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Planning and the Subordinated Reality

**A study of the relationship between Planning and the
Civil Society in Kampala, Uganda**

Mikael Larsson

Institutionen för kulturgeografi
och ekonomisk geografi
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Handledare: Christian Abrahamsson

Preface

This study has been carried out within the framework of the Minor Field Study (MFS) Scholarship Programme, funded by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida). The MFS Scholarship Programme gives Swedish university students the opportunity to carry out fieldwork in low- and middle income countries, or more specifically in the countries included on the *DAC List of ODA Recipients*, in relation to their Bachelor's or Master's thesis.

Sida's main purpose with the MFS Scholarship Programme is to stimulate the students' interest in, as well as increasing their knowledge and understanding of development issues. The Minor Field Studies provide the students with practical experience of field work in developing settings. A further aim of Sida is to strengthen the cooperation between Swedish university departments and institutes and organisations in these countries. The Department of Human Geography at Lund University is one of the departments that administer MFS Programme funds.

I would also like to take this opportunity to thank The Department of Human Geography at Lund University for having given me a chance to actualize this study, and The Department of Geography at Makerere University for their hospitality and guidance. There are many people in relation to this work who deserves to be honoured, but there are some people I would like to thank in particular. First of all, I would like to thank Mr Ronald Murungi for your benignity, helpfulness and friendship, which brightened my stay in Kampala. My grandest *'Weebale'* to you, Sir! I also want to thank Mr Samson Muhindo for our enriching days in field together, my supervisor Christian Abrahamsson for asking me the right questions in times when I went off-track, and finally, Julia Göransson for being an ideal companion and support in both ups and downs through the whole journey.

Abstract

This is a qualitative study carried out on basis of documentary studies and interviews in Kampala, Uganda. It is the result of a fieldwork issued in the mentioned location between the 2nd of April and 31st of May, 2012. The thesis seeks to evaluate what lies behind the inequalities within the urban socio-spatial landscape in an African city, which will be related to carefully chosen theoretical concepts.

The thesis has its main interests positioned within the question whether planning is representative for the reality it is operating within, or not. This will be accompanied by the question of how planning and policies approach the existence and prevalence of informal settlements. To reach a deeper understanding of how this relationship is explained in Kampala today, the history of administrative planning and housing policies from beginning of colonialism and to date is portrayed. It creates a foundation for the following part, which is a minor case study presenting a view more representative to the contemporary situation. These two parts are finally brought into analysis together with theoretical concepts regarding colonialism, neoliberalism and conflicting rationalities.

The analysis showed that planning has failed to come to ground or not even tried to understand the holistic picture of reality. Instead it tends to operate like a judge over which type of development that is proper and acceptable, and which is not.

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Introduction

In order to give the thesis a clear introduction it will begin with a short presentation of the background facts that explains the reason behind the chosen subject of this study. This will be followed by a demonstration of the objectives and questions that permeates the thesis. Finally, there will be a short introduction of the study's contextual location, namely Kampala, Uganda.

Background to the Study

It is clear that a majority of the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa are undergoing such a rapid rate of urbanization that few other regions of the world can measure with this. In Uganda the increased rate of urbanization has led to challenges in the provision of housing, water and other urban services for many low-income urban dwellers. Further, this has culminated in a growth of slums and shantytowns. (UBOS, 2002:37) The flourishing of these areas is not only a result of urbanization, but of a planning history supporting segregation. During the foregoing century, the Kampala citizens witnessed strategies that promoted various kinds of spatial separation (Omolo-Okalebo, 2011). Slums and Informal settlements in Kampala today remain a concern, and the number of poor people living in slums has continuously increased despite impressive economic growth in the country. For example, Uganda showed an annual GDP growth rate of 6,6% in 2011 (World Bank, 2012).

One problem that is frequently mentioned in the cases of urban development in third world cities is the clash between the governing of the city and meeting the needs of dwellers within the slums, or informal settlements. Further, scholars are constantly debating regarding how policy-making and governance shall be formed in order to meet the needs of the marginalized urban poor. On the surface, urban authorities and the government often seem relatively ambitious in their striving efforts to create policies and strategies for the improvement of these dwellers, but again and again they tend to fail to reach consensus. Definitely, there are various essential factors that lie behind this, nonetheless when evaluating place-specific cases. Though, different scholars are pointing at a common failure of governance in many African cities, which this thesis focus to explore: the communicative failures between administrators and the civil society,

enhanced by the conflicting rationalities within what arguable can be constituted as formality and informality.

The urban poor are the main victims from this history of institutional disorder and inaccuracy of planning and, additionally, the ones that need guidance and strong institutions the most. Simone (2004) shows that these 'vulnerable people instead weave their own networks of social and economic regularity in their lives.' Vanessa Watson (2003) points to the fact that in most African cities there is today a tension between modernist ideas of how cities should look and work - *the formal city*, and the city that is getting by on its own - *the informal city*. Formal planning is 'grounded in the rationality of Western modernity and development with the notion of "proper communities", while the marginalized majority in informal settlements work from the notion of what a city should be, based around their attempts to survive, materially and culturally'. (Myers, 2011:79-80)

Drawing from these central debates concerning inequalities within urban development and the history of planning Uganda and Kampala, another dimension will be added. Namely, elaboration with ideas of what planning really is and which role it plays for the society.

Objectives and Framing of questions

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate how well planning within the chosen place-specific context of Kampala, Uganda serves the civil society. This will be done on basis of the further presented theories and concepts in chapter 3, which are also determining the limitations of the thesis. Shifts within governance and planning approaches on a regional level as well as on a national level will be brought to light. The matter of housing the urban poor will be used as a tool to problematize, since that particular subject is inseparable from the comprehensive development and governance within urban areas. Following questions will be answered in this thesis:

- *How has former planning directions and policies in Uganda influenced contemporary planning approaches towards informal settlements?*
- *How does urban planning in Kampala, Uganda relate to the actual reality?*

These questions, along with the theoretical framework, will be used to try to locate breakpoints between planning policies on the one hand, and the environment and life of informal settlements on the other. Included in this sphere is also the relationship between formality and informality, and modernism and the subaltern. Based on the result suggestions targeting sustainable ways of governance and increased equality in planning.

Introduction to Kampala and Uganda

The republic of Uganda is located in Sub-Saharan Africa, with Rwanda bound on the south, D.R Of Congo on the west, South Sudan on the north, and Kenya on the right. The country holds a population of 34,5 million people (World Bank, 2011). Uganda became colonized by the British in late 19th century, but gained independence in 1962. After years of civil and political struggle following independence, Uganda has now progressed towards a multi-party democracy with regular elections. The sitting president is Yoweri Museveni. (World Bank, 2011)

Kampala is the capital city of Uganda and is located on the shores of Lake Victoria. It reaches an estimated population of 1,65 million people and is by far the biggest urban area in Uganda (UBOS, 2010). The city is often referred to as “The City of Seven Hills”, though it nowadays claims an extensively higher number of hills.

Methodology

This chapter explains the process that lies behind this thesis, from preparation to realization. The chapter starts with a discussion where qualitative and quantitative research is set against each other in relation to social development research. Further, the discussion will end in the choice of methods and the delineation of the procedure that lays the foundation of the research.

