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The terrain of urbanisation process and policy frameworks: A critical analysis of the Kampala experience

Fred Bidandi^{1*} and John J. Williams¹

Abstract: Kampala is urbanising in an unplanned manner, but without a clear picture of the underlying dynamics. The city is characterised by lack of proper zoning of economic activities and construction of physical infrastructure without regard to subsequent spatial quality and environmental conservation. Consequently, there are sharp differences in residential standards where expensive housing and luxury flats co-exist with shanty towns and informal settlements, with about 60% of the city's population living in unplanned informal settlements and often faced with challenges of unemployment. The unprecedented increase in the urban population in Kampala and the prospects for further increases in the near future have economic and social implications concerning employment, housing, education and health, among others. Understanding the nature of the dynamics of the growth or decline of cities like Kampala helps planners to support the processes that lead to harmonious urban development and to deal with the negative consequences of urban growth. This paper reflects the urbanisation dynamics explaining Kampala's urbanisation process with the view to analysing the implications for an alternative urban



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PUBLIC INTEREST STATEMENT

The purpose of this study is to investigate the dynamics or changes explaining Kampala's urbanisation from 1990 to 2013 with a view of analysing their implications regarding the city's planning process. This analysis is carried out because of the city authority's failure to contain the haphazard manner in which Kampala is urbanising. Moreover, it should be noted that policies being applied to guide the planning process are not effective as far as dealing with rapid urbanisation currently taking place. This study is based on the assumption that, all urban policy planners and implementers need a better understanding of urban dynamics in order to design (and implement) innovative, inclusive and sustainable urban policies within the context of socioeconomic development characterised by increasing urban population, demand for social services, unemployment, crime and better ways of improving the quality of life of ... urban citizens.

policy framework. It argues that the conditions that have allowed the situation to exist have serious policy implications which require the need for an integrated policy framework that can be used to effectively prevent or halt Kampala's unplanned urbanisation while promoting planned urbanisation. Induced by the migration and lack of information, understanding urban dynamics is crucial to the development of urban policies that can effectively ensure that further urban changes occur in a systematic and satisfactory manner. The current urban process in developing countries like Uganda is associated with poverty, environmental degradation and population demands that outstrip service capacity.

Subjects: Development Studies, Environment, Social Work, Urban Studies; Politics & International Relations; Urban Studies; Urban Policy; Urban Politics; Built Environment; Geography

Keywords: Uganda; Kampala; planning; urbanisation; urban dynamics; policy

1. Research problem statement

The existing urban policies and legal instruments in Kampala provide limited understanding regarding the dynamics underlying the city's urbanisation, consequently causing concern for policy makers, planners and implementers (Kampala Capital City Authority (KCCA), 2010a; Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development, 2013). Yet all urban policies and legal instruments are enacted with the intent to provide such an understanding, thereby facilitating their implementers to ensure that urbanisation occurs in a planned manner (McKeown, 2012). Why then are those used in Kampala failing to do so? This study seeks to answer this question by analysing the dynamics in terms of the flaws that cause urban policies and legal instruments applied in Kampala to fail to guide the city to urbanise in a planned manner.

2. Introduction to urbanisation and lack of understanding of urban dynamics

Cities across the globe attract people for reasons such as employment opportunities, education, and health care, and this is so because they (cities) extensively contribute to national and urban economies. However, often urbanisation, as in this case, is associated with poverty, environmental degradation and population demands that outstrip service capacity (Bidandi, 2015). The above conditions create unpleasant urban environments which lead to numerous dynamics such as poor housing, increased demand for infrastructure development, overcrowding, air pollution, transportation, insufficient or contaminated drinking water, inadequate sanitation and solid waste disposal, industrial waste, increased motor vehicle traffic, stress associated with poverty and unemployment, among others (Mukwaya, Sengendo, & Lwasa, 2010).

Urbanisation in Uganda and Kampala in particular has translated into rising slum establishments, increased poverty, inequality, insufficient basic infrastructure, and poor service delivery (De Blij & Muller, 2000). Moreover, Uganda's capital, Kampala, is experiencing unprecedented rates of urbanisation that are higher than the resources the city can offer as per the demands of the population. This scenario provides an understanding of how urbanisation impacts negatively on urban service delivery (Mukwaya et al., 2010).

