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A developing city's path
Kampala Special Edition

- 1 Diego Giron
Editorial
- 2 Fredrick Omolo
Urban Planning in Uganda: The Formal and the Reality
- 7 Astrid R.N. Haas
The Right Mix is Key: Instruments for Financing African Urbanisation
- 12 Patrick Musoke
Greater Kampala Economic Development Strategy: United towards job creation, improved livability, and sustainable development in greater Kampala
- 17 Stephen Mukiibi
The emergence of slums: planning sites and services and upgrading

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Although Sub-Saharan Africa remains one of the least urbanised regions in the globe, it has some of the highest urbanisation rates, coupled with all the complexity and challenges this represents. Urban centers play an essential part managing the rapid upsurge and in sustaining economic growth, they are incubators of polarising connotations, where innovative socioeconomic breakthroughs can emerge, as well as deteriorating social and economic recession. Such is the case of Kampala, which is one of the fastest growing cities in the world. This rapid urbanisation has presented substantial organisational, social, economic, environmental and physical challenges that need to be addressed in an integrated and holistic manner. Development in Kampala is happening before formal planning, wide-spreading informality, however, there is still great potential to be found in the ingenuity of its people. In this issue of *IGLUS Quarterly*, we look at the development of Kampala from different lenses, exploring the status quo and a variety of approaches including existing strategies to innovative proposals highlighting the potential for sustainable urban development in a developing country.

In the first paper, Fredrick Omolo Okalebo presents an overview of past and present realities of urban planning, which being a political instrument for efficient land use, represents the subsequent urban forms in formal and informal practices. Given its ill-conceived organisation and management, urban planning continues to ignore critical factors of Kampala's reality, particularly social issues such as informality. The second paper, by Astrid R.N. Haas, explains the need for financing instruments to facilitate the necessary infrastructure for a rapidly growing city in order to deliver an ideal atmosphere for economic growth. The paper provides an insight into the history of infrastructure financing schemes, the evolution in African cities and the importance of designing an innovative tailor-made solution for each city's specific

context. In the next paper, Patrick Musoke discusses the importance of implementing and managing the Greater Kampala Economic Development Strategy of the (NDPII) in an altruistic and adaptive manner, to address many of the urban challenges, including informality, and to foster Kampala's productivity and competitiveness, thereby creating jobs and promoting economic growth. The final paper, by Stephen Mukiibi, offers an overview of slums and the causality behind them while reflecting on the situation in Kampala. The paper describes the emergence of slums and some of the more popular strategies to address this common problem, adding the need to take a more holistic approach that integrates organisational, social, economic and environmental factors.

We hope you enjoy these four articles and invite you to join the discussion at iglus.org. If you feel that there are innovative practices underway in your city/region and you would like to contribute to an upcoming edition of *IGLUS Quarterly*, we encourage you to contact us at diego.giron@iglus.org and umut.tuncer@iglus.org.

Diego Giron

Urban Planning in Uganda: The Formal and the Reality

Fredrick Omolo Okalebo*

Abstract: *This paper explores the relationships between the urban planning practices and the resultant urban forms; both formal and informal. The paper is a product of catholic methodological approaches, involving experiential knowledge, desk study, and document reviews. The findings reveal that urban planning in Uganda is a public government activity associated with ordering space and guiding human activities on land and is, therefore, a vital instrument of urban management and governance aimed at ensuring the rational use of land and improvement in quality of life. However, although it has been in existence since the early 1900s, almost all towns and cities in Uganda, including the capital city of Kampala, are characterised by in-differentiation of spatial, urban forms and land use in a manner that cannot easily be explained. It is clear that contrasting landscapes co-exist within the same urban set-up, but these landscapes denote both the formal and the informal a reality that the city authorities must grapple with.*

Introduction

The main foundations of planning in Uganda are closely linked to colonialism in the late 19th century and early 20th century. In the colonial era, three factors influenced the structure of the urban landscapes in many of Uganda's towns and municipalities that served as centres of administration and residence for the colonial settlers. These factors were the utopian ideals of the century; health concerns, especially the fear of catching 'native' diseases such as malaria and plague; and racial segregation. Throughout this colonial era until the mid-1940s, the majority of Uganda's rural communities lived their own lives, without being closely integrated with the colonial government and other aspects of the greater society, and thus being ignorant of the urban problems of the day (Omolo Okalebo, 2011). Home (1997:219) argued that, during this colonial period, the idea of town planning emerged as a new approach to managing the colonial city. It offered a 'toolbox' of techniques, packaged within a new professional and legislative structure. These tools included land use zoning, public authority control of urban expansion, and urban renewal (Home, 1997: 219).

Today, the prime responsibility for physical planning and land use control rests with a series of departments within the Planning Directorate in the Ministry of Lands Housing and Urban Development (MoLHUD). The Physical Planning Act 2010 established the National Physical Planning (NPPB) Board, which is respon-

sible for overseeing physical planning activities in the country and, at the national level, conducting physical development plan approvals and recommendations to the minister for final approval and signature. The Planning Directorate in the MoLHUD is a quality assurance institution in charge of supervision and ensuring that enabling policies, laws, and national and regional plans are in place. It is supposed to set planning standards and ensure that they are followed. The Directorate is also charged with the duty of helping local authorities develop their own capacities to carry out their day-to-day planning functions. In the past, however, these functions were constricted by provisions in the Town and Country Planning Act of 1964 that specified that planning activity could only be carried out in areas declared "planning areas". These restrictions contributed to the problems of informality since enforcement of planned development was an option in areas that were not declared planning areas. Accordingly, the Physical Planning Act 2010 declared the entire country a planning area and provided for Physical Planning Committees at local government level and the National Physical Planning Board to perform national level functions. The question that remains unanswered is the extent to which the planning committee members (most of whom have no background in urban planning) are knowledgeable about their responsibilities and obligations as enshrined in the Act. This paper attempts to explore the relationship between planning and informal settlements and the implications

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for planners and urban managers in Uganda. The paper is a product of catholic methodological approaches, involving experiential knowledge, desk study and document reviews, in-depth interviews, and observations.

Urban Planning and Informality

The intention of this paper is not to delve into terminologies; it suffices to generally describe the concepts of urban planning, as used in the Ugandan context and what constitutes urban informality. In Uganda, urban planning is synonymous with physical planning, which the Government of Uganda defined as “the active process of organizing the structure and function of places and the deliberate determination of spatial patterns to ensure an orderly and effective development process with an aim to achieving the optimum level of land utilization while maintaining a high degree of aesthetic quality and beauty in sustainable ways. It provides the framework for management of activities which often have varying and competing demands such as industrial development, residential, physical infrastructure, public and private institutions, environmental and ecological areas; which all are rooted on land” (2011:1)

The relationship between informality and planning is complicated. Informality may be described as “the situation that results from the suspension of order” (Ananya, 2005), what Agamben (1998) calls the “chaos that precedes order”. Scholz (2010) argued that “uncontrolled informal urbanisation resulting from the chronic underperformance of the public sector has often caused dysfunctional settlement layouts and urban structures.” In Uganda, there have been efforts to undertake physical planning at all levels, both national and local, although such efforts have not kept up with the rate of urban development, which has overtaken planning notwithstanding the high population pressure and the poor urban economies that have resulted in the proliferation of slums in some urban areas. This is congruent with Benevolo’s (1967) claim that “today, the town planning technique invariably lags behind the events it is supposedly controlling, and it retains a strictly remedial character”. What is evident in almost all Ugandan towns is informality within the inner-city areas, as well as chaotic urban expansion into the periphery. According to Jorgen (1987), that kind of chaos prevails with the landscape dominated by informal housing and slums and a deteriorating urban environment.