Qualitative vs. Quantitative research

Development research has typically been based on the techniques of quantitative methods. This partly since many development agencies and administrators within the developing countries lay their emphasis on financial growth or the economic magnitudes of poverty. By investigating these subjects statistically, indicators showing in which direction the development is proceeding can be revealed. However, concerns have been raised within development agencies, pointing at the urgency of more qualitative approaches – this to get a clearer view of the development within the civil society (Mayoux, 2006). Qualitative research is developed out of the aspects of anthropology and sociology, with the immanence of geography and history. In contrast to quantitative research, it states a necessity to dig deep within the dynamics that governs behavior. (Holliday, 2007)

This thesis has been made within the techniques of qualitative research. Following Linda Mayoux (2006), this method of choice was simply obvious. She states that qualitative research, in difference from quantitative research that aim at precise accuracy of a predetermined hypothesis, seeks a 'holistic understanding of complex realities and processes' (Mayoux, 2006:118). Regarding the chosen area of study a qualitative method appeared to be the best alternative to provide a deeper understanding for this area of research.

Sources of Validity within Qualitative Research

Validity within research refers to how well the research reflects the reality that it is set out to represent (Denscombe, 2009). Adrian Holliday (2007) is stating that qualitative research needs far more detailed justifications concerning how and why the research is carried out in the specific manner than quantitative methods in order to prove validity. Further, Holliday (2007:9) presents four subjects concerning the chosen rationales of the research that the author needs tell the reader. He labels these subjects as 'Sources of validity', and proclaims the essentiality in explaining these in order to prove validity.

- **Choice of social setting** - *How the author's choice of environment represents the research topic.*
- **Choice of research activities** - *How the research activities were functioning in relation to the social setting, and how the chosen activities formed a coherent strategy for research.*
- **Choice of themes and focuses** - *How the themes and focuses emerged and how they are representing the social setting.*
- **Dedication to and thoroughness of fieldwork** - *How and to what extent the field was engaged with.*

In order to motivate the operational method and the various selections that this thesis is built on, the sources of validity will be delineated under the following subheadings. As the process of structuring the form of the thesis has been entirely subjective, they will be presented and described out from the author's perspective.

Choice of social setting

The choice of conducting my research to Kampala, Uganda was actually made before the research topic. By other means, I could form the topic and objectives of my thesis out of the situated place. That gave me the possibility to form a study that was solidly tied to place-specific matters. The further choice regarding the area within Kampala that would be suited for my case study was not made until I was in the field. Following the notion that the qualitative method is strongly tied to the social reality it is operating within (Mayoux, 2006), I wanted to experience the area before I decided which to be, in order to find the suitable social context. Further, the choice fell on Kagugube Parish. It is an area situated in the peripheral parts of inner Kampala, with a substantial diversity of neighborhoods within a small area. As an area close to the city center and the main university on the one hand, and an area containing slum and informal settlements on the other, I recognized Kagugube to be an ideal choice of location in the exploration of the dynamics between two realities.

Choice of research activities

Primarily, I had two strategies regarding the data collection before entering field, which was based on two elements. First, the gathering of documents, both governmental and non-governmental, that concerned, or could be related to, the housing situation in Kagugube, Kampala or Uganda as a whole. And second, the interviews with government representatives, various NGOs and people within the civil society that could be recognized as affected by the presented topic. Here, I was following Denscombe (2010) stating that qualitative research methods often are characterized by the two elements of interviews and documentary studies.

Mainly, this was also how I operated, though with some obstacles and supplements. When entering the field it stood clear that the acquisition of administrative documentary material was not as easy as I had assumed. My imagination was that they were to be found in public domains as for example on the web. Some of them were, but a majority of them were not. As I recognized the social network within the spheres of occupation in Kampala to be very broad and open, I soon realized that these documents had to be claimed through meetings with people. Consequently, I somehow combined the interviews with administrators with the gathering of strategic documents. Others were gained through discussions and establishments of friendship with individuals within the occupation of urban planning.

The interviews were carried out with a semi-structural approach, to administrators as well as the residents of Kagugube. This was to give the interviewees, following Willis (2006), more space to develop their responses than the structured approach. Though, the form of the interview was often stretched to opposite directions, depending on whether the interviews were given to administrators or residents of the informal areas of Kagugube. Interviews with administrators often fell into an unstructured form as a mere conversation. I generally allowed this to happen as long as I was able to steer the conversation towards the deeper purpose of my subject. During the interviews with the residents of Kagugube, I often witnessed the opposite stretch as a majority of the interviewees had a lack of knowledge of the English language. These interviews were conducted together with a fellow student from Makerere University who also functioned as interpreter when the interviewees couldn't be reached by direct conversation. Though, this type of situation tended to give the interview a more stumbling character, which resulted in a less spontaneous, and therefore more structured, form of interview.

Adrian Holliday is claiming that 'to meet the exigencies of the social situation being studied, freedom is needed to explore creatively the best way to approach the scenario' (Holliday, 2007: 8). One method I did not intend to use at first was participant observation. However, as I was located within or in the surroundings of the studied area during the whole fieldwork, I constantly got to experience social life in the area throughout everyday life observations. This has not necessarily given any major contribution to any of the sections within the thesis. Yet, following Mayoux (2006) statement that the holistic understanding of complex realities is one of the advantages given out of qualitative research, this participant observation has given me that understanding in how the everyday life and social contexts are designed.

Choice of themes and focuses

Early in my pre-studies of this thesis, it came to my understanding that much of the literature concerning the urban life within developing countries is bringing poverty and inequalities to light. When I read through Omolo-Okalebo's (2011) examination over the evolution of planning in Kampala, I perceived that planning here similarly could show insufficient approaches within these matters. I enlarged this insight going through other literature concerning the history of politics and planning in Uganda and Kampala, parallel with going deeper in the literatures on inequalities within urban planning and governance in the developing world. Gradually, I developed a foundation of knowledge within two fields. One conceptual field, where the reality between two contradicting

spheres within urban development was at stake. The other field was one that explained which activities and events that have shaped the environment the research was operating within. In addition to these two fields, I decided to undertake a minor case study in order to broaden this thesis' empirical basis. The choice of a case study was justified through Gerring (2004), stating that a case study is an intensive study on a single unit with the aim to fit a greater purpose.

Dedication and thoroughness of fieldwork

The fieldwork in Kampala, Uganda stretched between 2nd of April and 31st of May 2012. The first two weeks of my fieldwork the main objective was to get to know Kampala by in all its ways. Visits at NGOs such as Shelter and Settlements Alternative and Slum Dwellers International, and governmental instances as the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development was also made during these weeks. After these introductory weeks I entered a more intense phase. As I mostly was settled near, or in, Kagugube within close distance to Makerere University and the Kampala City Centre I was at close range to my requirements. Alongside with the continuing reading through documents that successively was gathered, I carried out interviews within the community of Kagugube and represents from the KCCA. I managed to conduct 38 small-scale interviews with residents of Kagugube during May 7th and May 20th. Within the same time I held one interview with KCCA planning director of Central Division and was a member of the audience during another interview with KCCA director of Physical planning, now positioned as planning director in Kawempe Division. I engaged the last week to compile the interviews to pull out data valuable to the thesis, and to do further readings.

