Urban Uganda

City Explorations and Life Expressions

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Foreward

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This publication is a product of the *Julien J. Studley Graduate Program in International Affairs* of the *New School University.* Established in 2001, the *Julien J. Studley Graduate Program in International Affairs* has been offering an interdisciplinary Master's degree that combines theory, methodology, and practice. In the past years, the Program has grown rapidly through its diverse student body to include more than 1,500 students from 80 countries. Its core faculty members and adjunct professors, with extensive international experiences working in more than 50 countries, offer courses on a wide variety of subjects ranging from globalization theory to economic policy to environmental management to global images of the metropolitan future. Graduates from the *Julien J. Studley Graduate Program in International Affairs* go on to pursue careers in international development, policymaking and work on a variety of issues from poverty to conflict, urbanization, climate and the environment and other critical contemporary issues.

Since its inception, the Program has privileged a hands-on, practice-oriented approach to learning. In 2002 it established the *International Field Program* which has provided an avenue for emerging practitioners to gain experience in the field while following a rigorous course of study that provides a critical context for understanding global issues. Over the past decade, hundreds of students have participated in the *International Field Program,* in more than 30 countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and Europe.

Within this context, the Uganda *International Field Program* focuses on the opportunities and challenges related to the country's urbanization process. The Uganda program has been running for four years and has already given the opportunity to more than 50 graduate students from different disciplinary backgrounds (international affairs, urban policy, architecture and design) to apply theoretical concepts from the classroom. Students conduct research, and actively engage through their work with urban stakeholders on a wide range of issues, from urban poverty, housing and infrastructure provision, to health, education and the youth.

The essays included in this publication represent a snapshot of the students' analyses and observations on the neighborhoods and cities in which they worked during the summer of 2013. While an analysis and an overall assessment of the different aspects of Uganda's urbanization is necessarily limited by the length of time that the students spend in the field, as well as the need to become acquainted with unfamiliar circumstances, processes and institutions, these short essays demonstrate the value of focused field experiences as an integral part of graduate education.

Finally, I would like to thank and acknowledge the warm welcome and sustained professional support of all the authorities and organizations that have partnered with our program and hosted our students as interns and researchers; namely, the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development, the Kampala City Council Authority, the World Bank Country Office, the Slum Dwellers Federation of Uganda and ACTogether. Without their valuable help this publication would not have been possible.

Introduction

Achilles Kallergis

African cities have been frequently studied not in terms of what they are, but in terms of what they might become. In most studies, the future of urban Africa appears either vividly bright or starkly dark. Africa's urban development seems trapped in the midst of a polarizing debate championed by a series of contradicting myths and extreme conjectures. These hyperboles range from the dystopian view of vast megacities plagued by poverty, corruption, and crime, unable to cope with the influx of new city dwellers (see Packer, 2006 or Gandy, 2005), to the recent encouraging forecasts of an urbanizing sub-Saharan Africa. In this latter view, the region is finally seen as an emerging center of growth and renewal, with great productive potential and a labor force larger than that of India and China (See McKinsey, 2010 or World Bank, 2012).

Uganda, a predominantly rural country but also one that is currently witnessing some of the highest urban growth rates worldwide, appears rarely under the spotlight of urban studies. This should come as no surprise. Works on African urbanism have predominantly focused on the "usual suspects" – Lagos, Johannesburg, Nairobi – neglecting cities like Kampala (and it goes without saying smaller agglomerations like Jinja. Arua or Mbale). In part, this omission can be explained through the obsessive tendency of urban scholars with megacities. The fascination with the megacity is not new; it has been present for some time now, perhaps since the beginnings of urban studies. Nevertheless, given the future forecasts indicating that most of the urban growth will occur in a very different context – that of smaller urban centers and secondary cities – the "megacity tendency" can be dangerously misleading. While without a doubt, megacities do fuel our imaginaries with chaotic or utopic views of the urban future they seem to simultaneously mask the importance of other less visible but perhaps equally important protagonists of the urban century.

This book is about these less visible urban protagonists. It presents various facets of urbanization as they unfold in Kampala and other Ugandan cities. It is an effort driven more by a concern to understand how Ugandan cities are, and less by an ambition to predict how they will be in the future. In the series of articles that follow a wide range of topics is covered: city planning, local governance, transportation, low-income housing and the work of community groups of the urban poor, informal education, artistic expression and the urban youth. All these seemingly disparate themes come together as distinct yet simultaneous expressions of Uganda's urbanism. What interconnects them is the sheer vibrancy and energy of urban Uganda, but also, a shared conceptual and methodological concern amongst the authors: to present the city as it is.

In the pages that follow the reader will not find any apocalyptic prophecies neither dreams of distant utopias, but simply thoughtful interpretations of the realities of Ugandan urbanites as they have been depicted and experienced by the writers' work and interaction with the locals. And while this approach might appear deceptively simple, it seems to be one that is urgently needed for the development of a better understanding of urban Uganda and the establishment of a critical view on African urbanization.

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CHAPTER 1 | Urban Foundations: Applying urban theory and history to Kampala

Urban Policy in Uganda: The Costs of Government Recentralization

Robert Buckley

Uganda is rapidly urbanizing. Currently reaching 4.5 percent per annum, the pace of Uganda's urbanization will further accelerate due to rising incomes. Thus, this urbanization process, if managed properly can yield important opportunities not only for urban areas but also for the country as a whole. At this critical moment, a discussion of Uganda's urban policy is necessary in order to show the role such policies can play in the allocation of the infrastructure investments that would enable the country to be able to transform from what *The National Development Plan* calls "a peasant economy" into a middle-income one. Unfortunately though, the urban policy currently in place does not seem to provide a basis for spatial allocation of infrastructure investments. Nor does it permit local governments to co-ordinate the kinds of infrastructure investments needed to execute a proactive industrial policy.

One approach to think about the way urban policy impacts economic growth is to consider how such policies would affect the benefits of working or investing in a specific area. According to Duranton (2005), one of the keys of this perspective relies on whether the governance structure provides incentives, which make it easy for labor and innovations to flow to areas with higher returns. If this can be done, then increases in growth occur simply by shifting resources to more productive locations.

Of course, in order to do so, the government must be capable of discriminating between the kinds of infrastructure investments that will lead to more productive investments. Thus, for these effects to be realized local governments need to signal where higher pay-offs for fixed capital investments are likely to be located. Without such signals it will be impossible to exploit the spatial efficiency gains from shifting the location of investments. And ultimately, without these productivity gains, it will be impossible to realize the sorts of behavioral transformations associated with urbanization as Lewis (1954) argues, in his classic article "Economic Development with Unlimited Supplies of Labor."

Perhaps the simplest traditional way to consider whether such spatial reallocations occur is by examining the urban-rural income differential. This gap has long played a role in development economics as it suggests that the possibility for arbitrage exists so that by simply moving resources around, efficiency gains could be realized. The *2010 Uganda Household Survey,* p. 93, reveals that income levels in Uganda's urban areas are almost three times higher than rural wages, and that the difference has also been increasing over time, from slightly more than half that level 5 years earlier. This difference is more than double the level typically found in other developing countries. In addition, the fact that the ratio is increasing rather than converging suggests that resources have not moved to more productive locations, or, more accurately, they have not moved at a sufficient rate to lower relative wages. Similarly, while not as extreme, the ratio of income in Kampala to income in other urban areas also increased by almost 30 percent over this period. In sum, income differences are large and have been increasing. These measures are of a highly aggregated sort. Nevertheless, the patterns suggest that opportunities to exploit more productivity-enhancing infrastructure investment opportunities are not being realized.

In other words, when the economy's basic economic structure is taken into account, the potential gains from shifting locations may be significant. For instance, Uganda's very high share of labor employed in agriculture, about 66 percent, p.37 *Uganda Household Survey,* relative to that sector's share in output, about 25 percent, implies that agricultural labor productivity is a very small fraction of the productivity of other forms of employment. While large differences between agriculture and non-agriculture labor force contributions to GDP are not unusual, the scale of the difference in Uganda is extreme, as is the difference in urban and rural income. Both are undoubtedly related to the large portion of agricultural production dedicated in subsistence farming.

Of course other explanations for the large difference are also possible. For instance, the World Bank (2012) suggests, that Kampala's large population size relative to that of other cities could also contribute to such wage differentials. In this perspective, Kampala could be seen as part of the regional system of cities. At Uganda's very low level of urbanization, Kampala's faster growth may well be optimal, as suggested by the so-called Williamson curve, which maintains that at early levels of urbanization primacy may be more productive, see Henderson (2003) for a discussion of this pattern.

Alternatively, Kampala's high wages may not be due to its productivity but rather to rent-seeking as often occurs in highly primate cities, see Ades and Glaeser (2001). Certainly if rent-seeking is driving the enormous wage gap, then more than urban or industrial policy is involved in efforts to stimulate economic growth. So, in the end, we cannot be sure of what is driving these income differences. However, consider how Uganda's urban policy might have affected these trends.

