The Geography of Solid Waste Management

A case study of garbage collection in Kampala, Uganda

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Abstract

Kampala the capital city of Uganda, as well as other cities in the developing, world is facing problems in managing solid waste generated by household. The population is outnumbering government's capacity to handle the amount waste generated. Lack of service coverage in poor neighborhoods is forcing people to use illegal methods of waste disposal. This includes open space dumping and burning of waste. Accumulated waste and bad air quality are putting people living in those environments at risk. The situation is described as a crisis amongst scholars.

The response from the government to this ongoing waste crisis has been a strategy that is encouraging private operators to participate. In the name of good governance is the current strategy aiming to establish partnerships with business organizations, NGOs, CBOs, religious organizations and so forth. The study area is well researched and much research, and also my findings, shows little evidence of improvement of the situation.

Given this situation, this study is aiming to understand the current approach to planning from a theoretical point of view, and the de facto outcomes on the ground from an empirical (judged by the perception of people) point of view. This will reveal what Watson calls a situation of conflicting rationalities. On the one hand there is a will from the government to control development and imply strategies, and on the other hand there is the marginalized populations will to survive and inability to pay for services.

Key words: *Solid Waste Management, Decentralization, Privatization, Good Governance, Uganda*

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Foreword

During my field work in Uganda, Kampala went into a new phase of urbanity. After years of mismanagement and corruption, the Kampala City Council (KCC) was replaced by Kampala City Council Authority (KCCA), which meant a shift towards a more centralized way of government. Kampala has officially adopted decentralization policies, though; the creation of KCCA has meant more concentration of power to the center and to the Executive Director. The new executive director, picked directly by the president, has explicitly expressed a will to change and to clean up in the city to make it "green and clean" (KCCA). When walking around in the Central Business District I was told from locals that change is happening fast these days.

Just months before my arrival, Kampala the capital city of Uganda experienced its first green trash bins with the KCCA logo painted in white on them. The KCCA logo could also be seen printed on vests worn by people working swiping the streets. Also, busses as means of public transportation just recently made its way into the city scape. All of this happened within a couple of months and are all visible signs of the city's new management and will to clean up. Maybe because of that driving force, all of these events were concentrated to the Central Business District. But what about the rest of the city, where the majority of the people live?

This question got me into thinking about how the notion of good governance and geography works together, and out of curiosity I chose to concentrate my fieldwork to the poorest district in the city, geographically next door to the Central Business District. Conclusions from my study are that WB and UN strategies of good governance show little evidence of success. Instead it is clear how poor neighborhoods are being marginalized in Kampala.

Introduction

Kampala, the capital city of Uganda, as well as other cities in the developing world, is facing problems in managing solid waste generated by households (UN-Habitat 2010, Nabembezi 2011). The population is outnumbering government's capacity to handle the amount of waste generated. Lack of service coverage in poor neighborhoods is forcing people to use illegal methods of waste disposal (Field Study 2012). This includes open space dumping and burning of waste. Accumulated waste and bad air quality are putting people living in those environments at risk (Makara 2009). The situation is described as a crisis amongst scholars (Makara 2009, Nabembezi 2011, and Gombya 2004)

The response from the government to this ongoing waste crisis has been a strategy that is encouraging private operators to participate. In the name of good governance the current strategy is aiming to establish partnerships with business organizations, NGOs, CBOs, religious organizations and so forth. The study area is well researched and much research, and also my findings, show little evidence of improvement of the situation (Field Study 2012).

As stated by previous research, the local government in the area is struggling with insufficient funding and lack of policies and enforcement mechanisms. Private operators are

either non-existent or unreliable and public service is limited (Golooba-Mutebi 2003). Some of the research and reports are suggesting that solid waste management is an employment opportunity but once again, few evidence of success can be found (see for example Gombya 2004). Pilot-projects have in some places managed to improve the situation but those initiatives tend to be short lived or unsustainable (Nabembezi 2011).

Given this situation, this study is aiming to understand the current approach to planning from a theoretical point of view, and the de facto outcomes on the ground from an empirical (judged by the perception of people) point of view. This will reveal what Watson calls a situation of conflicting rationalities (Watson 2009). On the one hand there is a will from the government to control development and imply strategies, and on the other hand there is the marginalized population's will to survive and inability to pay for services.

As the research process went on, I came more and more to realize that the failure of solid waste management in the chosen study area was not a technical issue but one of political character. It became clear that the discussion of decentralization and how it has been interpreted and implemented is very relevant for the functioning of garbage collection and transportation. The current approach is to privatize all aspects of waste management and to find alternative models where tax revenues are not sufficient to cover up for the costs (Field Study 2012).

This study is concerned with solid waste management (SWM) sometimes in literature referred to as municipal solid waste management (MSWM). According to UN-Habitat, Solid Waste has different meanings in different countries. Most common in the developing world is to refer to solid waste as waste generated by households or similar kinds of waste generated by commercial and industrial activities (UN-Habitat 2010). According to KCC Solid Waste Ordinance 2000, solid waste does not include hazardous waste or human body parts section 3 (1).The management of solid waste is covering issues of collection, disposal and transportation of waste (UN-Habitat 2010). The subject of this case study is a neighborhood in Kampala City, Uganda. The area is situated in the wetlands close to the Central Business District. It is a so called poverty hotspot and labeled as an informal settlement (Gombya 2004).

Background
In this part I will give a background to the current situation for my case study. The debate about good governance is often taking place in a context of rapid urbanization and economic and political change (Devas 1999) and Uganda is no exception. A brief historical overview of urban planning and solid waste management will help the reader to understand current approaches. Also the notion of slums will be outlined as it will be discussed later on in the analysis.

Urban Planning in Uganda
Urban planning and service delivery in Uganda has developed over time through various political eras. As first implemented during the time of British colonial rule, urban planning was forced upon the population without taking existing settlement patterns into consideration, with racial segregation and economic polarization as a result (Lwasa et.al

2010). Urban planning has ever since been problematic and conflict ridden (Makara 2009). Since the independence the situation in Uganda has been characterized by political instability (anarchy, dictatorship and a failed state), civil strife and a subsequent economic collapse during the 1970s and 1980s. Further, this collapse led to urban degeneration and collapse of the industry (Isolo 2004). During this time urban planning was performed by urban authorities with full responsibility for provision of services (UN-Habitat 2009).

In 1987 Uganda entered a Structural Adjustment Programme (IMF). Because of economic decline many Sub-Saharan countries were forced to seek financial assistance from international financial institutions such as the World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF). The conditionality of receiving financial assistance was; cutting public expenditures, reduction in public employment, privatization and scaling down activities of government involvement (Makara 2009). The phase in between 1986 and 2004 is by Isolo et al. labeled "The age of laissez faire development and urban informality" (Isolo et al 2010). Liberal policies were adopted to boost the economy after the years of collapse. Another factor influencing the functioning of urban systems in Uganda is the rate in which urbanization is occurring (Isolo 2004).

Kampala is being urbanized at a rapid pace. The total population in Uganda is 32 million, of which only 4.1 (13%) lives in urban areas (UN-Habitat 2012). This will most likely change in a nearby future, it is expected that by the year of 2025 Uganda's urban population will have tripled (Isolo et al 2010).

Most of the urbanization is taking place in informal settlements. These settlements were for a long period of time described as illegal by urban authorities that ignored their existence (Isolo 2004). In Uganda "the growth and expansion of urban centers are associated with lack of infrastructure and social services which have led to environmental problems" (UNDP 2008). Also, decentralization is given as a reason for slum creation as it left local governments without support from the central government (UNDP 2008). Unemployment rates are rising and most urban slum dwellers lack a source of income (UN-Habitat 2012).

Decentralization is a common feature in most developing countries (Devas 1999). Factors behind a decision to decentralize state functions are many. Makara is identifying the most important factors as: a realization of the central government that they are unable to deliver services to the people, poverty and urbanization of poverty, inability to respond to people's needs and sometimes a collapse of managerial system (Makara 2009). It is further argued by Devas (1999) that the real motif behind decentralization in most developing countries is a combination of 1, a push from donor agencies that in many cases are funding decentralization programs and 2, financial constraints on central government and a hope that the local government can find new sources of finance (Devas 1999).

Slums

Mike Davis is in his book Slum- Världens storstäder (A Plant of Slums) (2006) describes the urban periphery as a zone of social effects created by the centrifugal powers of the inner city and a countryside that no longer can sustain its inhabitants. People are not attracted by the city; they are internal refugees migrating from rural to urban areas. The result is by and large an unplanned, under financed and desperate form of urbanization that is called slum (Davis 2006).

The first known definition of slums was published in 1812 by the prisoner James Hardy Vaux in his Vocabulary of Flash Language. Slum is in this publication defined as suspect activities (Davis 2006). At midcentury the term was more commonly used to describe sub-standard living conditions and overcrowding. UN-Habitat defines a slum to occur when a group of people is living under the same roof lives in an urban area that lacks one or more of the following (cited from UN-Habitat State of the Worlds Cities 2006/7):

1. Durable housing of a permanent nature that protects against extreme climate conditions.
2. Sufficient living space which means that no more than three people are sharing the same room.
3. Easy access to safe water in sufficient amounts at affordable price.
4. Access to adequate sanitation in the form of private or public toilets shared by a reasonable number of people.
5. Security of tenure that prevents forced evictions.

Lack of adequate planning and a commercialized land tenure system is identified as root causes of slums in Kampala (Makara 2009). Before colonial rulers came, the land was in the form of communal ownership. Colonialism introduced new forms of land management. There are several different types of land tenure systems in Kampala today but public land only holds for 15%. The rest of the land has turned into a commodity. This is, according to Isolo, excluding most of the urban population from the land market due to low income-levels (2004). The land tenure system is also argued to make service delivery in Kampala even more complicated (Ibid). UN-Habitat is estimating 67% of urban areas to be slums in Kampala (2007).