However, like elsewhere in East Africa, planning in Uganda is an exercise that is dominated by government.

The 1993 Local Governments (Resistance Councils) statute provided for the transfer of powers and resources to Local Governments. The Constitution of Uganda (1995) – Article 176 and the Local Governments Act, CAP 243 further entrenched the principles of decentralisation by empowering local governments with responsibility for allocating public resources, for integrated participatory planning, budgeting and investment management. At the district and municipal levels, urban planning is under the Engineering and Works Department, headed by an engineer who, in most cases, is not knowledgeable about planning principles, let alone the processes. At this level, the staff structure in both municipal and town councils provides for only one position of a physical planner, and thus a capacity gap. Most districts in Uganda have not filled the positions of physical planners; others have recruited unqualified people into these positions, while some have the right personnel but cannot afford the required facilities and equipment for planners to execute their duties.

While the decentralisation policy was mainly introduced with the intention of bringing power nearer to the people and fostering citizen participation in the decision-making process, planning in most local urban councils is undertaken with little or no participation and/or contribution from the local communities. The Physical Planning Act 2010 provides for the depositing of the physical development plans for three months and six weeks (for structure or urban physical development plans and detailed / local development plans, respectively) for the communities and other stakeholders to give their comments and representations in writing, before the National Physical Planning Board approves the physical development plans at the national level. Although the Ministry considers the public viewing to be a form of public participation, this does not necessarily make sense to the less educated members of the community who may have challenges with writing and reading. This persistence of older approaches to urban planning represents another deterrent to efficient plan implementation processes, leading to informality.

The Land Question, Development Control, and Informality

According to Article 237 of the Uganda Constitution 1995, “Land in Uganda belongs to the citizens of Uganda and shall vest in them in accordance with the land tenure systems...” recognised as freehold, mailo, leasehold, and customary land. Each tenure system affects

orderly development in different ways. For example, settlements for the urban poor in Uganda are predominantly under the customary land tenure system. This system is characterized by informal land transactions in which land exchanges hands, often without the involvement or knowledge of the formal land administration institutions. This “land is held and disposed of according to the customs of the community. Unclear boundaries characterise land under customary tenure in Uganda and ownership/rights are not documented, yet it accounts for over 80% of the land. Customary land may be held individually or communally by a family, clan or community” (Makabayi and Musinguzi, 2015). It is important to note that persons who access land and housing that have no security of tenure (land titles) are disadvantaged and therefore face a challenge with the planning restrictions and the complex development processes that require permits for one to construct a house or develop an area. Makabayi and Musinguzi (2015) further argued that the requirement to provide proof of land ownership before building plans can be approved by the urban authority has caused discontent among many intending developers who may have land sales agreements only, thus opting to pursue illegal processes of development. The planning development control requirements, such as building plan approvals, are meant to create order. However, the associated bureaucracy and costs drive people to areas where they can build without conforming to any planning regulations and/or bylaws. Once plans are submitted, an applicant must wait for the approving technical committee of the urban authority to hold a meeting, which can take one to three months. This process is a lengthy and tedious affair that the majority of the urban residents may not comply with, opting to build on weekends and at night when the authorities are sleeping.

Stiff building controls and regulation among an already economically weak society, poor governance and the weak enforcement mechanisms, and the low technical and financial capacity of the urban councils, combined with high levels of corruption, have all contributed to the spread and growth of informal settlements.

Additionally, institutional problems arise from uncoordinated land leasing and allocations, even for areas where the physical development plans are in place to guide the use of land; the district land boards often allocate land to developers for development contrary to the provisions of the physical development plans. Another important factor that contributes to informality is land

subdivision carried out by private developers. Real estate developers acquire land in any given area of the city and proceed to subdivide it, particularly in residential development. This practice disregards many of the provisions of the physical development plan which amongst other comprises of; the minimum plot sizes and infrastructure standards. Although section 8 (31) of the Physical Planning Act 2010 provides that “the landowner shall use the services of a qualified planner to prepare local physical development plans which shall be submitted to the local physical planning committee for adoption with or without modification”, many of the real estate developers often seek the services of land surveyors, who have little knowledge of the basic planning principles and design elements. This results in urban landscapes with barely any services and poor connectivity. For example, almost all private real estates have *inter alia*, no easements, inappropriate road sizes and poor connectivity. Additionally, they have insufficient drainage systems and lack other complementary supporting facilities that are required in any neighbourhood. In an aggravating manner, urban authorities responsible for regulating and supervising development activities do not subject the real estate developers to what is specified in the Physical Planning Act.

Fiscal Capacities of Municipalities and Planning Institutions

Although all urban councils in Uganda are more or less politically autonomous, they have not fully achieved fiscal and technical autonomy to be able to deal with current urbanization challenges, and this warrants better understanding of growth dynamics in order to seek and offer ideal solutions (Omolo-Okalebo, 2011). Physical planning is a vital source of revenue for local governments, especially through development permits and building approvals, but almost no attention is given to the responsible planning units. Instead, the planning units receive meagre budgetary allocations, which affect plan implementation processes, as well as monitoring of development and particularly enforcement. It is hard to believe that some town councils have planning budgets of less than 1 million Ugandan shillings (US\$280) per year, much less than what is allocated to some offices as *imprest* in the same urban local government. Failure to attach importance and prioritization to vital sectors is in line with Mosha’s (1995) argument that the lack of resources in local governments and the probable failure or unwillingness of central government to increase the

powers and resources needed for cities and municipalities to manage themselves has led to the increasing public-private sector antagonism.

Funds for physical planning projects have mainly come from the World Bank, Cities Alliance and UN-Habitat, United Nations Development Programme, and the European Union. The World Bank has funded two separate programs under the Ministry of Local Government: the Local Government Development Program (LGDP) II Credit 3773 UG & Grant No. H041 UG, and the Local Government Management and Service Delivery Program (LGMSDP). In these programs over 90 urban local governments had physical development (both structure and detailed plans) prepared. The current program – the Uganda Support to Municipal Infrastructure Development Programme (USMID) – is also funded by the World Bank under the direction of MoLHUD; It is disappointing to note that all current and previous funding by the UNDP, UN-Habitat, and the World Bank were mostly used to cover planning and design rather than implementation. In addition, projects are frequently abandoned before they are given a chance to mature. This observation 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'. The problem of implementation gives opportunity to informality. Rapid informal urban growth that is exclusively driven by the private land market does not wait for the public institutions to start plan implementation and does not produce sustainable, functional spatial structures, especially where the urban councils' ability to enforce physical planning rules and regulations is generally very weak.

