occur, when they will occur, and how they will occur. The roots of town planning in Uganda can be traced to the 1890s when the European footprint in the country started to be felt and grew increasingly visible—a period that defined Uganda's spatial and urban development pattern.

The demands of colonial management, as well as the new technologies of the Industrial Revolution, created the need for new occupational roles in handling colonial affairs and accordingly, the setting of settlements and/or cities that would serve as headquarters for colonial administration overseas. New professions particularly civil engineering, planning, and public health in the nineteenth

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century took center stage in shaping cities. Meanwhile, new currents in European thought about urban planning flourished in these same years—the key period for city planning in Africa,[1] when colonial capitals were either founded or redesigned.

In Uganda, with the building of the Kenya–Uganda railway, residential, economic, and administrative centers were established and Kampala came to represent the principal "node" of colonial administration from which the surrounding regions could be placed under the colonial gaze.[2] Planning thus became a tool for the manipulation of space as a means of fostering hegemony; providing colonial administrators and early European settlers with an acceptable living environment, though through the alienation of native African residents from the urban environment using racial and health segregation policies. Planning as an activity was technical and so was a domain of a few technocrats and the colonizers. The colonial state was in a position to formulate and implement policy and to channel this through the dominant utilitarian theories of the era, which were founded largely on the medicalization of space—did, however, facilitate a strategy that eventuated a de facto racial segregation. A perspective, if formulated as the *politically contested production of space*—implied that within these parameters, the colonial state needed to produce a reproducible space or terrain of operation that would meet and serve the needs of the self-sufficiency goal.[3]

While the history of planning and the built environment of European cities, North American cities and to some extent, West African cities has been well researched, comparable study of Ugandan towns including Kampala, the major city is still lacking. The most recent research on planning in Kampala is by Lwasa (2006) who focuses on Informal Land Markets and Residential Housing Development in Kampala: Processes and Implications to Planning and Koojo (2005), who studied the implementation of physical plans with reference to wetland land use, respectively. These researchers had different focus and do not cover the historical development of planning. Tracing the historic trajectory of planning let alone the ideas that informed planning at each epoch is virtually never done. One plausible explanation for this lack of historical perspective is the enormous knowledge gap, which problem is further compounded by very limited research in the general planning field. These issues therefore express epistemological concern of understanding the ideas that informed planning of Kampala at each epoch and how these ideas were given physical expression in Kampala's urban space in the first half of the twentieth century.

This article is a by-product of an ongoing research project that examines the evolution of planning in Kampala City since 1903. To sum it up all, the following two questions are illustrative and make up the focus of this article: what ideas and/or values informed the planning of Kampala in the colonial era? and how were the ideas given physical representation in Kampala's urban space?

The time boundaries for this article have been limited particularly to 1903–1962, just before Uganda attained independence. The period starts with the first planning event in the Protectorates headquarters in Kampala—the enactment of the Town Planning Ordinance of 1903 and proceeds to the last planning episode of the colonial era 1951–1962. Selection of this era is motivated by the presence of scattered and disjointed archives that provide a wealth of information compared to the postcolonial period where obtaining records from the 1960s onward is quite problematic due to poor record filing and storage and destruction of some of the archives during the insurgency and political wars in the country.

Colonialism and Planning

Since this article is concerned with the conscious planning of British colonial built environments and urban forms by public Authority in the colonial Kampala, it might as well suffice to touch on the concept of colonialism and its relationship with planning.

Colonialism is generally defined as the appropriation, occupation, and control of one territory by another. This simple definition, however, masks a longer and more complex genealogy of the term

and concept. From Barney's submission, the term *colonial*, derived from the Roman concept of *colonia*, originally referred to settlement. Roman colonies were viewed as the physical extension of the Roman Empire. This initial use was focused on Roman citizens. These settlements were places where Romans retained their citizenship, a practice reminiscent of extraterritoriality. Colonies were self-sufficient. This definition did not consider the position of the indigenous populations. The modern use of *colonialism* includes elements and characteristics that extend far beyond the initial sense of ''settlement.'' And whereas colonialism always entails the settlement of people from the colonial state to a colonized territory, the practice of colonialism is characterized by more than simply immigration flows. Colonialism has come to refer to the conquest and control of other peoples and other territories.[4]

Tracing the historical roots of many countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, (e.g., Njoh, 1997; Njoh, 2008; Sarin, 1982; Golany, 1984)[5-8] shows that cities in these regions are more a product of colonial experience than economic influences as was observed in the rise of the capitalist society in the western world. Home notes that while the concept of the colonial city is still useful for the development of theory, all cities are in a way colonial—they are created through the exercise of dominance by some groups over others, to extract agricultural surplus, provide services, and exercise political control. The city thus becomes an instrument of colonization and (in case of the European overseas empires) racial dominance.[9] From the planning perspective, orderly and efficient layout of suburban areas was the aim that defined the practice and thinking of colonial planning in general and British colonial planning in particular. The residents of such suburbs were to be the colonialists themselves and, to some degree and in some places, members of the indigenous population involved in white-collar work linked to the colonial power.[10] Ideas about garden cities/garden suburbs that dominated the planning discourses in Northern Europe in the first third of the twentieth century defined the parameters of colonial planning practice. In part, this was because both in the metropolitan homeland and in the colony, the low-density suburb or self-contained garden city offered a practical alternative to the squalor of the old established urban area. However, one consequence was that the colonial planning approach paid relatively little concern to the native city, which was typically a dense organic network of narrow lanes, bazaars, small industry, and crowded houses.

Thus anti-urbanism, and the aim to ensure public health by salubrious layouts of spacious new areas, meant that colonial planning was mainly concerned with fashioning an orderly, healthy alternative to the large city. "The basis was hygienic: the government medical service, invariably of military origin, had a virtual stranglehold over the planning system."[11] Benevolo argues that many of the cities in Asia and Africa, which would subsequently grow out of all measure, were fortresses built according to the rules of European military architecture. Little heed was taken of the existing urban settlements and the European cities existed separately from the previously existing indigenous ones.[12]

The City of Kampala

Kampala was selected as a special contextual case for this study for two basic reasons; first, in Uganda, Kampala represented the principal "node" of colonial administration and was the first urban area to be formally planned in 1912. Second, the planning information available is scanty and in danger of getting lost due to poor documentation and recording systems, which problems are further compounded by little or no historical research on planning.

The city of Kampala, like many other major urban centers in Uganda, owes its birth and growth to the colonial presence in the country in the late nineteenth century. Kampala was originally the headquarters of the Buganda Kingdom. In 1900, the Buganda Agreement between the British Special Commissioner and the chiefs of Buganda was signed and thus set the seal for the colonization of the country and the establishment of Kampala as the colonial administrative headquarters next to *Mengo* the indigenous capital,[13] administered by the King of Buganda. The name ''Kampala'' is

Table 1. Non-African Population of Kampala 1959[19]

| Town | Non-African Residents in Kampala—1959 | | | | | | | | |
	European	Indian	Pakistani	Goan	Arab	Somali	Mixed race	Other	Total
Kampala	3,179	16,749	1,381	1,140	41	7	73	111	22,679

derived from the *Luganda* word "impala," a type of antelope (Aepyceros melampus), which was reared and grazed on hill slopes of the current day Kampala.

From a small township reserved exclusively for European settlement,[14] and established for administrative purposes, the city expanded in size from 170 acres gazetted in 1902 to 3,200 acres by 1929.[15] By 1959, the city covered 81/4 square miles or 5,376 acres by 1968, after adjustment of boundaries, the city covered 195 sq km.[16] The expansion was mainly through annexing adjacent townships and rural areas to Kampala Township. As the city boundaries were extended, the population in Kampala also increased from 2,850 people in 1912 to 24,100 people in 1948.[17] In 1950, Kampala was granted Municipal status, when a Council was appointed with a Mayor as its head. Kampala developed at an extraordinary pace and in 1959 (Table 1); approximately 46,735 people (African and non-African) lived within Kampala city boundaries.[18]

Kampala became a city by the Royal Charter of September 28, 1962, with an estimated population of 50,000. By 1980, the population had increased to 458,503, and 774,241 in 1991, and 1,208,544 in 2002 (most recent census) at average annual growth rates of between 3.14 percent and 5.61 percent.[20] It is the administrative and commercial capital city of Uganda, situated 0 15° and 32 30° E and covers approximately 195 sq km. It is situated 8 km on the northern shores of Lake Victoria with its center located approximately 45 km north of the equator. Kampala is bordered by Wakiso District to the North, East, West, and Southwest, while Lake Victoria is in the South East. Initially covering seven-planned hills,[21] the city later expanded and now stands on twenty-four hills with average altitude of 3,910 ft (1,120 m) above sea level, and with steeper upper sages, merging into undulating slopes ending into broad shallow valleys. Kampala is also defined and structured by the extensive papyrus swamps and perennial streams/channels. Spreading over an area of up to 839 sq km, the Metropolitan Kampala has expanded engulfing the urban centers around the city and continuously converting the rural landscape[22] into urban uses.

Planning Kampala City—Ideas, Values, and Assumptions

The concept of planning "ideas" or "values" in this article, simply means those things, which are deeply cherished or literally highly valued and which have a bearing on how the quality of the urban environment was envisaged and judged by the colonial planners to be of high quality or ideal. The following text puts the theme of this article into perspective.

The urban planning systems in Africa in general developed during the period of colonialism. Ogu observes that this period is linked to the early development of town planning in Europe to the most extended period of European colonialism.[23] Colonial designs on space and socioeconomic spatial reordering in the territory that was to progressively become Uganda were evident even before the proclamation of a Protectorate in June 1894. Lord Salisbury, the then British Prime Minister, stated for example that "we do not value Uganda for what she is, but for what she might become."[24]

Before the colonization of Uganda, areas of high human settlement concentration in central Uganda and Buganda in particular, which could by definition be equated to contemporary urban areas were only limited around kings and chiefs' palaces. The precolonial African town or city

Figure 1. High Court in Kampala (Source: Author, May 2, 2009).

(*Kibuga*), the urban unit was a center not only of population but of governance, commerce, religion, military, and the arts. Hull, calls it a place that acted as a cultural transmitter as well as an attraction pole.[25] Decisions regarding the organization of the Kibuga were made by the Kabaka and the chiefs. The city was organized on the basis of the Kabaka's interests and priorities, with focus on defense, residential houses for the wives of the polygamous king and accommodation for the chiefs and peasants whose task was to build the city. Lwasa points out that "modern" planning in Kampala is only traced from the inception of the British colonial government in Uganda[26] and the establishment of Kampala Township in 1902.

From its establishment as a township, Kampala developed on ad hoc basis until the passing of the Township Ordinance of 1903, which was the first legal planning framework—a direct development of the *cantonment* system as developed and applied by the British in Imperial India. The Ordinance stated that the Commissioner could declare any place in the Protectorate to be a township with the prescribed limits.

In the very year, the first decree by the government was passed that no private building should take place on Government Square in the center of Town as this was to be reserved for government buildings.[27] However, some analysts suggest that the reservation was in contemplation that when funds were available, government would erect their own offices on this site. Later, however, the Supreme Court (present High Court) was built at one end (figure 1), and the lower end is now called City Square, a green open space, located on Kampala Road (figure 2). This stage in Kampala's history can be recorded as the first incident of zoning in the city.

Figure 2. Kampala City (Constitutional) Square (Source: Author, May 2, 2009).

In 1905, the administrative and government offices were transferred to the adjacent Nakasero Hill, which was more spacious. Similarly, developments on Nakasero Hill took place very fast and in an ill-planned manner as described by Kenda11 as " . . . an incongruous mess with scarcely any paths . . . ."[28] There was therefore general acknowledgment on the part of the colonial authorities that the town area was getting congested as trading and business took center stage and attracted every individual to town. Letters, communiques, notices, and other deliberations between the various Governors and the *Lukiko*, the Baganda Parliament, centered on matters such as: the growth of slums, increases in population and housing densities, lack of housing standards, sitting and building regulations, licensing and control of trading, beer making and selling, and noise and nuisance making.