Selections

Some of the sources of material used in this thesis could give a broader view in than the ones that is presented in this thesis. Though, as the space and time given to carry out this study was limited, careful selections within the sources of material had to be made. This thesis is in many circumstances pointing at a subordination of the unprivileged and marginalized urban poor. Consequently, material that can contribute to this view, or support a point that is to be made, has been selectively chosen.

Further Outline of the Thesis

The theoretical approach will mainly be presented in the following chapter, but some additional contributions will be proposed in the analysis. The theories and concepts are carefully chosen out from the author's perception that these are essential when approaching the dynamics behind urban inequalities that engines social and spatial segregation. The main course of events that has influenced and decided the practice of urban planning and governance to date will be presented in the fourth chapter. Here, the outcomes of supervisory policies and documents initiated throughout key role players will be brought into a relation with the civil society. Predominantly, this part will have an historical approach but final part of the chapter will give room for two existing supervisory documents approaching slums or informal settlements today. To gain a more empirical basis, a case study in Kagugube Parish, Kampala was carried out. This is outlined as an area where housing standards has seen improvements during the last two decades. The case study will briefly present the process of this upgrade and identify the given outcomes in co-existence with the historical and theoretical part in further analysis. Further, I will evaluate the dwellers' attitudes towards planning and why the stated attitudes are constructed to see if there is a link between these mentioned features. In this processes, the planning incentives from the governing directions, and their attitudes towards the informal settlements also will be reviewed. These three parts will then form the foundation of the analysis with further conclusion in the sixth and seventh chapters. Here they will be brought together and elaborate in co-existence with the problems that this thesis aims to approach.

Conceptual Framework and Relevant Theories

The right to the city is far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city. It is, moreover, a common rather than an individual right since this transformation inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power to reshape the processes of urbanization. The freedom to make and remake our cities and ourselves is, I want to argue, one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights.

David Harvey, 2008

This chapter examines the theories and concepts that will be used to reach the results of this thesis. They will be elaborated with in a manner that will form a conceptual framework to use when analyzing the findings from Kampala and Kagugube. The above quotation from Harvey's *'The right to the City'* (2008) shortly stands as a legitimization to the chosen approach that this conceptual framework presents. It mediates the ethical understanding that everyone that is a part of the urban life should have equal rights to be a part of the urban landscape. First I will delineate the common definitions regarding the relationship between formality and informality.

Formality vs. Informality

The urbanizing of the African City is holding a number of challenges when it comes to planning. One of the most important challenges, as mentioned by scholars and debaters, is to approach the divided individualities of two societies within one city. This duality of the third world city's urban society is regularly mentioned in terms of *formality* and *informality*. Nowadays, there is a mouthful of definitions describing these two concepts, but if we believe Garth Myers (2011) or Alice Sindzingre (2006), its origin can be traced back to Keith Harts (1973) work on the "informal economy" in Accra, Ghana - as well as the ILO research report on unemployment and poverty in the 1972 Nairobi, which used the notion of an "informal sector". Hart identified the informal sector as an 'autonomous, unregulated, often illegal small-scale, low technology arena for jobs many people would use as a stopgap en route into formal sector employment - meaning registered,

regulated, legal, waged and often larger-scale, higher-technology, legal work' (Myers 2011, 72). These early definitions could be useful in shorter descriptive means when talking about formality and informality, though in these days the relationship between these two concepts is problematized in far broader means.

When speaking of third world cities, it is wrong to define them under one comprehensive expression at a full scale. Everyone has it's own dynamic, history and difference. The relationships within these factors give the mentioned city a uniqueness, which has to be considered in terms when discussing its development (Myers: 2011, 71). Moreover, Paul Jenkins and Jørgen Eskemose Andersen (2011) is arguing that using the terms of "Formality" and "Informality" is leading to negative consequences and obstructing these cities development. This because there is a lack of coverage, they argue, between these two terms. Myers is arguing around the same approach, stating that cities should be normalized. Increasing numbers of discussions concerning the juxtaposition of these two terms shows that we are going towards another way of handling the repeatedly outspoken difficulties with the third world city. This thesis, however, is similarly trying to explore this grey area Jenkins/Eskemose and Myers are mentioning, which further legitimize the frequent use of the terms formality and informality.

Governance

In general, governance refers to how power institutions operate in the transmission of power to a mechanism that governs the society (Myers, 2010). This is not to be seen as a homogenous driver, but as a system that consist multiple networks between the state, actors in the market and the civil society. Governance as a term, though, is used in many various ways. Within the discussions of urban studies, it is generally a term that engages 'the shifting power dynamics of decision-making in an era when the roles of states are in flux' (Myers, 2010:106). The subsequent debate focuses on the degree and characteristics of this change and a shift from government to governance. Scholars are here pointing at the hollowing of the nation-state as their functions are spread to non-state actors, local units and supranational organs (Myers, 2010).

In striving for sustainable third world development, the term “good governance” has been set to represent the ideal agenda for governance. The UN-Definition of good governance is based on eight major characteristics, as presented in figure 1.



Figure 1

Together, they establish an ethical framework, where the importance of fundamental human rights is understood as the line of argument. Further, it is proclaimed that good governance requires fair legal frameworks that are impartially enforced, which should be followed in decision-making in order to reach transparency. The functioning of these two elements in combo is seen as a major requirement to enforce accountability between governmental institutions, the private sector and the civil society. Accountability, then, is announced as the keystone in good governance. These are all, in combination, viewed as assuring components to minimize corruption, take the voices from minorities into account in decision-making and serve the vulnerable parts of society. (UN-Escap) In urban Africa, a discourse of good governance has arisen during the last decades. Westernized ideas of modern world-class cities - ideologically expanded upon the rhetoric and practices of democratization, privatization, decentralization and liberalization - impregnate the concept of good governance. From this, a growing gap is suggested between good governance and the political and economic realities most urban residents experience in their everyday-life. (Myers, 2011:104-105) Due to the severe flaws in governance in many African cities, The World Bank proposes the argument that urban governance convincingly needs reforms in line with neoliberal ideals. Summarily this means that the more you leave the governing of urban services in the hands of the market, the better. Though, this argumentation is already held as a deeply rooted assumption by the local elite policy-makers and western experts. The neoliberal notion

has pervaded the urban governance in Africa for such a long time that is now seen as 'the only pathway to development'. (Myers, 2011:107)

Neoliberalism

To broaden the understandings around the structures of neoliberal good governance in Africa, it is necessary to define neoliberalism and how it is related to planning and the civil society. Following Peck and Tickell (2002), the neoliberal vision is based on a free market economy, with minimal state interference. It was first politicized through the American government of the 80s, but was rapidly spread as the ideal ideological framework in a competitive globalization. This neoliberal wave gave place to ambitious programs of state restructuring across the continents, adapting the visions of individualism, free trade, and flexible labor. (Peck and Tickell, 2002: 380-381) Drawn from the concept of neoliberal planning, Guy Baeten (2012:206) states that there is a contradiction between the words "neoliberal" and "planning" since the one undermines the other. While neoliberalism, in this purpose, is synonymous with a belief that the organizing of land use will be managed through profit seeking market forces, planning seeks 'for the betterment of our built and natural environment' through state intervention (Baeten, 2012:206). Neoliberalism, thus, is dependent on de-regulations and minor state interference to function. In the reverse manner, these requisites of neoliberalism are giving the possibilities to exercise non-haphazard and inclusive planning less of a chance. Continuously, Baeten states that neoliberal forms of planning do not just happen. They often appear as an aftermath of crisis, whether it is economic, social, environmental or political, or on regional, national or supranational level. In the cries of new policy guidelines that habitually follow a crisis, market-friendly approaches to planning as neoliberalism is received as necessary (Baeten, 2012:206). In relation to the cities of Africa, which frequently has been mentioned in same sentence as crisis, it is argued that neoliberalism as an element in urban planning and governance increases the inequalities between the elite and the underprivileged (Myers, 2011:109). Scholars are here, inter alia, pointing at how the neoliberal agenda serves displacements of the urban poor due to for examples land grabbing by foreign investors (Muhajir, 2011), or how the alignments towards the market generates a lack of interest in the destiny of the urban poor as the primary actors have their focus on profit (Watson, 2009). Throughout this, Vanessa Watson is highlighting the words of UN-Habitat Executive Director Anna Tibaijuka, pointing at today's planning as an operator in the developing countries tends