Until recently, Uganda was one of the most effectively decentralized governments in sub-Sahara Africa. For example, a large body of work argues that when the current government finally came to office in 1986, the resistance councils, who had aided the regime prior to its victory, already operated under a decentralized mode, often performing the duties of local governments, see, among others, Manyak and Katono (2010). Consequently, when the new government sought a report on local government in 1987 its conclusions were unsurprising:

repeal the old regime's recentralization of Uganda's formerly decentralized new government, and expand and formalize the resistance councils so that they could essentially serve as local governments. Through the early 1990s the government legalized a multi-tiered governance structure. At the same time that the new governance system was built upon the successful aspects of the civil war, it also avoided the schisms that led to constitutional crisis and some of the more bitter aspects of the country's past unrest.

In many ways, during this initial stage Uganda's urban policy led to improved political accountability, and greater economic efficiency, and it did so without imposing adverse effects on the macroeconomic stability of the country. Because local governments were one of the main channels through which the international donors supported Uganda's poverty alleviation efforts, it has clearly been successful on that count as well. Nevertheless, given the successes achieved, both in terms of restoring democracy as well as in effectively delivering public services, the question arises as to why in recent years urban policy does not result in cities supplying the levels of infrastructure needed to reduce the large and increasing income gaps observed?

Four policies implemented in recent years seem particularly important:

- The central government abolished the central local tax instrument. It also prohibited applying the property tax to residential properties, and restricted the local governments' ability to charge daily market taxes as well as taxes on trading licenses. The loss of these revenue sources resulted in local governments' own source revenues declining to 5 percent of local government expenditures in 2010/11, from 22 percent in 1999/2000; see Manyak and Katono (2008).

- Local governments also experienced a sharp decline in other resources over which they had discretion. In particular, from 1995/6 to 2010/11 unconditional grants to local governments declined significantly so that by 2011, local governments had discretion over about 15 percent of their expenditures. In 2000 this figure was over 50 percent.

- In 2011, the management of Kampala city government was taken over by a new metropolitan authority, which reports directly to the President, see Government of Uganda (2010b), reducing the authority of both the mayor and the city council over the city's development.

- Local governments not only have discretion over a smaller share of resources, and fewer revenue instruments, their grants were also cut back– from 38 percent of public expenditures in 2000/2001 to 21 percent in 2010/11 including donor grants. In addition, the decreasing share of local government expenditures in total public expenditures does not count the resources given to the many new regional governmental units.

Under this last change the central government transfers resources to sub-national governmental units which now number 112, more than three times more than the number called for by the Commission of Inquiry into Local Government (1987), a body which served as the basis for the country's decentralization program. That commission argued that the large number of districts that had been established by Idi Amin – going from 19 to 37 districts – was not financially viable. Twenty-five years later, that "unviable" number has more than tripled so that it now has more provincial level governments than any other country in the world, including Russia with its 83 provinces across 11 time zones. The government, according to the *Draft National Urban Policy* (2010a), also established more than 100 new town councils.

In effect, with only slight exaggeration, urban policy in Uganda is now implemented almost completely by the central government. That is, if an urban policy exists, it has very little in the way of resources. For instance, the cut back in local governments expenditures over the past decade has been on the order of 4 to 5 percent of GDP, and that decline does not take into account: the share of local government expenditures made by the new district governments for strictly administrative functions; and the 35 percent of local government expenditures made by Kampala has been put now under central government control.

Similar urban policy concerns appear to have arisen in other rapidly urbanizing countries of the region. According to Green (2008), Garrett and Rodden (2001), and Dickovich and Riedl (2010), many other African countries today are reducing the autonomy of urban governments. They suggest that this process is underway in Benin, Burkina Faso, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Mozambique, Senegal and Nigeria, among other places. If similarly distortive urban policies are being pursued in these other countries, as these studies say, one might well expect similar results as have occurred in Uganda – little in the way of response to high and increasing variations in locational income levels.

The urbanization process as it unfolds in Uganda provides an important window of opportunity in order to achieve and sustain economic growth across the country. But this window of opportunity is brief and requires that the urban policy distortions above are addressed soon.

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Kampala: The garden city

Doreen Adengo

There is little doubt that Kampala is urbanizing rapidly. Currently, the city has a population of over three million people and accounts for over sixty percent of Uganda's GDP. However, it was not always as dense, chaotic, and productive as it is today. During the colonial era (1894-1962), the British Colonial government planned developmental a new commercial center adjacent to what was originally the old capital of the powerful Buganda Kingdom, resulting in a dual city (Omolo-Okalebo, 2011). Using photography and maps, this article presents a brief history of urban planning in Kampala and shows how the formally planned part of the city is currently adapting to the rapid growth occurring today.

Historical Context & Urban Planning During the Colonial Era (1894-1962)

Kampala was built on seven hills, adjacent to Lake Victoria. These hills were once lush woods serving as hunting grounds for the King of Buganda, before being transformed, under British Colonial rule, into a modern city. The city's indigenous people, the Baganda, formed the most powerful tribal kingdom in the great lakes region (see fig 1). It was therefore strategic for the British colonial government to establish a commercial settlement close to the King's palace that was located on Mengo Hill (Southhall & Gutkind, 1989).

A dualism emerged in Kampala during the colonial period of 1894-1962. As the British set up a new planned urban center, the Mengo capital of the old Buganda Kingdom remained intact. At the same time, the Indian population was growing. Initially brought in by the British to work on infrastructure, Indians eventually settled in Kampala and

contributed to the building of the city. This resulted in a multicultural urban center revealing British, Indian and African elements.
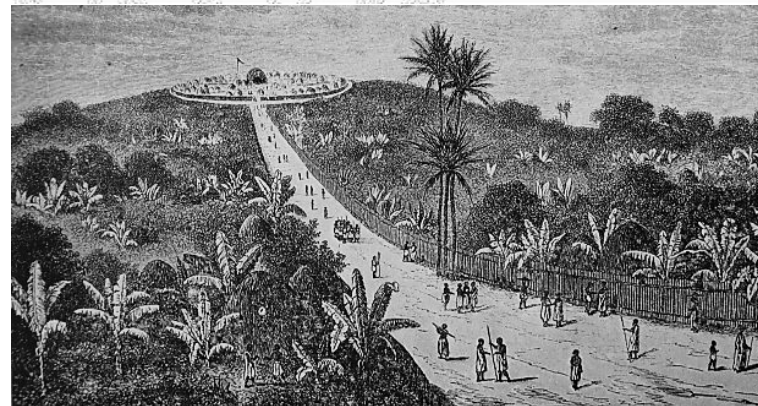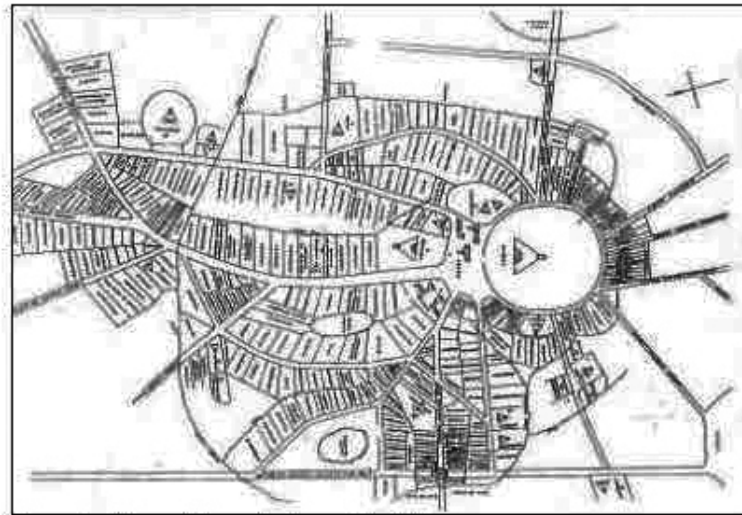
Figure 1. Plan of Kibuka, Buganda's Capital. Source: Gutkind, P. 1960

In 1945, the British Colonial Authorities hired the German modernist planner Ernst May to work on an urban plan of the rapidly expanding Kampala city. The colonial urban planner viewed the African landscape as a *tabula rasa*. He used the 'Garden City plan' as the theoretical framework