Conclusion

Although this paper provides a general overview of urban planning as a formal tool to control and guide urban development in Uganda, informality is a reality that authorities must address. The high levels of poverty, lack of awareness, demonstrates inefficient control procedures and the undue requirements by the urban administrators are partly responsible for the kind of organic growth evidenced in many of the towns and municipalities. It is vital to understand that the planning approaches involving the designation of specific land use by planning authorities, sub-division of areas based on standards, and enforcement of these standards is becoming highly

complex. Many developers – both poor and rich – have opted to construct outside the radar avoiding the authority, especially on weekends, at night and/or when the authorities are either constrained to deal with informality or are actually perpetuating the illegal behaviour. El-Shaks (1997:5050) emphasised this problem, writing that, in Africa, "... plans are often not respected even by government bureaucrats and politicians who endorse them in the first place..." Consideration should be given to the overhaul of Uganda's planning system alongside the strengthening of the urban economies, professional institutions, and other professional networks, as well as allocation of adequate funds to planning units.

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The Right Mix is Key: Instruments for Financing African Urbanisation

Astrid R.N. Haas*

Abstract: *African cities are growing rapidly, but they are doing so before necessary infrastructure is in place, and retrofitting cities that are already there may be up to three times as expensive as implementing it before the city has grown. Therefore, financing this infrastructure gap is a key challenge to ensure that urbanisation can be a productive force for economic growth across the continent. This paper explores the history of city financing, different sources, and levers of change in own-source revenue, with a particular focus on a case study of administrative reforms from Kampala Uganda. It concludes that no one source of revenue will be able to raise sufficient funds, so the key will be for African cities to look into the optimal financing mix to address their infrastructure challenges.*

Introduction

As cities are characterised by density, they come with a number of externalities. There are positive externalities from agglomeration economies by having people and firms located in close proximity: this means workers can find jobs and firms can find labour and, at the same time, have a market to source their inputs and sell anything they produce. Density also has downsides, the proliferation of slum settlements, congestion, crime, and disease. These externalities are further exacerbated by the lack of infrastructure, such as housing, public transportation, or water and sewerage systems that could alleviate some of these challenges.

Addressing the negative externalities of urbanisation through the provision of infrastructure and services is the core function of city governments (Glaeser 2013). However, doing this effectively requires substantial resources and this requirement is growing with the cities themselves. Furthermore, if a city grows before the core infrastructure can be laid down, such as is the case in African cities, retrofitting will be needed. This will come at an even higher cost – some estimates assume that it is three times as much as building it before the city has grown (Collier 2016).

Therefore, the financing challenge lies at the core of infrastructure provision for African cities, which are some of the fastest growing in the world. Unlike their European and US counterparts, these African cities are not industrialising at the same time, which means that urbanisation is largely unproductive. Whatever the reason for this is, a significant consequence of this lack of pro-

ductivity is that urbanization is not supporting economic growth. Therefore, the resources that are generated from urbanization, both at a national and a local level, are currently limited.

This paper looks at a variety of financing options that African cities have. The following part examines the evolution of city financing in Africa, which was historically reliant on foreign aid. It then describes how and why this has changed over time, such that African cities have become a lot more reliant on raising their own source revenue. The paper discusses three different levers of change – namely, policy, administration, and technology – that can help them achieve this. It offers a more in-depth successful case study on administrative reforms from Kampala, the capital city of Uganda, which resulted in own-source revenue increasing by over 160 percent. It concludes by arguing that no single source of revenue will be the silver bullet to the financing challenge for African cities. Rather, a combination of interventions as well as exploring innovative options will be required.

From Foreign Aid to Own-Source Financing

Traditionally, foreign aid has been a key source of financing for developing countries, and therefore cities. Up until the 1980s, foreign aid was largely increasing, before it slowed down in the 1990s when several countries went through recessions. It increased again, until a significant drop in 2008. This drop was a direct result of the financial crisis that affected many of the traditional donors quite severely, forcing them to cut back on their

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aid commitments. It also corresponded to a time when there was an increasing discussion on the value for money of development aid as many of the countries that were receiving it were stalling in terms of their growth (Development Initiatives 2016).

Although it is an important source of finance, aid does not come for free. Particularly in the 1980s and early 1990s, this type of aid was typically associated with a large number of conditionalities. Perhaps the best-known was the World Bank's Structural Adjustment Programs, which included a number of fiscal tightening and overall privatisation measures. However, these measures often resulted in adverse conditions in the economies of the developing countries that implemented them, and some of these can still be felt today (Kuteesa et al. 2009). Although current financing structures have been modified and some modes have abandoned the strong measures and conditionalities, there are still various requirements that recipient countries must fulfil in order to receive aid, which may not be in their interest or may not necessarily reflect their priorities.

A further major important turning point in the overall external funding environment was a conference held in 2015 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, which followed the signing of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). At this conference, stakeholders from all sectors, including government, private sector, and non-governmental organisations, amongst others, came together and signed commitments to finance the SDGs. They decided that, unlike in previous decades, where the onus was on developed countries to provide financing assistance to support development goals, there would now be a shift in the emphasis to developing countries to raising their own-source revenue (United Nations 2015).

Instruments for Generating Own-Source Revenue

Raising this type of financing at a large-scale is not easy, particularly as most developing countries are characterized by very low domestic resource mobilization. In particular, the average tax-to-GDP ratio for developing countries is about 17 percent, whereas for higher income countries it is around 35 percent (Moore, Mascagni and McCluskey 2014). Many of the means available to African cities to generate own-source revenue are technically no different than those that exist in developed countries, but their relative importance and composition may be different. Some examples are provided below.

Intergovernmental fiscal transfers (Broadway 2006): These are transfers made by national governments to

local governments, including cities. Although many European and US cities rely very heavily on this source of financing (Glaeser 2013), it may not be advisable for African cities to do the same. This is due to the fact that central governments are resource-constrained, like their cities, which means that transfers will not provide sufficient resources for cities to finance their infrastructure investments. Furthermore, due to institutional limitations, transfers from central government to cities may be haphazard, both in timing and in size, and thus not suitable for longer planning and financing that infrastructure investments require.

Taxes (Freire and Garzon 2014): There are a variety of taxes that can be levied at a sub-national level. Economists generally agree that the taxes that should be levied at a local level are ones that can be more easily administered locally, are used to help finance local public goods, such as street lighting, and would not put local governments in competition with each other. For example, if each local government got to set an income tax, then all people would move to the jurisdiction where income tax is lowest. Therefore, for this last option to hold, it is important that the tax base is as immobile as possible so that it becomes more difficult to avoid paying the tax by just moving geographically. Therefore, land and property taxes are types of taxes levied by cities, given that their bases are immobile. To date, however, these have been underutilised by many African cities. Another challenge for cities in Sub-Saharan Africa is that a large proportion of their population is employed in the informal sector and therefore do not fall into the tax base. Thus, a key reform component is how to widen the tax base by formalising the informal sector.

User fees (Slack 2009): These are fees levied on goods and services commensurate to their use. In general, it is more efficient and fair for subnational governments to levy user fees on private goods and services where lack of payment can exclude use. These include services such as water, waste, or road tolls. In contrast, for public goods, where exclusion is impossible and could, therefore, result in free riding by users, it is fairer to finance these goods through taxes. However, although it is fair to make users pay for what they use, it is important for city governments everywhere, and particularly in developing countries like in Sub-Saharan Africa, to ensure that user fees are set in such a way that they do not exclude the poorest people. There are a number of ways this can be done, such as cross-subsidisation or targeted exemptions.