The Solid Waste Problem in Uganda

In most urban areas in Africa solid waste management is a responsibility of the municipality (UN-Habitat 2010). Though, most waste is never collected. Instead, thousands of tons of garbage that is generated in Africa is burned by households or disposed in wetlands (ibid).

The time immediately after the termination of colonial rule, 1960 to 1970, service delivery was functioning and garbage was collected on a regular basis. Old people often refer to this as "the good old time" (Makara 2009). During the time of dictatorship under Idi Amin (1971-1979) service delivery seized to exist, no statistics from this time is available. Almost all service sectors under KCC have declined since 1969 in terms of municipal responsibility until now, but capacity to collect garbage is worst off. In 1991 only 13% of the garbage was collected, today the figure is higher.

Waste Generation and collection in Kampala 1969-2002

Year	Population	Average Monthly Refuse Generation (tons)	No of Refuse Trucks Available	No of Refuse Containers	Average Quantity of Waste Collected (tons/month)	Percent Coverage	Disposal Method used
1969	330, 700	8, 929	12	Unknown	7, 000	78%	Unknown
1980	458, 503	13, 755	10	Unknown	Unknown	Un known	Open dumping
1991	774, 241	26, 000	9	320	3, 500	13%	Open dumping
2002	1, 208,544	36, 256	20	500	14, 000	39%	Sanitary land filling

Source: KCC, Strategy to improve Solid Waste Management in Kampala City (2002) p, 3

The rate of waste produced in Kampala City is on a steady rise as a result of industrialization and population growth. People in Kampala produce in average 0, 5 kg garbage per capita a day which is low in comparison to developed countries. In Sweden the figure is 3 kg garbage a day (SRV). 0, 5 kg may not be much but the aggregated amount is 1500 tons of waste per day (KCC 2000).Considering that only 40 % of this is being collected one can understand that there is a huge amount of waste accumulating in the city every day. It is not hard to understand why Kampala City is having problems with drainages that are being clogged by garbage.

Kampala has 500 containers for waste disposal scattered in the city (Golooba-Mutebi 2012). According to Makara it is a common sight that these containers are over-full with rotten garbage. This is not only inconvenient because of the smell it causes, but it is also a health risk as it is a breeding ground for flies and vermin (Makara 2009). There is also a correlation between diarrhea diseases and uncollected garbage (ibid).

Research Questions and Aims

"Solid waste management is one of the serious problems in Kawempe division and Kampala district as a whole that has undermined the council's capacity for proper management and efficient disposal" (Nabembezi 2011 p, 29).

In Kampala, the increasing industrialization, shrinking peasant economies and urbanization is resulting in a rapid population increase in urban centers (Isolo 2004). The population growth is mainly taking place in informal settings without adequate infrastructure and service provision. The increase of people is outnumbering the ability of the government to collect the amount of waste generated. The strategy to improve the situation of accumulated garbage in the city has been one of privatization and decentralization. My research question is therefore related to how these strategies have benefitted people living on urban-peripheral land, so called slums.

How is the current approach to urban service delivery supposed to improve service delivery to the urban population in Kampala?

What effects does this approach have localized on a neighborhood scale?

Aim:

To understand the current system and how it has evolved

To understand institutional workings of SWM

To assess residents experience of this system in terms of accessibility and affordability

Limitations of Scope

I will in this study assess strategies of improvement of service delivery. One of the documents that I found most important is the Local Government Act 1997 that is outlining responsibilities of local municipalities and town boards. But since the transition from KCC to KCCA (in 2010), this act is no longer legally binding. The act has been replaced by Kampala City Act 2010 that is reversing the decentralization. Instead of creating smaller administrative districts, the Central Government has taken over the management of Kampala City with the objectives to 1, improve delivery of services to the people 2, raise the standards to international level 3, and turn Kampala City into a modern global city (Isolo et al 2010).

I have been aware of this but have chosen to focus on privatization as a way of decentralizing service delivery any way. Because, privatization is still, also in the new Act, a main strategy for development and the hierarchical system prior to KCCA is still in function. The new Act and the new authority are working on strategies and policies but much is in confusion at the moment. State officials do still refer to the old order. The responsibility for Solid Waste Management has moved around different ministries, which is causing further confusion amongst state official and civil society.

There is a new strategic plan at work and it will impact on Bwaise lll in a way that will determine the future of the area as residential or not. As being built in the swamps many

planners would rather see that it seized to exist. Not much could be said about that. Preparations are being made by researchers from the Netherlands and the plan will not be released until December.

Framework of Study

This study evaluates the relationship between governance of Kampala City Region and outcomes in terms of the practice of Solid Waste Management in Bwaise lll. The roots, attributes and outcomes of strategies employed by the central Government in Kampala are outlined with an emphasis of the latest reforms of privatization and decentralization. The impacts of the reforms on solid waste management are then localized on a household level.

Methodology

This study is based on a field work that was carried out in Kampala City during April and May 2012. The study is in form of a case study. *Case study* is here used as a strategy for how empirical material has been gathered but also as a method (Punch 2005). As the framework (see above) of this study is requiring several different sources of evidence, the case study method is relevant (Adama 2007). Case study as a strategy also helps to limit the study as it requires boundaries (Punch 2005). In my case the study is limited in space and time; space is limited by geography and time by focusing on the latest reforms. The study is done using predominately quantitative methods.

The assessment on the impact of decentralization and privatization on Solid Waste Management in Bwaise lll consists of two steps. First, an assessment was made on government reforms in Kampala City Region based on a thorough survey of policy- and strategic documents, unstructured interviews at Ministry of Land and Housing and Urban Development, KCCA head office, KCCA division office and a NGO operating in the area. Thereafter, a survey by *questionnaires* was carried out with focus on household's perception and attitudes related to Solid Waste Management and planning authorities. A total of 25 questionnaires were distributed to residents in the area, and 5 *structured interviews* with local leaders (Chairmen) were made, they were also residents of the study area.

The study is using a combination of methods: a document study, open and semi-structured interviews and questionnaires. A combination of methods hopefully gives a more nuanced understanding of the subject. The methods are preferably used as complements to each other (Olsson et al 2011).

Scientific Approach

Social science is distinguishing between two approaches on collection of empirical data and the research process. It is not a dichotomous relationship between them, but rather it is a continuum where one can place quantitative and qualitative methods on each side. The central comparison is between research that is very pre-structured, preplanned and with pre-specified research questions, and at the other end, research where little is planned in advance and where research questions, the design and the data evolves over time (Punch 2005 p, 22-23). Quantitative research often falls towards the pre-specified end, while quantitative to various degrees falls to the unfolding end of the spectrum.

The difference between quantitative and qualitative approaches in research is related to the view on scientific knowledge. Quantitative approaches to knowledge are grounded in a positivist tradition where knowledge is extracted from reality through scientifically based principles and processed by statistical and mathematical methods (Hartman 2007). This approach stresses the value of validity where results can be quantified (Magne et al 1996). Qualitative approaches to knowledge are philosophically rooted in a hermeneutic tradition where the interpretation of reality made by the researcher is considered to have much greater influence over the research process. A qualitative approach is aiming to understand the social interaction and representations of reality (Hartman 2007).

I will in this study use a combination of quantitative and qualitative data as the two are not necessarily exclusively used (Punch 2005). The area of my study was little known to me at the beginning and that has influenced the procedure and the research question has evolved over time. The choice to include quantitative methods in the questionnaires was due to circumstances where other methods were not possible. Answers from questionnaires are statistically organized and sometimes presented in tables.

Sampling Procedure

When I had decided on the topic- governance of solid waste management- the next step was to choose a study area. The choice of the area was much due to its geographical location and socio-economic status.

As the study area was largely unknown to me on beforehand a snowball technique was used to find informants. The snowball technique is useful as the first respondent refers to others that could be of interest (Esiasson et al 2004). Key informants in the initial phase of this study were found at the NGO Shelter and Settlements Alternative. They could help to find documents of importance and inform me about organizations operating in the study area and also put me in contact with the project leader of Kampala Integrated Management Project (KIEMP).

When I found out how the administrative system surrounding solid waste management was structured I tried to go from the top moving down to the lower levels of government. The sample of key respondents at the ministries was based on their positions of authority. Same applies to political leaders and local planners. Interviews made were further most aiming to use the interview person as respondents. In other words, I wanted to gain understanding on the respondent's view of solid waste management, what they considered to be limitations and solutions. But in some cases they did also serve as informants and gave me access to valuable documents and contacts (Esiasson et al 2004).

Respondents for the questionnaire survey were picked on random basis. The only criteria were geographical distribution and gender balance. Questionnaires were carried out under a period of four-days in field. I did not have a known number of respondents and informants on beforehand. It has unfolded over time until I reached a point where I felt that I could not come any further.

Questionnaires

The questionnaires could also be labeled structured interviews as they were conducted orally and not in written form. In this situation I had to take help from my field assistant, a student from Makerere University whom I was collaborating with during my field work, for interpretation. Questionnaires (25 in total) were distributed to people that we came across in the area during field visits. The data collected covered issues as mode of disposal, collection, payment of service, preferences, willingness to pay and opinion on the performance of service providers, and involvement in decision-making.

Data from the questionnaires is responding to the research question about how people judge the current approach to solid waste management to function. At this point of the study I had already made interviews with local leaders, state officials and the NGO operating in the area. This had influence over what questions I asked. For example, one of the strategies that were emphasized by state officials and the project manager was 3R (Reduction, Reuse and Recycling) and therefore I asked residents if they had participated in any of such activities. I wanted this to reveal how the relationship between strategies and practice is working.

I found it hard to construct questions that were understandable, and to my help I had Ugandan friends who could help me to make questions that made sense in the context. The questions were arranged around themes that I had identified from the research I had done on beforehand. Though, some of the answers I could not use in the end as I understood that there had been misunderstandings. For example a majority of the respondents answered that they paid nothing to informal collectors once a week.