around which to organize elements of the city. The Garden City movement, as proposed by Ebenezer Howard in 1898, was an approach to urban planning in which towns of limited size would planned and surrounded by a 'green belt' of agricultural land (see Fig 2). Howard's emphasis on the importance of a permanent girdle of open and agricultural land around the town soon became part of British planning doctrine (Demissie, 2012)
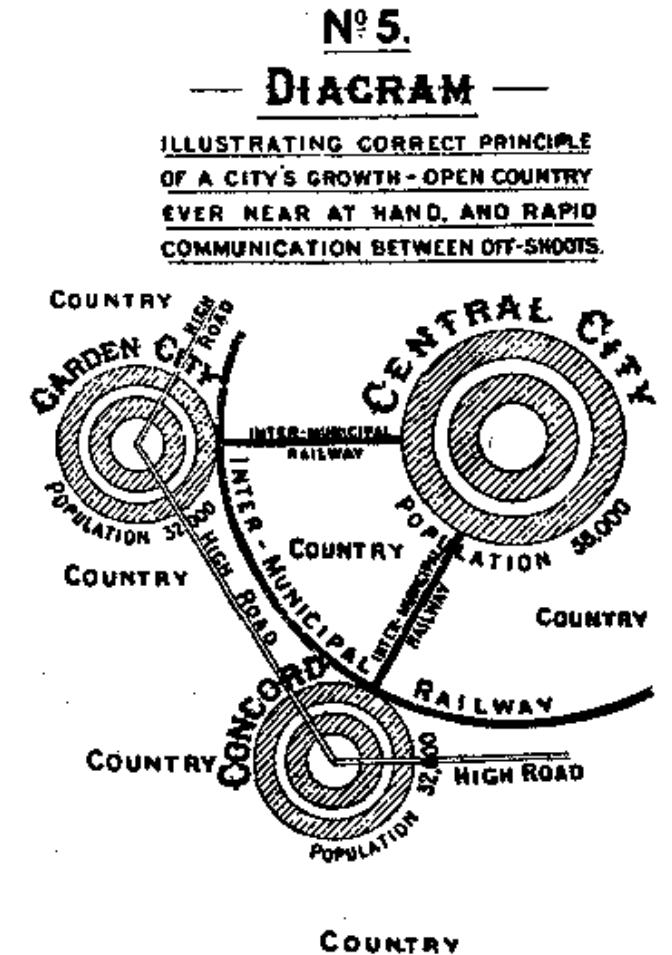
Figure 2. Diagram illustrating growth of the Garden City into separate smaller 'satellite cities' (Osborn & Mumford, 1965)

Ernst May applied this concept of expanding and decentralizing the city to his plan for the expansion of Kampala. In his final report in 1948, May conceptualized Kampala as a group of nine separate mixed-use settlements that were interrelated, each on its own hill (See Fig 3). He argued that this layout was a result of the natural topography. Inherent in this place was a segregation of the different racial groups; Kololo was set-aside for European and Asian inhabitants and Naguru was strictly African. This new plan was to allow for a doubling of the city's population to about 40,000.
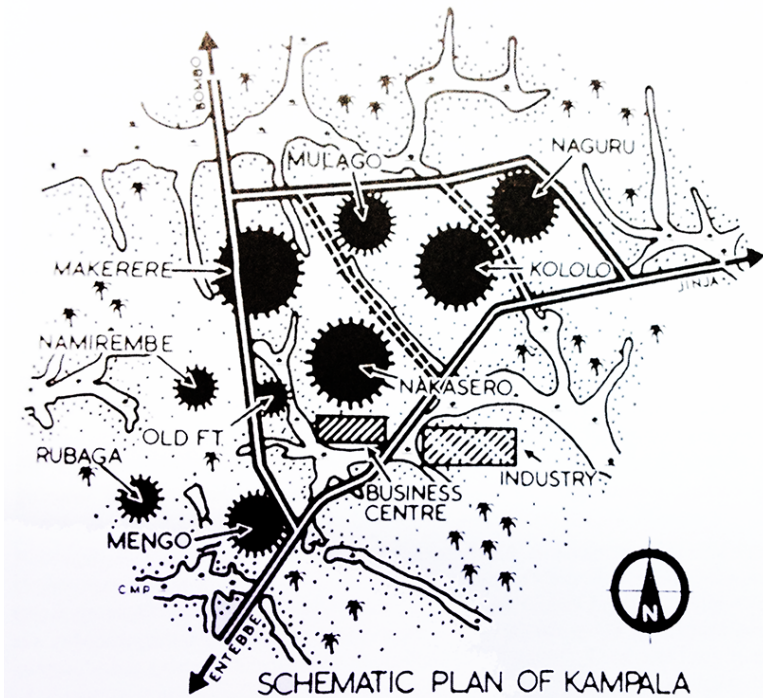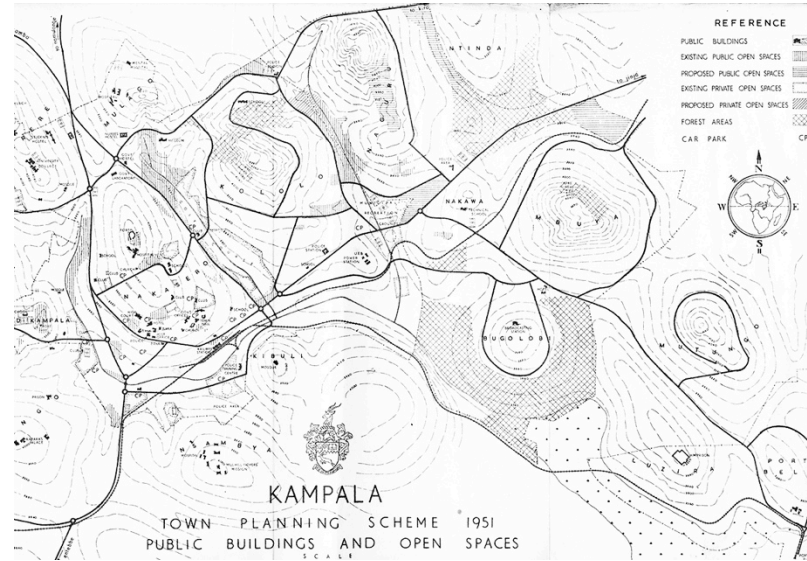

Figure 4. Kampala Town Planning Scheme of 1951, showing the implementation of May's Garden city plan; a multi centered 'satellite city' (KCCA)

Kampala Today

Uganda gained independence from Britain in 1962. Shortly after the end of the colonial period, the country experienced a period of political unrest and economic instability from the late 1970's to early 1990's. This was a period of destruction of the city's infrastructure and of the institutions the governed the city. As a result, what we see in Kampala today, similar to the situation in several postcolonial African cities, is that the original urban plan and infrastructure, which did not progress beyond the colonial era, is not able to sustain the much great number of people currently inhabiting the city. There is currently a shortage of affordable housing and according the Kampala City Council Authority, slums account for over 50% of the city's housing stock.

The following photographs show the urban fabric of Kampala as it is today – illustrating what remains of the old colonial city plan. First, we see the city's geographic

Figure 3. Ernst May's diagrammatic plan for Kampala as a multi centered 'satellite city (May, 1948)

location beside Lake Victoria. The seven hills are partly visible. Wetlands are visible between the occupied hills. Photo 2 is a view of the city taken in 2013, showing a high-density central business district in the distance and a low-density mixed-use residential and commercial area in the foreground. Green space separates them, revealing the remnant of the garden city plan. The third photograph, taken in 2013 shows middle-class houses on a hilltop, overlooking a vast slum that grew rapidly on a hillside earlier the site of a stone quarry. The scale and density of the slum is in stark contrast to the wealthier planned residential neighborhood, seen in the foreground. Another residential area for the wealthier population can be seen on a distant hillside. Photo 4 takes a closer look a typical commercial street in Kampala. It's taken in 2013 on a main road in Kibuli hill and it shows poor infrastructure such as open drainage and ad hoc housing solutions. We see a yellow shipping container, which has been transformed into a commercial space. The tallest structure in the photo has a commercial floor at the bottom and two top floors that are not occupied. The unoccupied floors indicate that the owner is building this structure incrementally, adding a floor as money becomes available. The white building adjacent to the incomplete substructure is an apartment-shop building typology common in Kampala. These structures typically have the commercial space in the front, a courtyard in the middle and an apartment at the back. It important to note that trading is not only limited to buildings, it also occurs on the streets itself, as we see a woman on to the far right selling her goods by the side of the road. The trading also occurs on the road itself, as seen in photo 5.

What be begin to see in this series of photos is that at a larger scale, Kampala still maintains the garden city plan layout originally proposed by Ernst May. Each hill still functions as a distinct satellite city and the green buffer zones for the most part, have been retained. However, there is a difference in the way the city is occupied and they way the city functions. One major difference is that the separation by race that was inherent in the originally plan,

now exist as separation by class; The middle and upper class occupying the top of the hills and the growing urban poor occupying the bottom of the hills and encroaching the wetlands. Also, as one examines the city at the more intimate scale of the street, we begin to see that the city is functioning in ways that differ from the intent of the city plan. At this scale we see that Kampala is growing and changing in ways that are yet to be defined.

Image 1. Aerial view of Kampala showing Mutungo, Muyenga and Gaba hills adjacent Lake Victoria

Image 2. A view of Kampala taken from Muyenga Hill, showing a high density central business district in the background and low density mix-use residential and commercial area of Kabalagala in the foreground

Image 3. A view of Mbuya Hill showing Kasokoso slum (also known as Kireka), originally the site of a stone quarries. In the foreground is a planned residential neighborhood

Image 4. A view of road on Kibuli Hill, showing poor infrastructure

Image 5. A view of Kampala road, showing traders selling fruits in the middle of traffic jam

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Rethinking Planning Responses to Informality: The Case of Kampala

Peter Kasaija

Introduction

Informality ranks high as one of the most complex phenomena among the emerging challenges facing cities today. Conventional planning itself seems to be confounded as to what responses can suffice in response to this challenge. In the case of Kampala, it has already left an unmistakable footprint on the city's growth, and also stands to play a crucial role in shaping its future prospects. From its humble beginnings as the seat of the once powerful Buganda Kingdom, and later as the administrative center of British colonial government, Kampala has quickly evolved especially over the last few decades to become the focal point of urban development in Uganda. As the prime urban center, it has come under greater scrutiny more than the other secondary urban agglomerations within the country. While a lot of resources have been invested to address such issues as poverty, livelihoods, social services & infrastructure, an equally greater level of attention needs to be given the related challenges that informality has presented. The city's planning mechanisms urgently need to craft appropriate responses to this particular test, especially given its diverse manifestations.

