PART II

PRIORITY ISSUES

2. LAND TENURE

Land is a critical element in the livelihoods systems of the urban poor. Land issues are the most complex yet important for any upgrading initiative. The current policies, institutions and processes, including laws and regulations, which govern people's access to land have historically treated land as a social asset and bedrock for existence of life, yet at this point in time the global need to scientifically manage land can no longer be overlooked. Separating the functions of ownership, management and development is overwhelming, so that the process of well-planned urbanization is sufficiently addressed. Land is not only discussed in terms of rights but historically, emotionally and politically. Uganda's history is such that changes in political governance have often resulted in changes in land tenure regimes based on legislative reforms.

Land reforms ushered in by the 1995 Constitution and the Land Act vested land in the Citizens of Uganda who privately own it either as *Mailo*, or Leasehold, or Freehold or Customary tenure¹⁷. Kampala City unlike other areas in Uganda has a multiple land tenure system with all the four systems of land ownership adequately represented. Kampala City Council does not own or have jurisdiction over all the land yet it has the mandate to effect development control in the City. Nearly half of Kampala (45%) is owned by private mailo landowners, 27% of land is held by the Buganda Land Board and is exclusively Kabaka's Land, 15% is held by the Kampala Land Board as a controlling authority of former public land, Uganda Land Commission, which holds land on behalf of the central government owns 10%, while 3% is freehold either held by institutions such as churches or by individuals¹⁸. Leasing by the Buganda Land Board (BLB) contradicts the planning and development control procedures consequently encouraging illegal construction.



Stakeholder's meeting. Photo: © Kampala city council

There are competing legitimate ownership claims to land across tenures, whereby an individual or different individuals can hold different layered interests on the same piece of land either as plot owners, tenants, lawful or bonafide occupants. The different sets of secondary tenure rights or claims in land are set against the primary rights of registered land owners or existing customary owners. Development control and planning has different tenure interest holders to deal with at every stage, this proves cumbersome and time consuming. It will be of utmost importance that the unclear tenure relations are streamlined as a starting point in slum upgrading to ensure an orderly and systematic approach to ascertaining ownership rights and secondary interests (rights) in order to facilitate the upgrading programme in terms of land tenure regularisation. It begins with realising that slum dwellers hold varied forms of layered and multiple rights in land, that create a land use impasse, where regularisation of tenure

¹⁷ Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, 1995 Chapter 237 (1) and (2)

¹⁸ Press Release in the New Vision September 1st 2005, By Simon Muhumuza Senior Public Relations Officer, Kampala City Counci/

is considered, and will be a major dilemma, when it comes to identification of beneficiaries.

2.1 Policy and Legal Considerations

Policy formulation on land is an on-going process¹⁹, and points out issues that are pertinent to slum upgrading. It is recognised, that:

- Planning for redevelopment is not one of the grounds for compulsory acquisition of land in the 1995 Uganda Constitution and leases to Urban Councils were revoked by the 1995 Constitution.
- Freehold granted before the Land Act Cap 227 and Mailo tenure pose some constraints to urban planning and orderly development, to urban planning and development. Hence question is raised whether these should be held in urban areas?

The above issues in the Draft National policy rhyme with the recognition that planning is one of the major problems affecting Kampala City given the individual tenure rights assigned across the city. Redevelopment of slum areas to a large extent requires acquisition of land at colossal sums of money in compensation of individuals' rights over land. The non-inclusion of planning as a condition for compulsory acquisition implies that Kampala City Council has to negotiate with each and every landlord, in case of redevelopment or upgrading, a situation that has left the council powerless in enforcing planning. The revocation of statutory leases implies that Kampala City Council no longer has residual rights in land and this poses problems in enforcement of land use and planning regulations²⁰.

The Land Act, 1998: significantly reformed land tenure resulting in improvement in access to land and security of tenure. However, the Act presents four tenure systems of mailo, customary, freehold and leasehold that are not conducive for orderly urban development, with an automatic implication on the high expense of providing public utilities and services. This leaves Kampala City Council with tremendous challenges for orderly development requiring resources to compensate land owners. There is no preferential or exclusive urban tenure system as the basis of urban development in Kampala. All the tenures are variously practiced under a free land market system, and these formal systems are overlaid by a number of informal occupancy mechanisms. This Act though recent, re-emphasizes the historical incidents of tenure and provides no framework to re-orient to dynamic concepts such as slum upgrading²¹.