In 1906, the boundary was set for Kampala as a three-mile radius from the "present Nakasero Fort" (Old Kampala) and the Kampala Local Sanitary Board was designated as the "Authority" for urban administration in the Kampala Township Area. The question of what kind or ideal urban environment was needed featured and the conditions of the township at the time led to the preparation of the first planning scheme for Kampala in 1912. The 1912 scheme (figure 3) forms the basis for the layout of that central part of Kampala, most of which still stands today, except for some building that were demolished and the sites rebuilt, within the subsequent years. The population of Kampala then numbered about 2,850 and the area covered was about 1,400 acres (567 hectares). The population of the *Kibuga* was well over 32,000.[29]

From 1912 onward, several ideas, theories, and global events came into play. First, health concerns and the need to provide colonial administrators and early settlers with an acceptable
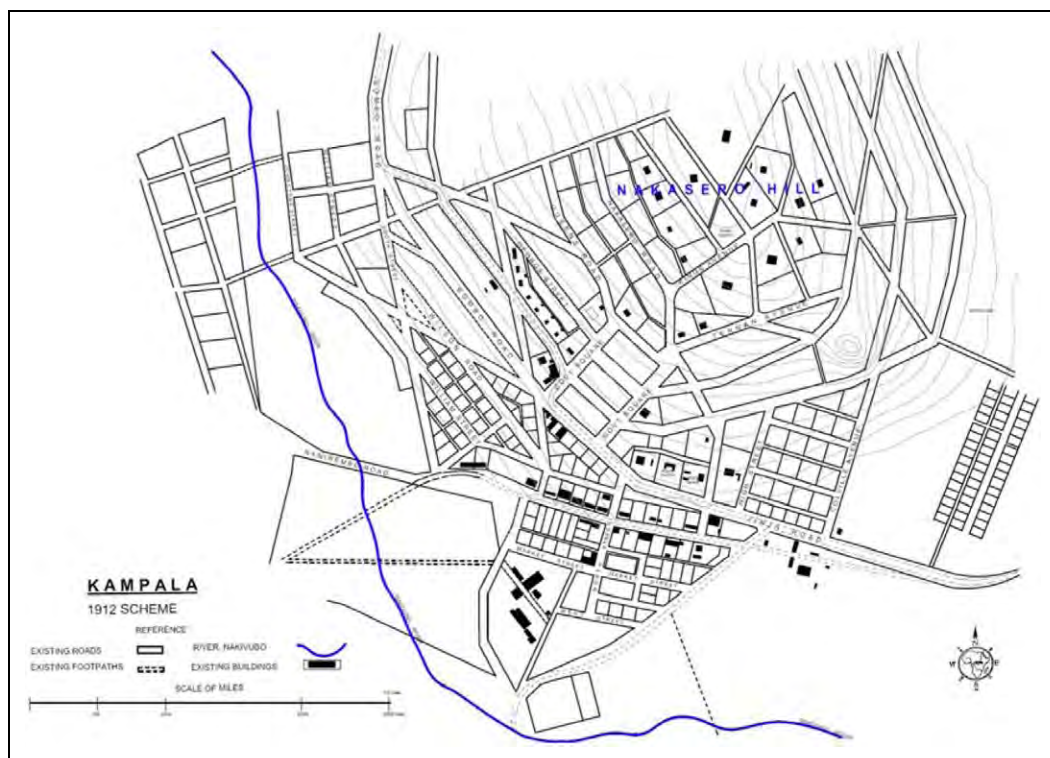
Figure 3. The first planning scheme for Kampala prepared in 1912—forms the basis for the layout of that Central part of Kampala (Source: Kendall, 1955. The image was redrawn by Author to enhance its clarity).

living environment gave rise to environmental sanitation measures and the establishment of rudimentary local government.[30] This was also a period of rapid advance in tropical medicine, malaria was by far the most serious threat to Europeans living in the African tropics, and the mosquito theory made its appearance just when colonial administrations were struggling to keep soldiers and administrators alive in a difficult environment. The play of these crosscurrents of thought during a period of crucial decision making offers an interesting example of ideas in action, one with implications for our understanding of human behavior both in Kampala and beyond.

The discovery of the causes and transmitters of malaria by Dr. Ronald Ross complicated the criteria for planning in all tropical countries. Dr. Ross conceived that anopheles mosquito transmitted the disease through biting of an infected person in the tropics, and most especially their children whom he viewed as a prime source of malaria infection because they were exposed to mosquitoes. To preserve the health and purity, as well as their status and dominance, Dr. Simpson the expert on sanitary affairs together with his counterpart Lugard argued that the solution to the peaceful settlement of Europeans in the tropics was through creation of exclusive, endogamous, and defensible enclaves by means of careful planning. The criteria was to segregate Europeans, so that they shall not be exposed to attacks of mosquitoes which have become infected with the germs of malaria or yellow fever, by preying on natives, and especially native children, whose blood so often contains these germs. The two experts preached, "doctors, urge that Europeans should not sleep in proximity to natives, in order to avoid infection, and also as valuable safeguard against bush fires and those which are so common in native quarters, especially in the dry season."[31] Lugard further advocated

for segregation because it would "remove the inconvenience felt by European, whose rest is disturbed by drumming and other noises dear to the Native."[32]

Although malaria provided the most important single argument for sanitary segregation in planning and residential location, other diseases sometimes played a role. Older ideas about how to control smallpox and plague through quarantine, including the *cordon sanitaire*, antedated the germ theory by centuries. In early colonial Africa, bubonic plague reappeared, and with it came some earlier forms of sanitary segregation.[33] The plague had been absent from Africa and Europe for centuries, but it now returned in a pandemic that began in China, reaching Canton and Hong Kong in 1894, Madagascar in 1898, South Africa in 1901, the Ivory Coast in 1899 and 1903, the Gold Coast in 1908, East Africa by1906, and Dakar, the capital of French West Africa, in 1914. The first definite reappearance of the disease in Uganda after 1899 was when three cases were recorded in Mbale—eastern town of Uganda, the identity of the disease being confirmed microscopically in the following year when more cases occurred,[34] and by 1910, the plague had already reached all the districts.[35]

From these medical ideas came the segregation of European Reservations by a nonresidential area (sometimes called a building—free zone or the greenbelt). Whereas segregation against malaria was mainly a matter of separating the Europeans from the African town, the favorite measure against plague was to remove those who became ill. In a racist era, the natural solution was to expe1 Africans from the European town.[36] The campaign for better sanitation was concerned with order, openness, ventilation, and the spatial demarcation of different activities.

Simpson's Ideas and the 1919 Planning Scheme

In Kampala, as in the whole of East and West Africa, the thread of racism became increasingly strong as the First World War approached. The most elaborate segregationist proposa1s, combining racist and sanitary objectives, came from W. J. Simpson of the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, who, on a tour of Kenya, Uganda, and Zanzibar in 1913–1914, made recommendations, followed by an elaborate final report filed in July 1914. Town planning in Europe, he believed, required the separation of commercial, residential, and manufacturing areas, but in Africa, different principles were necessary—" . . . something more is required where the races are diverse and their habits and customs differ from one another . . . . it has to be recognized that the standards and mode of life of the Asiatic do not ordinarily consort with the European, whilst the customs of Europeans are at times not acceptable to the Asiatics, and that those of the African unfamiliar with and not adapted to the new conditions of town life will not blend with either."

In addition, the diseases to which these different races are, respectively, liable are readily transferable to the European and vice versa, a result especially liable to occur when their dwellings are near each other. Simpson emphasized that in the interests of each community and of the healthiness of the locality and country, it is absolutely essential that in every town and trade center, the town planning should provide well-defined and separate quarters or wards for Europeans, Asiatics, and Africans, as well as those divisions which are necessary in a town of one nationality and race and that there should be a neutral belt of open unoccupied country of at least 300 yards in width between the European residences and those of the Asiatic and African."[37]

In the same year, after consultations with the Town Planning Committee on the planning of Kampala Township, the government invited Professor Simpson, from Britain to survey Kampala and give his recommendations as to how Kampala should develop in the future.[38] Simpson who was a great agitator of the segregation policies through out British colonies in Africa and Asia, in a report to Government gave recommendations on the planning of Kampala town as follows:

1. The necessity of securing its development on healthy lines; by physical separation of Europeans, Indians, and Africans by the use of greenbelts that neither could "encroach" on.
2. The protection of its current water supply and the substitution as soon as possible by a public water supply from Lake Victoria.
3. The drainage of the marshes to prevent the breeding of mosquitoes.
4. The removal of the ginnery located in the town[39] and, in the meantime, the compulsory disinfection of certain stations of all raw cotton from infected districts before being brought to Kampala.
5. Systematic examination of rats for plague, establishment of an infectious hospital, and a properly equipped observation camp.

To prevent the subdivision of plots and slum overcrowding, Professor Simpson strongly recommended that no plots larger than $50' \times 100'$ be leased to any persons desirous of building a shop. Under no circumstances should anyone be permitted to subdivide a plot. Strict control over the use of plots was to be maintained. Simpson then recommended that the whole question be referred to a town planning committee, mainly of European members—consisting of the principal medical officer as chairman, the chief sanitary officer, the land officer, the director of public works, the medical officer of Kampala, and the district commissioner of Kampala, as members. Simpson's recommendations dominated the 1919 plan and formed the basis for planning in the 1930s and to a certain extent the entire colonial period.[40]

As alluded earlier, the Central Planning Board, as recommended by Simpson, was constituted at the end of 1917 and was soon considering the preparation of a plan for Kampala. The Board was established as a coordinating and advisory board for Kampala and other urban areas. On January 10, 1918, discussions took place regarding the number and type of leases in the Kampala bazaar area, and each member of the Board was asked to draw up a scheme for the removal of the existing bazaar to Kololo by the following meeting.

Toward the end of January 1918, His Excellency, the Governor attended the meeting of the Board and actively participated in the discussion regarding the general planning of the town. It was ultimately decided that the new bazaar or commercial area should be situated on the southeastern spur of Nakasero hill and that the Asian housing area be located across the Kitante valley. Various boundaries of the greenbelt zones were suggested and their final siting was postponed for further consideration. As a result of these deliberations, three draft schemes were prepared, "A," "B," and "C," and deposited for public inspection and comments at the Government offices in Kampala.[41]

Meetings were arranged, which were attended by representatives of the Church Missionary Society, the Indian association, the Chamber of Commerce, and other representative bodies who gave their views on the three proposals. It should be noted that in these meetings, the native African was not present. These views were carefully noted and a report, together with the alternative plans, was sent to Government for a decision. The Central Government, on its part, dispatched the plans and relating materials to the Secretary of State, and early in 1920, news was received that scheme "C" (figure 4) had been approved.

In bringing this scheme into force, the Board took careful cognizance of the recommendations made by Professor Simpson referred to in his report of 1915, where he draws attention to the interdependence of health with orderly planning and housing. The principles of the general draft plan were discussed at length, especially as regards the future of the existing Indian bazaar and the position of the greenbelt zones separating the residential areas of the three principal races from each other and from the commercial or bazaar area. The result was a number of double-centered towns, with one focus on the *boma* or administrative building, surrounded by a European residential neighborhood, and the other on the Indian bazaar, surrounded by the commercial district.
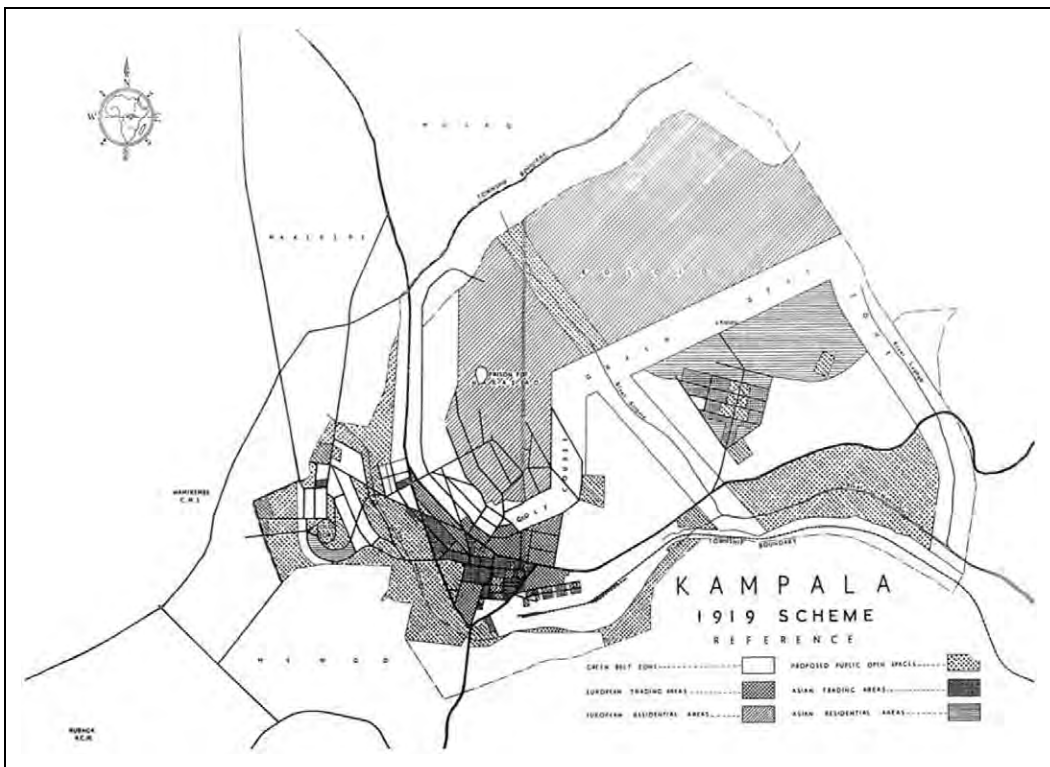
Figure 4. The 1919 planning scheme entailing Simpson's recommendations (Source: Kendall, 1955).