Background

Around 1860, Kabaka Muteesa I shifted his kingdom's administrative center to Mengo Hill, primarily for its abundant game of impala. The consolidation of colonial rule after the 1900 Buganda Agreement culminated in the establishment of Nakasero Hill as the main administrative center of the British, adjacent to Buganda Kingdom's capital on Mengo Hill (Omolo-Okalebo et al, 2010). Unlike the settlements of Katwe, Kasubi, Rubaga, Namirembe and Kibuli that developed around the Kabaka's palace on Mengo Hill, new settlements around Nakasero and Old Kampala Hills were strictly controlled, along the lines of formal British planning standards. Such areas like Kololo, the Central Business District, and parts of Kamwokya, gave way to the more regular urban form clearly visible in the center of Kampala city today. The trajectory upon which present-day Kampala is developing has a distinctly marked dual urban form, strongly linked to these two principal nodes of growth. This duality has presented the city's current planning authorities with some formidable challenges. Multiple interventions by various actors have been adopted over the years to respond to these challenges. However, many of these interventions have been insufficient to address some of the most pressing challenges. As a result of this that the planning authorities need to re-think their approach to the emerging challenges facing Kampala city. The form of any city and the challenges it faces are a result of the formal and informal processes of the prevailing governance systems. It is these processes that need to be clearly understood and decoupled to craft potential strategies to effectively respond to prevailing problems, as well as anticipate future ones. The impact of informality on the city's development prospects can no longer be underestimated. It needs to be given serious attention since it has gained significant prominence in discussions about the nature of its potential impact on the growth engines of the city.

Urban Informality & Its Impact on Kampala City

Informality is a complex concept, variably defined based on the context. It is sometimes described as a condition where "unofficial" means are engaged towards an end. Similarly, others define it as a state where actions are not in accord with prescribed/written-down regulations, rules and conventions. In contrast with the often associated informal-formal dualism, Roy (2005) suggests that informality should be viewed as a series of transactions that connect different economies and spaces to one another, or more specifically, an organizing logic, a system of norms that governs the process of urban transformation itself (Roy & AlSayyad, 2004). Land, housing, and transport markets are some of the most critical sectors in Kampala City where the influence of informality has left an indelible mark. Kampala's informal land markets are well documented (Nkurunziza, 2007; Lwasa, 2008), while the dominance of the informal transport modes of the share taxis (matatu mini-buses) and motorcycle taxis or *boda-boda* (Kasaija, 2009) in the transport sector remains unchallenged. Urban informality in all its various facets was largely a response to the collapse of the economy in the 1970's and SAP's of the 1980's. Informality gained more visibility in the 1980's, was consolidated in the 1990's and emerged as a key pillar of the city's growth. Informality has led to subtle structural transformation (Fox & Pimhidzai, 2011), and a complex urban structure whose full potential cannot be realized because of its inherent limits.

Informality has also led to the creation of diverse pathways for building urban livelihoods from small-scale enterprises in retail & wholesale to construction. It is responsible for continued urban sprawl, and its related environmental issues. The proliferation of informal settlements continues unabated, in addition to haphazard developments where infrastructure and social services like power, water, sewage & solid waste management are extremely difficult to provide. The increasing inequalities are bound to exacerbate community polarization, raising the growing threat of social conflict.

Harnessing the Potentials of Informality to Enhance Kampala City's Future Prospects

Urban informal systems have shown a great deal of sophistication, and more importantly, intelligence (Hamdi, 2009). They are well-organized, highly flexible, resourceful, skillful and dynamic. In addition, they exhibit a great deal of ingenuity, creativity as well as innovation. They are necessary for sustaining urban growth and development, filling gaps created by imperfect markets, or formal systems. On the other hand, urban informality presents serious challenges, which are not new in the context of Kampala. Though these challenges are daunting, they are not insurmountable. The City's planning authorities need to be equally innovative and creative to find ways of how to harness the potential of these systems to improve the development prospects of Kampala. Rather than dismissing them off-hand, they need to integrate them alongside other established, mainstream formal urban systems if they are to achieve sustained growth. Informal systems have become an indispensible part of our city, whose prospects would greatly be enhanced if the resources from "informal" sectors were harnessed through an integrated planning approach.

Conclusion

Informality in its various manifestations continues to elicit mostly negative responses from Kampala City's authorities. At best, a few responses have been indifferent. Although informality heavily permeates most decision-making processes, the continued eviction of slum dwellers/informal settlement communities to pave way for 'modern real estate', elimination of street vendors in the guise of 'restoring order' to the streets, as well as the harassment of *boda-boda* taxis points to a glaring misunderstanding of urban development realities. The former provide valuable low-cost labor for manufacturing and industry, and also provide a potential market for the products from the same. Where consumers lack the means and ability to access to certain products, street vendors provide a convenient channel where they can acquire difficult-to-access goods. Equally important are the *boda-boda* taxis, which provide access to areas devoid of regular public transport services, as well as a more flexible mobility in a city, which is plagued by acute traffic jams. Each of the above is a critical component whose absence would greatly disrupt the city. Its performance would greatly be undermined, inevitably affecting the quality of life. The city's planning authorities need to re-examine their conventional approach to informality, if they are to ensure that the city meets its growth and development targets in the long run.

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Slum Entrepreneurialism as Co-Production of Space

Achilles Kallergis

"If you go to the government and ask for a cigarette and a match they will swear at you and call you a bloody beggar. If you go to them with a cigarette in your mouth, they will light it for you without even thinking." Jockin Arputham

Image 1. Guloba Zaidi in his bike and motorcycle repair shop, Mooni, Mbale

Informality: the beauty and the beast

In a recent article from *The Economist,* "Boomtown Slum: Upwardly Mobile Africa," Kibera - one of the largest African slums - is described as "perhaps the most entrepreneurial place on earth." Through a series of stories from the neighborhood's narrow and fetid streets, Nairobi's poorest corner is portrayed as a thriving economic machine. Local residents provide most of the goods and services in a "forgotten" part of the city that is nevertheless booming. In this view, the article continues, "to equate slums with idleness and misery is to misunderstand them." The entrepreneurial slum celebrated on *The Economist* article is not a description strictly reserved to Kibera, Nairobi. Anyone who has the chance to wander on the streets of Kisenyi in Kampala, or even in smaller settlements such as Mooni or Mission in the town of Mbale, is able to witness the same entrepreneurial spirit: busy markets where people sell everything that one can imagine, from cellphone airtime and vegetables to water, clothes, furniture and household electronics. Others engage in manufacturing or offer improvements to houses, toilet latrines and shop stands. In some cases, there are even financial services offered with street corner moneylenders emulating ATM operations and banking transactions. Indeed, these informal microcosms are filled with energy, operating with a frantic rhythm which many city centers in the developed world would envy.

The Economist is not the only outlet that recognizes the entrepreneurial spirit of slums. Rather, this particular article seems to be a part of a recent wave of optimistic depictions of informality, a new trend in urban studies. In this upbeat view, the focus is on the unexplored expressions of urbanism that are brought to life through complex and often anarchic self-regulatory systems. An example of this latter approach can be seen on Bregtje van der Haak's documentary on Lagos, where famous architect Rem Koolhaas analyzes informality not as a threatening anomaly but as the precursor to a new kind of urbanism. This new stance challenges the more traditional (negative) view on African cities summarized under what Gandy (2005) refers to as "an eschatological evocation of urban apocalypse." Instead of entrepreneurial boomtowns, city neighborhoods -- lacking in jobs, housing, infrastructure, with minimal access to running water and sanitation -- become spatial poverty traps.

Both conceptual lenses share the emphasis on the chaotic aspects of a city's development; but while one condemns chaos, the other recognizes the beauty and efficiency of an amorphous but organized mess. Whether we go with one or the other story has important analytical implications on the way we perceive informality and the city. What seems paradoxical though, is that two seemingly opposing views bring us to the same conclusion: that there is not much to be done. For the pessimists, the trajectory of the city echoes the last sentences heard in the French movie *La Haine*: "it's about a society on its way down. And as it falls, it keeps telling itself: 'so far so good... so far so good... so far so good' It's not how you fall that matters. It's how you land." For the optimists, "slum ingenuity" becomes a new credo: one that should inspire through its fluidity and flexibility; one that should be used as a lesson in architecture and business schools as it is already happening with the Mumbai *dabbawalas*, an informal -- but nevertheless exemplary through its efficiency -- Six Sigma operation studied in Harvard Business School.[1] Should we stare at the free-fall? Or simply admire the entrepreneurial spirit? In the lines that follow, I will try to convince the reader to do neither.