The Town and Country Planning Act, 1964 consolidates the provisions for orderly and progressive development of towns. It provides for planning to be carried out in gazetted planning areas. This law is obsolete in several ways and is not compatible with the 1995 constitution because, much as it accords powers to Kampala City Council to plan for areas under its jurisdiction, the 1995 constitution says land belongs to the people. There have been attempts to reconcile this, through a proposed Urban Planning Bill²² to provide a legal framework, for identifying forms of standards and planning that will enhance the quality of life in

²⁰ Draft Issues Paper for the National Land Policy

²¹ Kampala District Development Plan, 2005-08

¹⁹ By the Ministry of Water, Lands and Environment, Drafting of the National Land Policy, whose Issues Paper was finalized in 2003

²² to be tabled by Ministry of Water, Lands and Environment and the Ministry of Local Government

urban areas without presenting the poor with unaffordable requirements.

It will be very important to ensure that policy and legal pronouncements sort out the complex land ownership and land use dynamics that have dogged city residents, including those in slums. Some of the key principles for disentangling land ownership issues are in legislation but are insufficient to address the situation or are not appropriately addressed to the competing interests and land use options.

2.2 Kinawataka

In Kinawataka, adjudication of land commenced in 1900, with the Buganda Agreement, which formally recognised dual rights in land (registered land, alongside the informal customary ownership of land). This dualism has continued to the present, where customary owners, tenants on former public land, and leasehold owners are all living side by side in the same locality. This arises because; land was originally for the natives, under the trusteeship of the Kabaka (King of Buganda) and formed part of the 9,000 sq. miles allotted to the Buganda Kingdom in the 1900 Buganda Agreement. Henceforth, descendants of the natives who are now elderly residents and their descendants settled in Kinawataka area long before, the boundaries of Kampala City stretched to absorb the area under a statutory lease.

Over the years, the status of land in Kinawataka, has been transforming with the regimes based on legislative reforms. Currently, the constitutional reforms of 1995 and the Land Act (Cap 227) as amendment by the Land (Amendment) Act, 2004, categorise the land in following ways:

All alienations of land out of statutory leases into leasehold or sublease by Kampala City Council as an urban authority were upheld. Therefore any land title issued to any resident in Kinawataka before the abolition of statutory leases is a valid title.

- All public customary owners (tenants) regained their rights in land as long as their land was not alienated into leasehold. Such owners apply to Kampala District Land Board for grant of a certificate of customary ownership. If the board is satisfied that the customary claim is true, through a procedure, the grant is made without conditions.
- Where an alienation happened to leasehold, and the customary tenant's interests (developments on land) at the time of alienation were not declared by the person seeking a leasehold or were not compensated or were totally ignored, such a customary tenant acquires a secondary interest of occupancy and by law can be issued a certificate of occupancy (encumbered on the leasehold). This person's security of occupancy is guaranteed by the Constitution.
- There are also portions of freehold land granted to Namirembe Diocese (Church of Uganda), during the 1900 Agreement allotments to missions. At the time of allocation, there were no tenants on such land, current occupiers or residents are licensees, who accessed it, with full knowledge that it belonged to the church and on terms and conditions set by the church. Residents on such land do not have ownership claims or any rights except those created by the church (such as leaseholds secured from the church for either 49 year or 99 years).
- Another category of land in Kinawataka is the railway reserve lands for Uganda Railways Corporation, alongside the railway line. In the upgrading initiatives, those that have settled in this reserve will have an uphill task because such settlements along the railway are prohibited by law.

Although, Kampala District Land Board is charged with the responsibility of ensuring that residents of Kinawataka regularise their tenure, through issue of certificate of customary ownership and certificates of occupancy. Majority of the residents in Kinawataka are ignorant of their status and rights in land by virtue of the reforms in the Land Act Cap. 227 and the 1995 Constitution that has transformed them into owners of the land on which they have lived customarily over the years.

However, Kinawataka has been selected by the Systematic Demarcation Committee of the Ministry of Water, Lands and Environment, as a pilot area for systematic demarcation of land feature urban tenure dynamics. This is an opportunity and a stepping stone for the Slum Upgrading Programme, because it will tackle the single most important foundation and trigger for all other desired changes that should take place with upgrading. Systematic demarcation will deliver to Kampala City Council, a cadastre map for Kinawataka, on which a physical plan for upgrading will be super-imposed and implemented.