Levers of Increasing Own-Source Revenue

There are three main mechanisms that city governments can focus on to increase their own-source revenue – changing policy, improving administration, and implementing technological innovations – although technology can be cross-cutting across both policy and administration as well. Each of these levers has their merits and demerits. For example, changes in policy such as introducing new taxes or amending rates, have the benefit that, if correctly implemented, they can result in sustained increases in revenue over time. However, policy changes in most countries usually require interventions at a political level, such as parliamentary approval. Given that taxation is generally unpopular all over the world, this may involve a lengthy and not always successful process. Improvements in administrative efficiency, on the other hand, can usually be done by the revenue-collecting entity themselves. This is a particularly attractive option for cities as they mostly do not have to rely on national governments to be implemented. At the outset, improvements in administration will result in increased revenue. However, once the epitome of efficiency has been reached in areas of administration such as billing, payment, and collection, it will be difficult to make any further improvements to increase revenues further. As noted previously, technological advancements can be both in the realm of policy as well as in administration. These can result in significant and sustained improvements in revenue collection. For example, the use of satellite data and GIS maps to improve property cadastres can increase property tax collection. The downside of using technology is that with many of the improvements they usually require relatively high up-front investments that may not be affordable.

Case Study: Kampala Cities Revenue Administration Reforms

Currently, the focus of increasing own-source revenues in African cities is on improving administration. This is because particularly manual administration, which is characteristic of many institutions in African cities, is marred by many inefficiencies, including delays in processing billing, a high error rate, and leaving an ample space for administrations to engage in corrupt practices. Furthermore, as noted, unlike changing tax policy, which tends to be in the remit of national governments, improvements to administration can usually be undertaken by local governments. This means it can be done without the need for any legislative change and is, there-

fore, faster to implement (Bird 2013, Freire and Garzon 2014).

The Kampala Capital City Authority (KCCA), the institution that manages Kampala, has undertaken a number of successful improvements in this area. For example, with the advent of KCCA in 2011, a dedicated Directorate of Revenue Collection (DRC) was set up (Haas and Andema 2017). This is unlike many city authorities, particularly in developing countries, where this function is subsumed under an overall finance division and therefore may not be given sufficient attention compared to expenditure functions.

The initial set of reforms instituted by the DRC focused on improving the low levels of automation, exemplified by highly manual systems. Manual systems have many disadvantages, including delays in reconciliations for clients and their tendency to be highly error-prone. Therefore, the DRC re-engineered its business processes, such as streamlining the number of forms that needed to be filled out to pay each type of tax. To supplement this, the DRC also introduced technological advancements through a system called e-Citie. This automated the tax registers and communications with taxpayers as well as ensuring that their accounts were updated instantaneously, allowing for payments of taxes through various cashless means, including mobile money and overall improved the turnaround time. This simplification and streamlining of procedures was a key component of improving tax administration and thus the increase in revenues (Andema and Haas 2017, Kopanyi 2015).

In addition to this, the city started viewing taxpayers as clients, and thus looked at how to make it easier for them to pay their taxes. In particular, it set up a Large Tax Payers' Office to support those clients who specifically contributed a significant amount to the revenue base of the city, providing them dedicated services. The city also allowed taxpayers to start paying some of their taxes in instalments, which made it more affordable to some of their clients. A major component of this set of reforms is the numerous on-going communication and sensitisation campaigns to highlight the importance of paying taxes in terms of service provision, an overall reminder of citizens' tax obligations and, through this, encouraging increased voluntary compliance (Andema and Haas 2017).

These administrative improvements, as well as others such as updating taxpayer registers, resulted in efficiency improvements that were the basis of the increases in KCCA's own-source revenue by more than 100 percent

in only four years. It has also meant that Kampala city's revenue administration is now on a par with many of its counterparts in developed countries (Franszen and Kopanyi 2018). However, the Directorate of Revenue is now aware that it is quickly reaching saturation levels on many of the administrative reforms it can undertake and must, therefore, start focusing on policy changes (Andema and Haas 2017; Kopanyi 2015).

Finding the Right Mix is Key

Although many African cities can still increase their revenue significantly through efficiency gains in tax administration, this will not provide continued significant increases over time. There are revenue sources with considerable potential for African cities – land taxes in particular – that have not yet been fully exploited. In some African cities, there are estimations that land and property values are rising even faster than was the case of the growth of Seoul or Hong Kong, where these taxes have been extremely successful in financing infrastructure. However, as the title of this paper implies, no single source of finance will be able to raise sufficient revenue to cover the immense infrastructure gap that exists for African cities. Therefore, it is important for cities to look at a diverse set of financing mechanisms, which go beyond foreign aid and domestic revenue mobilisation.

Case Study: Dakar's Municipal Bond

An example of a potential financing mechanism that is currently underused is municipal bonds. They are akin to sovereign bonds, specifically allowing cities to take on debt to raise money for large investments. Borrowing further enable cities to signal their creditworthiness, which may be positive for increased investments as well. Municipal bonds are used by many European and American cities to raise financing for large infrastructure projects. In November and December of 2017, for example, in the US over USD 111 billion for infrastructure investment was raised using this method of financing (Gorelick 2018). However, in Africa, to date only five cities, 4 of which are in South Africa and one in Cameroon, have successfully floated a bonds (Paice 2016).

The reasons for this are manifold and well exemplified by the city of Dakar, Senegal that tried to float a bond in March 2015. The city had spent many years demonstrating its creditworthiness, lining up investors and achieving its rating. Furthermore, the bond that it was going to issue had a 50% guaranteed by the United States Agency of International Development to assuage investors'

fears (Paice 2016). One major reason that many cities cannot raise money through bonds in Africa is due to legislation that prohibits them from borrowing a considerable amount. This is largely because central governments fear that if local governments take on too much debt, it could lead to default and have significant repercussions for the overall economy. This has been a major reason, for many debt crises in the past, including in Argentina in 2001 and Mexico in 1994/95 (Canuto and Liu 2010). Therefore, the city of Dakar also worked closely with the central government to assure them could take on debt

Two days before Dakar was supposed to float its first bond, the President stepped in through the Ministry of Finance and withdrew its original non-objection (Paice 2016). Officially this had to do with technical reasons, primarily the liability that Dakar taking on the debt would have for the national economy. However, as is in many other cities, in Africa, there were also strong political undertones. This is because Dakar is an opposition stronghold; therefore, allowing it to take on debt and giving it money was seen as potentially giving the opposition too much power.

Enabling Cities to Raise Funds

Cities in Africa have an exponentially growing challenge of infrastructure and service provision. Therefore, they will need to access a variety of financing mechanisms, beyond the more traditional ones. Each city will have to look for its own optimal basket of financing options, which will depend on their respective economic, political, and social contexts. However, as the case of Dakar shows, for cities to be able to raise sufficient financing, an enabling legislative and policy environment will be key.