to facilitate social exclusion in the cities 'through anti-poor measures and a belief that in the planned city the poor should at best be hidden or at worst swept away' (Tibajuka 2006, in Watson 2009).

Hybrid Governance and the Relational City

Recent decade, some scholars (ex; Myers 2011, Harrison 2006, Pieterse 2008b) have been raising their voices pointing at the urgency of more hybrid and relational engagements within urban governance. Where good governance with various neoliberal features is carried out in the same "one-size fits all"- manner in the developing countries, hybrid governance has its core in the synergy between 'informal and formal, symbolic and concrete, collaborative and contestatory.' (Pieterse, 2008a:106) This concept of bringing informal and indigenous ideas into dialogue with western-driven ideas about modern urbanism is the heart of Garth Myers discussions in *African Cities* (2011). Myers highlights the importance of fostering zones of exchange between the borders of these two spheres to build a common fundament for an alternative planning practice. (Myers, 2011: 192) Centered in this discussion, Edgar Pieterse presents a relational model of urban politics that aims to enlighten the stimulation for co-existence between the elements of society. In his model he present five domains of relationality in which he argues for examination. These are representative politics, campaigns of direct actions, alternative projects of grassroots development, stakeholder forums, and symbolic politics. By studying these areas he argues that more 'comprehensive analytical accounts to political practices' will rouse in the city. (Myers, 2011:16, Pieterse, 2008a: 106). Myers further proclaims that in any rethinking of how formality and informality can work together in this type of hybridity, a realignment of governance is essential. (Myers, 2011:194)

Conflicting Rationalities in Urban Planning

To explore this idea of increased interactivity between formality and informality that Myers and Pieterse is discussing, it is reasonably important to examine what lies behind the contradictions between formal and informal. Using an example from Crossroads, South Africa Vanessa Watson (2003) shows how the implication of planning in informal settlements can be signified by situations of conflicting rationalities. In 1998, authorities

in Cape Town attempted to replace an informal settlement in Crossroads with formal service houses, as a part of the post-apartheid Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). These plans of reconstruction faced a sudden freeze as a group of women, calling themselves Women's Power Group, performed a sit-in at the local administration offices, urging that the project should be called off. This sit-in proved to be a point that unchained a conflict engaging the municipality, councilors, local organizations and residents. The conflict was further divided into two groups, holding colliding views about what was right and wrong. It was given throughout what Watson calls a 'clash of rationalities' where formal planning, 'grounded in the rationality of Western modernity and development with the notion of "proper communities", stands against the marginalized majority in the informal settlements, which work from the notion of 'what a city should be, based around their attempts to survive, materially and culturally'. Further, Watson states that in South Africa there is a notion that the state shall provide poor people with formal housing and planned areas. This has, she continues, in many areas given the interpretation that informal housing is non-acceptable housing that have to be removed. The origins of the African governments ambitions to formalize the informal, similar to this case, can be traced back to the early modern statecraft of the Westernized societies as the same principles shaped their governmental activities. With the spread through colonialism and missionary movements the 'high-modernist ideology' of the west, aiming at 'rational designs of social order', has now come to mean the same thing as development and modernization in urban Africa. (Watson, 2003:396) Harrison (2006) declares that this prevalence of western rationality also has subordinated place-specific knowledge and modes of thinking, dismissing these as irrationalities or irrelevancies. In the debate regarding the rethinking of governance in urban Africa, Harrison argues that the recovery of these 'subaltern rationalities' is critical when creating this other ways of thinking. This because they are founded in the strategies subordinated groups adapted to live through marginalization and domination, with colonialism as the initial catalyst (Harrison, 2006:324). Taking sub-Saharan Africa into account as a body of various modernities, the appreciation of subaltern rationalities becomes essential in making a new framework for governance accurate. Watson agrees, arguing that 'politics cannot be separated from socio-cultural considerations which govern everyday life' (Watson, 2003:401). Thus, the problem, as Watsons Crossroads example shows and Harrison states (2006:325), is that subaltern rationalities often contradict with the schemes of planners and policy-makers.

Effects of Colonialism

Targeting the above-discussed contradictions and controversies that is to be found in the relationship between the state and the civil society in the global south, Jan Nederveen Pieterse (2001) claims that this type of relation have long been a concern in post-colonial states. He argues that the administrative and legislative structures that have been set by colonial powers were superimposed onto the post-colonialist society of the receiving country. These power structures have henceforth been inherited to following generations. In the same way it has also influenced today's governance and consequently the tension we find between the market and the civil society.

Drawn from an example of how the British colonialists constructed the environment in colonized Egypt, Mitchell (1998) discusses the concepts of representations of reality vs. the actual reality. He proclaims that western style of constructing the environment within the colonized areas, were perceived out of representations of their own reality. These representations, in turn, stood outside realms of the actual reality that was at place. With the discussed strategies within today's planning in the developing world, one can easily draw parallels with Mitchells' statement. Incentives from western driven urban modernism are pervading the planning ideals, with a lack of accuracy towards the holistic picture, or say, the reality. If we add an elaboration with the word planning to this discussion, another interesting point can be made. The word "planning" is sprung from "plan" which usually is signified by a physical imagination in the form of a map. A map generally stands as a representation of reality or a representation of what the reality should look like. Summarily, it could be said that planning is or should be representative to the reality.

Structures of Planning in Uganda – Roles and Documents

This chapter presents the frontline documents and strategies in relation to the physical development of slums and informal areas of Kampala City. Several policies, acts and master plans have been established during the foregoing century and they have all contributed to the supervisory documents of today. Policies refer to government stated documents, formed to guide decision-making and the navigation towards targeted goals within the concerned subject. In relation to this thesis, the ones of highest interest are the history of Uganda's housing policies. To reach full understanding of the current structures and guidelines, it is necessary to present an overview of the past.