2.3 Kagugube

Kagugube is largely dominated by privately owned *mailo* land with holders having rights equivalent to freehold. These have the overall supreme right of ownership over land and have powers to either subdivide or sell or give away to others. The land owners have been actively involved in sell of tenancy rights (*kibanja*) and subdivision of *mailo* titles into several smaller plots (locally referred to as *plooti*) this has created layers of secondary rights on *mailo* land. Another category are those created by the mailo owner or by the kibanja holder, by further subdividing into plots (*plooti*) which are a form of lease, whose rights are lesser than those of the *Kibanja*. There are 12 to 16 landlords in the whole of Kagugube parish²³, majority

of the residents are either Kibanja holders or plooti holders

The Constitution and the Land Act 1998 created permanent occupancy interests on mailo land for the Kibanja and plooti holders, this further worsen the poor relations between the landlords and tenants. It has prompted unprecedented land sales without the consent of the tenants, in order not to lose interests on land without consumerate value. Those with the correct political, legal and social connections, coupled with the ability to evict tenants have massively bought land from the desperate landlords. Tenants only find themselves being evicted and their houses demolished by purchasers who are politically and economically able to enforce an eviction with or without court orders, as a way of destroying evidence of developments on land and avoiding compensation for secondary rights and interests. This has created uncertainty and tenure insecurity for the Kibanja and plooti holders in Kagugube.

It is thus, the recommendation of residents that, unless the slum upgrading programme initially focuses on disentangling the tenure insecurity and uncertainty, it is no use thinking about slum upgrading in Kagugube. The majority who are Kibanja and plooti holders are keen on upholding the reforms of the Land Act Cap 227 in order to retain their secondary interests upon which a Certificate of Occupancy can be issued by Kampala District Land Board. This they assert will overcome tenure insecurity and the fear of massive evictions. However, because of the provisions for prompt and fair compensation before dispossession, it may be prudent for Kampala City Council to purchase the land from the 16 private mailo land owners identified in the area and re-allocate it by recognising the secondary rights of the residents and upgrading them to primary level on market value basis for the Slum Upgrading programme to succeed.

²³ Number could be confirmed because cadastre is not updated.

3. HOUSING

Housing is one of the major issues often tackled in slum upgrading in relation to housing tenure security, housing types, quality of housing, occupancy and use and the general environment for location of housing. The 2002 census shows that Country wide, only 17% of dwelling units were made of permanent roof, floor and wall materials. About 59% of dwelling units in urban areas were permanent compared 10% in rural areas. The most common type of materials used for construction of the dwelling units are mud and pole for the wall (50%), iron sheets (54%) or thatch (44%) for the roof and rammed earth (77%) for the floor²⁴. Available information from the 2001, National Report on Istanbul +5 indicates that Uganda housing stock stands at 3.8 million housing units with an average person size of 4.0 persons in the Urban and 4.9 in the rural areas.



Typical slum houses in pilot area. Photo: © Kampala city council

The two obvious problems that face people occupying informal housing in Kampala are tenure security and the provision of services. It is reported that 54% of Kampala's population stay in tenements (*Muzigo*), while 12% live in stores and garages. 65% rent their accommodation, while 71% occupy rooms rather than freestanding houses²⁵. This shows low housing standards and housing conditions because the quality of housing has not been controlled in Kampala, neither have standards been enforced. This is mainly because of the absence of a statute on building and laxity in the enforcement of building guidelines by Kampala City Council. The laxity is mainly due to political pressure and tendencies of negligence arising from bribery or corruption in the enforcement establishments or mechanisms²⁶. The upgrading initiative will have to design in-built safe-guards to avoid the effects of politics and corruption.

3.1 Housing Policy

Since the 1970's and 1980's, several policies have been pursued in the housing sector in Uganda. In 1979, Government outlined a National Human Settlement Policy²⁷ to improve access to infrastructure and services and upgrading schemes for spontaneous settlements, and to provide sufficient residential land and plots in urban areas. The implementation of this policy was manifested through two projects: Namuwongo Upgrading and Low Cost Housing Pilot Project in Kampala and Masese Self-help Women's project in Jinja.