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Greater Kampala Economic Development Strategy: United towards job creation, improved livability, and sustainable development in greater Kampala

Patrick Musoke*

Abstract: *Rapid urbanisation has generated many physical, social and economic challenges for numerous African cities. As Kampala City gained a metropolitan character, questions of high unemployment, low levels of productivity associated with high rates of informality, congested and inadequate physical infrastructure, institutional coordination and urban governance became prevalent. Addressing these challenges requires a holistic and integrated approach that is built on the unique competitiveness for growth and Job creation. This strategy was developed to lay the foundation for delivering an attractive and productive city.*

Introduction

Kampala, the capital of Uganda, has not been spared from the wave of rapid urbanization sweeping Africa. With a 5.2 percent annual growth rate, it is one of the fastest urbanizing cities in Africa, higher than the continent average of 3.9 percent. Despite the high growth rates, Uganda still has a low level of urbanisation, at only 18.2 percent (UN Habitat, Country Program Document 2016–2021). The greater Kampala Metropolitan area (GKMA) has the highest urban population representing 50% of Uganda's total urban dwellers. It has been projected that, by 2030, the population in Kampala will have more than doubled to 3.9 million, while that of the Greater Kampala Metropolitan Area (GKMA) is estimated to be 10 million (Kampala Physical Development Plan, 2013). Rapid urbanization has raised significant physical, social, and economic challenges that need to be addressed if the city is to grow into a sustainable, productive, competitive, and resilient urban space.

Uganda's Vision 2040 envisages a society that has transformed from peasantry to a modern and prosperous one by 2040. The national vision puts forward planned and sustainable urban development as one of the strategies to achieve this. Improving Kampala's productivity and competitiveness is a key to eradicating poverty, creating jobs and promoting economic growth. If well managed, the GKMA has the potential to lead Uganda into the middle-income status and deliver socio-economic transformation through improved incomes, employment,

and human well-being.

The Greater Kampala Economic Development Strategy was designed in line with the current ambitions of the National Development Plan II (NDPII), to help strengthen the GKMA's competitiveness for sustainable wealth creation, employment creation, and inclusive growth. Achieving the desired growth envisaged in the NDPII is, however, challenged by increasing levels of informality, unemployment and disconnected built-up spaces, poor infrastructure, and low productivity of human capital. The strategy was based on the World Bank groundbreaking work on delivering Competitive Cities for Jobs and Growth, the Diagnostic Study on Kampala on the role of City Governments in Economic Development of Greater Kampala Area and the KCCA Strategic Plan 2014–2019.

Background and key aspects of the City Economy

The GKMA comprises of Kampala City administered under the Kampala Capital City Authority and municipalities in the Wakiso, Mukono, and Mpigi districts. As the country's main urban agglomeration, comprising its industrial and commercial area, with one of the world's fast-growing and youngest populations, Kampala has high potential to drive Uganda's transformation agenda. The GKMA represents 10 percent of the country's population and 31.2 percent of its GDP, generates 70 percent of its domestic revenues, hosts 46 percent of all formal employment in the country, it has 70 percent of

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all Uganda's industrial plants, and generates 60 percent of the country's industrial GDP (World Bank report from regulators to enablers, Sept 2017). While Kampala's GDP growth rate of 6.7% is modest compared to other similar cities, its per capita growth is on par and better than other comparable cities with similar per capita income (World Bank report from regulators to enablers, September 2017).

The above performance notwithstanding, Kampala economy struggles with high rates of informality and underemployment, as formal jobs have not kept pace with the rapid urbanization and population growth. Underemployment is currently estimated at 23 percent, while informality accounts for 57 percent of the city's employment, where 97 percent of the informal firms employ five or fewer people, with 59 percent engaged in self-employment. According to the World Bank report from regulators to enablers, 93 percent of micro-enterprises owners in the informal sector earn below the World Bank poverty line of USD1.90 per day. A total of 69 percent of all the firms generate up to 10 million Ugandan shilling (UGX) close to (\$2600US), in annual turnover, which is below the threshold for VAT registration that significantly reduces the country's taxable base (Uganda revenue Authority website; (<https://www.ura.go.ug>)). A large unregulated informal sector in low-productivity sectors presents a barrier to structural transformation.

The unplanned urban sprawl has created a disconnected built-up urban environment that has adversely impacted the business environment. The poor road infrastructure network and absence of developed public transport system has compounded the challenge of movement of goods and services making business operations costly. The current urban form and poor infrastructure do not encourage economic density. Low density makes the business environment uncompetitive, increases transportation costs, and makes production activities expensive.

Elisabeth Katende, a trader at Nakasero Market, one of the large markets in Kampala, said, "I live in Kawempe, 20 km out of the city, so I have to be up by 4.00 a.m. to avoid the traffic jam, as well as buy foodstuffs directly from the farmers since they usually sell at wholesale price."

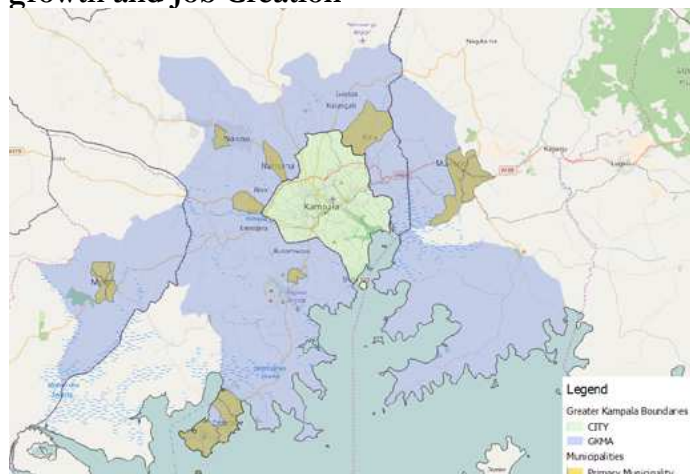
Traffic congestion and poor transport services are some of the many challenges faced by the people who work

and go to school in Kampala from the neighbouring local government in the GKMA, which wastes a lot of productive time. Kampala's economic productivity and competitiveness greatly hinges on the coordinated performance of the local governments in the Greater Kampala Metropolitan Area to address the negative spill-over effects of unplanned rapid urban sprawl.

The case for a Coordinated Metropolitan Economic Development Strategy

Building a competitive GKMA requires harnessing its competitive advantages for investment and growth. Each local government has a unique advantage that, when collectively developed, leverages the case for growth, employment generation, and improved incomes.

The Competitiveness of the Metropolitan area for growth and Job Creation



Map 1 The Greater Kampala Area, showing the City and GKMA municipalities

Source: Greater Kampala Economic Development Strategy Document

Wakiso district, which encircles the city and hosts the city's international airport, is the gateway into and out of the city and is home to 50 percent of the city's labour force. Many of the cultural and religious sites are in Wakiso, which has an extensive shoreline along Lake Victoria. The district hosts the highest number of urban municipalities as a result of its fast growth rates.

Mukono district is slowly translating into an industrial hub of the GKMA as the country's heavy industrial plants relocate to Namanve and Mbalala Industrial Parks in that district. Over 200 industries have relocated to Namanve Park and 50 industries are licensed in Mbalala Industrial Park.