Document Study

Documents of importance have been obtained from Makerere University, Shelter and Settlement Alternatives, KIEMP. One problem I encountered was accessibility to primary data. As this in some cases can be a difficulty in studies of developing countries I had to rely on secondary sources. Policy documents I have reviewed include: KCC Solid Waste ordinance 2000, Solid waste management Strategy 2006, National Environmental Statute, The Constitution of Uganda 1995, Local Government Act 1997.

Interviews

At first I used unstructured (open) interviews with two officials at Ministry of Land and Housing and Urban Development. The purpose of using unstructured interview was that I wanted to interrupt as little as possible to make sure that it was their view as representatives of the ministry. In unstructured interviews the researcher introduces a theme and lets the respondents talk. The difference from structured interview is that the respondents are allowed to express their view in their own words (Denscombe 2000)

In interviews made with planners at district and division level I used an interview-guide. These interviews were semi-structured. I choose this form of interview as it gives some flexibility to the situation. An interview guide was constructed, which helped me to keep track during the interview and take the discussion back to solid waste management when the respondents drifted away from the theme. It also opened up so that issues unknown to

me were allowed to come up in the discussion (Bryman 2008). Interviews with officers at the ministries were made at the offices and lasted in between 60 and 90 minutes. During the interview the planner were involving more staff at the office.

At the lowest level of the administrative hierarchy, the local leaders (LC1), interviews were made through structured interviews. The choice of using structured interviews was due to the interview situation, where I had to use an interpreter as the language spoken was not English but local.

Each parish in the study area (6) is supposed to have a local leader. Though, one leader was missing due to political contradictions. Another one was not available for an interview but instead I was able to interview the vice Chairman. One of the respondents did not want to continue through the whole interview. The interview was left unfinished but I am using what was answered.

Theoretical Framework

This part of the study serves to explain how solid waste management has been a subject in urban theory. The theoretical debate about governance and good governance is, as Myers suggests, divided amongst scholars (2011). On the one hand are those who see governance as a creative process and holds good governance as the solution for developing countries (Myers 2011 p, 106). These scholars (see for example Schübler et al. and Cointreau-Levine 1994) are debating management techniques and policy recommendations. On the other hand there are critical thinkers (see for example Davies 20006 and Watson 2003, 2009) who are criticizing good governance agenda "as a mechanism for allowing the state to abdicate its responsibility for providing social care and support" (Gross Encyclopedia of Urban Studies 2010). What management techniques on good governance fails to capture is the overarching political structure that is encompassing each case of neighborhood sensitization. As the researcher Rosalind Fredericks pointed out the positive best practice literature on governance is not enough to explain ongoing garbage crisis in the developing world. What is needed is to understand the politics surrounding solid waste management (Fredericks 2009).

Good governance is *the mode* of development promoted by international financial institutions (WB/ IMF), think tanks (UN-Habitat) and donor agencies since 1980s and 1990s (Adama 2007).The latest give in "aid for development" are concepts such as "integrated management" and the importance of "social capital". I will here present social capital as it is being of relevance for my case and then see how it translates into reality. I will also use Vanessa Watson's concept of conflicting rationalities as a critique of neoliberal good governance.

Neoliberal Good Governance

Garth Myers is using the concept neoliberal good governance to clarify how neoliberalism rooted in western ideology and economic theories, and good governance, as it is being applied in developing countries, are interrelated.

Neo-liberalism is commonly understood as an economic creed that is combining the liberalization of markets and the regulatory power of the state. The idea that the market is the best provider of goods in a society can be attributed to economic thinkers of the eighteenth century such as Adam Smith and David Ricardo, also known as the grounders of neo-liberal economics. These ideas were picked up in the Global North by conservative governments in the 1970s and the 1980s (at the time of the oil crisis) that considered systems of state provision to be all too bureaucratic and inefficient and considered the market to be the best regulator (Simon 2002).

The shift from large scale planning to a marketised approach on planning and service provision is discussed by scholars in the West as a shift from government to governance (e.g. Harvey 1989). This is being recognized as a rescaling of spatial order where "the relative position of the state is shifting in a decisive way" (Swyngedow 2000 p, 69). Relevant for urban service delivery is the role of the state as provider is changing; "the interventionism of the state is equally re-scaled, either downwards to the level of city or to the region where

private-public partnerships shape an entrepreneurial practice and ideology needed in the inter-urban competition" (Swyngedow 2000 p, 69). The state is no longer a provider of services but an enabler and facilitator for the market. Also in Africa, Adama argues, the role of the state is a relevant starting point when discussing the notion of good governance (Adama 2007 p, 20).

In the case of Africa, in the 1980s, governments were urged to replace the state-led development paradigm that followed independence with Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), advocating the withdrawal of the state in service provision. But as the expected boost of the economy did not materialize, the concept of good governance was invented to cover up for failures (Adama 2007). Good governance is meant to over-bridge the gap left from privatization of public services. Free markets are still considered important but "markets depend on effective states" (World Bank 1997 quoted in Batley 2002 p, 137). The World Bank urban agenda, as it was represented at the 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg, is advocating privatization, state withdrawal and private investment in conjunction with re-engineered government institutions to facilitate the transition (Middleton et al 2003).

However, the definition of good governance varies depending on the position taken. In the large bulk of literature on the topic one can distinguish between scholars who are writing from a neoliberal point of view and those writing from a critical point of view. Following Myers discussion, the meaning of governance has evolved over time. From meaning as a "manner of governing" it is now understood as a decision making process that involves multiple stakeholders where the state only is one amongst others (Myers 2011).

 "*The last three decades have seen the steady rise of 'good governance' in African cities, ideologically deployed in both the rhetoric and practice of democratization, privatization, decentralization, and liberalization*" (Myers 2011 p, 104).

Decentralization and privatization are decisive parts of the neoliberal urban governance agenda. Sandra Cointreau-Levine is one of the world's leading theorists on solid waste management in developing countries. She has been writing policy recommendations both for UN-Habitat and the World Bank City Alliance (and could be labeled mainstream neoliberal). She is holding the view that private sector involvement is the best way to achieve cost efficiency and improved service provision (Cointreau-Levine 1994). Scholars holding this view (Oduro-Kwarteng 2011, van Djik 2008) argue that private sector involvement in public service provision evolved to deal with market and government failures.

"The public sector is playing a leading role of purchaser (buyer) on behalf of citizens through subsidies and/ or user charges, whiles the private sector is taking on an increasing role of provider (seller) of public services, and being regulated by the public sector to correct market failures associated with "public good" nature of solid waste service" (Oduro-Kwarteng 2011 p, x).

Privatization could be seen as a way of decentralization (Obirih-Opareh 2004), as some say it involves transfer of power and responsibility of state functions to private groups or

companies, while others argues it is not (UNRISD 2002). Decentralization (economic, political) in the name of good governance has in Africa meant re-configuration of government structure with the creation of hierarchical structures where power is being transferred from central government to lower tiers of government. This is in line with the Urban Agenda presented by the World Bank in Johannesburg in 2002. Under good governance agenda, the local government is expected to be a key player in urban governance. This extends to service delivery, which some see as the justification of local governments (Adama 2007).

Both privatization and decentralization practices are being justified as "bringing services closer to the people" (World Bank 2003). In service delivery the transfer of service functions to lower levels of government and establishment of public-private partnerships and other "networked" forms of governance are being its most outstanding features (Brenner and Theodore 2002 p, 341). Here we come back to a theme mentioned earlier; the multi-stakeholder approach (or integrated approach) to service delivery.

A main expectation of the agenda is that the government is cooperating with an array of institutions ranging from the private sector to community groups and households in service delivery (Adama 2007). For UN-Habitat and the World Bank Alliance, participation involves stakeholders who "influence and share control over development initiatives, decisions, resources which affect them" (World Bank 1994 p, 6 cited in Mohan 2002 p, 51). Broadly defined in this sense, good governance refers to the successful management of community affairs through the mixing of private, public and voluntary actors (Stoker 1998). By involving stakeholders in lower tiers of the decision making hierarchy, good governance is said to be a participatory approach to service delivery. All stakeholders involved, could be organizations, households, men and women, private firms, are expected to perform specific tasks (Adama 2007 p, 35).

"Good governance carries with it a promise of institutional design that is open and accountable to civil society in general, and effective in terms of financial management and policy implementation" (Makara 2009, 39). Most important to remember is that service provision no longer is provided by the state. Instead, good governance is concerned with the role of various forms of political coordination that span the public-private divide (Adama 2007).
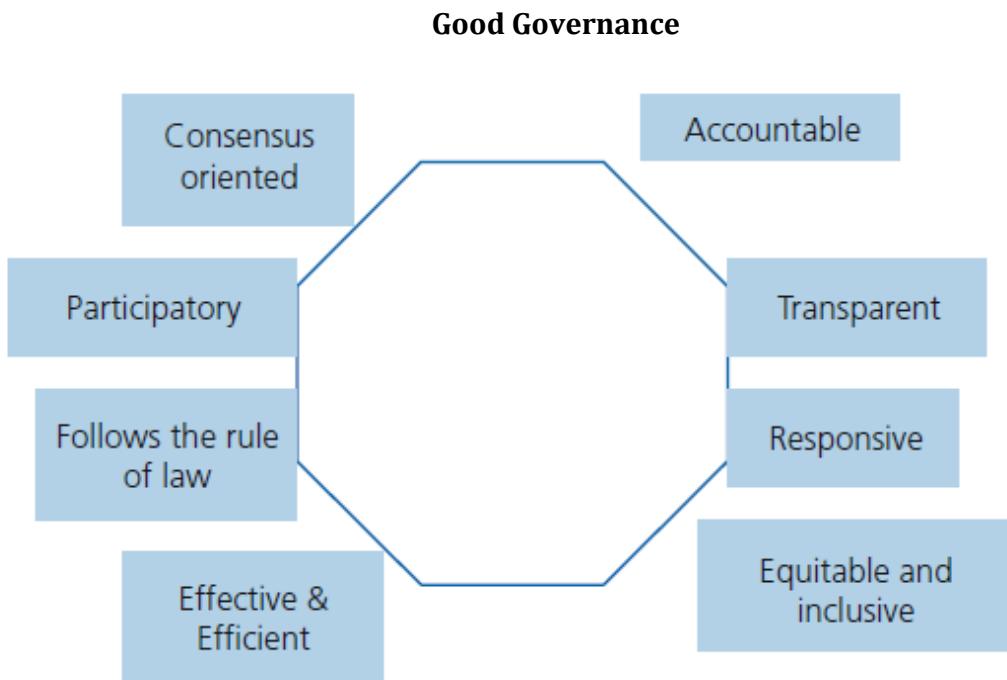
Good Governance