The *boma* was typically on a high-point southeast of the urban center, cooled and cleansed by the prevailing southeast winds. Today, from the air, the most visible evidence of the old pattern is the golf course wrapped around the *boma* quarter in the open space originally intended to protect Europeans from infection.

It should be noted that Simpson's plan for Kampala of 1919 did not cater for the native Africans and therefore they were kept out of the township as they were thought to increase the risk of malarial infection.

The Shift in Ideology and Mirams' 1930 Planning Scheme

In early 1920s, despite Simpson's plan, the Protectorate government frequently lamented about the poor sanitary conditions in the township, especially in the bazaar area in central Kampala. By 1929, Kampala had expanded so quickly (covering an area of more than 3,200 acres) and in many ways so unsatisfactorily that the Government had no choice but to seek remedial measures.

The enforcement of strict racial segregation by a non-building zone was, however, soon abandoned. The colonial office had decided in 1923 that segregation in East Africa by legislation was unjustified, while recognizing that "in practice the different races will, by natural affinity, keep together in separate quarters."[42] The colonial administrators recognized "that rigid insistence on racial segregation, as laid down by Professor Simpson, would involve fatal dislocation of trade and unwarranted expense to the Government."[43]

In 1929, the Uganda administration asked the Colonial Office to provide "specialist officers" in town planning, anti-malarial measures and sewerage management systems for Kampala. This was

seen as important for public health—not least to combat malaria. However, there was also an idea of modernity and development embedded in this request; " . . . much remains to be done if Kampala is to extend on the lines of a modern township and if the health of its inhabitants is to be reasonably safeguarded."[44]

The Colonial Office was responsive through contacts with the Ministry of Health in the United Kingdom, a Mr. A. E. Mirams—the well-known planning consultant and land valuer, who had served fifteen years in India was engaged as a town planning expert.[45] The malaria expert, Lieutenant Colonel James, who was an adviser to the Ministry of Health and had been engaged in similar work in Kenya,[46] was invited together with Mirams to come to Uganda to prepare a report and plan for the expansion of Kampala and the neighboring town, Jinja. Mirams was also asked to advise government in regard to the general layout of Kampala with special reference to future expansion; the siting of public buildings, co-ordination of arrangements for the layout of roads, drains, sewers, electric lights, and power lines; the problem of a native location; the best means of refuse disposal; the revision of existing rules of the township generally; and the preparation of a Town Planning Ordinance.[47]

In describing Kampala, as it was at the time, he said: "Kampala is the seat of the native government where the 'Lukiko' or native parliament sits. The *Kabaka* (king) of Buganda resides there. It is a town of seven hills, and is a strange mixture of the delightful and the hideous—glorious and entrancing scenery from splendid hillsides, over miles of valleys and open country, quite unsurpassed views of lake and hills, a town with many quite reasonably wide roads, and here and there a good building. On the other hand the valleys of death-dealing swamp, covered with papyrus and traversed by sluggish streams, brickfields and 'burrow' pits like ulcerous growths, corrugated iron shanties and sheds used both as shops and living places, with the entrails and skeletons of abandoned motor cars and other debris scattered all over the bazaar area, present a very different picture. It is by these and other signs that one is made to realize are the ravages created when our so-called civilization forces its way uncontrolled into the heart of a new country. Need it be wondered that the more thoughtful members of the community feel overwhelmed with convinced despair when they view this state of chaos and almost licensed breach of all reasonable development."[48]

Mirams' report led to the preparation of a planning scheme for Kampala in 1930 (figure 5). Like Professor Simpson in the 1919 planning scheme, Mirams also in his report propagates the same ideology of racial separation though he uses the phrase; location of population composed of Europeans, Asians, and Africans.

The existing built-up area of Kampala, both in regard to the commercial and residential areas on Nakasero hill, is a direct result of the recommendations made by Mr. Mirams in his report and plans. Kendall observes that Mirams was farsighted both in regard to his road network and zoning. Kampala has undoubtedly developed along the broad lines recommended by him in his report. Mirams' recommendations also included some insightful and cautionary notes about development on steep slopes such as in Bat Valley, off Bombo Road. These steep slopes could be better left and maintained green.[49] However, the stretch along *Bombo* road, due to pressure on land, is at present fully covered with two to eight storied buildings. Mirams plan also maintains the greenbelts proposed by Professor Simpson's plan of 1919. The European residential areas on the lower slopes of Nakasero fully developed in the mid-1940s and Kololo in the late 1940s. Areas along Kira road developed as Asian residential areas between 1947 and 1950.

Both Simpsons and Mirams planning schemes of 1919 and 1930, respectively, do not show any residential zones for Africans, meaning that they were kept out of the township environment and lived in the *Kibuga*, the native capital. According to Mbilinyi, the colonial authorities preferred Africans to remain in the rural areas because the colonial government felt that "urbanization would separate Africans from family, clan, and tribal authority as well as social codes of behavior, discipline, custom, and perhaps religion, which originally guided their thought and actions with the object of making them useful members of the tribe or community to which they belong."[50]
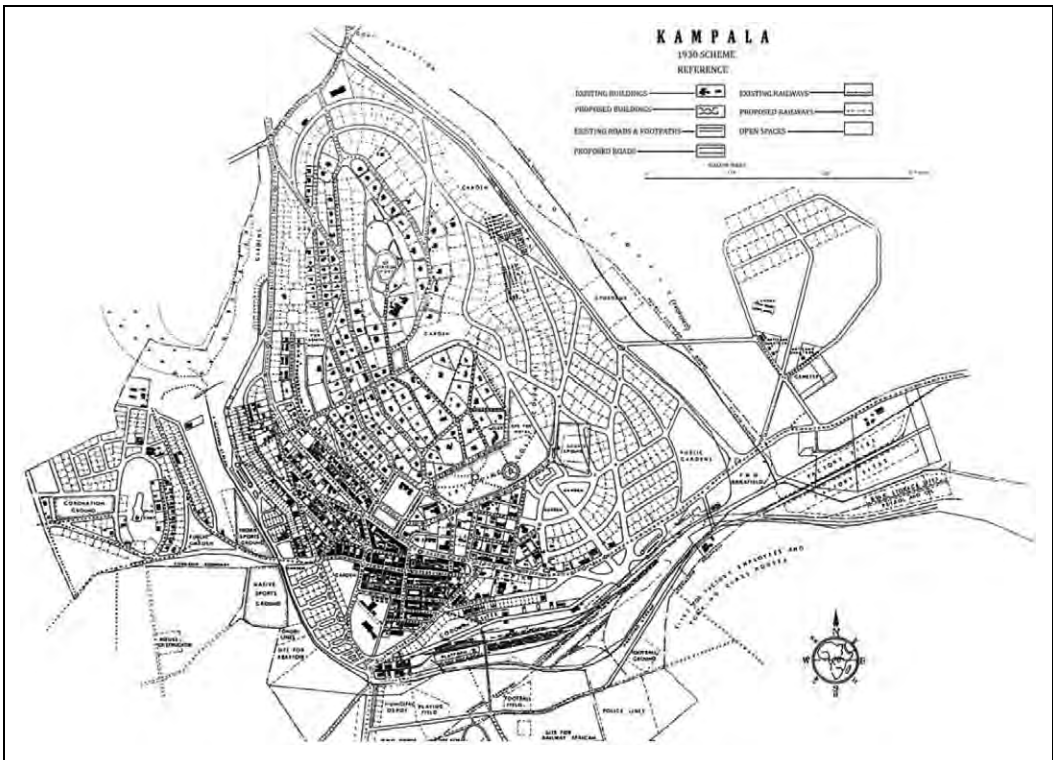
Figure 5. The 1930 planning scheme by British consultant A. E. Mirams (Source: Kendall, 1955).

In Kampala, the colonial administrators enjoyed more spacious lifestyle in Kololo and Nakasero, with detached housing, large residential plots containing spacious, usually one storey houses, broad, tree lined roads, low residential density (less than fifteen persons per acre), and the generous provision of amenities (water, electricity, sewerage, telephones, and open space).

Planning Kampala in the 1950s

As the process of decolonization occurred, there was a shift in ideology, the Duke of Devonshire, then secretary of state for the colonies, issued a general statement from cabinet level. On segregation, it said, ''following on Professor Simpson's report, a policy of segregation was adopted in principle, and it was proposed by Lord Milner to retain this policy on both sanitary and social grounds . . . . It is now the view of competent medical authorities that, as a sanitation measure, segregation of Europeans and Asiatics is not absolutely essential for the preservation of the health of the community . . . . It may well, prove that in practice the different races will, by natural affinity keep together in separate quarters, but to effect such separation by legislative enactment except on the strongest sanitary grounds would not, in the opinion of His Majesty's Government be justifiable.''[51]

The 1930s witnessed a number of influential reports of poverty and ill health in the colonies. These included the 1939 *Report of the Committee on Nutrition in the Colonial Empire* and Lord Hailey's *African Survey* of 1938.[52] It was being realized that colonialism would not last forever and that there was a need to create a new environment, which would define new Commonwealth relationships favorable to the colonizing countries, after the reigns of power had been relinquished. Comhaire argues that segregation was attacked because it was illogical and many times inequitable.

For example, Africans continued to form a substantial, and in some cases, a majority of residents in European areas, although only in subservience to Europeans as house workers and labourers.[53] Besides as governor MacGregor of Lagos argued, segregation did not remove the "source of contamination" and would lead to the concentration on improving conditions in white areas and to the neglect of non-European areas. This was in fact what happened in Kampala and many African cities. Instead, MacGregor called, for the eradication of mosquitoes, free distribution of quinine and introduction of hygiene and sanitation courses in local schools. After all, plague, cholera, and so on, were the scourge of early urbanizing Europe.

The end of World War II brought significant changes in the British Empire. The new colonial policy issued in the mid-forties was built on new principles that aimed at leading the Colonial territories toward self-government. Partnership was now replacing the old trusteeship policy. Local governments were supposed to play a critical role in this process of conferring more political representation and autonomy to the local people. On the economical side, the Colonial Office also launched important modernization programs that aimed at setting up the economic framework for the development of the colonies.[54] Kampala had the special feature of being the center of the settler economy in the Uganda protectorate—although the administrative center was Entebbe. At this time, there were a number of negotiations for incorporation of areas from the *Kibuga* (capital of Buganda kingdom) into Kampala municipality to be able to raise the service standards in these areas such that they could also then be developed as part of the colonial economy—for instance, Asian business men were keen on establishing themselves in some parts of the *Kibuga*.[55] However, the Buganda government was hesitant to accept the Kampala administration taking over responsibilities in the *Kibuga* partly due to prospect of losing revenue to the colonial administration—remember this took place during independence struggles.

A Statement of Policy on Colonial Development and Welfare (White Paper of February 1940) outlined steps to be taken in improving conditions in the colonies. This formed the basis of the first Colonial Development and Welfare Act, of 1940 in Britain, in which a sum of five million pounds a year was to be made available for ten years, for schemes for any purposes likely to promote the development of the resources of any colony, or the welfare of its people.[56] Although several ideas were at interplay, traces of the old divisions still remained, it is the ideology of the utopians, which became predominant not only in Britain but also in many other parts of the world, which imported British planning notions, and more so the British colonies in Africa, that received direct implantation of the planning notions and ideologies. The planning orthodoxy was that the major land uses of the city should be clearly distinguished and provided for in separate "zones." Again, we see this ordering principle in most of the influential Utopian schemes for ideal cities such as Le Corbusier's "radiant city." This "zoning mentality" came in part from a justified desire in London to separate obnoxious activities such as heavy industries, from residential areas but, as London's South bank shows, by the middle of the twentieth century the tidy-minded separation of different land uses had become an accepted norm among planners.[57] This principle gained ground and the idea was transported to colonies as well.