Redefining Space: Bridging the Boundaries of the Dichotomous City

Fortin (2010) has argued that the condition of the slum is arguably more closely linked to notions of non-place, in the sense of Augé, rather than place. Under this view, slums have been often understood as transient spaces of social mobility, providing the rite of passage from informality to formality. The realization that slums are increasingly becoming permanent -- with second or third generation slum dwellers still residing in the same areas that their ancestors did – has shifted both the way they are viewed

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[1]Thomke, Stefan (2012), "What CEOs can learn from the dabawalas of Mumbai", Business Review Weekly, Online.

and studied. Planners and policy makers started to identify and discuss the slum as a physical place with definitive geographical boundaries and hard urban edges (Fortin, 2010). In many cases though, these boundaries become so thick that the informal areas of the city are perceived as strictly autonomous spaces, unrelated to the respective cities they belong to. We talk of Kisenyi, Kibera, or Makoko without necessarily thinking of Kampala, Nairobi or Lagos. In these discussions, slums are analyzed as distinct entities, as parallel cities following their own separate organizational patterns. Whether at the end, one foresees apocalypse or appreciates the entrepreneurial energy has little importance. What is rather critical and common to both contrasting visions is the insistence in placing the slum dweller within a predetermined enclosed physical, and by extension political and economic, space. What is the point of raising these conceptual boundaries when in reality slum dwellers cross them daily through their social political and economic interactions with the rest of the city?

Re-thinking of the notion of space is instrumental here. Lefebvre (1974), has argued for a conceptual framework that analyses space as three-dimensional: at the same time physical –perceived space, mental – conceived space, and social – lived space. In his view, space does not exist in itself; it is produced through an iterative process, a continuous dialogue through which the different elements and actors of the space shape each other (Lopez, 2009). Drawing from Lefebvre's theory, one can argue that the dialectic between formal and informal, rather than the characteristics of each, is what defines the city space. Notice how under Lefebvre's conceptualization the analytical glance shifts from a dichotomous (formal/informal) to an integral and continuous one: Kisenyi re-becomes part of Kampala, the slum dweller re-becomes urban dweller. Thus, the focus shifts to the interaction between the slum-neighborhood and the rest of the city in order to capture the constant and dynamic redefinition of space. Equally, under this view, the slum dweller is neither a passive victim of a mismanaged urbanization process nor an isolated actor operating within a confined space but rather a co-producer of city-space.

The other entrepreneurialism: slum dwellers as policy entrepreneurs

In recent years, urban governance has become increasingly preoccupied with the exploration of new ways in which to foster and encourage local development and productivity growth. Such an entrepreneurial stance, contrasts more traditional ideas of city governance and perhaps fuels notions of slum entrepreneurialism. Whether we agree with them or not, the ideologies of urban entrepreneurialism have led to critical shifts not only in terms of how cities are managed but also on how policy decisions are made. However, within this discussion there has been little consideration of the role of slum dweller organizations and their coalition networks in the co-production of urban entrepreneurialism (McFarlane, 2012). Indeed, much of the urban debate remains focused on policy elites, often omitting the interactions and contributions of organized community groups of the urban poor.

Nevertheless, in recent years, some of the most pragmatic and innovative solutions in informal areas came from slum dweller organizations. In some cases, these initiatives grew to become citywide programs or influenced national urban policy agendas. As Pieterse (2011) notes, the *modus operandi* of slum dwellers organizations relies on the collective actions of the poor to improve their living conditions as a means of addressing multiple developmental objectives. Certainly this approach is entrepreneurial. But this type of entrepreneurialism is very different from the dominant visions presented above. Far from chaotic, the social infrastructure of slum dwellers federations is meticulously organized. Far from individualistic, the entrepreneurial spirit emanates from collective thinking. Far from isolated and introspective, these organizations operate at multiple levels (neighborhood, city, national and transnational) multiplying cooperative strategies and collaborating with different stakeholders.

In many ways, these characteristics bring to mind Andrews' social movement infrastructure model. Andrews (2001: 76) notes that "strong movement infrastructures have diverse leaders and a complex leadership structure, multiple organizations, informal ties that cross geographic and social boundaries, and a resource base that draws substantially on contributions from their members for both labor and money." A look at the slum dwellers federations across Ugandan cities reveals these characteristics. Through their activities, be it through savings, exchanges, participation in urban forums, negotiation with the local authorities over the acquisition of land as in Kawama, Jinja, construction of toilet blocks in Mbale or joint redevelopment of land together with private developers as in Kisenyi, federations demonstrate a variety of tactics and strategies based on a sophisticated and well-thought model. What is key here is the openness of this model, which through small interventions ultimately seeks to integrate the urban poor communities to the rest of the city. In that sense, a toilet block is much more than a pragmatic answer to the lack of adequate sanitation witnessed in slums. It has symbolic resonance that often transcends its practical function. It is another small step towards integration. Similarly, the pragmatic collaboration of slum dwellers organizations with the state and international donors is much more than a sell-out of the poor to the neoliberal forces as Roy argues in the context of Mumbai (Roy, 2009). Rather, it consists of a cooperation tactic -- not in an ideological affiliation or subordination -- towards the acquisition of a permanent seat on the negotiations table; it is an effort to redefine city space more democratically and from the slum dwellers' perspective.

Image 2. Members of the Ugandan Slum Dwellers Ferderation inaugurating a Toilet Block in Mbale

So, are slums entrepreneurial? Yes, but not in the way they are celebrated in *The Economist* article. In contrast, the entrepreneurial slum spirit is far less informal than what we might think; it rises through the conscious and organized efforts of slum dwellers' movements across Ugandan and other African cities. At the heart of this entrepreneurial spirit lies the art of collective negotiation that patiently questions existing power dynamics and redefines city space in the direction of a more inclusive urbanism.

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Talkative Mama: Individual Transformation Within An Urban Poor Movement

Skye Dobson and Katana Goretti

> *The challenge of a radical democratic practice was both a personal and an organizational one. Group relations had to be reorganized, but individuals had to grapple with personal changes as well. The process of building a movement for social transformation had to allow for, encourage, and nurture the transformation of the human beings involved. Individuals had to rethink and redefine their most intimate personal relations and their identities" (Ransby, 2003; 369).*

The above quote explores the transformation of individuals within the American Civil Rights Movement as described in activist Ella Baker's biography. During the course of my work with Shack/Slum Dwellers International (SDI), the National Slum Dwellers Federation of Uganda and ACTogether over the last three years, I have had the privilege of witnessing the individual transformation of some of the 1.2 million slum dwellers that comprise the SDI network. Each individual transformation, multiplied by over a million, gives the SDI movement its unique dynamism and in turn feeds a cycle of transformation at the individual and movement-level.

In this piece I will share the story of a woman SDI president, Jockin Arputham, calls "Talkative Mama." Her name is Katana Gorreti, the national treasurer of the National Slum Dwellers Federation of Uganda (NSDFU).

Katana explains this moniker – doing a perfect imitation of Jockin whilst quoting him - as follows:

> *Mr. Jockin is good because he really wants to hear the voices of women. He always tells me, "You talkative mama, you go and look for things you can do. You do things on the ground" … He is always saying women put things in the right way they see that things are done.*

Katana is a tiny little firecracker. Her diminutive stature is but a momentary guise for this tireless, bold, and dedicated 36-year old mother of six. Katana possesses absolutely no ego and is humble and generous in her authentic praise of others. Recently I watched as she worked right up until the day before giving birth to her last born, Justus. Two hours after giving birth she was discharged and got on a boda boda (motorcycle taxi) with her newborn and went home. The very next day she and Justus were back to work.

Katana grew up in Bweyogerere, Kampala. She recalls wanting to be an accountant because she did very well in math at school. She was unable to pursue this goal, however, as she could not raise the school fees required for high school and her family was unable to find a sponsor for her. "My father did all his best for us to get education" Katana says, "he took me to good schools before he was bankrupt. He tried his best for all of us." Katana's father went bankrupt after being falsely arrested when a generator was stolen from his workplace. He spent time in Luzira Prison until the real thief was discovered. The incident took a heavy toll on the family. Her father, who had been a storekeeper and bookkeeper took to farming when he was released from prison and found it difficult to make a living.

Despite being forced to drop out of school, the local Women's Council noticed Katana's dedication and capacity and in 1996 she was nominated to be their secretary. She worked hard for these women and in 2001 she was elected general secretary of the local council in her area. It was in her capacity as LCI secretary that she was introduced to SDI by a support professional working to build an urban poor federation in Uganda.

Enter SDI

Katana said that when the SDI methodology was explained to her she agreed to try it in her area. She organized a meeting of 13 women and asked the professional to come back. "We told these women about savings on the 21st of July, 2007" Katana recalls, "and Cathy came with the savings books and we started saving. Then we started getting visitors from SDI, like Rose Molokoane and other groups started coming to our group to learn about the federation." The benefits of Federation membership truly became apparent to Katana when she and her neighbors in Kamwokya faced an eviction threat.