Source: Participatory Assessment Report 2002 (obtained from UN-Habitat (2012) National Urban Profile)

Social Capital

Social capital is a concept that is commonly used in studies on solid waste management (Adama 2007 p, 84) and governance. This could be categorized as one of the pro-good governance approaches that are discussing different management techniques. It is identified by the World Bank as the missing link in the development equation and defined as "the informal rules, norms and long term relationships that facilitate coordinated action and enable people to undertake co-operative ventures for mutual advantage" (World Bank 1997 p, 114). The concept has been frequent in policy recommendations and amongst academic advisors since the 1990s but the concept social capital was not a term coined by the World Bank and its scholars. Social capital has been around in sociology and anthropology longer than that.

The French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1985) used social capital as a term to describe an individual's relative position in a hierarchical social structure. Social capital could, according to him, be a language or exchange of symbols used by individuals on the same level to create cohesion and mutual understanding (McAslan 2002). Building on Bourdieu's work, James Coleman (1988) made a connection between human capital and social capital by putting emphasis on education and skills. Later (1990s) following Coleman, the concept was popularized by the political scientist Robert Putnam who saw social capital as an asset of an organization and defined it as the "features of social organizations, such as networks, norms and trust that facilitate action and cooperation for mutual benefit" (Putnam 1993 p, 35). Social- just like physical capital does influence the productivity of individuals and groups

(Häuberer 2011). That is to say, if relations amongst individuals in the group are good and if the trust level is high.

Trust is created when individuals are engaged in networks in civic society that is dominated by "reciprocal norms" (Häuberer 2011) which means norms that are based on mutual give and take. According to Putnam there are two different kinds of networks; horizontal and vertical. Horizontal networks are bounds that keep people on the same level in a hierarchy together. That could be people living in the same neighborhood engaged in a community based organization. Vertical networks are bounds between groups on different levels in the hierarchy. That could be the channels between lower and higher tiers of governance in a city.

McAslan argue that it is important to distinguish between these two types of social capital as it can help us understand why for example there can be strong community groups that have low saying in decision making processes (McAslan 2002).

When it comes to service delivery and solid waste management it is of interest how these ideas of social capital translate into initiatives taken by community groups. This is because of the emphasis on privatization through partnerships that is being advocated by influential actors (see UN-Habitat). As public-private partnerships are most often limited to upper- and middle class neighborhoods is the solution given poor neighborhoods one that the community should be contracted as self-provision of services. Hence, this requires high levels of social cohesion and trust amongst actors.

However, according to Adama (2007) urban communities are, limited to a geographical place, not very well suited for collective actions. This is because of the heterogeneous nature of urban communities. She argues that the heterogeneity is likely to limit the amount of social capital needed for such actions (p, 83). Poverty is further hampering cooperation as poor people have less time and resources for "self-organization of inter-organizational relations" which is a common expectation in good governance (Adama 2007 p, 29).

As suggested, there is a gap in between how policy recommendations of community/ collective action are supposed to create webs of service provision and the reality of the people living in poor urban communities in developing countries. This is further debated by scholars, Lwasa et al (2010), Myers (2011), Watson (2009), and Makara (2011).

Mismatch between policy and practice

Many are critical about good governance or urban governance, as it is considered to include very many aspects (democracy, alternative models of service delivery, cost recovery). As solid waste management is a notion encompassing diverse activities (collecting, disposing, transporting etc.)(Adama 2007) and the stakeholders are ranging from household to, NGOs, CBOs, FBOs, and private firms, it is a complex task to evaluate relationships amongst different factors that might influence the outcome. For decentralization, as a component of good governance, to be successful it requires that the structure of the government is clear, as well as the roles and responsibilities (Makara 2009). Information must flow transparently between tiers of government and quasi-governmental bodies, such as NGOs and private firms. State officials must be updated about new directives and strategies and have

enforcement mechanisms and means to implement them. That is to say, all actors on the field must be on equal grounds (UN-Habitat 2012).

One problem that is arising from the model of public service delivery that was presented above, where the government in the role of a public organization is buying service from private actors to make service delivery more cost-effective is that this must be paid by those who can afford (tax payers). It is stated by Makara (2009) that this kind of model of public of service delivery is possible in developed countries but this is likely to be less successful in developing countries (ibid).

"*Poverty renders service delivery (in local governments) by the private sector unaffordable (to the poor). The absence of visible, indigenous private sector leaves foreign companies as the only significant players. Although involvement of these companies brings foreign investment, in certain instances it causes serious political problems*" (quote Makara 2009 p, 62)

The absence of conditions for good governance (a tax base and effective administration and clear guidelines) to create webs of different actors where services to the people are provided makes the situation contradictory. As Castells (1983) points out:

"*We are still helpless when we wish to act on cities and regions because we ignore the source of their social change and fail to identify with sufficient accuracy the political process underlying urban management. As a result we are left with urban systems separated from personal experiences, with structures without actors, actors without structures, with cities without citizens and citizens without cities.*" (Castells M, 1983)

This quote is applying to strategies of governance that are aiming to break with previous structures of top-down government but that do not offer an alternative that is based on reality. There may be policies but these policies are not useful if not enforced and if not grounded in the everyday life of people. Also Devas (1999) is arguing that it is unrealistic to believe that decentralization of central government responsibilities for financing urban service delivery to lower levels of government (the municipalities) will lead to increased resources especially in poor urban areas. This is, according to Makara 2009, a political reality in Kampala City. What Makara (2009) is arguing is that state officials in many cases are not even aware about the strategies of service delivery that exist. This is being recognized as a growing gap between program outcomes and the needs of the poor (Lwasa et al 2010). Also Myers among others is pointing out that good governance in Africa, that is supposed to bridge the gap between different actors, is not being practiced and therefore could be considered an empty shell (Myers 2011).

This can be framed as a situation of "conflicting rationalities" (Watson 2009). Watson's position is that there, on the one hand is the government's will to clean up in the city, a marketised system based on supply and demand, and on the other hand a marginalized population's will to survive (which creates public outcries).

What she is arguing is that the good governance agenda is de-politicization of urban planning, and a way of reforming institutions in line with neoliberal aims of liberalization (Watson 2009). She is arguing that the consensus seeking model of good governance serves

to marginalize rather than include. Even if the language of participation and empowerment is present in rhetoric, citizens are being viewed as consumers rather than inhabitants. What has happened in many areas in developing countries that have been subject to projects and IMF funded initiatives is that public services have been turned into commodities that are for sale to slum dwellers that cannot afford it (also debated by Davis 2006).

To conclude: Good governance has been promoted by donors and lending agencies as the solution for urban service delivery. The motif of decentralizing state functions, framed as good governance, to lower tiers of government is to bring power closer to the people. Though, good governance is requiring certain conditions in order to function. When these conditions are not present, see for example low social capital, it is a risk that privatization strategies create islands of service coverage in an otherwise chaotic environment characterized by a garbage crisis.

Results

In this part of the study results and empirical evidences will be presented and analyzed. The aim is to be able to answer the two research questions based on this. The first section is related to the question of how the current system is thought to improve solid waste management. This is done by an assessment of documents and interviews with staff at different ministers and NGOs. The second section is meant to answer the question of how these strategies are being localized in a specific geographical area. This is done by an investigation of peoples and local leader's perception of the current system.

Institutional Arrangements for SWM

Uganda has as a result of history adopted a decentralized approach to service delivery. After years of political instability, first under the dictatorship of Idi Amin (1971-1979) and thereafter under Obote ll (1980-1986), Yoweri Museveni and his National Resistance Movement (NRM) took over. This marked the beginning of a new era. Since the takeover in 1986, Uganda has adopted more liberal economic policies by the central government (Isolo 2004 p, 8). This is of relevance for the present functioning of urban service delivery as the main strategies are decentralization and privatization. Central government, here referred to as KCC(A), is trying to reduce its role in solid waste management. This has been pushed by lenders and donor agencies justified as poverty reduction strategies (see for example structural adjustment program). Prior to decentralization and privatization the government was the provider of services. The service delivery system then was characterized by economic mismanagement and top-down decision making (Golooba-Mutebi 2003).