This study provides an understanding based on the hypothesis aptly articulated by the European Commission (2013, p. 10) that,

urban policy planners and implementers need a better understanding of the dynamics of urbanisation in order to design (and implement) innovative, inclusive and sustainable urban policies within the context of socioeconomic development characterised by increasing population, reduced pressures on social services and natural resources, job creation, reduced urban risks and crime, and better ways of improving the quality of life of urban citizens.

This hypothesis is further based on Hassan's (2011, p. 1251) observation that, "Urban planners and administrative bodies" require reliable information to assess the consequences of urbanization, to ensure a sustainable functioning of megacities and to minimize negative impacts of rapid urbanisation. Urban expansion that takes place in an unplanned manner is usually a result of administrators' lack of or limited information about its dynamics.

Different studies on urbanisation dynamics indicate that a comprehensive understanding of urban dynamics is crucial, especially on matters related to urban policy development since policies can effectively assist in addressing negative urban consequences and also ensure that further urban changes occur in a systematic and satisfactory manner (Atkinson & Marais, 2006; Bannon, 2004; Batra, 2009; CIAT, 2003; Jiboye, 2011; OECD, 2009; UNFPA, 2010).

It is argued that urbanisation problems in Kampala are replicas of the general urban dynamics in Africa, in particular the lack of a comprehensive understanding of existing responsible dynamics (Bidandi, 2015). Kampala's urbanisation dates back to the time when the city became the official capital of Uganda in October 1962 (Kasibante, 2011; Mukwaya et al., 2010; Omolo-Okalebo, 2010). Like many other cities in the world in their infancy, Kampala was urbanising at a slow pace and such a pace could have given Kampala City authorities time to plan, particularly on issues related to provision of public services needed for this slowly increasing urban population (Byaruhanga & Ssozi, 2012). Despite the continued slow growth rate, authorities failed to take advantage of this to do proper planning. This could have been done without any need to first understand the underlying dynamics. This understanding was further neglected when the pace of Kampala's urbanisation declined in the 1970s because of the economic embargos, mismanagement of Uganda's economy, and an atmosphere of insecurity that characterised the late President Amin's dictatorship (Kasekende & Atingi-Ego, 2003).

The pace of Kampala's urbanisation started rising from 1990, but even then not much was done to understand the underlying dynamics in a comprehensive manner. However, gradual growth has not been taken into consideration and yet the rising rate is signalling a clear need for containing the negative dynamics (unplanned urbanisation) while encouraging those that are promoting planned urbanisation (Kasekende & Atingi-Ego, 2003).

3. Urbanisation contextualised

Urbanisation in most Sub-Saharan Africa is largely due to neglect of rural areas and the inadequate allocation of resources such as operational expenses and insufficient investment in rural infrastructure, agriculture, schools and hospitals. This neglect is aggravated by government policies, including marketing of agricultural products, which push farmers and their families into the cities (Brown, 2012). While urban centres may as well be under-served by essential services relative to their residents' needs, the provision of infrastructure and social services is by and large better there than in rural areas. Accordingly, the comparatively high concentration of social services and potential employment opportunities in urban areas, together with the allure of city life, are important factors attracting rural people to cities (Kasibante, 2011).

Urbanisation in Sub-Saharan Africa cities and Kampala in particular, has not been accompanied by the necessary growth of infrastructure, services and industrialisation. Of particular concern are weak and poor urban management capacities, the growth of slums, unemployment, and uncontrolled development. In light of the above, urbanisation in Kampala could be addressed through integrated urban policy framework.

Today, Kampala is urbanising at a rapid rate, estimated to be between 5.2 and 16% per annum (Amayo, 2013; Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development, 2013; Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2009). The latest statistics indicate that Uganda's urban areas claim 20% of the country's estimated 35 million people (World Bank, 2013), but over 40% of these people are resident in Kampala City (Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2009). It is noted that Kampala's current population size

has an effect on the city's planning implications. The conditions that have allowed this situation to exist continue to impact on the city's planning processes and service delivery while at the same time city officials seem to ignore the expansion.