The Mpigi district is proud of its agribusiness and links

to the fruit and vegetable growing areas and is considered the city's food basket. Its equator crossing presents a tourism opportunity and a common stop for visitors which also enjoy Uganda's world-famous wildlife. Mpigi's drum-making industry is closely linked to the country's traditions and culture.

Kampala city is home to the country's central business and finance district (CBD) and administrative arms of the government, with a historical role as the regional education and religious center. Kampala's centrality has favoured its position as a regional trade center for all East African countries.

The GKMA is the gateway to one of the world's most biologically and culturally diverse countries. Uganda is guardian of one of the world's most important ecosystems: 18,000 species, 1000 bird, 600 fish, and more primate species than any other country (Uganda Biodiversity assessment, USAID, 2006; Uganda Tourism 2014-2024 Master Plan).

The Greater Kampala Economic Development Strategy was therefore intended to exploit the local competitive advantages, address the above challenges to increased incomes, employment, and productivity of the overall city economy while taking advantage of the regional economic competitiveness as a lever for productivity and inclusive growth.

The GKMA Vision, Pillars, and Strategic Objectives

The strategy envisions the GKMA as a region united towards job creation, improved livability and sustainable development for all its citizens. The vision is in line with the UN Mission of not leaving anyone behind and is congruent with the theme of the second National Development Plan. The strategy presents three overarching pillars: A unique personality and metropolitan brand driven by vision, leadership, and commitment; a compelling business environment; and high quality of life.

Envisioned leadership, the strategy seeks to establish a coordinate institutional framework that will position and brand Greater Kampala as a magnet for foreign direct investment. It will promote the region's unique history, culture, and biodiversity for tourism while building institutional structures and capacity to guide and create an enabling environment for business to grow and generate new jobs. The strategy will also create platforms for public-private dialogue and strategic public-private partnerships that will enhance citizen engagement in building, reinforcing, and promoting the GKMA's overall brand.

An active and engaged political and technical leadership will also play a key role in articulating and promoting the GKMA's overall brand while drawing explicit linkages to key clusters, unique assets, and competitiveness that will drive job creation and business growth.

Business environment, the strategy seeks to establish and promote competitive business clusters with strong linkage to the hinterland and within the area that will translate the GKMA into a regional economic hub. The strategy will also seek to develop strong economic linkages to the rest of the country, East Africa, and the rest of the world. However, this requires the provision of strategic economic infrastructure needed to enhance connectivity, minimise congestion, and improve movement of goods and services within and across the region. Under this pillar, existing and new road networks will be upgraded and transport services under the GKMA's multimodal transport system will be implemented. The strategy will also focus on creating the necessary support infrastructure for the micro-, small, and medium-sized enterprises (MSMEs). Special emphasis will be put on the new and emerging sectors with capacity to create the next-generation jobs, needed for a rapidly changing technological and business environment. The strategy will strengthen competitive clusters through identification, development and promotion of the cluster value chain, and inter- and intra-cluster enterprise investment and growth. Business incubators, job centers for the youth and business engagement centers will be promoted under the strategy.

High quality of life, the strategy seeks to promote the GKMA as a region that offers residents and potential residents a high-quality place to live and raise their families. Under this pillar, high-quality social services like schools, healthcare facilities, organised public spaces, and security will be put in place. Enhancing the coverage of basic services like electricity, water and sanitation, and solid waste management services will also be prioritised. Improved land management that encourages high-density affordable housing will be incentivised. This will promote an efficient public transport service and create ample recreation facilities like stadiums and parks while offering vibrant cultural options and an attractive and welcoming green and flood-free environment. The strategy will promote ample green space and well-planned and well-connected, safe pedestrian walkways consistent with the GKMA brand.

To realise the proposed unique metropolitan economic

brand, the strategy puts forward the following five strategic objectives.

- i. Deliver World Class Economic Infrastructure
- ii. Conserve and Protect Unique environment Assets
- iii. Provide Business Support to informal sector, youth and major economic clusters with capacity to create jobs
- iv. Promote a Unique centre for Tourism
- v. Promote effective city and local government service delivery

Many flagship programs and projected to be executed have been put forward for each strategic objective to be implemented in the course of the next seven years up to 2025. These Programs and projects hereunder indicated in the table below:

Table showing Major flagship programs and Projects to be implemented under the GKMA economic development Strategy.

Strategic Objectives	Major Programs	Flagship Projects
1. World-class economic infrastructure	Strategic Roads Program	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Upgrade existing roads • Strategic investment in new roads
	Public Transportation Program	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pilot BRT key corridors • Light rail network • Non-motorized transport pilot
	Affordable Housing and Land Management Program	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High-density affordable housing pilot • Land zoning and land banking
2. Conserve and protect environmental assets	Comprehensive Solid Waste Management Program	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Modern waste management facilities • Community sensitization campaigns
	Lakes, Wetlands, Waterways Conservation Program	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lake Victoria and wetland environmental conservation

3. Business support to informal sector, the youth and economic clusters	Micro-enterprise workspace program	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development of artisan parks • Workspaces and markets for street vendors
	Business engagement and youth entrepreneurship development program	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Business engagement centers • Business incubation and job centers for youth
	Cluster Competitiveness Program	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strengthening existing clusters and attracting further enterprise investment
4. A unique center for tourism	Tourism development Program	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kampala tourism circuit • MICE Tourism • Cultural and Religious Tourism • Lake and Eco-tourism
5. Effective city and local government service delivery	Subnational Government Skills and Efficiency Program	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • E-governance roll-out, including ICT infrastructure and training • Capacity-building for local government officials

Table 1 Major flagship programs and Projects to be implemented under the GKMA

Source: Greater Kampala Economic Development Strategy Document

Conclusion

Transitioning Greater Kampala into a competitive and productive region capable of leading Uganda's transformation needs a coordinated and collaborated decision-making framework that allows critical stakeholders within the region to plan, implement, and deliver the critical strategic interventions needed to unlock the GKMA economic potential. This should be founded on a robust and conducive institutional and legal framework with a capacity to guide and direct an integrated approach to development planning and management. The establishment of the Ministry for Kampala and Metropolitan Affairs to coordinate inter-jurisdictional and Inter-ministerial mandates within the GKMA is a big positive step in the delivery of this strategy. GKMA is the first metropolitan area to be established in the

country successfully, its implementation will guide the establishment of other metropolitan areas.

The strategy, therefore, provides an opportunity for GKMA to develop strong institutions that can guide planning and encourage economic density while addressing key fundamental infrastructure challenges. Building requisite competences and capacity for improved and efficient service delivery in all local governments that form the GKMA is critical if local government are to transit from mere regulators to enablers of business; associated with this is the need to enhance firm capacity for productivity and growth that will broaden local economic base, drive economic growth, and create jobs and increased incomes.

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The emergence of slums: planning sites and services and upgrading

Stephen Mukiibi*

Abstract: *This paper discusses the emergence of slums. It starts by looking at the definition and characteristics of slums and then focuses on sites and services and slum upgrading as interventions that have been used for decades for improving slum conditions in various parts of the world with a brief focus on Kampala, Uganda. The discussion is mainly based on reviews of works from different authors on the subject of slum improvement and the related challenges.*

The paper concludes with the observation that slum improvement is complex and that the success of slum improvement interventions requires multi-pronged approaches from all stakeholders and goodwill and commitment from political leaders and community members. Slum improvement efforts should be augmented with strategies as improving household incomes of the slum dwellers, promoting slum improvement policies, supporting stakeholder partnerships, planning and providing strategic infrastructure, increasing access to housing finance to all, and checking rural-urban migration.