In East Africa, this period was dominated by the ten-year development plans using the Colonial development and welfare funds. Undertakings included construction or improvement in infrastructure like roads, water supply, drainage, sewage networks and airports; and construction of public buildings including schools, hospitals, and health and social welfare centers. This was the period when comprehensive planning was accepted in most colonial cities. It was a period of Town and Country Planning Acts and urban master plans.

In Uganda, the first planning legislation was the Town and Country Planning Ordinance of 1947, which immediately was replaced by the Town and Country Planning Ordinance of 1951. Comprehensive planning was given prominence as opposed to zoning and development control of the previous era. Planning based on racial segregation became progressively blurred and the cities were

modeled on the basis of function and land use categorization. In Uganda, the principle found expression in the 1951 planning scheme for Kampala. Kampala was categorized into major land use zones: (1) residential areas categorized on the basis of density—five residential zones (zones; A, B, C, D, and E); (2) commercial zone; (3) industrial zone; (4) forests areas; and (5) open spaces, both public and private.

Owing to the general topography of Kampala, the forests and open spaces are located in the valleys and low-lying areas, whereas the elevated sites on the slopes of various hills are zoned for residence. The distinction between zones lay primarily in the type of buildings encouraged in the respective zone by the local authority. Persons building in zone "A" were expected to layout more capital when doing so than those building in zone "C." The plots in "A" are larger and there are increased amenities, larger gardens, less noise, and better street lighting. In zone "A," the rates are higher and more had to be paid for the lease of land from the Government. Care had to be taken by the authorities in maintaining existing values when considering plans for new buildings in the various zones. In a restricted sense, each hill was to be treated as a neighborhood unit on its own, except for Kololo whose character was already fixed. Reservation of Nakawa area and Naguru hills for African housing was made, in the same way the north of Kololo (areas along Kiira road—present Kamwokya and Bukoto) were almost entirely occupied by sections of the Asian population comprising Government officials and those engaged in business and trade.[58]

The 1951 Kampala Scheme

On the basis of the 1930 scheme and the experience of development trends between 1930 and 1950, the Local Planning Authority, on the direction of the Town Planning Board, commenced the preparation of a comprehensive development plan in 1949. This occurred at the interesting period when Kampala had just been raised in status from a township to a municipality.

The 1951 planning scheme (figure 6) addresses, inter alia, two major issues: first, the inclusion of newly annexed areas of Nakawa and Naguru into the Kampala Municipal plan and, second, the zoning and detailed planning of Nakawa and Naguru areas as African residential estates. These two aspects are today considered the major outcomes of the 1951 plan.

An influx of migrant labor into the region to meet an expanding urban need in the immediate post–war years gave rise to a sudden demand for accommodation within Kampala-Mengo region.

The issue of housing for Africans and their right to urban space as raised by the Development plan for Uganda in the mid-1940s led to the detailed planning of these two residential zones and the subsequent construction of houses for the natives. The houses were grouped in blocks within a conventional grid road layout, Van der Bijl calls this form of layout the "*the traditional kraal formation*," in his description of Native residential houses at Vanderbijl park in Nigeria.[59]

The location of the two African residential areas of (Nakawa and Naguru) from the European areas of Kololo and Nakasero is approximately 1½ to 2 km apart.

Discussion

As far as our own contribution is concerned, we argue that despite the growing interest in the body of work pertaining to town planning in this era, there is limited available information on planning ideals making planning relatively neglected as important loci of research for reevaluations of not only colonial but also postcolonial urban sociospatial processes. These issues express epistemological concern of understanding town planning and its framing of Kampala's urban space in the colonial era, which this article has attempted to highlight.

There is no doubt that colonialism looms large in many of the town planning histories. During colonial periods, transnational ties were quite pronounced as occupying powers established their
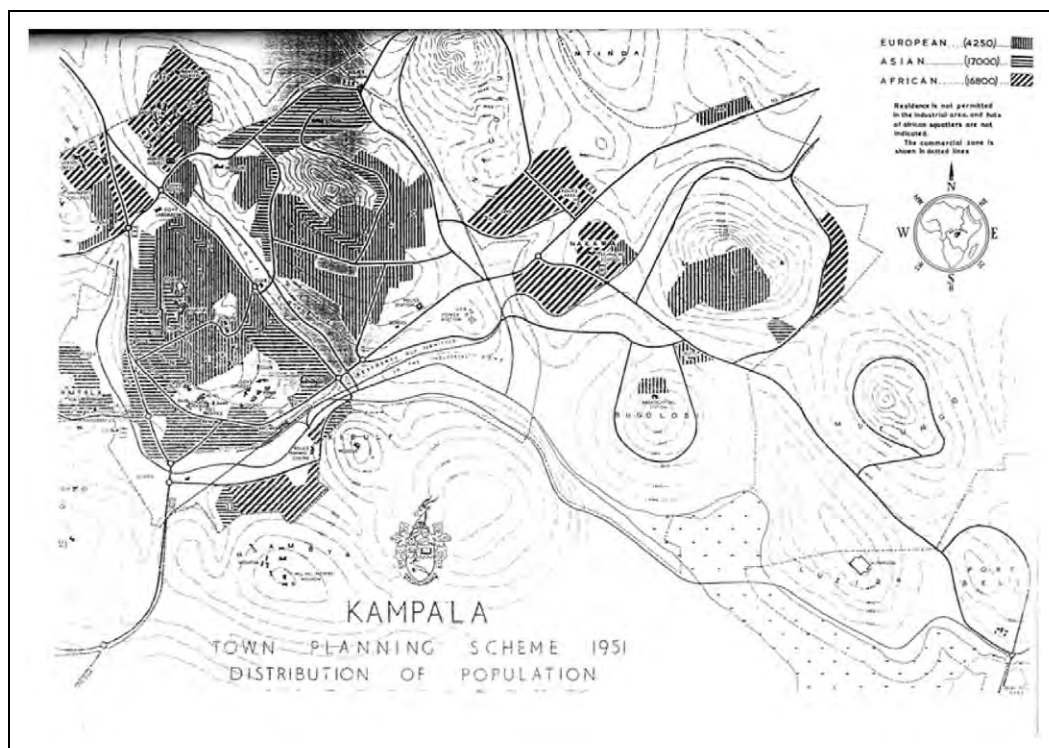
Figure 6. The 1951 planning scheme of Kampala by Town Planning Committee, shows distribution of population (Source: Kendall, 1955).

presence in the cities. Kampala, like most African cities, the foundations of planning are greatly linked to the colonial period propelled by the fear of death or invaliding from epidemic diseases that had haunted the British in India within a few years of the Crimean War and the several experiments in West Africa on the causes and spread of malaria. Although the interesting British development in Uganda can be traced back to the early days of their arrival, and an advisory planning Board existed as far back as 1918, no qualified resident town planner had been appointed until 1949 to deal with planning problems in the Protectorate, as all planning in the early times was carried out by foreign town planning consultants, with aim to preserve a class based urban environment in Kampala. The approach to planning fell within the contemporary town planning tradition, which saw planning as rational activity, the planner as an independent and objective technician. The city was considered an artifact to be designed and controlled by planners in the same way as architects shape buildings. A common conception of rationality, the idea (and ideal) of objectivity and value neutrality, a preoccupation with causal relationships, a strong belief in man's ability to control the future with a great degree of certainty are some of the features enshrined in the planning system in Kampala from 1903 to the late 1940s.

The argument, for example that the close proximity of European residential areas to other races endangered the health of the European colonial settlers, and therefore led to rational decisions being made by the colonial planners at the time. The "logical" thinking that greenbelts separating the three principle races would ensure good health of the colonialists and would prevent malaria carrying vectors (mosquito) from traversing into their residences, was in itself an excuse for racial and social segregation, which led to end desired state of the so-called safer and livable environment. In keeping

with intellectual informants, the colonial planners assumed that through "the application of scientific knowledge and reason to human affairs, it would be possible to build a better world, in which the sum of human happiness and welfare would be increased"[60] and that this can be achieved by the application of a scientifically rational method by rational individuals.

The misconception that buffer zones formed the only scientific measure to malaria was totally inadequate. Although the flying range of a mosquito was probably not known, Lugard wrote of the need for the zone to be wide enough not to offer "resting places" for mosquitoes.[61] The arbitrary nature of the recommended width is shown by the view in the 1930s of a planner working on the Haifa Bay project that the flying range of an anopheles mosquito was quite different, about 3 km,[62] a distance, which if it could have been proven, would have made both Simpson and Lugard wrong and probably would have influenced further the spatial structure of Kampala and other colonial cities alike.

There can be no question that, in the light of observations made into the planning of Kampala during the colonial era, many of Professor Simpson's recommendations have stood the test of time, for it must be remembered that large-scale experiments in town planning had only just begun in the United Kingdom at the beginning of the century and that the Town Planning Institute was founded only in 1914 and therefore we argue that Kampala like other colonial towns underwent experimentation by means of physical planning. The colonial design was based on Western concepts and was implemented by the imperialistic powers to strengthen their image and dominance neglecting the masses. A difference in the urbanization of the current developing areas arises from their colonial heritage.

The process of residential segregation initiated by the colonial planners has been accepted as a normal planning concept in today's planning. Racial segregation was replaced by social segregation, through standardization of low, medium, and high densities, and the idea remained that low density equals high income. The classification of residential districts, in urban areas in Kampala and the entire East Africa, poses special planning problems. The three districts are in fact, a meeting place of three cultures. The low density zone bears a mark of European influence: the medium density zone bears a mark of Asian culture; and the high-density residential zones shows a confusion of standards.[63]

Beyond the high-density residential zone is the unplanned squatter settlements. These bear a breakdown of the base for decent living in the urban environment. The combination of residential segregation by either income or ethnic groups has resulted in systematic and uneven spatial distribution of public services including schools, access to transportation, health care, and water and sanitation.

Conclusion

The main foundations of planning in Kampala are greatly linked to colonialism in the last part of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century. The colonial period was marked by a reorientation of urban patterns to serve the needs of trade and administration. Health concerns and the need to provide colonial administrators and early settlers with an acceptable living environment gave rise to new professions particularly civil engineering, planning, and public health in the nineteenth century, which shaped the structure of Kampala city, informed by ideas of classifying and controlling society. Planning as an activity was technical and so was a domain of a few technocrats, mainly consultants from the United Kingdom, who saw planning as a tool for the manipulation of space as a means of fostering hegemony; providing colonial administrators and early European settlers with an acceptable living environment.

Using racial and health segregation ideas, colonial urban planning increasingly sought to enforce separation: white from black, migrant from native, traditional from modern, men from women and

family. This has created disparities in the quality of urban space created, with the initially European areas having better facilities and the native areas more marginalized. Kampala's case is not unique, many other towns in East Africa, and the African continent and other areas under colonial rule experienced similar forces and outcomes, though varying in dimension.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

Funding

Notes

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II

Two Cities in One:
The Genesis, Planning and Transformation of Kampala City 1900-1968

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ABSTRACT
The system of indirect rule in Uganda, like most British colonies was made to ensure that the 'Native Societies' would not be polluted by the 'sophistication' of European based trade, mining and administrative urban centres. Therefore, for several years there existed two worlds in one, with limited contact and little understanding of each other – the world of the European and the world of the African – the 'Native', each with their planning ideologies and culture. Planning as an activity was technical and so was a domain of a few technocrats, mainly consultants from the United Kingdom who used planning as a tool to further the manipulation of space as a means of fostering hegemony and thus the alienation of native residents from the modern urban environment. Through review and deduction of archival and documentary resources, this paper focuses on how the city has transformed over time and the planning Ideas at play since the evolution of territorial and administrative dualism in the late 19th century, an aspect that for a long time has remained almost unstudied.

INTRODUCTION

This paper reviews the role of planning Ideas in the transformation of Kampala city from pre-independence and disects the concept of 'two cities in one', as the coexistence of modern and traditional landscapes within a single geographical space, resulting from imperialist policies of the nineteenth century. The concept of planning 'Ideas' or 'values' in this paper, simply means those things which are deeply cherished, or literally highly valued and which have a bearing on how the quality of the urban environment was envisaged and judged to be of high quality or ideal.