In pre-colonial times, the societies in Uganda were organized and driven as tribal kingdoms. Regulations for urban planning in Uganda were first established in the 1903 Township Ordinance, under the British colonialists. This contained a minor framework that, except rules regarding sanitation, never really came through (Shuaib et al, 2010). Henceforth, between 1903 and the 1962 independence, with colonialists of the British Empire conducting the urban planning, the major incentives in the planning schemes were explicitly both race and hygiene related. Due to aims for the white man's "sanitary improvements", this led to strategies where the British colonialists separated themselves from the native Ugandans (Omolo-Okalebo, 2011:150-152). Over time, the racial segregation in urban areas became the core of the British colonialists method to perform urban planning. This as they used a policy of indirect rule, where urban centers were set up to protect the white Europeans from dangers of tropical diseases and with limited possibilities of trading with Ugandan natives in order to protect the European way of life. From these centers, then, they could administrate the surrounding countryside. Also, the British had no interest in managing planning for other than their own administrative quarters and left the native surroundings to conduct themselves. This non-approaching attitude drove the mechanism of separation even further (Mukibii, 2011). In Kampala as in some other administrative towns, however, the separation was made through "altitudinal stratification", where the colonial administrators lived on the hills and the Ugandan natives were located to the swamps. The houses of the administrators were designed in well-planned areas, satisfactory distant from the insecurity that were associated with the swamp-areas. Still, this specific stratification predominates the spatial form of socio-economic segregation in Kampala (Shuaib et al, 2010, Mukibii: 2011). After being neglected when setting the agendas for planning, the situation for the

native Ugandans improved after the end of WWII, with the set of the British Colonial Development and Welfare Act. This recognized the Ugandans' right to their urban space, followed by the establishment of an African Housing Committee. Their main assignment was to administer the implementation of existing housing policies on African housing. As given access to the urban areas, an increase of urbanization was shown. (Mukibii, 2011)

Shortly after the independence in 1962, the new Ugandan government enacted the Urban Authority Act and the Town and Country Planning Act. The Urban Authority Act was mainly developed on the basis of British law and embraced centralized approaches to the managing of social infrastructure and land use, where organs of the national government were set to deliver the planning. The effects of the implementation occurred to be mainly negative. Since there were no fiscal transfers provided and no participation in planning between local authorities and the government, problems with inaccurate planning and the maintenance of services were exposed. Along with increasing urbanization, this enhanced an unprecedented population growth without accurate supervision in the urban areas. (Mukibii, 2011) The Town and Country Planning Act 1964 addressed the consolidation of orderly development of towns and supported planning actions of specifically decided planning areas. A heavy reliance on zoning strategies, strict building regulations and the enforcement of layout and density standards, were other elements in planning that were enhanced due to this act. What emerged were a standardization of low, medium and high-density areas, with the idea that low density equals high income and high-density equals low income. Throughout this, a form of social segregation was recognized, and which replaced the former racial segregation of the colonialist era. (Omolo-Okalebo, 2011:160-163)

During the 1970s and 1980s, years of civil struggles with following economic collapses had a destructive impact on the urban development. The existing housing stock was deteriorated due to lack of maintenance and overcrowding. This was explicitly visible in the urban settlements of low-income earners (Mukibii, 2011). Though, some recommendations were stated for the urban areas in the 1970s, but few of them were taken into consideration because of the uncertain political climate. In the 1980s, the government adopted the "Enabling Policy" containing three major guidelines, which also is the major fundament of existing housing policy. First, it aimed at the rehabilitation of the housing industry in order to increase the housing stock. This was supposed to be reached through an industrial renovation of the factories producing building materials. The second guideline pronounced the fostering of more healthy housing finances with the help from government use of public finances. And the third guideline, aimed at the

generally improvement of housing conditions through improved access to infrastructure and services. These three guidelines were constituted to address the challenges of housing provision. Though, the result was not in line with the expectations as the prices of the housing units that came out of this policy proved to be non-affordable for the urban poor. (Shuaib et al, 2010: 275)

Since the mid 80's there have been some major restructurings since the stabilization within the political climate in Uganda. One major adjustment that also has had vital significance in today's governance was the adoption of more liberal economic policies. Lwasa Shuaib et al (2010) recognize this as a legitimate action to pursue economic growth after two decades of economic and political disorder. Though, the outcomes of it, he states, has served an increase of urban poverty and rise of urban informality. Settlements containing these two urban spheres have continue to flourish, without guidance of appropriate planning. Subsequently, urban authorities have distinguished these areas as illegal or improper since they are not conforming to standards. Due to this, authorities have tended to approach these areas with ignorance, not providing them with necessary urban services (Shuaib et al, 2010:276).

The valid housing policy of today is the National Shelter Strategy (NSS), which was accepted by the government in 1992. Since the challenges had evolved in such manner that the housing requirements could not be reached, the government adopted an "Enabling Policy". This mainly gave the government the responsibilities to facilitate opportunities for operators such as private investors, NGOs or community groups in their provision of affordable housing, by creating an environment suitable for these actions. It consists of a framework based on 11 policy objectives, where the aim for co-operative efforts between self-help, private sector and public housing agencies are the most tangible elements (NSS, 1992). Though, the houses that were built to target the urban poor showed to be beyond their level of affordance. Consequently, a high amount of housing-units stands degenerated on well-located spaces in urban areas around Uganda. However, there have been calls for the emergence of a new housing policy (ex. Mukiibi, 2011), and in November 2011, the ministry of lands, housing and urban development have completed the final draft of a policy named "Adequate Housing for All". Though, the government has not yet officially accepted this policy.

Numerous acts addressing, or affecting, housing and the urban poor have been adopted the last 20 years. Two of them serve a big purpose in the following discussions of this thesis. The first of them, which had a major influence on the structuring of urban

governance, is The Local Government Act from 1997. In collaboration with Uganda's new constitution of 1995, this act represented a comprehensive restructuring program where decentralization of planning responsibilities from national to local governments was the crux. In Kampala, for example, 80 percent of the urban services delegated to be managed by KCC (Goodfellow, 2010). The main objectives, was to ensure democratic participation in decision-making for the local dwellers. This was primarily offered through the implementation of the Local Council (LC) system, where the citizens shaped the LCs by elections. There are five levels of LCs, from the LC1s that operates in villages or urban zones, up to LC5s that function within the districts. This major restructuring of power, caught the local governments unprepared, and as there were no financial subsidies from the central government to the local governments, crucial problems with controlling the urban development occurred. The second act of importance, The Physical Planning Act of 2010, decides the structural scheme regarding how planning shall be practiced. This act cancelled the Town and Country Planning Act from 1964 and is a more strict regulation than its pro-founder. One major statement is the declaration that every single corner of Uganda is constituted as a planning area. It is also implying that every physical land activity have to be administratively authorized by the city, town or municipality. Moreover, it pronounces a special importance of the urban areas and arranges local urban planning committees to meet eventual special-needs in the development of their areas (PPA, 2010).

During the last decades, continuous realizations of various action plans targeting national or urban development in relation to poverty and informality have been seen. Below, the existing National Develop Plan, accepted in April 2010, will be presented. This is to be seen as the major structural document for national development, containing guidelines of the main part of accepted policies and action plans. In relation to the purpose of this thesis, only the elements regarding housing, urban development and the role of the government will be brought into light. Also, the National Slum Upgrading Strategy and Action Plan (NSUSAP) will be presented shortly. This as it contains the main thrust of the approaches towards housing, informality and urban poverty, and is to be functioned as an integrated part in the NDP and other policies touching the same subjects.