Kampala is, however, urbanising in an unplanned manner (Lucas, 2004; Mohan, Pathan, Narendrareddy, Kandya, & Pandey, 2011; Rossi-Hansberg & Wright, 2007; Storeygard, 2012), but without a clear picture of the underlying dynamics such as population growth, spatial quality and unemployment, among others. Studies conducted about Kampala's urbanisation indicate that the process is characterised by lack of proper zoning of economic activities and construction of informal and formal physical infrastructure without regard to the subsequent spatial quality and environmental conservation (Hepworth & Goulden, 2008; Kampala City Council, 2008; Kasibante, 2011; KCCA, 2010a; Lwasa, 2010; Rwakakamba, 2008, 2009; Somik, 2012). Kampala's urbanisation depicts sharp differences in residential standards where expensive housing and luxury flats co-exist with shanty towns and informal settlements, with about 60% of the city's population living in unplanned residences with largely potholed and narrow roads without street lights (Lwasa, 2014). Other studies show that Kampala's urbanisation is typified by deteriorating environmental health characterised by air and noise pollution (Byaruhanga & Ssozi, 2012; Kashaka, 2014; Lwasa, Nyakaana, & Senyendo, 2007; Ministry of Lands, Housing & Urban Development, 2013; Mukibi, 2011; Mukwaya et al., 2010; Namara, 2011; National Environment Management Authority, 2012; Nyakaana, 2013; Wakabi, 2009; Watuwa, 2013).

The city's drainage channels are silted and contaminated by organic and inorganic waste dumped by city dwellers and workers, causing the channels to get blocked, thereby flooding during rainy seasons (Lwasa, 2010; Mukwaya, 2004; National Water & Sewerage Corporation, 2011; Ogwang, 2013). However, it is very common to find houses constructed in swamps and green belts, arcades and storied buildings closely interspaced with muddy huts in slums (KCCA, 2010a). Moreover, it is also not rare to find posh residential and office buildings whose access roads are so narrow that even a fire brigade vehicle finds it difficult to access when the need arises. The result has been the development of different types of slums. Kampala City is now characterised by uncoordinated slums for the poor and slums for the rich, with the former type of slums being occupied by the urban poor and latter type being set up by opulent Ugandans in the form of random erection of multi-billion posh residences.

Kampala's urbanisation is also characterised by rising unemployment resulting from the demand for jobs which far outstrip their supply (Ministry of Lands, Housing & Urban Development, 2013; Ogwang, 2013). The city's unemployment is estimated to be between 60s and 80% and is cited among the critical causes of crime and violence increasing in the city (Mazige, 2011; Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development, 2013). Apart from unemployment problems, there is also a growing population pressure on social services and menacing traffic congestion being the order of the day (Kasozi, 2013; Kato, 2009; KCCA, 2010a, 2010b; Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development, 2013; Nyende, 2010).

Scholars such as Hailu (2012), Seto et al. (2012), Storeygard (2012), Netto (2011), Henderson (2005), and Katz and Coleman (2001) observe that planned urbanisation results in the development of cities and towns that not only serve as mere spaces for habitation, production and services but also as vital centres and shapers of socio-economic development, spatial planning, and residential quality. Moreover, Brown (2012, 2013) analyses Uganda's urban policy with emphasis on Kampala from two different perspectives. In the first perspective, Brown (2012) observes that the planning of the National Urban Policy for Uganda (UNUP) does not pay attention to full participation of the different key stakeholders, including NGOs, CBOs, the academic community, the private sector, and the different levels of government. Brown argues that these are vital dynamics that could have been considered and understood in order to ensure that Kampala urbanises in a systematic manner. Essentially, Brown's argument indicates that the two dynamics (planning & National Urban Policy) he points out are not catered for in a manner that would have enabled the UNUP to be effective in guiding Kampala's urbanisation in a planned manner.

In the second analysis Brown (2013) focuses on the most recent draft of UNUP, pointing out that the planning of this draft does not pay attention to dynamics such as urban food security, the gender dimension, inequalities of power and the subsequent gradations of poverty within urban communities. Brown maintains that UNUP's focus on economic opportunities, better administration and slum upgrading would not meet the larger urban challenges such as urban food security and poverty and unemployment. In this light, the study carried out by UNUP does not pay attention to the dynamics pointed out by Brown because of the existing lack of a thorough understanding of urban dynamics and their policy implications.

4. Methodology

This study discusses the dynamics of Kampala's urbanisation for the period 1990–2013 and further identifies the dynamics which need to be integrated in a policy framework in order to effectively prevent or halt the city's unplanned urbanisation while promoting planned urbanisation.

A mixed methods research design was used to facilitate the collection and analysis of both qualitative and quantitative data needed to understand Kampala's urbanisation (Neuman, 2011). Burnham, Lutz, Grant, and Layton-Henry (2008) assert that research represents the voice of citizens in the policy-making process.