In East Africa, "new" colonial settlements were established, sometimes from scratch and sometimes on the sites of earlier settlements. Sometimes colonial settlements were superimposed on and attached to existing towns and cities. Kampala was founded next to one of the few important African Agglomerations in Eastern Africa – Mengo capital of the Kingdom of Buganda and the seat of His Highness the *Kabaka* (King). Hance submits that the capital of the ancient Kingdom of Buganda, which had one of the best evolved hierarchical administrations in East Africa naturally, drew the first European settlements to Uganda (Hance 1970:216).

The focus of this paper is twofold. First, the paper explores and describes how Indirect rule as advocated for by Frederick Lugard and sealed by 1900 Buganda Agreement, brought about the transformation of a once famous Kingdom in East and Central Africa into two discrete subsections: Kampala primarily for Europeans and Asians, and the *Kibuga* (capital city) exclusively for Africans. This, although later, the African city engulfed the European city, and then the European city grew

outwards into the native city creating a 'two cities in one' structure, manifested the existence of the civilised and traditional, European and native landscapes.

Secondly, in Kampala Urban planning was used to shape the physical spaces of city life as a way to create consent as well as domination, while in Mengo planning was more for the *Kibuga*, and the palace and the rest of the Municipality grew naturally. These two worlds – the European city and the Native city, which we inherited from the colonialists continued to exist unabated till 1968 when administratively Mengo and the *Kibuga* became part of Kampala.

Background

Before the Europeans set their feet in Uganda, all political power in Buganda was vested in the king who had a government formed by chiefs (Van Norstrand, *et al*. 1994). The Buganda Kingdom itself, "was divided into ten districts (awasaza), each ruled over by a chief; these were divided from one another by rivers or swamps, while others had valleys, or gardens, which marked their boundaries" (Roscoe,1965:233). By the nineteenth century, Buganda had expanded considerably and comprised about 50 clans. These clans upheld traditional religious beliefs, involving the worship of deities and spirits. From the death of Kabaka Suna in 1859 until 1890 the capital changed at least ten times (Southall and Gutkind, 1957: 1). The capital usually moved from one hill top to another with the ascendancy of each new king. With the death of Kabaka Mutesa I in 1884, and the succession of Kabaka Mwanga, the palace was moved to Mengo where it still stands today (Southall, 1967:299).

In 1862, Speke and Grant, coming from the South, reached the capital of Buganda, the first Europeans to do so. On their return to 'civilization', they told of a Kingdom under the absolute rule of a cruel and despotic King, Mutesa. Life was held 'cheap' and human sacrifices practiced. Little more was heard of this land until Henry Morton Stanley explored Uganda. He found that conditions had improved as a result of the civilizing force of Islamic influence (Kendall, 1955: 13).

Following Stanley's request to King Mutesa of Buganda to allow missionaries, the first mission, the Church Missionary Society, established itself at Natete in 1877, and then moved to Namirembe Hill in 1884, the White Fathers from France were allocated Rubaga Hill in 1879, Nsambya Hill became the headquarters of the Mill Hill Fathers from England in 1895. Kibuli Hill was already occupied and was the headquarters and social focus of African Muslims. But as is evident from the following words of encouragement and wisdom emanating from Stanley, to his compatriots behind his religious zeal were the commercial possibilities of Uganda and the neighbouring regions. To quote:

> "There are fourty million people beyond the gateway to the Congo, and the cotton spinners of Manchester are waiting to cloth them. Birmingham foundries are glowing with the red metal that will presently be made into iron work for them and the trinkets that shall adorn those dusky bosoms, and the ministers of Christ are zealous to bring them, the poor benighted heathen into the Christian fold." (Mukherjee 1985:117)

Thus Lugard, who arrived in Uganda in 1887, to establish the Imperial British East African Company declared quite candidly,

> "The scramble for Africa by the nations of Europe – an incident without parallel in the history of the world – was due to growing commercial rivalry, which brought home to civilised nations the vital necessity of securing the only remaining fields for industrial enterprise and expansion. It is 'will' then to realise that it is for our own advantage – and not alone at the dictates of duty that we have undertaken responsibility in East Africa. It is in order to foster the growth of the trade of this country and to

find an outlet for our manufacturers and our surplus energy, that our far seeing statesmen and our commercial men advocate colonial expansion. I do not believe that in these days our national policy is based on motives of philanthropy only…..There are some who say we have no right in Africa at all, that it belongs to the natives! I hold that our right is the necessity that is upon us to provide for our ever growing population – either by opening up new fields for emigration, or by providing work and employment which the development of over sea extension entails, and to stimulate trade by finding new markets, since we know what misery trade depression brings at home…" (Mukherjee 1985:118-119)

Within a few days of his arrival, Captain Lugard signed a treaty with King Mwanga on the 26th December 1890, and then built a stockade which was subsequently replaced by a substantial fort erected in 1891. On the 29th May, 1893, before setting out for England, Sir Gerald Portal signed a treaty with Mwanga taking Buganda under the protection of Queen Victoria and on 18th June 1894 the Protectorate was formally declared over Buganda.
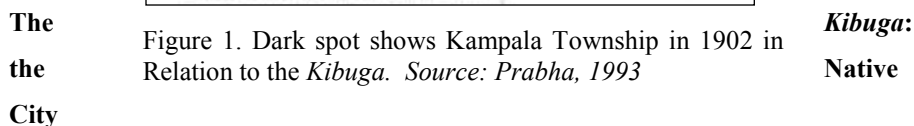
The 1900 Agreement and the evolution of duality

This agreement set the seal for the colonization of the country and the establishment of the colonial administrative headquarters next to *Mengo* the indigenous capital.
The principal parties to the Agreement were the Baganda oligarchy (who wanted to retain their traditional power and desired long-term British military support to guarantee their security from other tribes) and Johnston, the British Special Commissioner and representative of the British Crown (who needed to secure the best arrangement feasible for Britain's economic profit). Under the final terms, the British allocated 10,034 square miles of land to the 'great chiefs' and the Royal Household, and retained all uncultivated, waste and forest lands for the British Crown. An additional eight thousand square miles of land were divided among notables and lesser chiefs (Mamdani, 1996). Peasants now became tenants of the new Baganda mailo (mile-owning) landlords, and Native Councils would continue to exist and chiefs were required to collect taxes to enable the government of the Protectorate to be run on a basis of complete self-sufficiency (Guglers, 1968).

The hill on which the British fort was originally situated by Lugard in 1891 quickly became congested as the bazaar extended and trading took place on an ever increasing scale. It was imperative for colonial government to find a more suitable site than the fort area for trading purposes. Thus the Government transferred its offices and bazaar to the adjoining Nakasero hill to the east. When the removal took place the name **"Kampala"** was given to the new settlement. 'Kampala' is derived from the Luganda word "impala", a type of antelope (Aepyceros melampus) that the Kings of Buganda used to keep and graze on the hills where the present Old Kampala stands.

The immediate consequence of the Agreement led to the division of Buganda Kingdom into two distinct areas; the African dominated part administered by Buganda government called the *Kibuga*, centering on and around Mengo hill, and Kampala administered as a township by the British and dominated by Europeans and Asians (figure 1). All the areas surrounding Kampala were under the Kabaka's administration, who resided at the Lubiri on top of Mengo hill. This division between Kampala and the *Kibuga* remained until 1968.

The **Kibuga:** Figure 1. Dark spot shows Kampala Township in 1902 in
the **Native** Relation to the *Kibuga. Source: Prabha, 1993*

City

The *Kibuga* functioned as a political and economic centre point of the
Buganda Kingdom. It was the seat of the highest political authority, including the
Kabaka's royal residence, the highest Courts of the Kingdom, a trading centre and
the base of the army. Decisions regarding the organization of the *Kibuga* were made
by the Kabaka and the chiefs. The city was organized on the basis of their interests
and priorities, and certainly not in the interests of the peasants whose task was to
build the city.

For the *Kibuga*, the Buganda capital and the *Lubiri* (palace), the works of Sir Apolo
Kagwa (1934), and of Rev. John Roscoe (1911: reprint 1965) provide the oldest
studies of its socio-political organization (Gutkind, 1960:30). Roscoe's account of
the *Kibuga* provides an insight into the organization of the capital and its functions:

> "The capital was divided into a number of sites corresponding to
> the country districts; every leading chief was surrounded by the
> minor chiefs from his district, and a portion of uncultivated land
> was left on which peasants could build temporary huts when they
> were required to reside in the capital for state work. By this plan
> all the people from a particular district were kept together, and
> the sites remained the official residences of the chiefs of the
> district to which the sites belonged…..." (Roscoe, 1921:192 cited in
> Gutkind, 1960)
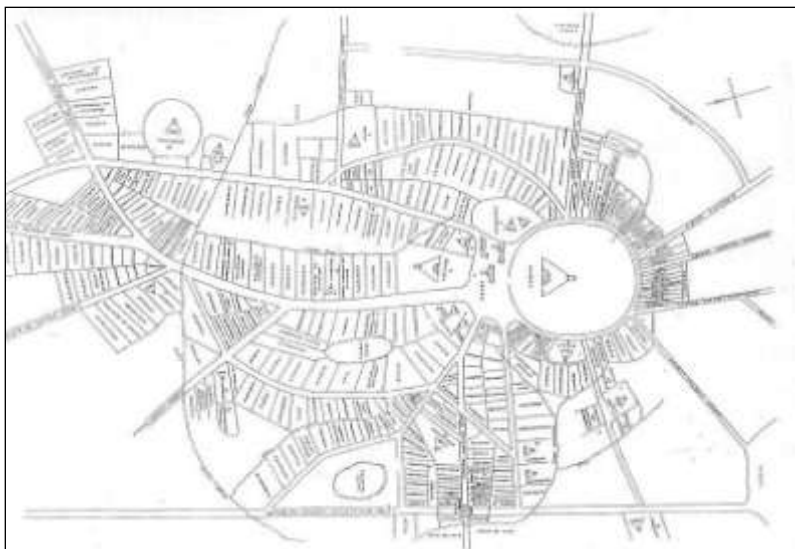
Figure 2: Plan and Organization of the *Kibuga*.
Source: P.C.W Gutkind, 1960

The Organization and Transformation of the Lubiri (Kings Palace)

In this feudal society, the *Lubiri* (kings' palace) was the nucleus and the *raison d'etre* of the *Kibuga* and therefore was the most organized place in the Kingdom (Gutkind, 1960). The *Lubiri* was designed in keeping with custom. According to Kagwa, as a rule the palace was built facing east which was the direction from which the ancestors were supposed to have arrived. The palace was an oval enclosure "about 1105 by 1122 yards by European measure" (Kagwa, 1934:74). According to Roscoe:

> "The whole of the royal enclosure was divided up into small courtyards with groups of huts in them; each group was enclosed by a high fence and was under the supervision of some responsible wife. Wide paths between high fences connected each group of houses with the king's private enclosure….. All the land between the royal residence and the lake was retained for the king's five hundred wives and here they grew their plantains……" (Roscoe, 1921:88-9; in: Gutkind, 1960).

From 1884 onwards, the Lubiri was restructured, the main entrance in front of the royal residence was the only way by which the public was allowed to enter or leave the court. A man made lake of approximately 2km² and about 200 feet deep was dug up for the Kabaka for sporting activities – especially swimming and fishing.
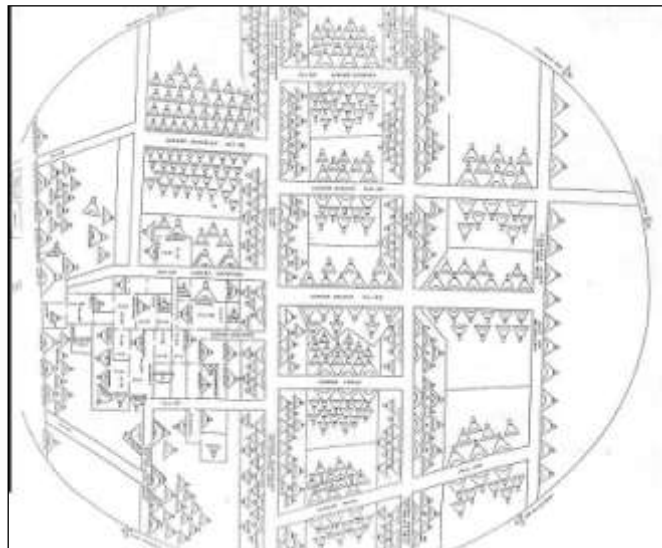

Figure 3: Organization of the Lubiri (Kings Palace) during the reign of Kabaka Mutesa I *(Source: Gutkind, 1960)*

Figure 4: A map showing the Lubiri – from 1884 to date. *(Source: Gutkind, 1960)*

Kampala: The Modern European Town

With the erection of a fort on Nakasero hill and signing of the 1900 Buganda Agreement, residential, economic and administrative centres were established and Kampala came to represent the principal 'node' of colonial administration from which the surrounding regions could be placed under the colonial gaze (Byerley 2005). Lugard argues that colonial designs on space and socio-economic spatial re-ordering in the territory that was to progressively become Uganda were evident even before the proclamation of a Protectorate in June of 1894. Lord Salisbury, the then British Prime Minister, stated for example that: 'We do not value Uganda for what she is, but for what she might become' (Lugard 1893; in: Byerley 2005). The colonial period was marked by a reorientation of urban patterns to serve the needs of trade and administration and to establish 'acceptable' living environments similar to those in Europe, and this was to be achieved through city design and planning as in the rest of the British Empire.