Waste collection under the old system
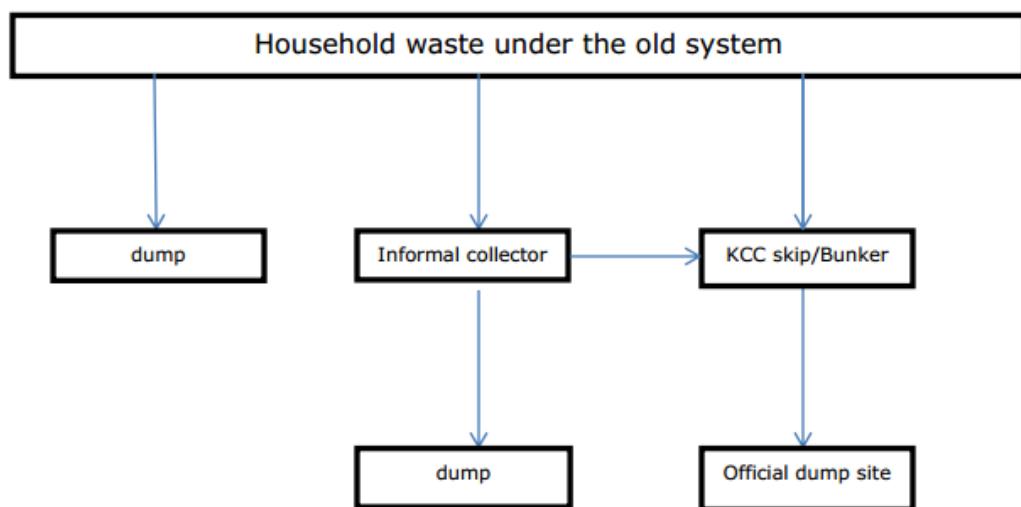
Source: Golooba-Mutebi (2012) p, 10

Two broad modes of waste collection operate in Kampala City. These are door to door collection and collective container system. The container system has both private and public providers, while door to door collection only has private operators. Outsourcing has been promoted as part of decentralization. It is happening in two ways:

Either private firms provide services and get paid by KCC(A), in this case KCC(A) pay private operators a lump sum to cover up for households that are too poor to afford waste collection, or KCC(A) is licensing operators and lets them provide services to people who are paying operators directly (Golooba-Mutebi 2003). At first these licensed private operators were given monopoly status within a geographic area. Now, private operators are allowed to collect garbage in any division as long as they can find customers (Golooba-Mutebi 2012)

Decentralization

It is said by scholars that decentralization of local governance in Uganda is the most far reaching in Africa (Saxena et al 2010). At the end of the 1990s (1992) Uganda adopted a decentralization approach to bring service delivery "closer to the people" (Golooba-Mutebi 2003) (Mugagga 2006) by creating and strengthening lover levels of government with the objective to involve the public in the process of development of their own livelihood (Saxena et al 2010). It is stated in The Constitution of the Republic of Uganda paragraph ll that "The state shall be guided by the principle of decentralization of functions and powers to the people, to appropriate levels where they can best manage and direct their own affairs" (Constitution of Uganda 1995). In line with a World Bank recommendation two macro objectives has been directing political and economic reforms conducted since then; 1 to promote democratic governance and 2; to improve people's livelihoods and living conditions (Golooba-Mutebi 2003). The decentralization approach to development is spelled out in Local Government Act 1997, also referred to as the policy of Decentralization.

The cost of solid waste management is enormous in Kampala (Nabembezi 2011), therefore has decentralization been a implemented to relive the government the burden of financing, and the burden of responsibility, by empowering lower tiers of government (World Bank 1989). Kampala City follows a structure of local councils (LCs). At the top is the District (LC5) in this case Kampala Capital City, divided into Divisions/ Municipalities (LC3), thereafter there is the parish level (LC2) and below are the zones/ villages (LC1) that represents the voice of the people. Most of the decisions are taken by the division/ municipality level (LC3), the lowest levels are considered to be administrative units that are supporting the upper tiers (Saxena et al 2010).

Local Government Organizational Structure
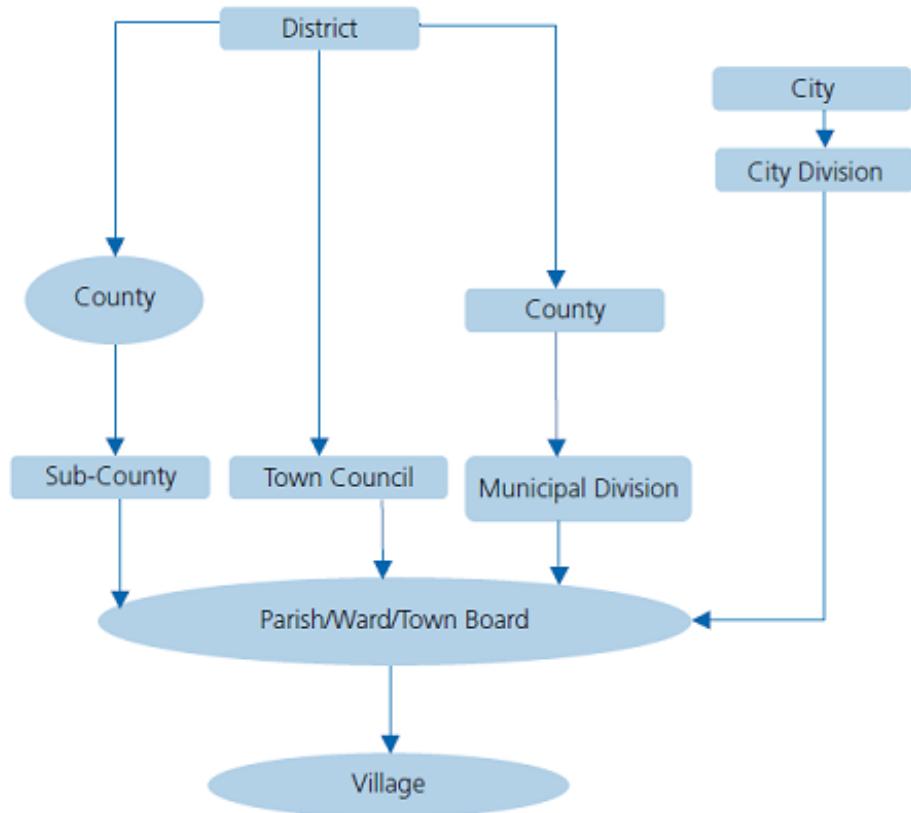
Source: Republic of Uganda Government Handbook 2007 (obtained from UN-Habitat (2012) National Urban Profile)

The central government is responsible for national security, immigration, foreign affairs and national projects while the administrative and managerial power has been devolved to local governments. For smaller town-ships this means that local governments are relatively autonomous from the central government. The situation in Kampala City is rather different as it is the capital city and the only city in Uganda. Kampala City is, as said, divided into five divisions/ municipalities (LC3s). Each division holds "corporate status", this means that they are responsible for planning and service delivery within their jurisdiction (Goloba-Mutebi 2003). In more detail these powers include "making and implementation of development plans based on locally determined priorities" (Nabembezi 2011 p, 5).

Regarding solid waste management the District (KCC(A) has the power to enact district laws (ordinances) while the Division (Kawempe now a municipality) has the power to create bylaws consistent with National Statues or the Constitution (Mugagga 2006 p, 9). The Local Government Act 1997 also empowers the division (LC3) to generate local revenue through taxes and gives the division autonomy to govern its distribution (Saxena et al 2010) (develop, see UNDP 2012). The Constitution of the Republic of Uganda (1995) is mandating municipalities and town councils to provide services to the people (UN Habitat 2012). However, services are decentralized and outsourced KCCA is still "obliged to establish, prescribe, control and administer the forms in connection with these services" (Isolo 2004 p,

10). But KCC(A) will only interfere if the division fails to handle the situation on its own (Golooba-Mutebi 2003).

Closely related to the (1992) decentralization exercise is the practice of privatization that has paralleled decentralization. (Promoted by WB) Privatization has become a key component of Uganda's reform policy (Obirih-Opareh 2004 p, 18).

Privatization

"*Private sector involvement in the urban economy should be fully supported for sustainable and equitable development of urban areas in terms of wealth creation and service delivery*" (UN Habitat 2012)

The policy of Decentralization paralleled the overall development towards the redefinition of the role of Government with the central government creating an enabling environment for action by local governments, communities and the private sector (Mugagga 2006). Solid waste management has officially been privatized since around 2000.

The main strategy of improving service delivery, according to two state officials at different ministries, is to involve private sector to a greater extent. As being privatized service delivery is now demand driven which means that the level of service coverage reflects the demand of the inhabitants. Also the National Slum Upgrading strategy and Action Plan confirms that "this strategy is premised on the thinking that slum residents are willing to pay for the service they value the most, this is a proxy indicator for demand" (UNDP 2008 p, 42). Comprehensive privatization programs are being implemented as a mean to "reinforce and enhance the ability to govern and increase the level and quality of services to their constituents" (Isolo 2004 p, 10).

Privatization of solid waste management is a fairly new concept and was under urban administration monopolistic statutory requirement of collection, storage and waste until beginning of 2000.Though it lasted until 2006 before some private collectors entered contracts with KCC(A) (KCC strategy for solid waste management 2006). In 2007 there were 10 private operators in Kampala City, these accounted for 10 % of all waste delivered to the public landfill (UN-Habitat 2007). All urban councils are free to outsource services to private sector but in order for a private firm to stand a chance of winning a contract, firms have to fulfill or agree to certain conditions (see appendix). For example a firm must have experience of managing contracts worth US 400.000 or above and possess the necessary equipment or have ability to rent it (Gooloba-Mutebi 2003).

The intention of the privatization strategy is to have skip-less refuse collection and only provide skips to institutions and markets. This is based on a pilot study made in Makindye division in 2001 where skips were removed and private operators collecting directly from homeowners. Private operators were paid directly by the customer without any involvement of KCC (Golooba-Mutebi 2012).

Contradictory to the high threshold of being a licensed contractor the public is encouraged to participate in service delivery as a private actor. It is emphasized in policy documents related to solid waste management that the public plays a crucial role in service delivery and

that public private partnerships are the way forward. It is said by UN-Habitat (2012) that municipalities in Uganda are working in collaboration together with Faith based Organizations, Non-Governmental Organizations, Business Organizations, Community Based Organizations, Private Sector and so forth to create webs of service delivery (p,28).