Definition and characteristics of slums

Slums have been defined in various ways (Cole, 2008). Many of these definitions have been found lacking because they are not sufficiently comprehensive to capture the complex nature of slums. In London during the 1820s “the term slum was used to identify the poorest quality housing and the most unsanitary conditions; a refuge for marginal activities including crime, ‘vice’ and drug abuse; and likely source for many epidemics that ravaged urban areas” (UN-Habitat, 2010:11). UN-Habitat (2010:10) further characterised a slum as “...a heavily populated urban area characterised by substandard housing and squalor”. Slums normally have high densities and low standards of housing. The contemporary use of the word slum is now more “loose and derogatory”, having many connotations and meanings. It has been “banned from many sensitive, politically correct and academically rigorous lexicons” (UN-Habitat, 2010:11).

Slums have been categorised in many ways. In Delhi, for example, slums were classified into four types – notified slums, unauthorised colonies, resettlement colonies, and squatter settlements (Kumar and Ishtiyag, 2010). UN-Habitat classified slums into two categories: slums of hope and slums of despair. Slums of hope are those that may be or have gone through a process of development, consolidation, and improvement. They usually have new developments, which might be illegal. Slums

of despair tend to be degenerating slums with declining neighbourhoods. Such slums have few new developments built in them (UN-Habitat, 2010). Despite the classification, which may be a result of how they were formed or their characteristics, all slums have some common traits regarding the challenges that society may wish to address.

Emergence of slums

Slums have existed for hundreds of years in many countries and especially in the developing world. The term ‘slum’ came into use in the 1820s in England because of the need to describe the challenging conditions poor urbanites were living in.

Nonetheless, it appears that slums only received widespread recognition after World War II. There are a number of factors that have led to the emergence of slums. Causes include rapid rural-to-urban migration, poverty and high unemployment, poor governance, poor planning, low incomes from agriculture, better job prospects, natural disasters and social conflicts (Alves, 2017; Swami, 2017; Tacoli et al., 2015; UN-Habitat, 2010).

The present paper is limited to rural-urban migration, poverty, poor governance and ill-designed policies.

Rural-urban migration

Most rural-urban migrants are poor and their migration leads to increased urban poverty. Many migrate to the urban environment in search of better oppor-

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tunities and access to infrastructure and services such as education, health and employment. In less-developed countries, urbanisation has been observed to increase at a rate of 2 percent annually, compared to 0.5 percent in highly industrialised countries (Mahabir et al., 2016). In Uganda, Kampala is urbanising fast at a rate of 5.87 percent per annum (UN-HABITAT 2003). This rapid rate that is largely a result of rural-urban migration has forced people to move into informal settlements in the city in search of better opportunities. This rapid growth of the population especially in Kampala, coupled with lack of capacity to plan, guide and manage urban development has encouraged the spread of slums in the city (Mukiibi and Khayangayanga, 2014).

Poverty

Slums have been associated with poverty in many countries. Unsurprisingly, countries with lower gross national incomes (GNI) have been observed to have a higher prevalence of slums and vice versa. Rapid growth in urban areas and the attraction of rural migrants into the city tend to concentrate poverty in places where life is relatively cheap and with fewer formal restrictions, thereby facilitating the formation of slums. These areas of concentration of poverty often lack access to water, electricity, public transport, social housing and other social amenities (Mahabir et al., 2016).

Poor Governance and Ill-designed policies

In less-developed countries, poor urban governance frequently precipitates the growth of slums. This is often a result of rigid and outdated urban planning regulations that impede the ability of slum-dwellers to meet their housing needs. These may be issues such as high building plan approval fees, rigid and high building standards, unfavourable regulations of land markets and failure of governments to incorporate slum dwellers in the overall planning process of development (Mahabir et al., 2016). Poor governance may be coupled with inappropriate policies meant to curb the growth of slums, such as slum demolition and relocation of slum dwellers, and poorly designed sites, services and slum upgrading programmes.

Characteristics of slums

Most slums in the world are found in or around urban areas. Worldwide, slums house over 1 billion people and this figure is expected to rise, especially in the less-developed world, where countries are unable to provide adequate infrastructure and services to their communities. While slums usually have unique characteristics, certain

traits tend to be common with many of them. They are often densely populated areas, sometimes in hazardous locations, lacking basic services, with substandard housing or illegal and inadequate building structures, unhealthy living conditions with high poverty levels and social exclusion.

The existence and growth of slums are complex phenomena, facilitated by many factors, and understanding some of these factors requires an interdisciplinary approach to their study and examination. Mahabir (2016) proposed contextualisation and conceptualisation in the study of slums. Under contextualisation, the variability of slums is captured; under conceptualisation, the “*focus is on the challenge of deriving an operational definition for slums, identifying data needs, as well as understanding the monitoring and analysis challenges associated with studying slums?*” (Mahabir et al., 2016: 400). In some cases, pro-slum policies and incentives have contributed to the growth of slums, as evinced by Alves (2017) in Brazil.

It is evident that the impacts of slums are profound. Many slum-dwellers live under constant physical and psychological threats from a number of internal and external factors such as inadequate housing, disasters, floods, evictions, insecurity and isolation. This negatively impacts the national economy, environment and social fabric (Mahabira et al., 2016). All these threats must be addressed.

Slums development in Kampala

The development of slums in Kampala is partly attributed to the segregations policies of the colonial administrators. In Uganda for example, the natives were not allowed in the central parts of Kampala and were relegated to the periphery of the city which resulted in the dualism of the city – the colonial, planned and organized Kampala and the city for ‘Africans’ in places such as Katwe, Mengo-Kisenyi, Bwaise and many others (Mukiibi, 2008).

Today, slum proliferation in Kampala is attributable to many other factors such as rapid rural-urban migration, poverty, poor governance, poor planning, high unemployment, high birth rate, natural disasters, social conflicts and inadequate capacity to plan, guide and manage urban development (Government of Uganda, 2008; Mukiibi and Khayangayanga, 2014).

Sites and Services

The concept of sites and services came about in the 1970s because of the failure of governments and states

to provide housing to their populations. With increased urban poverty, rapid urbanisation and economic downturn in many countries, government agencies could not keep with the demand for housing, especially for the low-income families in the rapidly growing informal settlements. At the same time, most rural-urban migrants lacked the financial resources and means to access decent housing. This situation increased the proliferation of slums and informal settlements in urban areas. Therefore, the focus shifted to the option of providing only serviced land. This was done in the hope that the beneficiaries would take advantage of their “sweat equity” to develop their dwellings at their own pace and within their means. Sites and services were largely popularised by the World Bank in the 1970s to help developing countries tackle the problem of housing for the urban poor (Laquian, 1983; World Bank, 1972). Actors’ participation in the sites and services schemes is usually based on the resources and regulations available like minimum housing standards, affordability and organisation of the beneficiaries. In some cases, the schemes have been used to provide sites only, while in other cases they are provided with basic infrastructures such as roads, water and electricity. Occasionally, where funds permit, a core housing unit is provided (Srinivas, undated). Hence, sites and services marked a radical shift from public housing provision.