In 1992, the National Shelter Strategy (NSS) was adopted as a means of formulating viable shelter strategies which are conducive to full mobilization of local resources and to strengthen policy making and housing programming capacities of key actors in housing delivery at all levels of administration. NSS

²⁴ UBOS, 2002, Census Report, page 15

²⁵ Kampala Development Plan, 2005-2008

²⁶ From Focus Groups Discussion in both Communities, this was established, although respondents were reluctant to specifically pinpoint individuals who promoted such tendencies, but insisted it was a major hindrance to compliance and a source of inappropriate housing construction.

²⁷ Eddie Nsamba-Gayiiya, 2000

adopted the "enabling approach" as its major policy under which Government operated to identify and remove bottlenecks that hamper housing development, by encouraging private sector participation in housing development. However, due to changes in national development ideology and other policies, NSS policy objectives were rendered irrelevant.

In 2005, a National Housing policy was drafted based on the ideologies and principles pf the national shelter strategy. The goal of the draft National Housing policy is a "well integrated sustainable human settlements, where all have adequate shelter with secure tenure, enjoy a healthy and safe environment with basic infrastructure services". It responding to a number of challenges²⁸, that are relevant to slum upgrading in the Cities without Slums Programme such as; the recognition that in urban areas, over 60% of residents stay in slums, characterized by poor sanitation, high disease incidence and frequent epidemics; the private nature of housing; the enforcement of minimum standards and prevention of negative externalities associated with overcrowding and poor sanitation and; the improvement of living conditions of the urban poor is of potential benefits to urban market for investment in properties and an effective land sector reform.

The policy principles are a departure from earlier policies and have a holistic view to housing that had not been previously expressed. It will be important to ensure that this policy is adopted and moves from "a draft policy" to "a policy" so that it proposals and principles can be implemented since they fully embrace the concept of slum upgrading. Subsequent to its adoption, legislation, regulation and guidelines for housing will have to be amended or passed to incorporate the changes it will have introduced. The policy also recognises the role of private sector in the provision of housing on a commercial basis²⁹

3.2 Kagugube

In Kagugube there are 2700 houses out of which 43.3% are permanent as opposed to the 17.2% temporary structures ³⁰ built using mud and wattle.



Types of Dwelling Unit

Source: Survey by KCC in pilot areas

Tenements (*mizigo*) are dominant housing units, constructed either as one room stand alones accounting for 63.8% or as hind extensions of commercial buildings or collectively in a chain format (locally referred to as a train) accounting for 16.3% with an occupancy of 5 to 7 adult persons and the average size of '10 feet by 10 feet' per room, rented at the sum of Uganda

²⁸ Draft National Housing Policy, 2004

²⁹ There is a vibrant private sector in housing construction which operates on commercial principles by constructing houses for sale. Some of these institutions include National Housing and Construction Corporation and AKRIGHT projects.

³⁰ Interview with Local Council 1 Chairman for Kagugube

shillings 10,000/= to 50,000/= (equivalent to US\$6-US\$30) per month. Tenements (mizigo) meet the housing needs of low income earners. Rental incomes from the tenements to landlords will be vital in the design of the upgrading programme.



Figure showing in the nature of shelter in Kagugube

Source: Survey by KCC in pilot areas

Housing constructed using permanent materials and iron sheet roofs accounts for more than 96% and burnt bricks are used in COnstruction for 61% of all housing units. Houses with cemented floors are 69%.

Figure showing types of Housing units in Kagugube Types of Units



Source: Survey by KCC in pilot areas

The most common tenure of housing is tenancy standing at 56%. Others are the owner-occupiers at 41%³¹. These statistics imply that a good number of the people residing in the area do not have direct control over the land and housing because they merely rent housing units. Land in Kagugube is privately owned under mailo land tenure where houses are either constructed by landlords or by tenants who have occupancy rights (kibanja owners) using their own savings, rather than approaching banking institutions or housing finance. However on a small scale, some kibanja owners do approach micro-finance institutions for loans to facilitate housing construction. In the last 5 years, housing has been improving at a remarkable speed. If the necessary social services were availed, chances of selfupgrading exist in this area.