Households under the new system
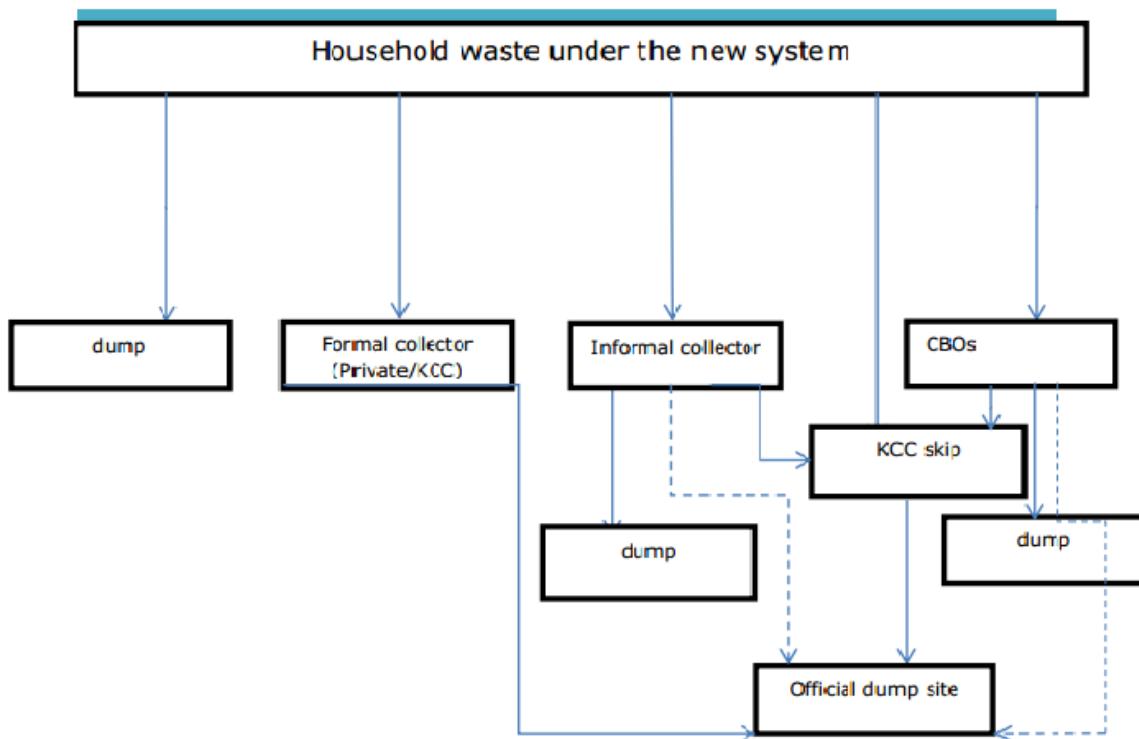
Source: Golooba-Mutebi 2012 p, 12

Involving the Public

It is stated by policy documents that participation by inhabitants are of great importance. Therefore a "bottom-up" approach to planning and service delivery has been adopted through the Local Government Development Program (LGDP) (Lwasa et al 2010 p, 32). In this program, provided by the World Bank, communities are encouraged to take active roles in preparation of plans, identification of projects, decision-making and prioritization of projects. Three reasons are given to why such an approach is being the most appropriate: 1, because of the persistence of poverty 2, recognition of the failure of foreign investments in development planning and 3, the opportunity to create new partnerships between different stakeholders.

"*The Local Government Development Program Project will initiate a long- term effort to assist Uganda in the decentralization of basic public services, and in the implementation of local governments, and will test alternative service delivery mechanisms, through the private sector, beneficiary communities, or stakeholders*" (World Bank Local Development Programme)

Two major institutional arrangements determine the engagement of the actors in urban service delivery in Kampala. These are firstly, the three year development plan processes, with associated annual work plans and budgets, and secondly the strategic spatial plan for

the city, which provide the overarching framework for development and allocation of resources in service delivery (Lwasa et al. 2010). In preparation of these plans budget meetings are being held and communities are invited to participate. Communities are here identifying priorities for budget spending and come with input on implementation of projects. It is intended that different stakeholders, could be community leaders, managers, development agencies and other organizations, shall sit down and discuss the budget for the upcoming three years (ibid).

It is recognized in the Slum Upgrading Strategy and Action Plan (2008) that in order to be successful it must "involve stakeholder from ground zero at the very inception of the concept of the process and continue to be dynamic in responding to stated needs of the slums" (UNDP 2008). The action plan, as well as the state officials, is stressing the importance of community sensitization and the participation of the community as a private actor in webs of service delivery in poor neighborhoods (UNDP 2008 p, 46). Most importantly it states that "upgrading cannot be achieved through government intervention alone. Accordingly, the forming of public - private and community partnerships is critical in encouraging private and households' investment "Partnerships that balance the respective strengths of all stakeholders are the best way forward" (UNDO 2008 p, 48).

Policy Framework

Some of these have already been mentioned above such as the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda and the Local government Act 1997. But here are some more documents of importance. As mentioned above the district is creating ordinances and the division bye-laws consistent with the Constitution and Local Government Act 1997.

Legally binding framework for SWM cannot be found in one single document but are spread out in several different acts and ordinances and are therefore hard to overview. Documents of importance that provide some coverage are (Nabembezi 2011, 5):

- Local Government Act (1997 revised in 2004)

- KCC Solid Waste Management Ordinance (2000)

- Solid Waste Management Strategy (2002 revised in 2006)

- The Constitution of Uganda (1995 amended 2005)

- The National Environment (Waste Management) Regulation, S.I. No 52/1999)

- The National Environment Statute (NES 1995)

KCC Solid Waste Management Ordinance 2000

According to this ordinance the responsibility of solid waste management is in the hand of the Division (Kawempe -now a municipality). The Division is responsible of disposing garbage on regular basis (at least once a week), preferably through contractors (Nabembezi 2011 x). The ordinance is also empowering the Division to collect user fees from the inhabitants. According to this ordinance it is illegal to dispose garbage in water bodies,

public streets and along roadsides. It is up to KCC (A) and the municipalities to enforce these laws. It is also illegal for private operators to collect garbage without a permit from KCC (A).

Solid Waste Management Strategy 2006

According to this ordinance members of the public are "supposed to be educated in matters of waste management such as: sorting/ separation of waste according to the categories of organic and inorganic, efficient use of skips, waste recycling, home composting, waste minimization and adherence of waste management laws" (Nabembezi 2011). This corresponds to the very much emphasized component of strategies regarding solid waste in Kampala City at the moment: Involvement of people (popular participation) and community sensitization.

The National Environment Statute (NES 1995)

This statute is made to ensure local administration participation in solid waste management by the creation of District Environment Committees. These committees are working with environmental issues at district level (LC5). Also environmental committees at the lowest level of administration (LC1) are created to enable public participation. Solid waste is one of the issues that those committees are working with, as being of immediate relevance for the communities (Constitution of Uganda 1995).

SWM in Bwaise lll

Bwaise lll is part of Kawempe division and consists of six parishes or villages namely Kalimali, Bokasa, Bugalani, St: Francis, Katoogo, and Kawaala. The area is situated in the northern parts of the city in low lying swamplands bordering central business district approximately 4 kilometers from city Centre (see figure x). The area is prone to flooding especially during rain- season, and there is a local saying that goes; water is life, accept from Bwaise where water is death. The area is well researched (Nabembezi 2011, Kulabako 2005, Mugagga 2006,) and has been subject to a number of pilot projects and NGO initiatives, such as the most recent, KIEMP, as above mentioned. Regardless of those initiatives piles of uncollected garbage and smoke from burning waste are signatures for the area.

Zones in Bwaise lll
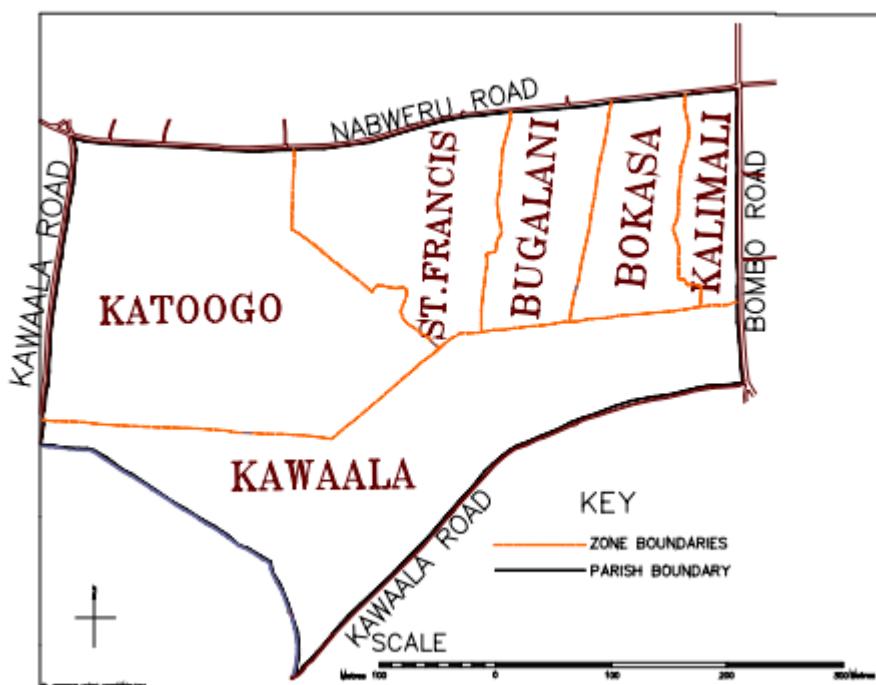
Source: Kulabako 2005 p, 4

Bwaise lll is absorbing a great share of rapid population increase in Uganda. It is estimated that the population growth rate in Bwaise lll is 9.6% per annum (UBOS 2002), which is considerably higher than the rest of the city with an annual growth rate of 5.2 % (UNDP 2012). Most of the rapid urbanization in Kampala is taking place in an unplanned and informal manner which Bwaise lll is an example of. 67 % of the population in Kampala is living under informal conditions (UN-Habitat 2007) characterized by poorly constructed houses, inferior infrastructure, no municipal services and uncertain land tenure (Kulabako 2005).