National Development Plan

In a way to reach the stated National Vision of Uganda, that is a transformation from peasant to a modern society within 30 years, six National Development Plans (NDPs) with duration of five years will be designed. The first reach over the period 2010/2011 to 2014/2015, and is themed “Growth, Employment and Socio-Economic Transformation for Prosperity”. In the chapter regarding Housing development it is stated that the “government is committed to ensuring the provision of adequate housing for all”. (NDP, 2010: 131) Further, six major objectives are presented. These objectives focus on a deepening public knowledge within housing and human settlements in combination with a well-managed construction of public and private housing to increase the accessibility of affordable housing. One of the six objectives also concerns the prevention of slum growth and upgrading the existing ones. The strategy in attaining to this latter objective is to implement the National Slum Upgrading Strategy and Action Plan, which will be presented below. Also, the chapter that describes the maintenance of urban development is touching the matters of slums and informal settlements. It raises the importance of proper and controlled planning to manage the tasks, such as preventing housing shortages, and formations of informal settlements that comes with the witnessed urban growth. In the NDP, the government also identifies their role in relation to the national development, and which interventions that is necessary to achieve the NDP objectives. Here, the government sees their most important responsibilities in the promotion of encouragements within private production and the provision of public goods to serve this. (NDP, 2010: 64-66, 131-136, 171-173)

National Slum Upgrading Strategy and Action Plan

In the year 2000, Uganda with other UN-states, adopted the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which address the vital dimensions of poverty and how these affect the people’s lives. They also recognize the development issues related to the slums, which needs to be faced. The National Slum Upgrading Strategy and Action Plan (NSUSAP), published by the national government of Uganda in December 2008, is designed as a response to these MDGs. It emphasizes two wide-ranging directions. First, the prevention of further growth of the slums, which could be managed through legalization and land market reforms. And second, taking control over the massive waves of urbanization and forecast the challenges of urban poverty, typified in slums. The main thrust, then, is to

ensure that the plan is integrated in national policies, plans and programs so it is a part of the broader national development plans.

A number of reasons why slums have grown in Kampala are recognized by the NSUSAP. In relation to the topic, two of them are more interesting than others. First is the lack of urban planning and development control. That is the cause of the large failure to implement spatial plans due to institutional weaknesses, financial insecurity and negative views of planning from the society. The second is the effect of decentralization and poor urban governance. As earlier mentioned, the decentralization reforms in the middle of the 90s gave the local governments an inconvenient tasks concerning housing, infrastructure and services, which required more economic resources that was at stake.

The Governing of Kampala City

As mentioned, The Local Government Act of 1997 redirected a majority of the governing of Kampala from the National Government of Uganda to the Kampala City Council. Recently, the government of Uganda made a major structural change regarding the control of planning in Kampala City. Amidst the continuous work under the decentralization decided by the Local Government Act, the KCCA Act was established in 2010. This act decides that the management of Kampala City is conducted to the new Kampala Capital City Authority (KCCA), which is lead by the government. In other words, by replacing KCC with KCCA the city of Kampala makes a state of exception from the Local Government Act. (KCCA Act, 2010)

What is given from this restructuring is a recentralization of power in the managing of Kampala City. Further, this has made the budget from KCCA more centralized according to services. The money is being managed from the central government with a beautification of the Kampala City Center as the primary target. The government is, though, not involved in the direct provision of housing. Instead, they are providing for the private sector to undertake the development of the city. (Interview, Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development, 20/4, 2012)

The Case of Kagugube Parish, Kampala

This minor case study was carried out in Kagugube Parish, Central division of Kampala City and will be used as a tool to recognize attitudes, regarding the local government's management of areas settled by the marginalized poor, targeted the concerned parts in both directions. There is more than one reason that legitimizes the choice of Kagugube as a relevant area of study. First, Kagugube is located close to the Makerere University as well as the city center of Kampala, and therefore marks an attractive area for land developers. Another reason is that the shown landscape is highly varied between recently built commercials and informal areas, which will give a small-scale example of how formal and informal interprets and approach each other.

The case study will focus on the housing-situation and the physical landscape. The dynamics that lies behind the surface of this sphere is inseparable with the rationales of governance and the socio-economic fabrics of the city, which also will be shown in the further analyzing parts of this thesis.

The socio-spatial landscape of Kagugube

Kagugube Parish is divided in seven zones of various characteristics and physical landscape. The seven zones are split into one eastern and one western part by Gadaffi road that cuts a line through Kagugube Parish. Makerere Kivulu I, II and the Industrial Area in the eastern parts of the parish mainly contain informal settlements. Alongside, in the northeast, the Wandegeya Flats Zone is located. This zone mainly encloses the gated community of Wandegeya Flats, but also the newly raised commercial center Ham Towers. In western Kagugube, Kitamanyangamba and Kagugube zones hold a more diversified landscape where informal activities and informal settlements exists aside a number of hostels and hotels. The LDC zone is containing the Law and Development Centre of Kampala, which is an educational institution that has been located in Kagugube since the 1970s. From this image already, one can argue that this mixture of zones creates an area holding a population where nearly each social class is represented.



Picture 1, View over Kagugube Parish. Roughly, Kagugube Parish contains the area that is not hidden from the sunlight, with Ham Towers at the top of Gadaffi Road as its Northern border. The forested hill that is viewed just above the parish is Makerere Hill, where Makerere University is located.

Findings by the KCC indicated that 28% of the residents work and earn. This number is highly inaccurate as the definition of 'work' varies from resident to resident. Many of the approached residents might have referred to it as formal work, while others choose to not answer. (KCC, 2008) The economic activities of the informal settlements in Kagugube are first and foremost characterized by innumerable small-scale business. Food vendors, chapati makers, Boda-Boda drivers or shoe repairers are to be seen everywhere along the narrow streets of Kivulu, Kagugube.

The Planning of Kagugube and its History

Kagugube Parish was first planned in the 1960s as a residential area, where a majority of the land were allocated to the people as *mailo*-land. *Mailo*, which is one of four major forms of land-tenure in Uganda, is typified by private ownership in which urban authorities has no power to pursue activities. (NSUSAP, 2008:14) That means the landowners themselves control the destiny of the land. In Kagugube, the landowners did not develop their land right away, which left the space relatively open. Under this period

with an increase of rural-urban flows, spaces in mailo-areas as Kagugube was highly coveted by squatters since the urban authorities were unable to reach them. Landless people arranged agreements with the landowners, which could hold various obligations, in order to get permission to stay on the squatted land. This scenario then remained steady until the 1980s when the value of land in Kagugube began to increase. Regarding to this evolution, the landlords approach to the land gradually changed and subsequently led to efforts to retake the control that successively had disappeared due to overcrowding. What emerged was a situation where the landlords and the residents stood against each other. Negotiations were at some levels present, but from a generally perspective, the situation was caught up in a dead end. The landlords wanted to develop the land through erections of more permanent structures, but the residents refused to move from the same land. (Interview KCCA 2012, 30/5)

During the two recent decades, an ongoing change of the Kagugube landscape is shown. The seeds that witness of a transformation of Kagugube is, first and foremost, portrayed by the appearance of new permanent structures. Here, two factors are described as the major drivers to this movement. First, due to the development pressure that reached the nearby areas to the CBD of Kampala. (ibid.) As the CBD was expanding, the bigger pressure was placed on the surrounding areas to successively form the landscape in a way that in KCC/KCCA-terms are representable for the CBD. The increasing land values of Kagugube also occurred simultaneously with the beginning focus of commercial development in the CBD. Second, due to changes in the outlooks of the landlords. (ibid.) Whilst the economic climate in Uganda has broaden the space for private investors within the real-estate markets, the possibility for landlords to sell their land to developers has appeared. In difference from earlier, the landlords was now given the opportunity to avoid dead-ends in the negotiations with the residents. If it would be necessary they could instead sell the land and pass over this errand to the developers, who in turn have the money to sell the residents off or the power to evict them. (Interview LC1 Chairman, 2012: 15/5) This gave the landlords an escapement towards the residents. As selling the land to private investors likely would make their tenancy less secure it would, from the residents' perspective, be better to negotiate on a landlord – resident level.