There is one mess I didn't tell you about – that really convinced us to join the federation. In 2008 we had a serious eviction threat. It was claimed that all our land had been bought. When they came we had no information. We consulted the federation's supporting professionals and they advised us to form a committee to follow up on these issues. We formed a committee and gave each person a responsibility to get information. I was one of the people who had to go to the Ministry of Lands to ask for the title for the land so we could see who really owned it. We asked for the title and we found out who the rightful owners were. It was not the person that was threatening to evict us even though they had even come with graders! We met the RC [Regional Councilor] and we informed the community and they were aware. When the land grabbers came the community was so mad – the police had to stop them from killing the land grabbers. We saved the major part of the land. We saw that working together could be very important.

This event was a victory for the movement and for Katana it crystallized in her mind the value of being part of an urban poor federation. It was more than just savings. Katana began to learn more about the other SDI rituals (daily savings, enumeration, negotiation, exchanges etc.) to see how these could make a difference in the lives of people in her community.

In 2008 – around August, we started settlement profiling [qualitative slum surveys]. *We visited Jinja and did profiling. I was in Kimaka settlement. I was not one of the leaders by that time, but because of my hard work I was selected to be part of the profiling team. We completed the whole of Jinja.*

Working as part of the profiling teams gave Katana a richer understanding of the SDI movement. She interacted with members from other SDI countries to conduct the profiling and she learned about the lives of slum dwellers in other parts of her country. She began to truly feel part of a movement. As this sentiment grew within Katana she became a key mobilizer for the federation and was selected to be part of the team that would mobilize five new municipalities into the Federation in 2009.

In 2009 the TSUPU [Transforming Settlement of the Urban Poor in Uganda] *program began and we conducted a massive mobilization effort in Jinja, Arua, Mbale, Mbarara, and Kabale. I went to all of them. Kabale was the most difficult. When we went to one cell, they chased us and wanted to beat us. They thought we were an organization that had come before and taken all the people's savings. They were calling us thieves. But we kept coming back and talking to local leaders and eventually they came on board. A team that went to Mbale had also failed. But, we came again with Celine D'Cruz and a new team and we organized to meet the Community Development Officer. We then managed to mobilize them. When we went to Arua it wasn't difficult to mobilize them. We found them already saving in their boxes and giving three people a key. We shared the SDI methodology and how it could help*

them improve their savings and more. In Mbarara they thought we were going to give them money, but they came to understand and even the mayor started saving.

An Emerging Leader

As Katana became more and more involved with the federation she found herself being groomed to take on a leadership position. Katana speaks with tremendous affection and respect when telling me about the NSDFU chairman, Hassan Kiberu. "Hassan taught me to remain calm and keep quiet. He told me, 'You are a leader. You have to be an example, not bickering here and there.' She explains that sometimes when others would argue with her she would get angry, but the mentoring she received from Hassan helped her to understand that, "It takes no matter to stay calm. You don't lose anything." Katana learned to listen and she learned to respect the views of those who disagreed with her. "I leaned the responsibility I have as a leader, both as a community and society. As a leader I have to see what benefits others and not to think of me. I can think of what will benefit the majority. What do the majority think of me?"

She came to see that harmonizing the very many views within the community and helping the community to work together was part of what being a leader was all about. "When we work as a team we can get many things. We can't sit back and say 'I'm poor I can't do anything.' No. You have to start small and you get big."

She tells me she was inspired by other women in the Ugandan federation and in the SDI network, "I saw these strong community women leaders speaking and I thought I can also be a leader. I saw Rose Molokoane talking about traveling all over the world as a leader and I thought, yes I can do that." She realized from these women that to be an effective leader you can't just talk. You must work hard. Katana felt she was well positioned to invest heavily in the federation. "I'm hardworking. Me I do every job. I got that spirit from my mother. She is a hardworking woman. She

suffered a lot of domestic violence in her last marriage so she works hard. She focused on her work and becoming a business woman to support her children."

It wasn't long before Katana was appointed the role of National Treasurer for the National Slum Dwellers Federation of Uganda. In this role she is able to use those strong math skills that had once inspired her to want to be an accountant. But her appointment to this position was more about her dedication and commitment to the federation and her trustworthiness. Federation leaders are not elected in Uganda as the NSDFU does not want politics to poison the federation-building process. Instead, leaders that exemplify the values of the Federation and lead by example are groomed for certain positions of responsibility. "In my area I used to maintain the funds for the public toilet. From my area I had already been trusted to handle resources safely. This made me a good choice." When one sees the level of dedication to the federation Katana exhibits on a day-to-day basis it is easy to wonder whether she ever views her leadership role as a burden. I asked Katana and she responded that, "It depends on how you handle issues. If you handle it alone it becomes a burden. If it's in your head alone, *banange* …"

Empowered Woman

Today Katana explains that she has a different kind of confidence and this has an impact not only on her work with the federation but upon her home life and her self-perception.

Through the small I have, I have done something. I am proud. Today I sit together with my husband and we together send the kids to school. Since I work so hard I get very tired. When I can't do any work at home my husband helps and if I have to travel to Arua he takes full responsibly for the children. This never happened before I was in the federation. Before, we were parallel. Now we work together. He has also changed you see. He now says 'if we assist women they can also assist us.'

She contrasts her husband's view with that of other Ugandan men she has encountered. "In Uganda there are still many men who think women should not lead" Katana explains. "Someone can ask you, 'You as a woman, you are talking? You are just a woman. You are urinating while squatting, what can you say?'" Katana has a response to such degrading insults, "What I always say is that the world is changing. Development makes many changes. When you empower women you empower the nation."

Katana has seen the way women are changing in the federation. "With the federation women we are thinking big – we want businesses, we are also planning, we can buy a piece of land, we can acquire a loan, we can become a society and do things for ourselves. We do not have to wait for begging." She is inspired by her fellow women Federation members, especially, she tells me, Sarah Nandudu – the Vice Chairperson of the Federation. "I really appreciate the way Sarah handles her issues as a woman. She takes the issues slowly, but steadily. She always has answers. She always tries to cool down the house. She can identify where the issue has come from and how it can be resolved without fighting each other." Today Katana thinks of herself as supporting the movement at large, not only her community in Kamwokya. "You know one time Medie [support professional] told me, 'Katana you need to think country-wide'. Now, when I go home I think about what will happen tomorrow for the whole federation. What will happen in Arua? In Mbale? In Jinja? Like that."

I asked Katana what advice she would give other federation leaders and she told me:

Work as a team and love your federation. We are doing this out of love. If you don't love what you do you would stop. You reach home and you are so tired you don't eat supper. You make the federation part of you. That is when you mobilize even your husband. Today I told him I would come late and he is looking after the children. When you

make something part of you everyone around you, everyone can understand. That way I can't say it is a burden because it is part of me. I have to do it because it is part of me.

Katana concludes by telling me, "Whenever Jockin visits Uganda he asks me, 'Are you still talking mama or are you doing something?'" To this Katana says she only has one answer these days, "I say to him 'Mr. Jockin, there is no time for talking. It is time for action.'"

Image 1. Katana Goretti

**CHAPTER 2 |
Rethinking
Kampala:
Innovation in
education,
waste, and
technology**

Reducing Waste and Creating Opportunity: Briquette use in Uganda

Theresa Ipolito

Every day in Uganda, tons of agricultural and organic household waste is not being utilized to the best potential. This massive amount of biomass is an energy-producing source that can significantly decrease reliance on charcoal and wood throughout Uganda. Thus, reducing harmful greenhouse gas emissions and forest degradation and aiding waste management practices, can at the same time provide communities with opportunities for financial empowerment.

This organic waste can be used to create an alternate fuel source known as briquettes. They can be made both entirely out of non-carbonized biomass, such as cornhusks, nutshells, and plantain peels. They can also be made of carbonized charcoal dust and a natural bonding agents made of boiled starch from agricultural products such as sweet potatoes. The availability of both types of briquettes prevents the limiting of their usefulness to households using certain types of cook stoves.

Many organizations, both local and external, propose to implement waste to wealth and livelihood business models within certain communities, to better manage and utilize common organic household waste, in a manner which will stimulate local economy and development, aid in the conservation of natural environments, and lower greenhouse gas emissions.

Image 1. Salvager collects plastic to recycle for money, 2013

Briquettes

Briquettes are an alternative fuel source that have been successfully implemented in developing areas within nations such as China and Thailand, and are currently gaining popularity in Uganda. Briquettes are composed of commonly found organic household waste, such as peanut shells, banana peels, corn husks, sawdust etc. and are compressed either by hand, or by machine into small dense products that can be used in replacement of charcoal and/or excess amounts of wood harvested from nearby forests.

There are two types of briquettes and their use is dependent upon what type of cook stove is being used. Carbonized briquettes are created from the burned down residue of the aforementioned organic waste, and can only be used in cook stoves meant for charcoal. The other type is non-carbonized from raw materials and can only be used in wood burning stoves. The creation of both types of briquettes is a way for both individuals and local companies to supplement incomes, while conserving natural forest resources and managing waste.

Image 2. Man powered small briquette maker, 2013

Non-Carbonized Briquettes

Non-Carbonized briquettes (also known as biomass briquettes) are becoming very popular in Uganda as an alternative fuel source to wood and charcoal. They are

made of organic household waste such as cornhusks, nutshells, agricultural waste, and other natural items with high nitrogen content. Because these materials are already a part of the carbon cycle, they produce very low greenhouse gas emissions and are a healthier alternative for use in a home.