³¹ Results of Household Survey by Kampala City Council, 2005

When asked what they would like to improve in their housing conditions, the residents of Kagugube suggested improvements in services provided, including electricity, street lighting, sanitary facilities, drainage and access roads. This is markedly different from the priorities expressed by residents of Kinawataka. This is because of difference in perception of intentions upgrading, where some residents are skeptical or suspicious that the council is going to grab their land or ban the slums. Attempts to frustrate data collection in this inception phase were evident (either politically or through mobilization), especially during validation meetings.

3.2 Kinawataka

The issues to address on housing in the pilot areas are the nature of housing, size, number of occupants/users, materials used for construction as they relate to durability and quality, tenure and desired improvements in housing conditions. In Kinawataka, 77% of housing is permanent in nature, constructed using sand, cement and iron roofs. Most of the housing structures have cemented floors standing at 80% coverage.

Teure of Unit



Source: Survey by KCC in pilot areas

The most common tenure of housing unit is tenancy standing at 63.5%, while owner-occupier accounts for 36.6%³². Findings from the KCC GIS Unit Room B 109 10/28/200513:47 indicate that a sizable number of the dwellings have been in the area for more than 10 years. In order to improve housing, the pilot community of Kinawataka prefers initially structural improvement of housing units, moving hand in hand with increased plot sizes that ensure improved access. This is because currently there are a number of housing units without appropriate access roads due to the smallness of land on which a particular unit is constructed. Improvements in drainage, electricity and human waste management mechanism are also mentioned as priorities in ensuring appropriate and adequate housing.

Type of Dwelling Unit



Source: Survey by KCC in pilot areas

There are three main types of houses: commercial buildings which house shops or some form of commercial activity, they are mainly situated along the roadsides and some are fairly well constructed in order

³² Results of Household Survey by Kampala City Council, 2005

to give customers, an impressive outlook for purposes of maximizing sales. The second category is tenements (mizigo) accounting for 43.7%, constructed either as one room stand alones or as hind extensions of commercial buildings or collectively in a chain format (locally referred to as a *train*) accounting for 29.4%. The third category of houses, are the well-built executive residential bungalows and mansions for landlords (either holding land in leasehold tenure or as customary owners) accounting for 17.1%, are located at northern boundary of the slum area.

In Kinawataka, secure housing is only guaranteed for house owners or land owners, the majority of the population that depend on tenements (*mizigo*) are insecure until such a time when rent is paid or income for rent is assured. Initially, all residents built temporary structures because Kampala City Council would not allow residents (because Kinwattaka was public land held by Kampala City Council) to build using any form of permanent materials. This is because development in such areas implied higher compensation costs in event of redevelopment.

The tenements (*mizigo*) are considered a major source of income, despite their quality and form, the residents consider the rent costs for mizigo affordable at 10,000/= to 50,000/= (US\$6 to US\$30) per month. Rental income (to landlords and house owners) is considered to be a key part of the economy (in terms of raising funds for education costs for children) to the extent that, if the upgrading programme does not set aside demolition or outright banning of tenements and commercial buildings without consideration of the income implications, it is bound to fail.³³



Nature of Housing in Kinawatakas

The low quality of housing is also a reflection of low incomes and the utilisation of own savings to undertake construction, since majority are unable to access housing finance or credit to invest in housing improvement. This is because the conditions and collateral required for loans by commercial banking institutions are not achievable, for example the requirement for a land title. There must be financing for housing development, and standards for beneficiaries, or else the intended beneficiaries will sell off, so that those who can afford take over as beneficiaries of the upgrading initiative.

Source: Survey by KCC in pilot areas

³³ Focus Group Discussions with Landlords and Community Leaders

Situation Analysis of Informal Settlements in Kampala —

4. GARBAGE COLLECTION AND DISPOSAL

Uncollected garbage. Photo: © Kampala city country

Garbage collection is currently one of the most critical services, whose quality and coverage has caused serious public outcry in slum areas. Kampala City Council acknowledges that the amount of garbage generated overwhelms the capacity of the council to collect and dispose it given the fact that cost of garbage collection is enormous³⁴. It is thus common to see heaps of uncollected solid waste in most parts of the city which resulted in offensive odour, continuous environment pollution and repeated occurrence of sanitation related diseases like cholera and dysentery.³⁵ The increasing refuse generation trend is attributed to the rapid population growth, unprocessed food stuffs, people's feeding habits and lack or limited recycling and waste reduction strategies and initiatives even on a private basis. In 1991, only 13% of the garbage generated was being collected, currently 39% is collected and transported to land fill site, this coverage is still inadequate, recent studies indicate that a modest coverage of 70% would be acceptable in the short term.³⁶