Drawn from this we can outline some elements in the creation of space to serve the construction of commercial buildings and high-standard residential areas. Though, the urban authorities' role in the course of event regarding Kagugube is not directly apparent. This is mainly because mailo-land is difficult for KCCA to control. The KCCA

Planning Director of Central Division describes that the area originally was planned with the road network surveyed and clear, surrounding a symmetric area of plots. When allocating the land to the people as mailo-land, the authorities had the expectations that the land would be developed accordantly with the plans. However, today there are great differences between what was planned and what has come to ground. The original network of roads and plots are still discernible, but as the area now contains a substantially higher amount of people than it was planned for, also many of the roads have been foundations for shacks and temporary housing (Interview KCCA 2012, 30/5). Currently, the direct involvement of KCCA in the physical planning of Kagugube is quite far away from the ground. Their major task is to go through approval processes concerning private proposals of structure plans, in accordance with The Physical Planning Act. Here, they approve the most of the plans if they contain permanent structures.

According to the Central Division Planning Director, KCCA wants to guide the expansion through programs of upgrading. Further, he states that the upgrading in Kagugube is similar to the upgrading in Kisenyi, another parish in Kampala holding another major informal settlement (Interview KCCA 30/5, 2012) A pattern that is highly subscribed, in most cases, with the creation of space to serve these programs have been done through evictions or silent evictions followed by demolishing and resettlement of the residents. The evictions are legally legitimized through the new Physical Planning Act – and earlier legitimized through Town and Country Planning Act - that summarily states that all development that is carried out has to correspond to the planning standards. Section 46 in the Act is also giving the authorities the power to serve an enforcement notice, if they are not satisfied with the existing standards. Further, the following section states that if required actions are not taken, the government may enter the land and take charge over it. In this manner, the residents become victims of the laws of planning.

From the View of the Residents

Within the residents in the informal settlements of Kagugube there are various attitudes towards the administration of their livings. That is to be shown out of the performed interviews. Though, drawn from the interviews the residents generally have negative attitudes to how authorities approach the area. In accordance to planning the general fundament in the criticism is pointing at the failure of planning to come to ground to identify and cope with the real needs of the people. Others are pointing at the

limited implementation of participatory planning, public unawareness of planning procedures or that planning does not consider local community needs. What is common for these opinions is that they are addressing the same object, which is the absence of planning.

Drawn from what is said about Kagugube Parish so far, a number of buildings approaching more affluent members of the society have come to place within the area. Attitudes regarding this occurrence of “formal” buildings vary in both directions. Some of the people understand this as positive for the community because of the spreading-effects towards the informal settlements. With the arising of formal structures that inhabit residents from higher socio-economic spheres, the small surrounding businesses have witnessed increased profits. One example that is specifically outpointed in these considerations is the how the arrival of Nana Hostel in Kitamanyangamba Zone has affected its surroundings. The hostel was raised in 2007 and accommodates around 800 people, where most of them are students. It’s located on the LDC-road, which splits the western parts of Kagugube into the two zones, Kagugube and Kitamanyangamba zone. As there are several other smaller hostels and hotels that inhabit students within the area, the LDC-road has witnessed a gradual increase in the amount of small business. Suggestively, Nana Hostel and the other student residences exceed an increase of informality as their residents produce a market for it.



Picture 2, Nana Hostels



Picture 3, LDC Road with surrounding commercials

Other residents recognize this development of new structures as giving a negative impact on the area through statements of the subordinate role of the original dwellers. Many of them feel that there is no planning at all carried out for improving or undertake their ways and possibilities of making a better living. As one shoe-repairer putted it, ‘the development efforts seek to serve improvements of standards but not the improvements for us living here’ (Interview 15/5, 2012). Taking his words into a closer view with

looking at the physical surroundings, there are several structures that have been raised on the expense of the urban poor. Earlier mentioned Ham Towers stands on a fundament, which before erasure gave ground to an area of informal settlements. Symbolically, this enormous commercial building shows the residents of Kagugube which priorities that reign, as it stands clearly viewable from the whole Parish. There are also other gated residential structures and hostels in the center of Kivulu that has been raised under the same premises.

Analysis

In this chapter, the presented historical and empirical parts will be brought into relation with the theoretical part presented in chapter 3. Together, they will form the discussion that will constitute the fundament from which the questions that this thesis asks will be answered.

The Colonial Heritage

As notable, the line of arguments in this thesis is linked to how the western-influenced views of urban modernism and neo-liberalism that pervaded the planning in Uganda are related to the livelihood of the urban poor. Out of the presented material, one can argue that the structures and dynamics that are supporting today's relationship between the privileged and unprivileged within society can be traced back to the beginnings of the colonization era. Following Jan Neederveen Pieterses proclamation concerning the superimpositions and heritages of colonialist schemes into the post-colonial society, viable verifications could be distinguished in relation to the case of Uganda. One crucial example is the founding of the Town and Country Planning Act, which were mainly based on the basis of British law. Though, it is crucial mainly because of its long-term validity. This act stood as the basic framework for planning, hence with various revisions, until the Physical Planning Act was installed as late as 2010. Another example concerning colonial heritages that has great significance for the socio-spatial landscape today is the colonialists' segregation policy. Not referring to the heritage of the policy itself, but to the origin formation of the urban landscape through colonialist policies and how this landscape is perceived today. As mentioned earlier in chapter 4, the earlier strategies of altitudinal stratification are clearly distinctive in the social-spatial environment of Kampala today with wealth on the hillsides and poverty in the valleys. Throughout this, one can argue that the British colonialists, on the one hand, did set the agenda for urban planning during the following 50 years after independence, and on the other, laid the foundations to the segregated socio-spatial landscape that in particular contributes to the polemic relationship between formality and informality today.

The Contradictions of, and within, the concept of Formality vs. Informality

But who is in the position to draw this borderline between formality and informality? Ananya Roy (2005:149) points in a direction that proclaims the state not only as the regulator of this line, but rather that informality is shaped and produced by the state itself. She explains this by following the reflections of the Italian philosopher Giorgio Agamben, who pronounces that sovereignty delivers the power to determine the state of exception. This, he declares, creates a paradox of sovereignty since “the sovereign is, at the same time, outside and inside the juridical order.” The paradox could also be formulated like this: “I, the sovereign, who am outside the law, declare that there is nothing outside the law.” (Roy, 2005:149, Agamben, 1998:15) Roy argues that informality can be understood as the expression of such sovereignty since planning and legal devices of the state embraces the power to determine what should be informal or not, and furthermore, which forms of informality that will prevail and which will not.