These materials are soaked to a pulp-like consistency and can then be molded either by hand or machine. This is a very beneficial process in both rural and urban communities because of the large amount agricultural and organic municipal waste available for free every day, and these products can produce up to 600 shillings per kilo, which are a dozen briquettes on average.

Unfortunately, the handmade briquettes, as well as those made from small scale, man-powered machines, are low density and therefore can burn in as little as half an hour, and the high-density factory-made briquettes have a much higher cost. Also, because a large Ugandan population uses charcoal burning stoves, these biomass briquettes are not a viable option for fuel for that population at this time. Thus, marketability of these briquettes has been the main issue in implementing their large-scale use. Many organizations are conducting research about how to alter the composition, shape and size of them for better efficiency, and also how to promote the utilization of duel use (wood and charcoal) or clay stoves. These efforts will aid in the stimulation of their use.

While the use of these biomass briquettes has been hindered by some social and logistical aspects, their use is not only encouraged by external organizations, but also the government, because their use offers benefits in the form of increased carbon credits and reduced overall health risks. Not to mention the environmental benefits, such as lower greenhouse gas emission and less forest degradation.

Image 3. Organic briquette, factory made, 2013 - left side. Raw products, 2013 – right side

Carbonized Briquettes

Charcoal is a main fuel in both urban and rural areas of Uganda. However, many organizations in the country are trying to limit its use, due to its contribution to environmental degradation and health issues. Carbonized briquettes could be a suitable replacement for this charcoal. All that is needed to produce these briquettes is charcoal dust from low-density wood, such as coconut husks, corncobs, etc., and organic waste such as cassava, maize, or sweet potato starch. It is important that the charcoal is well charged (at least seventy-five percent fixed carbon and less than twenty-four percent volatile matter), so as to ensure a smokeless charcoal briquette, which is better for the health of the user and for the environment. The starch must be heated to a syrupy consistency and then mixed with the charcoal powder. The mixture should become a dough-like consistency and can then be molded into the desired shape and size. As is the case with the non-carbonized briquettes, these can be produced either by hand or machine.

On average, three of these briquettes can burn for up to five hours and only cost 200 shillings. While the process is laborious, and there are negative environmental impacts resulting from large-scale factory production, it has been proven to be financially stimulating for communities in both rural and urban areas. A group of five people can make an average of two hundred briquettes a day, and these can be sold for 100,000 shillings.

It is beneficial to have the option of carbonized briquettes because one major deterrent from the use of non-carbonized briquettes is that a significant amount of the population in Uganda use charcoal burning stoves. These briquettes are a viable substitution for that population. They are less expensive than charcoal, less damaging to the health of those using them, and less damaging to the environment.

Implementation

About 94% of the Ugandan population uses biomass for fuel, both non-carbonized sources such as wood and crop residues, and carbonized sources in the form of charred wood or high-density agricultural waste such as corncobs. This is a very large market which, as of yet, has not been entirely considered for successful, large-scale, briquette programs (Ferguson 2012).

Most programs have been initially possible because the community groups received grants to begin and sustain briquette production. Certain newly implemented programs will offer loans as opposed to grants. The community groups will therefore have to address how to maintain a successful and growing economical program, in order to pay the loan back and ensure sustainability. These programs include plans to educate the communities about how to most efficiently collect organic the organic waste and turn it into briquettes, how to maintain organization within the working community, and also how to anticipate and address potential issues.

Briquette programs are considered both waste to wealth and livelihood agendas because they are utilizing waste that will either be discarded and ignored at landfills, or burned without purpose. Instead, this waste is utilized in a way that has the potential to reduce the rapidity by which landfills are filled, and also allows an important economic stimulant for individual communities and large organizations, which are mass-producing briquettes in factories.

While the large-scale implementation of briquette programs have experienced little marketing success, governmental organizations such as the Kampala Capital City Authority (KCCA) are getting involved in the process of providing grants for these programs. With smoke inhalation from cook stoves being one of the leading causes of disease and death throughout the country, the government should have great interest in this simple step towards improving health conditions for its citizens. The reduction in environmental degradation will have beneficial effects on the economy in terms of receiving aid for environmental protection, as well as from funds from increasingly popular eco-tourism areas. Uganda also has the potential of greatly increasing their carbon credits for the implementation of these projects, something that would be very beneficial for this economically developing nation.

The fact that individuals are not asked to drastically change their daily lives, and are presented with a way to supplement their income, seems to suggest that programs such as the briquettes will continue gaining popularity both in rural and urban communities. The Ugandan government appears only to benefit from the implementation of such programs. So, based upon these benefits, and the great recent strides in program development, it appears that alternative resource programs, such as briquettes, will move forward successfully in the coming years, providing an outlet for both economic and social development throughout the country.

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Garbage is Not Waste, Garbage is Wealth

Jennifer Chin

For most East African countries, it is not uncommon to find heaps of garbage piling up on the side of the road, watch children scouring for plastic bottles to collect, or have farm animals feasting on illegal dumpsites. While Uganda, and more specifically Kampala, is no exception to this image, the city has nevertheless made significant progress in implementing a proper solid waste management system (SWMS) compared to its East African neighbors of Kenya and Tanzania. However, with an estimated population of 1.5 million people (KCCA, 2013) and urbanization at a rate of 4.5 per cent per year, the pressure to maintain and increase services in SWM has been magnified. At least 1,500 tons of wastes are being generated per day in Kampala (KCCA, 2013) with 70 to 80 per cent consisting of organic material (Nagawa, 2012). Due to various economical and political issues, the local central governing body, Kampala Capital City Authority (KCCA), has not been able to keep up with the growing issues and demands for solid waste management. Currently, KCCA has only been able to collect 40 per cent of all generated waste in conjunction with private garbage collectors (KCCA 2011). However, this leaves at least 60 per cent of waste still unaccounted for, with those living in slums suffering the most. Frustrated by KCCA's inability to meet promises and standardize implementation and maintenance of a proper SWMS, many community members and community-based organizations (CBOs) have creatively taken the issues of SWM, particularly uncollected residential waste, into their own hands. Here are their stories.

John Sabagala

Frustrated with the poor quality animal feeds available in the local supermarkets, John Sabagala, a local farmer from Kawempe Municipality, decided one day to try something new. Witnessing the high amount of organic waste, such as *matoke* (plantain) peels, cassava skins, sweet potato skins, and other vegetable matter gathered near his neighbors' homes and at illegal dumpsites, John decided to use them to create better quality animal feeds. While he did not have a thorough understanding of what he was doing, or if it would work, he nevertheless decided to run a few test trials with his own chickens. Surprisingly, in as little as three months, John's chickens were healthier, leaner, and even tastier than the chickens that remained on the traditional animal feeds from the local supermarkets. While he has tweaked a few things, the animal feeds that John uses are very easy to make. For approximately one to two weeks, depending on weather conditions, John would lay the leaves, peels, and skins of various vegetable matters on a dry polythene bag in the sun. After they completely dried, he would then bring them to a chopping machine, outside of town, in order to create a feed in powdered form.

In addition, depending on the animal John was preparing food for, he would sometimes add fish, cottonseeds, or meat bones into the mix to create a maize blend. In total, to chop and mix the ingredients together, it would cost him 50 UGX per kilo (approximately $0.02 USD per kilo).[1]

Even though he has not yet begun to sell this product or assess the potential demand, John has offered to sell his animal feeds for 600 UGX per kilo for a plain matoke blend with a gross profit of 550 UGX per kilo (approximately $0.21 USD per kilo) and 1,200 UGX for a maize blend with a gross profit of 900 UGX per kilo (approximately $0.35 USD per kilo). Overall, even though John lacks the labor and equipment needed for mass production, he still seems hopeful. He expressed that not only does he hope to one day significantly reduce the waste buildup near his home and in his parish, but also to help employ local youths to keep them out of trouble.

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[1] Based on an exchange rate of $1 USD for 2,584.98 UGX

Sharon Odoki

Struggling to make ends meet and raising three children alone, Sharon Odoki knew that selling *chapatti* (Indian flatbread, common in Uganda) on the side of the street would not sustain her and her family. One day, while watching television, Sharon came across a broadcasting on how to make carbonized briquettes from municipal solid waste, specifically organic waste – *matoke* leaves, pineapple skins, etc. While Sharon was not particularly interested in environmental issues nor did she know the meaning of the words "biomass fuel," she felt that she had nothing to lose and decided to turn what she had learned into an additional source of income. At first, Sharon had some difficulties because she only saw the TV broadcast once, but she eventually created a briquetting processes that worked for her. First, Sharon would gather the materials from her own household or illegal dumpsites. Next, she would dry the materials for approximately four to five full days, and then burn the dried materials to create a charred substance. Without any form of measurement, Sharon would then mix the charred substance with soil or clay, which acts as a filler agent to give the final product a more solid form. And lastly, she added cassava powder as a binding agent. Cassava powder is the most common

binding agent because of how cheap it is and how widely accessible it is to locals. Excluding the drying and charring process, Sharon stated that she was able to create at least three basins full of carbonized briquettes. She managed to sell 10 carbonized briquettes for 1,000 UGX (approximately $0.39 USD), and can earn a profit of anywhere from 8,000 UGX to 9,000 UGX a day (approximately $3.10 USD to $3.49 USD per day). Only after her carbonized briquettes business began generating a steady income, did Sharon realize the importance of what she was doing for the environment. She ceased to be so fearful that her children would get sick from playing near uncollected waste, because the smell from the garbage had been greatly decreased since she began collecting *matoke* leaves, corn cobs, and banana peels around her home, and she found fewer and fewer colonies of mosquitoes. Sharon felt so empowered by this process that she decided to reached out to other women, and teach them the process as well. Overall, Sharon hopes to teach and empower other women on the importance of maintaining a clean environment and how to make carbonized briquettes as an independent source of income from their husbands.