However, a mixed methods design was achieved based on a thorough understanding of the social economic attributes of the study (Andrews, 2012; Bidandi, 2015; Giadino, 2009). The collection of quantitative data is underpinned by the rationale of the study which posits that social phenomena and their meanings exist objectively and independently of a researcher (Schwandit, 2003). The data sample comprised of 720 households who participated in the study. Of this number 54 were from Kampala Central Division, 162 from Kawempe Division, 185 from Makindye Division, 139 from Nakawa Division, and 180 heads of households from Rubaga Division.

Qualitative data was collected using interviews conducted with key informants who included officials in charge of planning for and administration of Kampala City's urbanisation (Giadino, 2009). Data was analysed using the thematic procedure of the content method of qualitative analysis (Andrews, 2012). Secondary qualitative data was collected using documents related to Kampala's urbanisation.

The review of the documents was identified based on the relevancy of the objectives of the study. The analysis was accomplished by reading through all the sections of each of the documents identified to identify the gaps or weaknesses that were needed so as to improve the planning, implementation and intervention measures related to Kampala's urbanisation process. Specific areas in which the analysis focused included the comprehensive urban policies in terms of funding, ethical observance and policy outputs, and their monitoring and evaluation (Giadino, 2009).

5. Analysis

5.1. Dynamics to integrate Kampala's urban policy framework

After establishing the dynamics explaining Kampala's urbanisation, the dynamics which need to be integrated in a policy framework were identified, specifically to prevent or halt Kampala's unplanned urbanisation while promoting planned urbanisation. Hassan (2011, p. 1251) elucidated that planned urbanisation requires reliable information about the city's dynamics in order to minimize the negative impact of rapid urbanisation. Establishing these dynamics involves, first, identifying urban features that city residents expect from an urban policy ideal for development and transformation. It also involves identifying dynamics that would enable Kampala's urban policy implementers to bring about these aspects while countering the dynamics that cause the city to urbanise in an unplanned manner.

Table 1. Urban features residents expect from Kampala’s ideal urban policy

Features	Percentage of city residents revealing the features (N = 720)
Bus/taxi stops not exceeding five minutes instead of taxi/ bus parks	69.4
Bus/taxi parks in neighbouring districts instead of being in the city centre	69.4
Commercial parking towers for privately owned cars instead of street parking	58.3
Modern railway transport	83.3
Executive metro shuttles	58.3
Proper economic zoning of the central business district	58.3
Orderly billboard advertising in the central business district	51.4
Wide roads	69.4
Flyovers	55.5
More by-passes	51.4
Quality high-housing instead of lateral slummy housing	58.3
Efficient delivery of health services	83.3
Modern and adequate market centres	55.5
Having no vehicles in dangerous mechanical condition on Kampala roads	51.4

5.2. Urban features city residents expect from Kampala’s ideal urban policy

Features in the table below were established by city residents by indicating what they need in Kampala but was missing. Findings from thematic and descriptive analysis of their responses are presented in Table 1.

Among the features identified, 83.3 percent of the respondents indicated that the introduction of a modern railway transport system would provide room to mitigate the collapsed public transport system in the city. Similarly respondents expect the city government to introduce executive metro shuttles, and proper economic zoning in the central business district (Nyakaana, 2013). Besides, given unprecedented population growth in the city and its impact on the health sector, respondents indicated an improvement in the provision of health services (Nyakaana, 2013). Meanwhile, 69.4 percent indicated that the city’s policy should include bus/taxi stops not exceeding five minutes instead of bus/taxi parks in neighbouring districts. The concentrated taxis/buses in the city centre where roads are too narrow and often cause serious traffic jams should be addressed. Furthermore, 58.3 percent indicated the need for the provision quality housing instead of lateral slums. Also, according to the study findings, 51 percent of city residents indicated that the city should have an ideal urban policy in order to effectively address the city’s dynamics. The fact that city residents want a policy that promotes high-housing and proper economic zoning in Kampala confirms Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development (2013) observation that Kampala needs a policy that can guide its urbanisation through zoning and promoting proper spatial distribution of physical developments. They also confirm Fujita, Henderson, Yoshitsugu, and Tomoya’s (2004) argument that well zoned economic activities yield satisfaction to city residents.