People in the area are considered to be poor (Gombya 2004). The area is one of Kampala's poverty hotspots. Field data shows that one third, (32%), of the population has lived in the area for two years or less. This could either be that the area has expanded or because it's a

transit area. Figures show that the population in the area is rapidly expanding (3-4% annum); influx of people is mainly from rural parts of the country (Field Data)

The general perception about the situation

At the time of the study a majority of the people were expressing a frustration about the status of solid waste management in the area. Many were accusing KCC(A) for non- delivery and ignorance about their situation. The physical appearance of the area was described as littered with garbage clogging drainages and smoke from heaps of burning garbage polluting the air. Illegally dumped garbage was clogging the drains and preventing water from flowing. Many described it as service was non-existing while others acknowledged that there were skips provided by KCCA, but that there were delays and no designated area for waste disposal. 36% felt that the situation was getting better but a majority (56%) replied that the situation was getting worse (Field Data 2012).
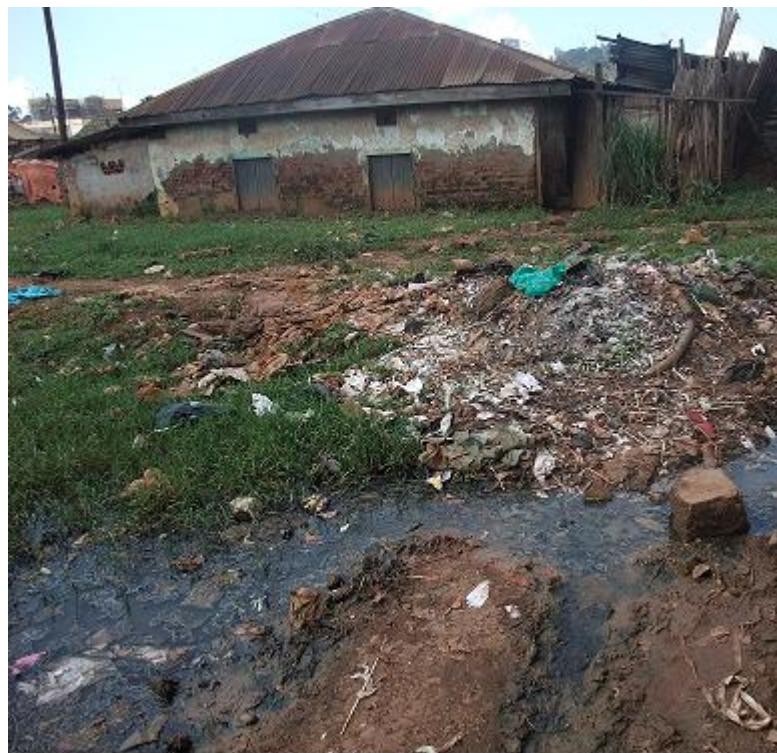
Source: Author

From those who replied that the situation is getting better was giving free service by KCCA, waste collecting initiatives and new construction of drainage channels as reasons. Those who stated that the situation is worsening gave waste accumulation, lack of roles and regulations, low frequency of collection, few trucks, rapid increasing population and air pollution as reasons. The remaining (8%) said that the situation is both getting better and worse.

Private sector involvement

There are no registered private operators in the area. KCCA is providing the area with containers that are collected, though on irregular basis. Respondents who reply that they are using private operators are exclusively using informal private operators (see figure x). These operators charge much less (300-500 USH) than formal private operators do in other areas in Kampala. Most common is not to pay at all for service (48%) but it is also common to pay a smaller amount of money to informal operators to dispose the garbage (32%) (Field Data).What methods informal operators use to dispose the garbage is unknown but according to other studies from the area the garbage is dumped illegally and not transported to the landfill (Gombya 2004).

Service Provider

Service Provider	Rate	Percentage%
KCCA	16 (15)	64% (60%)
None	6	24%
Private (informal)	2	8%
Individuals	1 (2)	4% (8%)
Total	25	100%

Source: Field Data

Mode of disposal

People living in the area are using a mix of different modes of waste disposal; the majority prefers to dispose garbage in containers provided by KCCA. But in cases where containers are absent, full or inaccessible (as most often) other methods are used such as open space dumping and burning. Figures presented below are based on the most common method of disposal but people tend to use more than one. E.g. both dumping in skips and open space burning may be practiced in combination.

Modes of disposal

Method Use	Rate of Use	Percentage	Legal Status
Skips and KCCA collection	10	40%	Legal
Door to door collection	6	24%	Legal
Burning	5	20%	Illegal
Open space dumping	4	16%	Illegal
Total	25	100%	

Source: Field Data

People are not willing to walk a longer distance for disposing garbage, only two respondents reported that they have to go a distance exceeding one kilometer to dispose garbage (Field Data).

Even when skips may not be in place public operators are perceived to be most accessible (48 % ranked public service providers as number one) followed by informal private operators (36 %). Again, there is no sign of formal private operators.

Accessibility of service providers

Service Providers Ranked	Rate	Percentage
1 Public	12	48%
2 Private (informal)	9	36%
3 None	4	16%
4 Private (formal)	0	0%
Total	25	100%

Source: Field Data

Public involvement

In cases where people have participated in waste management it was through KIEMP, a NGO that is acting as a middle hand between residents and KCCA.

Reduction, Recycling, Reuse

Activity	Rate of interaction	Percentage
Reduction	0	0%
Recycling	1	4%
Reuse	3	12%
None	21	84%
Total	25	100%

Source: Field Data

If not in waste handling practices of reduction, reuse and recycling, people have participated in garbage collection initiatives (48%). And also meetings held regarding solid waste management.

Community involvement in solid waste management

At the lowest tier of government, the village level, there are local leaders who have the role of speaking for the people and forward their opinions to higher levels of government. These persons are elected by the people. For this study five local leaders were interviewed, a sixth local leader had left because of political contradictions.

Even though the situation was described as bad by the local leaders, several of them were positive about changes achieved by KIEMP. Unfortunately one of the garbage trucks provided by KCCA has broken down and one of the leaders was frustrated it was not repaired or replaced. At the time of the study, garbage in that area was not collected at all.

Regarding the Solid Waste Ordinance 2000 three of the leaders said it had not been implemented due to a lack of enforcement mechanisms. But the new multi-stakeholder

approach was welcomed by local leaders to a greater extent than from inhabitants and they were recognizing the community as an important stakeholder in solid waste management. As an obstacle, the lack of public participation was held as a main problem as well as a lax (ignorant) attitude towards solid waste management of the inhabitants. As an example, one of the leaders said that there are meetings arranged but few are participating. Not only public engagement in the issue but also a lack of political will was emphasized as one of the main concerns by the local leaders.

What seemed to complicate the situation was that the legal frame work is not allowing community contracting and that the barrier for registering a company is too high. Also that cooperation with local landlords is not being utilized as an opportunity (channel) of community engagement. One of the leaders was frustrated about the lack of enforcement mechanisms making own by bylaws with the goal to forward them to the director of KCC(A).

"*Our goal is that these bylaws will be implemented on community basis, since the authorities (KCCA) cannot help them, community would implement them on their own*" (Chair person, Bokasa)

"*The main problem is mainly a lack of political will from top-leadership, because if you are to enforce laws concerning waste management you need to have a backup from the top which is not the case today*" (Chairperson St Francis)

The role of NGO

In many cases local authorities are collaborating together with foreign donors to achieve goals such as improving sanitary conditions and the development goals. In Bwaise lll a Belgian NGO, Kampala Integrated Environmental Planning and Management Project (KIEMP) has been operating since 2006 (interview with spokes person of KIEMP). The work has been funded by the Belgian government, KCC(A)) and other donors. The project is now about to end and the donors will withdraw but the expectation is that established structures will continue on their own (KIEMP 2011).

During its time of operation KCCA has been project manager and Belgian Technical Cooperation (BTC) has been technical advisor. The project has followed KCCA guidelines for development. One of the overarching goals has been to strengthen KCCA's institutional capacities. Other goals have been improved infrastructure and behavioral change amongst people living in the communities of Bwaise lll. According to the project manager of KIEMP, a range of initiatives have been undertaken in the area. Regarding solid waste management, KIEMP has targeted behavioral change by implementing a strategy of reuse, recycling and reduction (3R) and social mobilization. These initiatives are ranging from -turning organic waste into coal briquettes for cooking- to clean up actions. The 3R strategy has also been recognized by the government.

Even if not spelled out in any document the strategy of 3R has been mentioned as a possible solution by state officials at responsible departments. The system of urban service delivery, now decentralized and privatized, is said to be in a transition phase (by one of the officers at the ministry of Land Housing and Urban Development) where guidelines are yet to be developed and implemented and therefore is it not spelled out in the ordinances.

KIEMP has also been working on establishment of environmental committees in accordance with NES 1995. As these committees are supposed to exist at all levels of government, KIEMP has put together one at parish level (LC3). Though, this committee has not yet begun to have meetings on regular basis (interview with spokes person of KIEMP, Bwaise lll parish).

To turn this new approach of urban service delivery into success, the ministry (both officers) is arguing that several challenges are yet to be overcome. Problems are furthermost framed as behavioral problems of people coming from rural parts of the country unaware of how to dispose garbage in an urban environment. And therefore, said by a state official at the ministry of land and housing, it's a need to build an "urban culture" in Kampala. It is also said, by the same state official, that people have "unrealistic expectations" of what the government can achieve in terms of service delivery. Moreover, the cost of solid waste management in Kampala is huge, and there is not enough money to provide waste collection in all parts of Kampala. Therefore, it is argued that, new alternative ways of service delivery are much needed and initiatives such as those of KIEMP encouraged by the government.