The Ideal - Utopia for Kampala

Ideas about garden cities/garden suburbs that dominated the planning discourses in Northern Europe in the first half of the 20th century came to define the parameters of colonial planning and practice in the newly created Kampala Township. The town area was getting congested as trading and business took centre stage and attracted every individual to town leading to the growth of slums, increases in population and housing densities, lack of housing standards, siting and building regulations, and noise and nuisance making (Prabha, 1993:52).

To address this anomaly and to transform Kampala into an acceptable modern environment, a legal framework for the orderly growth of Kampala was first laid down in the Uganda Ordinance of 1903, which gave powers to the colonial Governor of Kampala to define the city's boundary and make rules and regulations governing the physical development of the city that was at the time developing haphazardly. In 1906 the boundary was set for Kampala as a 3-mile radius from the Fort. The Kampala Local Sanitary Board was designated as the "Authority" for urban administration in the Kampala Township Area. Gutkind estimates that the *Kibuga* had a population of around 32,441 in 1911 and therefore was considerably larger than the European Kampala, though almost completely separate (Southhall, 1968). The question of what kind or ideal urban environment was needed featured and the first planning scheme for Kampala was prepared in 1912

Many of the concepts which were implicit or explicit in British planning had *a prioristic* and utopian origin. They are the idea of nineteenth-century reformers, and especially those of the utopian writers, who saw social conditions and relationships in terms of black and white, and in terms of straightforward interactions. They believed firmly that environment directly determines human character and social structure-and that their recipes for the reform of environment (such as industrial villages and garden cities) had universal validity and would assure that men everywhere live happily ever after. They were confident, moreover, of the power of rational persuasion and of a steady sequence of social progress, directed by a 'super-planner', as the diagnosis appeared to be so simple, and the cure so obvious, there seemed to be no need for systematic inquiry (Glass, 1959).

Structuring of Kampala along Health lines – sustaining the duality

From 1913, onwards, Kampala urban space was to accommodate residential, office and commerce within the new city. However, earlier Ideas of planning were superseded by health concerns, and this was at the most critical time, when European powers were seeking methods of exercising control of colonies. The colonial state was in a position to formulate and implement policy and to channel this through the dominant utilitarian theories of the era that were founded largely on the medicalisation of space did, however, facilitate a strategy that eventuated a de facto racial segregation. A perspective, if formulated as the politically contested

production of space – implied that within these parameters the colonial state needed to produce a reproducible space or terrain of operation that would meet and serve the needs of the self-sufficiency goal (Byerley, 2005)

Chadwick and his model for improving public health later formed the famous nineteenth century movement which led to subsequent efforts for town planning. This was also a period when the mosquito theory made its appearance, buttressed by the findings of a team of British colonial medical officers led by Dr. Ronald Ross at the University of Liverpool's School of Tropical Medicine, which identified the anopheles mosquito as the vector for malaria (Curtin, 1985; Frenkel & Western, 1988; Njoh, 2008). From these medical Ideas, the rationale of protecting the health of Europeans was the basis for the segregation of European reservations by building-free zone.

The origin of the policy of Segregation for health influenced the urban formations and patterns in a number of colonies in Africa and Asia. Colonial urban form increasingly sought to enforce separation: white from black, migrant from native, traditional from modern, men from women and family (Home 1997: 219). In Kampala as in the whole of East and West Africa, the thread of racism became increasingly strong as the First World War approached. The most elaborate segregationist proposa1s, combining racist and sanitary objectives, came from William J. Simpson of the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, who, on a tour of Kenya, Uganda, and Zanzibar in 1913-14, made recommendations, followed by an elaborate final report filed in July 1914.

Town planning in Europe, he believed, required the separation of commercial, residential, and manufacturing areas, but in Africa different principles were necessary - "... something more is required where the races are diverse and their habits and customs differ from one another….. it has to be recognized that the standards and mode of life of the Asiatic do not ordinarily consort with the European, whilst the customs of Europeans are at times not acceptable to the Asiatics, and that those of the African unfamiliar with and not adapted to the new conditions of town life will not blend with either. Also, the diseases to which these different races are respectively liable are readily transferable to the European and vice versa, a result especially liable to occur when their dwellings are near each other. Simpson emphasized that in the interests of each community and of the healthiness of the locality and country, it is absolutely essential that in every town and trade centre the town planning should provide well defined and separate quarters or wards for Europeans, Asiatics and Africans, as well as those divisions which are necessary in a town of one nationality and race, and that there should be a neutral belt of open unoccupied country of at least 300 yards in width between the European residences and those of the Asiatic and African" (Simpson 1914).

All the plans before World War II excluded Africans from the urban environment. Africans were kept in the rural areas to undertake agricultural activities especially cotton cultivation, and the Colonial Government felt that urbanization would separate Africans from family, clan and tribal authority as well as social codes of behaviour, discipline, custom and perhaps religion which originally guided their thought and actions with the object of making them useful members of the tribe or community to which they belong (Molohan 1957:1, 11-12; Mbilinyi, 1985; Obbo 1980:21). Although the Africans lived communal traditional lifestyle, the reasons for keeping Africans out of the urban environment by the Colonial Government were justification and pretext for racial segregation. In Africa, however, the traditional pattern of living was collective and in group settlements mainly because of the need for common defence against external enemies. The village was essentially composed of blood relatives who were kept together by well defined and historically evolved social customs and traditions. As Nyerere wrote,

> "Africans lived together and worked together because that was
> how they understood life, and how they reinforced each other

against the difficulties they had to contend with……These difficulties were such things like uncertainties of weather and sickness, wild animals, human enemies and "the cycle of life and death" (Nyerere 1968:106).

However, later the medical officers argued, it was possible for Europeans to work safely with members of the indigenous population during the day, returning to their exclusively White enclaves at night – a rare advocacy for nocturnal segregation.

The Africans' right to Urban Space

The end of World War II brought significant changes in the British Empire. The extensive physical rebuilding of cities following the war lent new urgency to town planning. In 1947 Great Britain enacted its significant Town and County Planning Act, which placed all development under regional control. The new colonial policy issued in the mid forties was built on new principles that aimed at leading the Colonial territories towards self government. Partnership was now replacing the old trusteeship policy. Local governments were supposed to play a critical role in this process of conferring more political representation and autonomy to the local people. On the economics side, the Colonial Office also launched important modernisation programmes that aimed at setting up the economic framework for the development of the colonies (Home, 1997)

At this time there were a number of negotiations to incorporate areas from the *Kibuga* into the Modern Kampala municipality in order to be able to raise the service standards in these areas such that they could also then be developed as part of the colonial economy – for instance Asian business men were keen on establishing themselves in some parts of the *Kibuga* (Southall, 1967). However, the Buganda government was hesitant to accept the Kampala administration taking over responsibilities in the *Kibuga* partly due to prospect of losing revenue to the colonial administration – remember this took place during independence struggles.

By 1944, Kampala Township now covered more than 4,600 acres, engulfing residential and industrial zones in the Eastern direction of the town. At this point, it is important to note that by 1945, the Development Plan for Uganda, just like in other colonies, began to raise the issue of housing for Africans and their right to urban space.

From 1948 Kampala's population was estimated at 24,198 people and later in 1949 Kampala gained Municipality status; this however took effect in 1950 when a Council was appointed with a Mayor as its head (Prabha 1993). This period was dominated by the ten year development plans using the colonial development and welfare funds. The planning orthodoxy was that the major land uses of the city should be clearly distinguished and provided for in separate 'zones'. Undertakings included construction or improvement in infrastructure like roads, water supply, drainage, sewage networks and airports; and construction of public buildings including schools, hospitals, and health and social welfare centres (Kironde, 1995:50-52). This was the period when comprehensive planning was accepted in most colonial cities. It was a period of Town and Country Planning Acts and urban master plans. In Uganda, the first planning legislation was the Town and Country Planning Ordinance of 1947 which immediately was replaced by the Town and Country Planning Ordinance of 1951, which was also revised in 1964 and became the

Town and Country Planning Act of 1964.
In Kampala the principle of comprehensiveness found expression in, the 1951 planning scheme for Kampala and was categorised into five major land use zones: residential; commercial; industrial; forests areas; open spaces, both public and private. The issue of housing for Africans and their right to urban space as raised by the Development plan for Uganda led to the detailed planning of Nakawa and Naguru residential zones and the subsequent construction of houses for the natives in native reservation camps.

Kampala City – After Independence

The immediate effect of Uganda's independence in 1962 was increase in urbanization that showed a remarkable spurt of growth in Kampala city itself and all major towns neighboring the city. The gradual transfer of government ministries and departments from Entebbe (once administrative capital) that started in the nineteen fifties was accelerated when Kampala was granted city status from Municipality, in 1962. The National Parliament was established there. With Independence foreign missions arrived. The Treaty for East African Co-operation led to the establishment of the headquarters of the East African Posts and Telecommunications Corporation and the East African Development Bank in Kampala. More importantly, the operations of the corporations administered by the Community, that is, railways, harbours, posts and telecommunications, airways, and certain services, all had their offices in the new administrative and commercial capital of Kampala. Described as the expatriate headquarters, many Africans from beyond the borders of Buganda, and many from neighbouring Kenya, came in search for opportunities and settled in the national capital, in domestic quarters and in the housing estates (Gugler, 1968).
The substantial increase in the labour supply that was attracted to Kampala by wage employment brought population to well over 50,000 people within Kampala city and over 150,000 in the city and the new Mengo Municipality. In describing Kampala and Mengo Southall said,

> "Kampala-Mengo is interesting because it contains within itself most of the major factors, combined at different strengths, which are found in African cities of quite varied type, such as the older, more traditional West African cities and the newer, European dominated cities of East and Central Africa. It combines both segregation and political dominance of a particular African tribe; it includes both European and African controlled land, traditional and modern roles, local African residents of long standing and high status as well as thousands of temporary migrant labourers of many ethnic backgrounds." (Southall 1968:326)

Dissolving Duality

The Metropolitan Area of Kampala had four separate local government authorities: Kampala City, Mengo Municipality, Nakawa Township and Kawempe Town Board. The first one was controlled by Uganda Government, and the other three by the Kingdom of Buganda Government. These were all different types of local authorities, and at different stages of development. The problem lay in the coordination of the different authorities, which proved difficult, yet co-operation was moreover lacking between the different authorities. Litherland, a UN expert on town planning in his submission said;
> "....the more local authorities there are the more difficult is
> the task of bringing them together and getting them to agree

on the coordination of matters which transcend their own boundaries, and the more complex are the matters which have to be coordinated. It is desirable to have one metropolitan development authority to undertake with Government the physical planning and control of physical development in the future Kampala metropolis." (Litherland, et al, 1966:15-16)

The idea of a metropolitan area for Kampala arose from the assumption that this model that combined an agglomeration – the contiguous built-up area with peripheral zones not themselves necessarily urban in character, or a large metropolis and its adjacent zone of influence would improve coordination and management of the urban activities, provision of infrastructure and services, and the development of transportation routes and physical growth of Kampala-Mengo region.