Generally, findings in Table 1 indicate that an urban policy that most city residents consider ideal for Kampala is one that can transform the city in a modern manner characterised by better and efficient management and provision of better quality housing, health and decongested transport services. Respondents indicate that they require an urban policy that promotes proper zoning of economic activities, provision of modern and adequate market centres, and orderly bill-board advertising, especially in the central business district. Moreover, findings indicate that instead of having taxi and bus parks in the city centre, the ideal policy has to promote five-minute taxi/bus stops while encouraging taxi/bus parks in the neighbouring districts.

Table 2. The dynamics city residents want integrated in Kampala’s ideal urban policy

Dynamics	Percentage of city residents revealing the dynamics (N = 720)
Transferring all taxi parks from central business district to neighbouring districts	66.7
Transferring all bus parks from central business district to neighbouring districts	66.7
Introducing five-minute bus/taxi stops	58.3
Providing each parish with a well-equipped health centre	76.4
Organising, not abolishing downtown economic activities	55.5
Removing street vendors and unplanned kiosks from roadsides and integrating them in upgraded downtown markets	55.5
Replacing commercial street parking with commercial parking towers so as to widen the roads	51.4
Slum upgrading	65.3
Demolishing commercial buildings whose construction did not follow approved plans	55.5
Establishing flyovers, executive metro shuttles and by-passes	51.4

6. The dynamics city residents want integrated in Kampala’s ideal urban policy

In terms of the dynamics which residents want integrated in Kampala’s policy framework, a thematic and descriptive analysis is shown in Table 2.

Analysis of data provided by Kampala residents reveals that 76.4 percent want an urban policy which ensures that each parish has a well-equipped health centre. Other processes include transferring all taxi and bus parks from the central business district to neighbouring districts (66.7 percent) and introducing five-minute bus/taxi stops (58.3 percent). Others include slum upgrading (65.3 percent), organising, not abolishing downtown economic activities, removing street vendors and unplanned kiosks from roadsides and integrating them in upgraded downtown markets, and demolishing commercial buildings whose construction did not follow approved plans. Each of these dynamics is proposed by 55.5 percent of the city residents. Other dynamics include replacing commercial street parking with commercial parking towers so as to widen the roads, and establishing flyovers, executive metro shuttles and by-passes, each of which was suggested by 51.4 percent of the city residents.

A scrutiny of the findings above reveals that the dynamics that city residents want integrated in the urban policy, which is deal for Kampala, are essentially processes that need to be adopted at a policy level in order to urbanise Kampala in a manner that is satisfactory to city residents.

7. The dynamics key informants want integrated in Kampala’s ideal urban policy

An analysis of measures to counter unofficial dynamics and eliminate weaknesses and counter those that are not desired is shown in Table 3.

Table 3 shows that 87.5 percent indicated that establishing a fund for adequate compensation of all residents who are not able to develop their land to required urban standards needs to be integrated in the urban policy which is ideal for Kampala. In addition, 79.2 percent indicated other dynamics that need to be integrated. These include empowering KCCA institutionally to avoid the negative unofficial political influence; training of KCCA officials professionally and ethically; improving staff motivation and facilitation to reduce laxity and vulnerability to bribery; and eliminating political competition from Kampala’s urbanisation by empowering the technical teams more than the political leadership of KCCA. Furthermore, 62.5 percent noted that other dynamics that need to

Table 3. Dynamics key informants want integrated in Kampala’s urban policy to counter informal dynamics

Dynamics	Percentage key informants revealing the dynamics (N = 720)
Establishing a fund for adequate compensation of all residents who are not able to develop their land to required urban standards	87.5
Empowering KCCA to avoid the negative unofficial political influence	79.2
Training of KCCA officials professionally and ethically	79.2
Improving staff motivation to reduce laxity and vulnerability to bribery	79.2
Encouraging urban-rural migration through effective rural agricultural and non-agricultural development and decentralised service delivery	62.5
Community skilling and sensitization about job-creation using local environment resources	62.5
Instead of stand-alone houses, promote high-density, high-rise housing to cater for population increase, especially in slum areas	62.5
Eliminating political competition from Kampala’s urbanisation by empowering technical teams more than politicians	79.2

be integrated in the policy should be in the form of encouraging urban-rural migration through effective rural agricultural and non-agricultural development and decentralised service delivery; community skilling and sensitization about job-creation using local environment resources; and promoting high-density, high-rise housing instead of stand-alone houses to cater for population increases, especially in slum areas. The same proportions suggested that the policy needs to also be able to help eliminate political competition from Kampala’s urbanisation by empowering technical team more than politicians.