Nonetheless, sites and services were also found to have limitations that tend to undermine efforts to supply decent shelter to poor people in urban areas. Because they are fragmented and based on the assumption that residents would contribute with their labour to build their own dwelling units, they end up failing to sustain the housing delivery system (Abbott, 2002). Srinivas (1998) identified five limitations of sites and services. First, they tend to be developed on relatively cheap land located at a distance from sources of infrastructure and services, as a way of minimising costs. However, this tends to raise the costs of service provision. Secondly, under these schemes, it is cumbersome to identify the right potential beneficiaries. The process is often manipulated, riddled with corruption and tends to preclude the poor. Thirdly, the challenges of organising and coordinating the various service providers often delay the provision of infrastructure services, rendering it inefficient. Fourthly, with the desire to have an “improved environment”, some implementing agencies tend to set high standards that are hard to achieve, thereby limit-

ing the beneficiaries’ participation and leading to subsequent sellout. In some cases, such standards also disrupt the existing social-economic and income generating activities, which further denies some members of society the opportunity for extra income. Fifth, sites and services often are implemented with a cost-recovery aspect with the hope that the schemes would be duplicated elsewhere for more beneficiaries. This rarely happens as cost-recovery from the poor is difficult to achieve.

Slum Upgrading

In the late 1980s, the failure of sites and services led to a new way of thinking, leading to slum upgrading with improved communal infrastructure and services with lower costs (Mahabir et al., 2016). Slum upgrading is not a proactive option to slum challenges, but rather one that deals with improving the existing slum environment.

Slum upgrading is a multi-sectoral intervention for improving the quality of life of residents within a given community (Abbott, 2002). Slum upgrading may include some aspects of sites and services and is seen as an affordable alternative to slum clearance, relocation or provision of public housing as it tends to minimise disruption of the social economic environment of the target communities (UN-Habitat, 2003). Slum upgrading programmes have been tried in countries such as India, South Africa, Kenya, Uganda and Brazil, with varying levels of success. Upgrading programmes have focussed on ensuring security of tenure of beneficiaries, improvement of sanitation and health, provision or improvement of social infrastructure, among other things (UN-Habitat, 2003). These slums upgrading programmes are often supported by international organisations, NGOs and national governments. In response to the growth of slums, the Government of Uganda has undertaken some slum upgrading projects in the country. They have been able to implement Slum Upgrading Projects in Namuwongo (Kampala), Malukhu (Mbale), Oli (Arua), and Masese (Jinja) to some degree of success (Mukiibi and Khayangayanga, 2014).

Slum upgrading approaches have particular challenges. They have been criticised for being inappropriate interventions borrowed from rich cities, which lack an understanding of environmental management issues and fail to create citywide impact, thus having a limited impact on the housing problem (Pugh, 2001; McGranahan, 1993; Syagg et al., 2001; Tebbal and Ray, 2001, Skin-

ner et al., 1987). Since then, attempts have been made to make them more comprehensive and holistic, taking the past criticism into account. Other challenges of slum upgrading schemes are that they mostly depend on the political commitment of those in power at various levels, require good governance, commitment and active participation of the community especially where most slum residents are tenants, are time-bound, and lack follow-up for maintenance and sustainability. Like sites and services schemes, slum upgrading interventions have difficulties of replication for similar reasons. In addition, meaningful upgrading is often undermined by the high costs of infrastructure provision, the lack of adequate information about the slum environment and needs, and inadequate monitoring (Mukiibi, 2008). Slum upgrading has transformed from its primary form of making physical improvements to the existing basic infrastructure services such as roads, electricity, water, sanitation, waste collection, and securing of land tenure to a more holistic approach that involves integration of social, economic, environmental and organisational interventions (Turley et al., 2012). Nonetheless, this transformation did not appear straightforward. For long, the focus was on the basic physical transformation; after all, in most cases, slum classification has been based on their physical characteristics. The physical approach was proven not to have any real impacts on the challenges faced by slums. Therefore, other measures came into consideration as participatory slum upgrading (PSU), which integrated a more holistic approach. The new concepts of PSU involve creating partnerships of various stakeholders such as the slum community, state, NGOs, CBOs, local authorities, the private sector and other interest groups to work together towards slum improvement. In addition to the multi-sectoral partnerships, the new approach strives to address issues of awareness, education, empowerment, governance and employment among others. This means that slum residents must be active participants in the whole process and they should have a buy-in to the decisions made, as they are likely to affect their livelihood. At the same time, the governments' commitment to improving slums is another crucial requirement for successful upgrading programmes. Governments often offer lip services to slum upgrading efforts (Das, 2015; UN-Habitat, 2003). Efforts to upgrade slums are often undermined by poor planning, lack of policy guidelines and corruption, as was captured in the field report by Bafo (2012), which examined the Kenya slum upgrading programme

of Kibera. However, Das (2015) argued that in order to accurately gauge PSU, it is important to disentangle material upgrading outcomes from empowerment.

From his experience in Monrovia, Cole (2008) observed that residents in the area were not adequately consulted and therefore could not fully embrace the upgrading programme. Cost recovery and maintenance budgets for various improvements were unrealistic, which meant that the benefits achieved were short-lived.

For the success of upgrading efforts, Cole (2008) suggested that upgrading programmes should include up-skilling of residents as a way of increasing their employability. Managers of the facilities should be trained prior to the implementation of the programme. Local labour, skills and expertise should be taken into account as a way of ensuring inclusiveness, stewardship and avoidance of resentment towards the programme. All stakeholders should work together to avoid duplication of efforts and to ensure efficient and impactful upgrading of the slums.

Conclusion

Slum improvement is a complex process that cannot be easily addressed by simple interventions. It requires innovative policies and strategic planning to address its multi-faceted challenges. Sites and services and slum upgrading have given hope to many in slums regarding quality of life. Most schemes still fall short in adequately addressing the challenges of the slum environment.

Sites and services and slum upgrading programmes have several limitations that need to be addressed to function appropriately and satisfy the needs of all actors. In some incidences like in Uganda, the programmes have often focused on homeowners, yet many slum dwellers are renters, which means that the programmes target mainly one group of residents. Resultantly, renters, feeling left out, do not actively participate in such programmes rendering them unsustainable and difficult to replicate. Such programmes are also easy to manipulate to the disadvantage of poor people.

In the absence of better alternatives, in upgraded schemes, sites and services and slum upgrading continue to enjoy wide support as the approaches for improving the livelihood of the poor. However, they are evolving more towards the enabling approaches geared towards interventions of poverty reduction among communities while creating a conducive environment for the vari-

ous stakeholders in the provision of housing to actively and positively play their role in the improvement of the slum environment. Whereas the enabling approach is a transformation that promotes the interaction of all stakeholders and good governance, it has been abused by nations that have abdicated their responsibility in the housing provision process. Slum improvement efforts should be augmented with strategies for improving household incomes of the slum dwellers, promoting slum improvement policies, supporting stakeholder partnerships, strategic infrastructure planning and provision, increasing access to housing finance to all and checking rural-urban migration.

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