The UN mission that had been tasked to offer advice on how Kampala should develop and prepare schemes to that effect, noted that past development in Uganda provided little guidance and therefore no comparative models. They had presumed that in Britain, a well planned city was composed of an orderly 'cellular' structure of geographically distinct neighbourhoods or 'environmental areas'. This presupposition was central to the view most town planners held at the time of the ideal urban structure. As Lewis Keeble (1969:10) had put it: "The town ought to have a clear legible structure." This ordered view of the ideal city found expression in spatially distinct 'neighbourhoods' conceived as village-like communities expressed in the radburn idea, which originated in the 1920s in the work of the American sociologist Clarence Stein and Henry Wright. It combined Clarence Perry's neighbourhood unit concept (Perry, 1929) with a radically new street layout of Raymond Unwin's and Barry Parker's cul-de-sac method of residential layout for houses combined in super blocks of 30 to 50 acres plus (Stein, 1957).

Despite all the effort put into planning, all idealized geometrical schemes and plans remained on paper, except for an experimental cul-de-sac residential layout on Mulago hill. No single 'radburn' was built in Kampala-Mengo to date and Kampala and the surrounding areas continued to grow and expand on ad hoc basis, a trend before the involvement of the UN team. Failure to transform Kampala-Mengo into ordered neighbourhoods was blamed on lack of resources both human and economic, and the nature and comprehensiveness of the plans that rendered implementation to be a slowly expanding process taking many years to complete.

In 1966, there was a turn of events, the first prime minister of Uganda, Milton Obote, abolished all Kingdoms in the country. The overthrow of the Kabaka of Buganda as well as the other monarchies by the Prime Minister led to the forced incorporation of the *Kibuga* into Kampala Municipality with Kampala City Council as the administrative unit and from 1967-1968 the size of the city of Kampala increased from 21 sq. km. (8sq. miles) to 195 sq. km. (75 sq. miles) with the inclusion of Kawempe, Lusanja, Kisaasi, Kiwatule, Muyenga, Ggaba and Mulungu urban centres.

Conclusion

This paper has explored, analysed and described the two distinct landscapes of (pre)colonial and the first decade of post colonial ordering that resulted directly or indirectly from British administrations' capitalization on making treaties and provoking new divisions within the once dominant Kingdom in East and Central Africa. The fashion of rule, which emphasized working through native leaders and utilizing native social structures, became the official policy of British imperialism throughout the empire in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The original native capital (*Kibuga*) functioned as a political and economic centre point of Buganda Kingdom. It was the seat of the highest political authority, including the Kabaka's royal residence, the highest courts of the kingdom, a trading centre and the base of the army. Settlements had conscious spatial layout, although not in the sence of mordern formal planning of the western world.

The colonial period was marked by a reorientation of urban patterns to serve the needs of trade and administration using urban planning theories and ideologies of the era. Four main ideas informed planning and transformed Kampala – First, the Utopian ideals of the Century; secondly, the health concerns- fear of catching 'native' disease, malaria and plague; thirdly, racial segregation and lastly, the growth of the modernist planning ideas – which became popular in the colonies most especially after independence. Health concerns and the mosquito theory, and the need to provide colonial administrators and early settlers with an acceptable living environment transformed the structure of Kampala city from forested hills, vast hunting and grazing lands, and small concentrations of chiefdoms into 'civilised' forms of urban settings – though without tampering with the centre of the native administration. For ages of time, Uganda's village communities lived their own lives, without being closely integrated with colonial government and other aspects of the greater society. The duality persisted and still persists – the bright modern City surrounded by a sea of poor, informally growing periphery where the great majority of the people – over ninety percent lived and worked. An influx of migrant labour into Kampala City to meet an expanding urban need in the immediate post war years gave rise to a sudden demand for accommodation within Kampala-Mengo region, an issue that led to the inclusion of Nakawa and Naguru areas into Kampala and consequently construction of housing for the Africans on the newly annexed areas. But this is not a unique situation because the African reservations were still kept at a distance of about two and three kilometres from the European residential areas and the city centre, respectively. The material and cultural antagonism between the City and the surrounding areas of the Kingdom is also an old problem that persisted – glaring the duality that for decades was very evident until 1968, and today the duality can still be seen in certain sections of the City, despite the various transformations the city has experienced.

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III

Perspectives on City Planning of Post Independence Kampala: The Emergence of the Metropolitan Growth Model and the Hexagonal Cell

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ABSTRACT
The United Nations experts invited to plan Kampala-Mengo Region in 1963 had noted that past development in Uganda provided little knowledge and guidance and therefore no comparative models were available, but contact with developed countries, would offer solutions to the various urban and peri-urban problems that had emerged. In that era of modernist planning, dealing with city regions was popular and various ideas and models to deal with urban growth were formulated. Through a descriptive and exploratory approach, this paper attempts to discuss how metropolitan area growth model and the hexagonal city form that emerged in the early twentieth century and after World War II served as the dominant scholarly and professional response to the development problematic in the metropolitan Kampala. The empirical findings reveal that models generated were aimed at keeping down the total cost of urbanization by concentrating developments in new cities surrounding a major urban centre. The growth model was linear and open-ended, and capable of accommodating a continuously increasing population, an expanding economy and a rapidly changing technology. The Hexagonal cell form was proposed for the new towns, to be limited by maximum acceptable walking distance of approximately two-thirds of a mile to the centre, school and public transport. Despite all the effort put into planning, all idealized geometrical schemes and plans remained on paper and Metropolitan Kampala continued to grow and expand on adhoc basis, a trend similar to or even worse before the involvement of the United Nations team.

Keywords: Hexagonal cell, Kampala-Mengo, Metropolitan area, Metropolitan growth model,

1.0 INTRODUCTION
The immediate effect of Uganda's independence in 1962 was increase in urbanization that showed a remarkable spurt of growth in Kampala city itself and all major towns neighbouring the city. The gradual transfer of government ministries and departments from Entebbe (once administrative capital) that started in the 1950's was accelerated when Kampala was granted City status from Municipality, and became the official Capital of Uganda in 1962. The National Parliament was established there. With Independence foreign missions arrived. The Treaty for East African Cooperation led to the establishment of the headquarters of the East African Posts and Telecommunications Corporation and the East African Development Bank in Kampala. More importantly, the operations of the corporations administered by the Community, that is, railways, harbours, posts and telecommunications, airways, and certain services, all had their offices in the new administrative and commercial capital of Kampala (Gugler, 1968:17). Described as the expatriate headquarters, many Africans from beyond the borders of *Buganda* Kingdom, and many from neighbouring Kenya, came in search for opportunities and settled both in the national capital, in domestic quarters and in the housing estates; and in the periphery of the City, within Mengo area. Already the densest African settlement was in Mengo, the capital of Buganda that had the greatest degree of urban development than any indigenous centre in Eastern and Southern Africa (Southall, 1968). The substantial increase in the labour supply that was attracted to Kampala by wage employment

brought population to well over 50,000 people within the city and over 150,000 in the city and the new Mengo municipality. The need for housing and services was already tremendous. Worse still unplanned high-density quarters had sprung up in the swamps and low lying areas between the many hills and in several peri-urban areas, where the masses of unskilled, uneducated, poorly paid migrants built crude houses or thatched units, "getting practically nothing in the way of increased material amenities such as roads, power and light, water, drainage, sanitation, religious and educational services or police protection" (Southall, 1968; Hance, 1970). The Greater Kampala Area was composed of Kampala City, Capital of Uganda; Mengo Municipality, Capital of the Kingdom of Buganda; Kawempe Town, Nakawa Township, and the urban parts of Kyadondo County, all under Mengo Government. The governing authorities over the different parts were different and divided. Their powers were not the same, and the development standards and regulations varied from high in Kampala city to practically nil in the county. These divisions in themselves complicated the problems of the whole area. Crime was committed without respect to the civic boundaries; policing was divided. The variation in industrial development, commerce, and housing meant that some authorities had much more resources than others. While the problems called for a more unified approach, the divisions made that impossible (Scaff, 1964:1-7). This was the situation in 1963 which led to a request for a United Nations Urban Planning Mission to Uganda, by the Government of Uganda, seeking direction and assistance in solving its most difficult urban problem – the planning and development of Greater Kampala Area.

2.0 METHODOLOGY

This paper is part of an on-going PhD research by Fredrick Omolo-Okalebo, on the *Evolution of Physical Planning of Kampala City: A Study of Planning Ideas and their Implementation 1903-2004*. A qualitative inquiry approach was employed, involving the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials from case study, and through documentary and archival resources. The methodological process involved the gathering of significant historical data and facts about major events, the organization of these facts into a chronological sequence, and the meaningful interpretation of the patterns of rationality through – historical, case study, introspective, oral interview, observational, interactional, and visual texts that described the physical planning moments and outcomes in Kampala in the immediate post independence epoch.

3.0 FINDINGS

The beginning of post-independence era saw significant changes in government's attitude towards urban planning and towards the task of master planning for Kampala in particular following upon the government's representation at *Conference on Urbanization Problems in Africa* held in Addis Ababa in 1962 (Hather, 1969). After this conference, an urban planning team was recruited through the United Nations to produce a master plan for Mengo. The team was accordingly designated – "The Kampala Mengo Urban Planning Mission". This team noted that the timeframe and the resources available for the task were too limited to produce a master plan for Kampala, but went ahead to carry out a study and give recommendations. Following the first UN Mission's recommendations to the Uganda Government, and the Government's recognition in 1964, that issues affecting Kampala and the hinterland were of Regional nature and required well thought policies, led to a request for continued UN assistance to deal with the identified regional problems and to prepare master plans for the Greater Kampala Area. This support was granted through the Africa Development Bank and the World Bank. Interviews with Lars Danielson and Reidar Persson, former Architect-Planners with the second and third UN Missions, respectively, reveals that the United Nations requested Sweden to send a diverse team of junior planning professionals (ages of 27-35years – that comprised; two Physical Planners, two Architects and two Statisticians) to Kampala to continue through the two years from 1964-1966 the work initiated by the first UN Urban Mission in 1963, its frame of reference however being expanded to the 'Concept of Metropolitan Region', and extending its long range projections up to the year 2000. The second team of Swedish Nationals was led by an Englishman – Mr. Sydney Litherland who

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arrived in Kampala in September 1964 (United Nations, 1966). Towards the last quarter of 1964, the name of physical planning organization of Uganda Government was changed from Department of Town Planning to Department of Town and Regional Planning. This was to mark a significant change in the approach to physical planning and for the first time planning on a regional scale was envisaged (Winblad, 1966). The United Nations Regional Planning Mission (UNRPM) together with newly recruited six Ugandan staff from the Department of Town and Regional Planning in Kampala, undertook several studies code named Kampala-Mengo Regional Planning Studies with emphasis on urban growth trends (including population growth and projections to the year 2000); basic structure for the extended Metropolitan Area; industrial location; residential housing; transportation; and physical planning legislations (Safier and Langlands, 1969); as background investigation for the production of an appropriate physical model for the Greater Kampala Area, a physical plan for the expansion of the central business district, and a physical plan for residential areas and housing typologies to be built therein. From the concluded studies, the Mission presented reports to the Ugandan Ministry of Regional Administrations embodying their findings, as follows: The Metropolitan Area of Kampala comprised of four separate local government authorities: Kampala City, Mengo Municipality, Nakawa Township and Kawempe Town Board. The first one was controlled by Uganda Government, and the other three by the Kingdom of Buganda Government. These were all different types of local authorities, and at different stages of development. The problem lay in the coordination of the different authorities, which proved difficult, yet co-operation was moreover lacking between the different authorities. The assumption was that this model that combined an agglomeration – the contiguous built-up area with peripheral zones not themselves necessarily urban in character, or a large metropolis and its adjacent zone of influence would improve coordination and management of the urban activities, provision of infrastructure and services, and the development of transportation routes and physical growth of Kampala-Mengo region.The second assumption was that Kampala-Mengo would be given every possibility to develop the advantages of a large metropolitan area: a varied job market, specialized services, first class cultural and educational institutions and a wide choice of recreational activities. The third assumption was that the population of Uganda would continue to grow at a rate of 2 ½ -3 percent per annum up to the end of the century and that an increasing portion of this population would leave in the urban areas (Litherland, 1966).
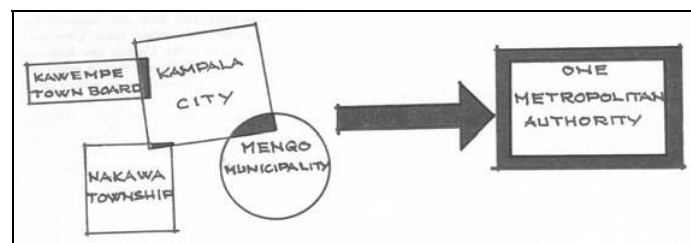
Figure 1: Proposed Conceptual Model for Directing Growth of Greater Kampala. (Source: Litherland, *et al,* 1966)