A critical analysis of the proposed dynamics reveals that their integration into the urban policy for Kampala can help deal with the uneven and informal urbanisation, which is caused in Kampala by the private ownership of land. This is particularly implied by the fund for adequate compensation of all residents who are not able to develop their land. The dynamics also reveal that empowering KCCA through making its operations independent of the political influence, giving the technical wing a stronger mandate than the political leadership, and improving staff motivation will deal a blow to negative urban consequences or those caused by influences such as politicking, laxity and vulnerability to bribery. In addition, community skilling, sensitization, effective rural agricultural and on-agricultural development and decentralised service delivery would empower and keep jobseekers in their areas instead of migrating to Kampala. It can also attract some of the job-makers and civil-war migrants back to their former areas, thereby reducing population pressure on Kampala. The promotion of high density, high-rise housing could improve the residential conditions of slum areas and ensure that less acreage is used to accommodate more people. This could as well improve the housing of the internally increasing population. Consequently, a policy needed to urbanise Kampala in a planned manner needs to be formulated based on all the proposals appearing in Table 3.

Turning to the weaknesses identified about Kampala’s urbanisation, the dynamics that key informants suggest to help eliminate these weaknesses are thematically and descriptively analysed. Findings are summarised in Table 4.

An analysis of the dynamics in Table 4 reveals actions that need to be undertaken in order to overcome weaknesses leading to the formal dynamics of Kampala’s unplanned urbanisation.

Table 4. Dynamics key informants want integrated in Kampala’s urban policy ideal to deal with weaknesses in formal dynamics

Dynamics	Percentage key informants revealing the dynamics (N = 720)
Clearly demarcating functions the KCCA Act, 2010 prescribes for Minister, Executive Director and Lord Mayor	87.5
Defining a clear working relationship between central government and KCCA in respect of implementing investment policy for attracting foreign investors	79.2
Promoting governments’ positive intervention, not for opportunistic political capital	79.2
Synchronising the security of tenure prescribed by the Land Act, 1998, with land development in Kampala	62.5
Reducing the committee prescribed by the Physical Planning Act, 2010, to a realistic quorum of at least five members	50.0
Defining how government can subsidise the condos to make them affordable	50.0
Revising the penalties for waste management, road traffic and safety offences	51.4
Specifying the qualifications of the committee prescribed by the Taxi Management Ordinance, 2013, to manage taxis in Kampala	33.3
Recognising KCCA as the agency to monitor and evaluate the performance the Directorate of Water Resources Management attains in Kampala	25.0
Defining market operationally since it is not defined in Market Act, Cap 94	33.3
Defining how KCCA should regulate the electricity distribution and supply companies recognised by the Electricity Act, 1999	33.3

Consequently, any effort to develop a policy intended to ensure that Kampala urbanises in a systematic manner needs to pay attention to these dynamics. Regarding policy development, findings reveal that more attention needs to be put on demarcation functions of the KCCA Act, 2010, as prescribed by the Minister, Executive Director and Lord Mayor. Other dynamics that need to be emphasised include promoting positive government intervention, non-intervention for opportunistic political capital; defining a clear working relationship between central government and KCCA in respect of implementing the investment policy for attracting foreign investors; and synchronising the security of tenure prescribed by the Land Act, 1998, on land development in Kampala. Moreover, the findings also indicate the need to reduce the committee as prescribed by the Physical Planning Act, 2010, to a realistic quorum of at least five members; define how government could subsidise the condos to make them affordable; and to revise the penalties for waste management, road traffic and safety offences.

Overall, the dynamics that city residents want integrated in the urban policy ideal for Kampala are those that would ensure that the city urbanises in a more effective manner that satisfies them. The dynamics the key informants want to be integrated are essentially action-steps that clearly demarcate the roles of officials in charge of how the city urbanises, make implementation of the facilitating legal framework realistic, minimise the informality in which the city urbanises and ensure that population pressure is reduced by encouraging urban-rural migration through skilling of Ugandans for job creation, and re-enforcing this process using effective rural agricultural and non-agricultural development, and efficient decentralised service delivery.