Shortcomings and policy gaps in the decentralization and privatization approach to service delivery are acknowledged but there are no solutions presented more than the above mentioned initiatives undertaken by foreign NGOs in cooperation with KCCA. Neither is there any clear strategy for solid waste management.

This picture shows how KIEMP is trying to reach out to the residents in the area. Expressions like this were a common sight. On this poster KIEMP is aiming to organize people to collectively clean up in the drainages.

Source: Author

Analysis

In this part I will see how theory translates into the collected material. The material gathered on strategies to improve solid waste management in Kampala and the effect on the everyday lives of people in Bwaise lll will be interpreted using the theoretical framework.

Here I repeat the conclusion from the theoretical framework: Good governance has been promoted by donors and lending agencies as the solution for urban service delivery. The motif of decentralizing state functions, framed as good governance, to lower tiers of government is to bring power closer to the people. Though, good governance is requiring certain conditions in order to function. When these conditions are not present, see for example low social capital, it is a risk that privatization strategies creates island of service coverage in an otherwise chaotic environment characterized by a garbage crisis.

Networked forms of service provision

From my study I find it clear that the current strategy for solid waste management reflects the trend in developing countries to adopt good governance in order to improve service delivery.

From a survey of institutional arrangements surrounding waste management in Kampala it is evident that privatization and decentralization is part and parcel of the same neo-liberal paradigm that, according to Myers, aims to reduce state power and give greater prominence to the market (Myers 2011). The government is through Local Government Act 1997 reducing its role in service delivery.

We can see a shift from government to governance in the old system of household waste and the new that by (Watson 2009) in the sense that the role of the government as an enabler of the market and not provider of services. Instead of having the state as sole provider of service delivery through provision of skips in the different neighborhoods, the new strategy is aiming to find alternative models of service delivery. The decentralization strategy serves to remake institutional arrangements so that they are more compatible with a market approach to service delivery. As it is said, solid waste management is now demand driven (Field Data 2011). The goal to have skip-less provision in the future is a clear example of that. In the new model are partnerships and other networked forms of service delivery are emphasized. This strategy is being recognized as the only way forward by state officials. What is debated now is how to encourage people to engage in solid waste management themselves through community organizations and other grass root initiatives.

On paper decentralization and privatization are following a good governance agenda as it is preferably done according to UN. The role of state involvement is reduced, and service delivery relies to a far greater extent in the new- than in the old waste system on community and informal providers. The rhetoric of these documents on how privatization and decentralization are bringing services to the people is well recognized from the mainstream good governance agenda (Watson 2009). So has the new system brought service closer to the people? Privatization of solid waste management has proved to be successfully implemented in Kampala City in a few pilot cases. However, research done in Kampala shows that privatization also brings in other problems created from "the outset during the

tendering process" resulting in cost inflation. High service costs and charging fees are polarizing urban communities in "haves and "haves nots" (Lwasa et al 2010 p, 29).

What is missing is a clear strategy for how these buzz-words of networking, partnerships and community sensitizing shall be achieved. State officials did not have more specific suggestions than more involvement of private operators as a response to increased pressure. It seems to me that they are hoping that people in un-serviced areas themselves take action and become self-providing. Following the concept of social capital this is not likely to happen as the community is not well defined and organized and do not have connections to higher levels of decision making.

It is from my study clear that the attempt of involving the public in decision-making and planning serves the purpose of justifying the current approach (Watson 2009). By inviting people to participate the responsibility to act upon the situation is transferred to the community. What should be asked is on whose premises participation is taking place? Where do the initiatives come from? Those are questions that I do not attempt to answer but could be topics for further research. If the intention is that decisions should reflect local residents' needs and priorities how are these established?

The current framework of participation with budget meetings is not being practiced. There are no established routines for community participation in the Division. The local leaders (chairmen) at the lowest level of government are supposed to be spokes persons of the people living in the parishes. The problem, according to themselves, is that they lack both political support and engagement from people in the area (Field Data). The non-operation of institutional functions (including the absence of environmental committees in the area) could be a possible explanation to the knowledge gap in policy-making.

Both community sensitization and public participation is related to the concept of social capital. The field data supports that the current approach of emphasizing civil society as a key player in service delivery, which is also promoted by UN-Habitat and WB, is very much present in policy documents and strategies in Kampala City, Uganda (see for example the slum upgrading strategy and Solid Waste Ordinance 2000). Sensitization of the community in order to organize service provision and to reduce the amount of waste generated is stressed in all levels of government and also by the residents in the area.

The invitation to communities to participate in budget meetings that are being held must be based on the assumption that there is a community that is organized and has a voice. The condition for this situation to occur is that both vertical and horizontal networks of reciprocity and mutual trust do exist, that to say: a high level of social capital within the community and between hierarchical levels (McAslan 2002). In a fragmented communities characterized by heterogeneity and poverty such conditions can be hard to achieve as it is lowering social capital (Adama 2007). The population make-up in Bwaise lll is heterogeneous 1, it is rapidly expanding 2, and people are coming from all over the country (Field Data). As a result, few people are involved in meetings on solid waste management in the area. Though, people are participating in clean up actions that are being organized by KIEMP which shows that there is a will to improve the situation amongst residents.

The conclusion I draw from this is that there are neither vertical reciprocal networks, that is to say communication and mutual trust between different levels of government, nor are there strong communities, vertical reciprocal networks that keep people together in the neighborhood. In other words, no structure of good governance, accept on a very abstract level, could be identified. It is possible that decentralization has brought in new initiatives, such as collective clean up actions. It is hard to say since there is not much to compare to.

From my analysis there seems to be a lack of coherence in the policy framework. Broad objectives of partnerships and networked forms of governance are not being specified. Also, one of the few things that have been specified, the conditions a firm must fulfill in order to win a bid, is not encouraging groups of people within the lower income brackets to earn an income through community contracting (Lwasa et al 2010). This gap between objectives and reality supports the critics of good governance: that the fuzzy language is nothing more than an empty shell (Myers 2011).

Spatial outcomes of good governance

The model that is implemented to service delivery is one where KCCA is either paying private operators to collect waste or allowing licensed operators to collect fees themselves. This is a common model of public service provision in developing countries (Cointreau-Levine 1994), though it has some implications. Firstly, in Kampala, this model is relying on tax revenues to pay private operators for services rendered. In Kampala the decentralized system is empowering districts (LC3s) to collect revenues and manage their budget spending independently. As a result the level of service coverage is a function of revenues collected. The great risk with this is that under-privileged areas are being left un-serviced (Makara 2009). Secondly, the demand in the area is not reflecting the need of the population. The demand for service is much bigger than people can express without money (Field Data). A risk identified with the current approach to service delivery is not only creating a gap between policy and practice but between urban areas. The quality of solid waste services is scattered in the city creating have and have not's and the people living in Bwaise lll fall is in the category of have not's.

In the void left to be over-bridged by grass root organizations, CBO'S, NGO's, FBO's, private operators and so forth people are living amongst heaps of uncollected garbage. From my study I found few evidence of improvement of the situation. But the picture is not pitch black and it is not my intention to picture the people living in the area as passive victims of ruthless reforms.

Conclusion

Solid waste management is a serious problem for Kawempe Division (now municipality) (Nabembezi 2011). As the only vehicle for waste collection in the area of Bwaise lll recently broke down there was no collection of garbage at the time of the study. People were illegally burning waste and smoke was rising from several places in the area. As it was in the midst of the rain season garbage was clogging drainages and flooding was common (Field Data).

Good governance in Uganda is here being discussed in the context of rapid population influx to the cities and socio-economic change. The rural parts of the country do not offer same possibilities as the city and people are moving into the city in hope for a better life, but few can afford to legally claim a piece of land to put up a house or find something to do for their livelihood. The urbanization is taking place outside control of local governments. At the time of the study, the physical planner in Kawempe did not know how many people were living in the area. It is clear that the Division is not ready to cope with the new kind of poverty that is being urbanized.

Neoliberal good governance with its roots in the language of decentralization and participation is being evident in the policy framework of solid waste management in Kawempe Division (now municipality). But, this rhetoric is not being met in practice. Instead, on the other side of this marketised approach to service delivery is a marginalized population's strive to survive. One can argue that good governance in solid waste management in Bwaise lll, Kampala, is no more than a structure without actors or an empty shell because it is clear that there is a gap between strategies on paper and realities on the ground. How it is supposed to work and how people are interacting is worlds apart. But considering the history of major collapse of institutions and the economy there is not much to compare it with. Also, there are driving forces that are contributing to the situation that lies outside the control of local government.

Failures of solid waste management can be attributed to many things. Though, my intention is not to come up with solutions in form of policy recommendations or a complete explanation to why the system is not delivering equitable service to urban residents in Kampala. My contribution is that my analysis is confirming a growing gap between the current approach to service delivery and the experienced reality of the residents.

Lack of social capital in the area can explain why community groups are not having influence over budget spending. A greater influence in agenda setting might lead to improvements of the situation. But from my analysis I find that the problem of solid waste goes beyond notions of social capital or integrated approaches to waste management. Instead what could be looked upon more closely in further research is to what extent it is appropriate to adopt a market approach to service delivery in a context of urban poverty where people live under conditions of informality. What I suggest is that the problem is being framed in the wrong way in the model of good governance. Following Frederick (2009) my opinion is that the situation of waste accumulation in Bwaise lll cannot fully be explained as an issue of management techniques as the concept solid waste management might lead us to think. The word *management* must be treated with caution, it obscures the politics involved. The

ongoing garbage crisis is not an isolated phenomenon but related to a bigger picture. As Castells points out (once again) "we are still helpless when we wish to act on cities and regions because we ignore their source of their social change and fail to identify with sufficient accuracy the political process underlying urban management". My conclusion is that the ongoing waste crisis may not be resolved without a large scale reform of poverty.

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