Population pressure on existing housing stock: It had been forecast that for several decades to come, the metropolitan population of Kampala-Mengo would continue to grow at a rate of between 5.2 and 6.4 per cent per year. This meant that the estimated population of 180,000 at the time would increase to some 500,000 people by early, 1980 and to about 1,500,000 by the end of 2000, and this would have a devastating impact on the city's housing stock. The situation was immense that fourteen thousand more housing was needed for greater Kampala alone in the next five years (Litherland, 1966). The Central Business District (CBD) was expanding at a rapid rate, by 1964 it was 0.68 of a square mile and projections had intimated that the city would expand to about 2 square miles in extent by 1980, and 8½ square miles, by 2000. Such growth was seen as dynamic and needed nurturing, rather than confine the CBD to any single or final size (Winblad, 1965). The continuous and impressing growth of the

CBD required great planning efforts and firm policy making. In highlighting the problems, the UN Regional Planning team issued the following statement;

"It is inevitable that considerable expansion must be envisaged. …In a country of rapid population increase still to undergo large-scale urbanisation, it must be expected that the expansion of the National Capital's CBD will occur with certainty. Moreover, in a society of rising prosperity with increasing standards of living, demands occur for even more space for additional activities. The assessment of 'ten times as large' could prove to be a conservative one." (United Nations, 1965)
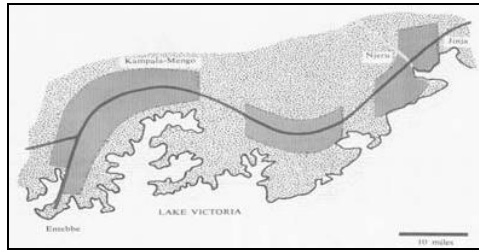
3.1 The Metropolitan Growth Model
In this era of modernist planning, dealing with city regions was popular and various ideas and models to deal with urban growth were formulated. For example, Eran and Gordon (2000) submit that the onset of World War I in 1914 and the destruction of parts of European cities sent many city reformers to the drawing table. As the city boundaries expanded in an unrestrained fashion, a new apparatus of planning to bridge the gap between the city, the suburbs and the open region was sought. Winblad who was in favour of searching for new approaches to deal with Kampala region said, "the future settlement of Kampala-Mengo must not be a projection of past trends which would only lead to formlessness low density sprawl. The growth should be guided into a predetermined form" (Winblad, 1965) of settlement units providing accommodation for households made up of a balanced cross-section of the community. In his report to the Government of Uganda Winblad echoed the lack of comparative models for Kampala's planning, stating that, "Physical planning in the already urbanized parts of the world is mainly concerned with reshaping worn out and obsolete cities, most of which were large in area and population before they felt the full impact of modern technology – there the scale of development will for a long time impede any radical change. In Uganda most of the urban expansion is still to come. The pattern is not set and many alternatives are available. Uganda can now profit from the accumulated experiences and advanced techniques of developed countries and avoid their mistakes by planning for continuing, dynamic growth. With farsighted planning, adequate tools and methods for implementation, it will be possible to avoid inefficiency and formlessness…..." (Winblad, 1966:1-2). As in Sweden, the main idea in the planning of Kampala was to integrate city development and rapid population growth. The question was how should it be built? Sweden had belief that to build the social state, everything could be planned in relation to human needs; transportation, security, and so on. Vallingby, the huge Stockholm suburb that had been built based on the popular Clarence Stein's and Henry Wright's *Radburn* and Clarence Perry's Neighbourhood unit ideas, combined with Raymond Unwin's and Barry Parker's cul-de-sac method of residential layout for houses combined in blocks was a symbol of planned community and this, was seen as great model for Kampala.

**3.2 Model Conceptualization and Contextualization**
The UN Regional Planning Mission, observed and recommended that population and development in and around Kampala region was concentrated to a wide belt along Lake Victoria. Within this belt, the areas suitable for major urban expansion were marked. Winblad (1965) anticipated that the identified areas would contain three to four million people if built up at densities similar to those of British New Towns. (This was said for comparison only – not to be taken as a recommendation). Therefore, the growth model was to be linear and open-ended, and capable of accommodating a continuously increasing population, an expanding economy and a rapidly changing technology. It was to make possible a shift from one mode of public transport to another as development progressed. Costs of roads and public transport, water and sewerage facilities, power and telephone networks, were to be kept at a minimum by concentrating developments.

3.3 The Hexagonal City Form

Figure 2: Linear Metropolis Model by the UN Mission (Source: Winblad, 1966).

To implement the Metropolitan Growth model, hexagonal city form was proposed as most optimum way of land usage, that is, when hexagons are put together, they join more perfectly than other shapes, such circle. The cell was to contain a centre with a market, shops and community buildings, a park belt with schools and sports grounds, and an industrial estate with residential areas for 20,000 to 40,000 people depending on density. The size of the cell was limited by maximum acceptable walking distance to the centre, school and public transport; here taken as ⅔ mile or one kilometer. Winblad derived his hexagonal form for Kampala on the assertion that Y-shaped roads are better suited to motor traffic than conventional crossroads. When assessed from sightlines and probable accident-spots perspective, a three-way intersection was theoretically greatly superior to a four-way intersection because the 120° angle has improved sight lines compared with the right angle. The three-legged intersection has only three potential collision points, compared with 16 in the other (Winblad 1966).
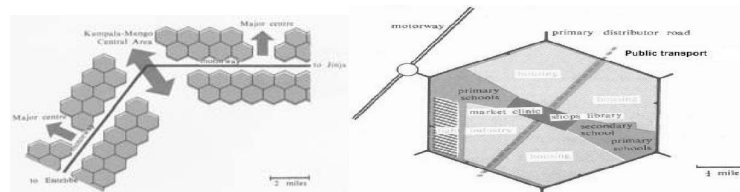

Figure 3: Linear Growth Model around Hexagonal Cell Structure developed for Kampala-Mengo Region. (Source: Winblad, 1966; Litherland, et al, 1966:12)

The other important factor behind the cell pattern was that, it could easily be adapted to the special topography of the southern part of Kampala Region, with low hills rising 200 to 500 feet above valleys covered with papyrus swamps. In line with location suitability of the model on the hills of Kampala-Mengo region, the hill tops were seen to be suitable for agriculture and building development but could be expensive to service. The wet valleys were problem areas but they could undoubtedly in most cases be drained and rendered suitable for some development, in particular for transportation lines, open spaces, playing-fields and industrial buildings."(Litherland, 1966:12)

3.4 Zooming into the Residential Unit: the Hexagonal Cell Tissue
As part of the proposed residential pattern for the Metropolitan Area, a pilot project was earmarked on some 870 acres, situated approximately four and half miles from the centre of Kampala on two hills (Nakulabye and Namirembe), rising 100 ft. and 200 ft. respectively. A plan for a housing project for some 30,000 persons, representing a cross-section of the urban population of Kampala-Mengo was prepared based on the residential unit model. Projected at a population of 30,000 persons the overall density would be 35 persons per acre (Interview with Danielson, May 22nd 2010). The aim of the scheme was to provide housing in a good-living environment at a reasonable cost. This was to be accomplished by using a series of basic techniques; the separation of vehicular and pedestrian movements; the provision of schools and a shopping and community centre within easy walking distance of homes (approximately up to two-thirds of a mile); the provision of ample open space for recreation; the reservation of a route for a possible future rapid public transit system; the provision of an industrial estate giving some work opportunities near the home; the provision for the

development of housing of many types to suit the varying incomes of the people; and orderly planning with the provision of adequate urban infrastructure (Danielson, 1966). The Layout of the proposed unit is hexagonal in form, and is circumscribed by primary roads referred to as primary distributors. The advantage was that the inhabitants would be able to move freely within the area without the necessity of crossing a road. The housing layout was planned around the feeder roads on the slopes of the hills leaving the valleys and hill tops for public parks and open space. To serve the needs of the community, provision was made at the centre for shops, community buildings and a transport terminal. Eight primary schools were distributed throughout the area with provision for extension to secondary level on ultimate development. A light industrial estate on some 50 acres was planned for the south-west part of the area as an adjunct to the main industrial areas". By the provision of basic services and amenities, it was hoped that housing would largely be generated through self-help, and four basic schemes (labelled A-D on figure 4) were proposed; (A) serviced plots for development in traditional and semi-permanent building materials; (B) ⅓ acre serviced plots for high class private development; (C) core-housing; and (D) 3-4 story flats. The major part of the proposed layout was small serviced plots of 35 x 80 feet (minimum) on the periphery, meant for individual family occupancy on single plots. Commercial residential use, that is, lodging houses were meant to occupy over 2-3 plots.
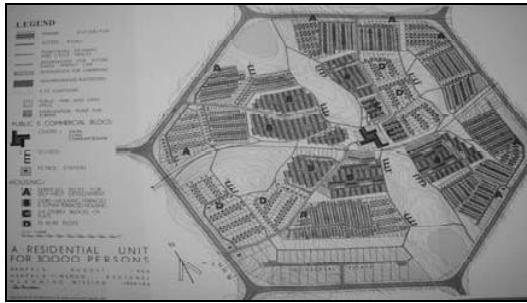
Figure 4: Residential Unit Model for Kampala (Source: Lars Danielson, 1966)

Basic services to be provided were roads, piped water, water-borne sanitation and street lighting. To the UNRPM, the approach to residential development based on the residential unit model proposed would be the model for similar units on all the other hills surrounding the CBD.

3.5 Implementation of the UN Missions Ideas and Models

Despite the hard work from the UNRPM, the scientific analysis and the resources committed to conduct studies and prepare the relevant plans including the vigorous promotion of these plans, not a single hexagon was ever built in Kampala-Mengo region. Plan implementation involves expenditure. Due to lack of resources both human and economic, it was not possible to implement the decisions immediately. Even with resources, the nature and comprehensiveness of the plans would have rendered implementation to be a slowly expanding process taking many years to complete. The object of the 'present' system was the negative one of controlling private initiative and did not provide Government and local authorities with adequate tools for an effective solution to the physical problems facing the metropolitan area". According to UN HABITAT (2007), the Idi Amin military government that took over power in 1971 followed by declaration of economic war in 1972 by the military regime seriously affected the revenues of the city. Property owners, the majority of whom were Asian and Europeans were forced to leave the country and the properties were entrusted to Departed Asians Properties Custodian Board (DAPCB) a parastatal whose ability to maintain and pay property rates for these properties left a lot to be desired. The political state of affairs in Kampala-Mengo was not conducive for plan implementation to take its course. A duality continued to exist between Kampala city and Mengo Municipality, with the latter accusing the Central government of plotting to take over its properties, namely land and reducing the powers of their King. In 1966, there was a turn of events, the first Prime Minister of Uganda, Milton Obote, abolished all kingdoms in the country. The overthrow of the *Kabaka* of Buganda as well as the other monarchies by the Prime Minister led to the incorporation of the *Kibuga* (Buganda capital city) into Kampala with Kampala City Council as the administrative unit and in1968 the size of the city of Kampala increased from 21 sq. km. (8sq. miles) to 195 sq. km. (75 sq. miles) with the inclusion of Kawempe, Lusanja, Kisaasi, Kiwatule, Muyenga, Ggaba and Mulungu. This today forms the physical and administrative jurisdictional area of Kampala, which continued

to grow and expand on adhoc basis.

4.0 CONCLUSION

Planning of Kampala in this modern era was influenced by no single idea, but a combination of ideas and theories dating back to the early twentieth century, and through to the 1950's and to the 1960's. Typical of many early 20th-century planning, the UN Missions scientific approach to planning of Kampala-Mengo settlements was based on the modernist 'conviction that the present problems of cities can be transcended by looking to the future, generally involving an expert led and 'top down' process of producing plans. The idea of the city region influenced planning throughout that period and consisted of a constellation of the larger core city, and decentralized towns ('New Towns') in a particular form and in an integrated pattern. With utopian visions similar to those behind the Garden City, these 'New towns' were seen as ideal and offered a solution to the problems of Kampala-Mengo Region and a model for a new type of urban settlements, which were self-supporting growth points with satisfactory economic, social and cultural facilities. Despite all the effort put into planning, all idealized geometrical schemes and plans remained on paper, except for an experimental cul-de-sac residential layout on Mulago Hill. No single hexagon was built in Kampala-Mengo to date and the Kampala and the surrounding areas continued to grow and expand on ad hoc basis, a trend similar to or even worse before the involvement of the UN team.

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