8. Discussion of results

This study provides a comprehensive understanding of the dynamics that explain Kampala's urbanisation and their policy implications for an alternative urban policy that ensures that urbanisation takes place in a planned manner. The study identifies the dynamics which need to be integrated in a policy framework that could be used to effectively prevent or halt Kampala's unplanned urbanisation while promoting planned urbanisation. This study meets not only the city residents' indication of wanting the urban policy ideal for Kampala, but it also meets the key informants' proposed dynamics that could be integrated into the policy to counter unplanned urbanisation while promoting systematic urbanisation. The features that city residents propose reveal that Kampala dwellers want a modern city characterised by better and efficient provision of quality housing, health and decongested transport services. The features also reveal that these dwellers want an urban policy that can promote proper zoning of economic activities, provision of modern and adequate market centres, and orderly bill-board advertising, especially in the central business district. The features further indicate that instead of having taxi and bus parks in the city centre, the ideal policy has to promote five-minute taxi/bus stops while encouraging the construction of taxi and bus parks in the neighbouring districts.

To urbanise in a way that is planned, city residents suggest that Kampala's urban policy need to address the following: providing each parish with a well-equipped health centre; transferring all taxi and bus parks from the central business district to neighbouring districts; and introducing five-minute bus/taxi stops. City residents have also shown that policy needs to promote slum upgrading; to organise but not abolish downtown economic activities and to remove street vendors and unplanned kiosks from roadsides while integrating them in upgraded downtown markets. Respondents further indicated that the city's policy needs to focus on demolishing commercial buildings whose construction does not follow approved plans; replacing commercial street parking with commercial parking towers so as to widen the roads, and establishing flyovers, executive metro shuttles and by-passes.

In addition to policy measures that city residents recommend, key informants added others which the ideal urban policy for Kampala need to integrate in order to counter the uneven and informal urbanisation caused by private ownership of land. These include establishing a fund for adequate compensation of all residents who are not able to develop their land in a manner that meets required urban standards. They also include empowering KCCA through making its operations independent of political influence, giving the technical wing a stronger mandate than the political leadership, and improving staff motivation. The key informants also feel that the policy needs to consider promoting community skilling and sensitization, effective rural agricultural and non-agricultural development as well as decentralised service delivery. This could empower and ensure that job seekers remain in their areas instead of migrating to Kampala. It could also attract some of the job-makers and civil-war migrants back to their former areas, thereby reducing population pressure on Kampala. The key informants further indicated that the city's policy needs to focus on promoting high density, high-rise housing in order to improve residential conditions of slum areas as well as ensuring that less acreage is used to accommodate more people. This was suggested to ensure adequate and quality housing for the internally increasing population.

Moreover, key informants asserted that to address the weaknesses related to formal dynamics, the ideal policy needs to clearly demarcate the roles of officials in charge of urban planning, implementation and facilitation of the legal framework to realise and minimise the informality in which the city urbanises and ensure that population pressure is reduced in Kampala by encouraging urban-rural migration through reinforcing the process of effective rural agricultural and non-agricultural development, and efficient decentralised service delivery.

9. Conclusion

As Kampala continues to attract people in search of opportunities, different forms of dynamics emerge and as such require an integrated urban policy framework in order for this city to urbanise in a planned and modern manner. In my data, measures such as provision of health services,

transfer of all taxi and bus parks from the central business district to neighbouring districts, introduction of five-minute bus/taxi stops, promotion of slum upgrading, demolishing commercial buildings whose construction has not followed approved plans by the KCCA, the introduction of executive metro shuttles, etc. are some of the pertinent issues residents highlighted that should be included in the city's policy framework if we are to see change in the lives of urban dwellers.

Kampala's uneven and informal urbanisation is quite problematic and therefore establishing a fund for adequate compensation of all residents who are not able to develop the land they own would allow those with resources to develop the city. Moreover, political (senior government officials) influence in KCCA operations fundamentally affects the work of the city's technical wing, including demoralising their motivation. Other measures to be taken include: promoting community skilling and sensitization, effective rural agricultural and non-agricultural development and decentralised service delivery, and promotion of high density/high-rise housing that can improve the residential conditions of slum areas by ensuring that less acreage is used to accommodate more people. Weaknesses in relation to formal dynamics and policy measures to be taken include: clear demarcation of the roles of the officials in charge of the city and making the implementation of the legal framework realistic. Writing fellowship

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