In relation to Uganda, The Physical Planning Act gives a good example of how this state of exception could be used by the government. As mentioned, one of the cruxes of this law is the establishment of planning committees on sub-county levels. In turn, these committees have the power to decide whether development of certain land is “proper and orderly” or not, and which kind of development that does not fall in line with the existing criteria. To control the development the law ensures that owners, occupiers or developers have to obtain development permission from the significant planning committee. If building a structure or, in any manner, developing land without permission, this will be stated as an offence. Nevertheless, the act does not present any contexts considering which applications that will be given denial or approval. There is also a section stating that the planning committees is given to serve an enforcement notice when such development is carried out, which leaves the planning committees to determine the consecutive measures. These measures could in various cases include evictions. Using another language, this means that the definition of proper development and the power to decide which type of landscape that is in line with the formal order is left to the local planning committees of Kampala and the KCCA. (PPA, 2010: Sections 33, 34, 46 and 47)

The Polemic Spheres of Rationalities

Philip Harrison (2006) is writing about how the promotions and actions towards becoming a global city are disrupting the networks of survival for the urban poor. This, he argues, is the situation because of their failure to connect with the subaltern rationalities that have evolved as poor and marginalized people have found ways to survive under difficult conditions. The people of Kagugube who are engaged in these networks of informal activities points at the same directions. When approaching the question regarding *why* they carry out these small informal business, a common expression from the dwellers interviewed is that they in somehow have to make their own survival, and that the government don't provide any other alternatives for 'people like us'. Though, the governmental events like creating a judicial system that legalize evictions, and KCCAs focusing on the beautification of Kampala does not allow these type of activities as they are not compatible with the modernist rationalities that the conducts the urban development. The same point can also be made in relation to what the urban authorities expected of Kagugube's development when allocating the land as mailo in the 60s, and how the area turned out. The expectations from the authorities were that the area should develop in accordance with the plans that have been made for the area. The outcomes were not foreseen, despite increasing flows of rural-urban migrants. Further, the rationalities of these migrants and their ways to perform every-day activities were not equal with the rationalities that drove the planning of Kampala. Over time, it was the rationalities of the rural immigrants that shaped the features and designs of the informal areas of Kivulu, Kagugube. In the way they carried out their small business, based on personal customs separated from the superior market economy to earn their living. In the way they created their social networks within an area where they could provide all they needed to manage through their days. In sum, they created a society based on the one life they knew, and that became the problem since it is now not appropriate with the ideals that the rationalities of existing planning has set up.

The Post-Crisis intervention of Neoliberalism and its Impacts

As presented in the fourth chapter, the liberal economic approach was attached in Uganda during the mid 80s after years of economic and political chaos. This incidence is following Baetens proclamation regarding the societies' acceptance of restructuring the economics towards neoliberalism in post-crisis eras, when the national economy is in flux. Viewing the case of Kagugube one can distinguish that during the same time the

neoliberal agenda approached, the livelihood became insecure for the dwellers within Kagugube slums. As the development pressure on the area became more intense, and the government held a decentralized approach to planning where privatization and the market should maintenance the urban growth, the residents constantly were under the risk to be driven away. This likely to another informal area where they stood under the same threat.

Today, the featuring mechanisms of slum upgrading are nearly the same, even though they are further hidden behind justificatory policies and action plans. One example is the one objective in the NDP related to the housing development, aiming at the prevention of slum growth and the upgrading of existing ones. As there is a lack of suggestions regarding reducing the urban poverty, these two ambitions create a substantial paradox. As exposed by, for examples Shuaib et al (2010) slum upgrade in most cases leads to increasing land prices, above the level of affordability among the residents. That invokes an interesting question; where would they go if not to another area with the same characteristics? And how will that encourage the prevention of slum growth? The logical sequel is that the upgrade will be followed by trends of resettlements towards peripheral areas of the city, which similarly become characterized by poor housing and informality. Also, since distribution of urban services to peripheral areas is more complicated than to areas near the CBD, this resettlement most likely will develop an even more serrated settlement-climate than in the original ones. Therefore, striving to reach these two goals together, without further relevant clarifications, will create a scheme of progress where the slum-areas are pushed out from the city core and more difficult to support.

In the context of Mitchell's concept of representations of reality and the actual reality, where planning could embody the first and the civil society could embody the latter, this mentioned paradox exposes how planning separates itself from the society. Drawing further on Baetens' reasoning concerning the contradiction in "neoliberal" and "planning" collaterally with Anna Tibajukas statement in chapter 4, one can argue that the existing neoliberal climate within planning have pushed planning away from, in the authors' opinion, one of its most fundamental tasks. To guide and manage development in a manner that is representative for the actual reality.

Conclusions

Out of the analysis, one can draw the conclusion that planning and administrative actions in many respects have failed to come to ground. Within this matter, interconnections between the four sections of the analysis could be seen. These are all containing elements that reinforce inequalities within urban development, the same time as they reinforce one another. The rationales of inequality were superimposed to the Ugandan society from British colonialists, and furthermore, the segregated urban landscape their policies created was inherited by coming generations. Viewing the development within Kagugube during the years of rapid urbanization and political struggle, and how neoliberal ideals subsequently entered and dismissed its environment and structures, one can conclude that the informal society is not acceptable within the eyes of neoliberalism. Here it is important to highlight that the informal area of Kivulu, Kagugube could be representative for several areas within the fringe of inner Kampala. Therefore, it is also representative for an extensive part of the civil society and, following the argumentation in the conceptual part, for reality.

It is stated that planning in Kampala and Uganda as a whole puts its beliefs in the physical manners of planning with a strong conviction in the beautification of the society. These beliefs and strategies are achieved at the expense of the poor majority. By this performance, one can say that reality becomes subordinated the representations of reality. Representations that are sprung from westernized neo-liberal influences, targeting only the “proper” and “right” members of society that can contribute to the cities strive towards profit. In a system where an adequate spread of welfare is discernible, this could arguably be a defensible way to gain development. In a system where planning historically has been absent and separated from reality and society, it is merely a strategy that makes the privileged citizens even more privileged. This subordination is a verification of the fact that governance in Kampala and Uganda fails to, or maybe flinches from, viewing the city and its beneficiaries from a holistic perspective. It becomes even clearer in the policy statements or strategies that are supposed to guide the underprivileged poor of Kampala.

Suggestions

There are some indicators signifying that steps in the right direction have been taken. For example, within the most recent strategic documents there have been contents concerning resettlement programs of the residents that become victims of slum upgrading (NSUSAP, 2008), though substantial examples have not been seen yet. Whether this is right or wrong out of ethical or urban planning perspective is another question, but this mentioned initiative sends a signal that the progress are taking another course. However, much of this thesis lays its emphasis on how governance over time has failed to reach the urban poor of Kampala and the informal sphere that they are operating within. To improve the accuracy when it comes to these matters, a suggestion for Kampala and Uganda would be to approach the concept of Hybrid Governance as presented in the conceptual part of this thesis. By doing so, knowledge within the field of socio-cultural rationalities that govern everyday life within informal settlements can be gained. Understandings that will contribute to the creation of a solid ground to conduct a planning where formality and informality, modernism and subaltern rationalities, and the symbolic and the concrete can form a common reality.

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Pictures and Figures

Figure 1 – United Nations,

<http://www.unescap.org/pdd/prs/ProjectActivities/Ongoing/gg/image2.gif>

Picture 1 – Photographer: Mikael Larsson

Picture 2 – Photographer: Mikael Larsson

Picture 3 – Photographer: Mikael Larsson