4.1 Solid Waste Management Strategy

Kampala City Council designed a 'Strategy to improve Solid Waste Management' in 1999, which was revised in 2002 based on a pilot project in Makindye Division that showed successful privatization of garbage collection, where people were willing to pay for the garbage collection in the rich neighbourhoods. During the Pilot, refuse collection coverage increased from 10% to 80% in the division, while the unit cost of collection reduce from Uganda shillings 11,300/m3 to 4,500/ m3 (US\$8/m3 to US\$3/m3). Until 1999, the council was solely responsible for solid waste management under the City Engineer and Surveyor's department, this responsibility was transferred to the Public Health Department, as refuse collection was associated with epidemics such as cholera that had become rampart³⁷.



Garbage collection. Photo: © Kampala city country

³⁴ From Key informant Interviews, with different officials from Kampala City Council, during the data collection process for this inception report, in June 2005.

³⁵ community's willingness to pay for solid waste disposal, Mohammed pg 9

³⁶ Kampala City Council, 2002 Strategy for improving the Management of Solid waste

³⁷ Kampala City Council, 2002 Strategy for improving the Management of Solid waste

Currently, the strategy is structured along two basic components, solid waste collection and transportation which is the responsibility of the divisions in Kampala and solid waste disposal that is the responsibility of the council headquarters. The current policy on garbage collection as articulated is a gradual privatisation of collection and transportation where by private firms collect garbage or refuse directly from the beneficiaries at a fee. There are currently about 10 private collection service at a fee ranging from between Uganda shillings 20,000-30,000 (US\$12-20) per month for a bi-weekly service. These account for about 10% of all refuse delivered to the land fill site (4% of all the refuse generated)³⁸.

In the short term, the council subsidizes the low income areas (including slums, given the fact that the response to this in slum areas has been poor because people are used to skips and free solid waste services). Charging of a fee will enable the council to provide an efficient service with desirable coverage. Management of the land fill is contracted out as plans for privatisation of the disposal service are being worked out. The strategy also acknowledges levels of waste stream generation often dealt with using on site disposal systems such as incinerators and the absence of waste reduction and recycling strategies except those advanced by private sector and civil society organizations.

4.2 Kagugube

Privatized garbage collection is already operational in Kagugube, although residents don't want to pay for garbage collection, thus in the start, Kampala City Council had continued to avail subsidized or free services. However, moves have been made to sensitize residents on the change of policy, though this has been

marred by political intrigue, since politician find this a fertile ground for soliciting support by de-campaigning such a programme ³⁹.



Source: Survey by KCC in pilot areas

³⁸ Ibid, page 4

³⁹ Interview with Chairman LC1 Kagugube

Figure showing methods of garbage collection at household level in Kagugube



Source: Survey by KCC in pilot areas

78% of garbage generated in Kagugube is bio-degradable. The method of storage at household level is basically polythene bags (kavera) and this is later disposed at a central collection place. Access to the collection points is averagely 100-500metres from the household a distance taken to be reasonable for every one to access the facility. Other methods of disposal identified were; open dumping, burning and composting⁴⁰. Residents of Kagugube face a number of problems associated with garbage collection, major among then being the distance from the household to the site of disposal or truck and the delay in collection which results in decomposition, thus giving of bad odour and a sense of pollution.

It is the opinion of residents that the parish committee recruits personnel at parish level to manage garbage collection, particularly the youth, this would not only be efficient, but would also serve as a source of income.

4.3 Kinawataka

For all garbage generated in Kinawataka parish, 65% is biodegradable waste implying the need for timely collection, before decompositions or degeneration into substances that may become health hazards. There are instances where re-use of some of the non-bio-degradable wastes has occurred especially by women groups. However, there is a general delay empting the skips which creates aesthetic problems (unsightly and bad odor) which forces others to use open dumping as a means of disposal which becomes an environmental hazard especially given the means of storage used (improvised containers, Polythene bags and old dust bins)⁴¹

Initially, Kampala City Council, availed garbage skips in designated areas, emptied on a routine basis, though often with delays, until the current wave of privatized garbage collection. Though not fully commenced in Kinawataka as yet, the garbage skips have been removed and in their place a lorry truck has been provided, this traverses the main access road across the community collecting garbage. The truck has no specific time table, but often plies the route once a week with provision for only one route, this implies that people living at a distance from the main access road are not catered for and should the truck fill up

⁴⁰ Survey by Kampala City Council officials in the pilot sites, 2005

⁴¹ Survey by Kampala City Council officials in the pilot sites, 2005

before garbage for the whole area is collected, then it remains behind.

As a consequence uncollected garbage is dumped along the road or in residences of the community leaders as a sign of frustration. Alternatively garbage is packed in polythene bags and dumped next to the railway line where an excavation pit is serving as dumping site. It is the view of residents that privatized collection is possible if consensus is built on schedule of the truck and collection points for the system to serve its purpose. Kinawataka Women's Initiative suggested investing in recycling machines to transform the garbage collected into manure⁴² this suggestion though set aside by the community during the validation meetings is an innovative way of managing garbage and improves environmental health, it can also be a source if income.

5. ROADS AND ROAD MAINTENANCE



Slum road. Photo: © Kampala city country

Roads and road maintenance emerged as one of the crucial issues to consider during upgrading in the pilot areas. Road maintenance is associated with transport costs, congestion and drainage. Kampala City Council is responsible for opening up, rehabilitation and maintenance of roads within the city and its suburbs. This responsibility is carried out under the 'Kampala Urban Transport Improvement Programme' funded by World Bank where Kampala City Council widens roads and tarmacs roads to relieve the traffic from the main highways as one exits from the city centre. This is one opportunity where slum areas and roads within slums could benefit.

Drainage is often poor and limited to major roads and pathways, the resulting floods make deterioration rates very high and cause a rise in road maintenance costs. The existing drainage structures are often constructed, during the process of road construction, but the maintenance is poor, hence they are regularly blocked.

5.1 Kinawataka

In Kinawataka there is only one side drain along the main access road without tributary drains on feeder roads joining it, therefore, whenever it rains, it silts and floods. When silt is removed, it is heaped on the roadside, and when it rains again, it immediately washes back into the drainage. Residents of Kinawataka suggest that the maintenance and management of road drainage be devolved to parish level, like in Kisenyi where such a decision was taken and the effort is working well.

In the past, the youth in Kinawataka, mobilized themselves to undertake unblocking road drainages and ensuring their maintenance as a way of securing employment, if Kampala City Council could avail funds budgeted for this purpose at division level. However, their plans were frustrated, by poor response from officials, and the initiative collapsed.

The roads in Kinawataka are murram and dusty, yet its serves as a diversion route for the main highway (Kampala-Jinja), for relief of congestion during traffic jams. Residents feel that the standards applied in construction and maintenance of their roads, are not appropriate, because they are narrow, dusty and constructed with a thin layer of murram, which erodes easily. They argue that Kampala City Council hires the services of sub-standard contractors for the annual re-gravelling, who do not deliver value for money. As a solution it was suggested that instead of spending on maintenance of a long stretch of murram road, it would be better to tarmac a road kilometre by kilometre even if it takes 5 years, using the resources currently availed for maintenance annually.

5.2 Kagugube

In Kagugube drainage was built by Concern World-Wide an NGO which collaborated with a local community based organisation MAKDEO, resulting in a drastic reduction of flooding. Occasionally, the Local Councils mobilize the community to clean the drains by removing the silt. This has given rise to fairly good drainage in the area, though the problem is still with the residents who are always hesitant towards communal unblocking of the drains. With regard to transport, a good number of residents use public transport in form of taxis, boda-boda cyclists (has recently doubled). Others resort to walking over long distances (often to and from the city) to reach workplaces and return home, hence there is intense pedestrian activity on all major roads. However, a number a problems are associated with these modes of transport ranging from accidents, bad roads, high fares and taxis being too few to provide adequate service (see diagram for Kagugube below)⁴³.

There is no open space planning in both pilot areas of Kinawataka and Kagugube. Existing play grounds are created by children by converting unused spaces which belong to other persons as their recreation grounds.

⁴³ Survey by Kampala City Council officials in the pilot sites, 2005