Faruk Bulime

As a child growing up in the slums and experiencing firsthand the negative effects of uncollected residential waste, Faruk Bulime knew that he had to do something about it. After much struggle to start the organization, Faruk finally founded The Kampala Collective Effort of Development Association (KACEDA) in 2012, with the objective of mobilizing youths to collect plastic bottles that can later be sold to local recycling companies. Without slowing down the pace of his business, Faruk has managed to legally register KACEDA as a CBO with KCCA, and has made an impressive effort of gathering approximately 1,675 members across Kawempe Municipality to join in his organization. Faruk has stated that on average, members can collect as many as 100 kilos of plastic bottles per person per day, which are worth at least 4,000 UGX, or 400 UGX per kilo ($0.16 USD). KACEDA is now planning to expand operations to recycle polythene and paper, and collecting organic waste to make both non-carbonized and carbonized briquettes. Overall, Faruk has emphasized greatly that not only can the communities come together to create a cleaner and brighter environment, but also to create opportunities for employment. He states, "everywhere I go, I see money here, and I see money there… so much money." Overall, Faruk created this organization because he not only wanted to create a better environment, but also to empower the local youths in his parish to have an income in order to finish school. Not having completed primary school himself, Faruk knew the importance of having a formal education and has made great strides to enrich the younger members in his organization.

Overall, one can see that the local community members of Kampala have taken the issues of SWM into their own hands. Not only have they found ways to reduce the amount of waste produced, but they have also created innovative products from it. However, greater support is still needed from the KCCA. Without the necessary support to scale up these solutions offered by John, Sharon, and Faruk, the issues of SWM will only be further exacerbated by the increased population size. Therefore, greater

collaboration is needed between local community members and the KCCA. Not only could this joint effort help solve the current SWM issues at hand, but also other societal problems, such as youth unemployment, lack of health and hygiene access, and other sanitation issues.

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Education and the Urban Poor in Uganda: The challenges in reaching marginalized urban populations

Jessica Souza

CHILDREN IN SLUMS
are vulnerable to a number of adverse conditions:

Lack of secure housing; water, sanitation and hygiene provisions; adequate nutrition

Health threats from poor sanitation, exposure to communicable diseases, and lack of access to healthcare

Lack of social protection from child trafficking, child labor, street crime

Economic, social, and physical barriers to accessing education

Education Crisis

Education not only holds the promise of unlocking the economic potential of millions in the developing world but is also critically important for health, social, and political development. The international community has defined education as a fundamental human right and one that is intrinsically valuable on societal and individual levels. While the developing world has made substantial progress expanding access to schools, we are still faced with a significant global education crisis. In 2008 there were 67 million children out of school around the world, with 10 million dropping out of primary school every year in Sub-Saharan Africa (UNESCO, 2011).[1] Uganda is the youngest country in the world – with 78 percent below age 30 and 52 percent below age 15 (UNFPA, 2012) – and has one of the highest fertility rates. Some data indicates that an estimated 13 to 18 percent of Ugandan children are out of school – about 1 million children – 50 percent of which never even enrolled (Hoppers, 2008). This is largely seen as a rural problem in Uganda. However, the country is undergoing rapid urbanization, which unfortunately manifests significantly in the form of slum growth and makes this education crisis an urban crisis as well. Children who are born into the poverty of slum life are extremely vulnerable to lives of disease and limited educational and economic opportunity. While Uganda has made great strides in improving its education system, there is an urgent need to address the unique issues still facing the rapidly growing urban population.

Uganda's Promise – Universal Education

Uganda was one of the first Sub-Saharan African countries to institute a policy of Universal Primary Education (UPE) in January 1997. The policy was a major reform and included decentralization schemes, campaigns to advocate for girls' education, and most importantly, the elimination of school fees. The UPE movement was extremely successful in terms of increasing enrollment for primary schools. According to the World Bank, Uganda's net enrollment rate for primary school in 2011 was up to 93.8 percent (World Bank, 2013).[2] The UPE policy also lessened the traditional gender gap in primary enrollment.

Uganda's use of targeted campaigns for girls in addition to the abolishment of school fees resulted in enormous increases in female enrollment. While there are still more boys progressing to secondary school, there are actually more boys than girls accounting for the out-of-school population in the primary system (World Bank, 2013). In 2007, ten years after the UPE policy, Uganda became the first African country to institute a policy of Universal Secondary Education (USE). Providing free secondary education was a bold move, as historically secondary education in Africa was a privilege for the elite. The USE policy eliminated school fees at selected government schools and subsidized certain private schools. The idea was that all Ugandan students who pass the Primary Leaving Exam are eligible to attend secondary school for free.

A Compromise on Quality

While the UPE policy did increase access to primary school – especially for poor children and girls – the subsequent explosion of enrollment led to overcrowded schools with insufficient resources, unqualified teachers, and low quality education. The system was not properly equipped for the massive expansion. Between 1997 and 2004, enrollments increased by 171 percent while the number of teachers and schools increased by only 41 percent (Nishimuru et al., 2005). The overloaded system continues to produce poor quality education with high dropout and repetition rates. Only 33 percent of the 1997 UPE cohort successfully reached Primary 6 by 2002 and only 22 percent reached Primary 7 by 2003 (Grogan, 2008). The primary completion rate in Uganda – only 57 percent in 2010 – has remained stagnant with virtually no improvement over the past ten years (World Bank, 2013). Figure 1 shows how Uganda's completion rate remains unchanged, even compared to its neighbors.
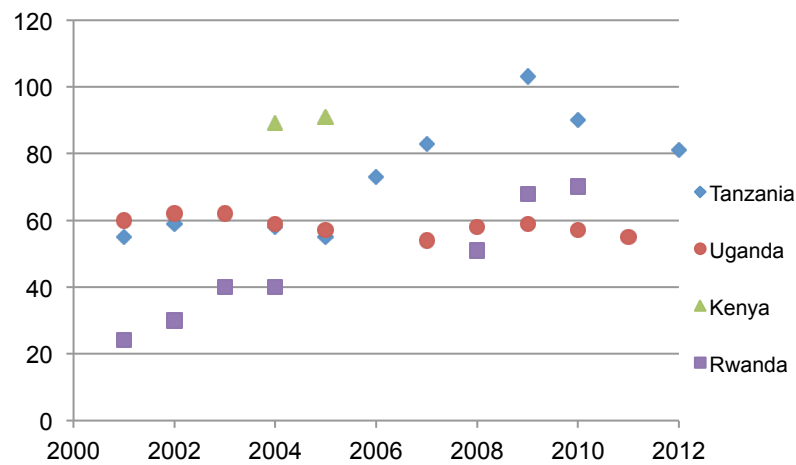
Figure 1: Primary Completion Rates, 2000 - 2012

Figure 1. World Bank (2013), http://databank.worldbank.org

The Ugandan Ministry of Education & Sport admitted in 1999 that the poor quality of teaching was most likely affected by the high student-teacher ratio resulting from UPE. Today there are still extremely low learning and achievement levels across the country. A national learning assessment in 2011 by Uwezo Uganda found that 9 out of every 10 children in Primary 3 could not read an English story of Primary 2 difficulty level; and that 7 out of every 10 children in Primary 3 could not solve mathematical problems of Primary 2 difficulty level (Uweo Uganda, 2011). It also found that at least 1 out of every 5 children in Primary 3 could not even recognize letters of the alphabet.

Many of the same implementation problems are also occurring with the universal secondary policy. The infrastructure and resources for secondary schools were already strained prior to the expansion. Reports from district officers in Uganda find the most frequent complaints from USE schools to be inadequate classrooms, furniture, latrines, and materials; delayed government funds; increasing number of dropouts; and shortages of teachers (Ministry of Education and Sport, 2008).

The universal policies particularly benefitted rural children and girls – populations usually regarded as the most at-risk for not attending school. In developing countries there is a perceived urban advantage within education – an assumption that urban children have better physical and economic access to schools than their rural counterparts. World Bank data on rural and urban areas of Uganda does validate this idea. Overall it is true that more rural children are out of primary school in Uganda than urban– 15.6 percent compared to 8.2 percent in 2007. Government-aided schools are more prevalent in rural areas of Uganda than in the cities. In 2000, 92 percent of rural children attended government-aided schools compared to only 62 percent of urban children (Grogan, 2008). After UPE was instituted there was a 3.4 percent increase in the probability of a rural child enrolling in primary school before age 9 – but no significant increase for an urban child (Grogan, 2008).

What about the Urban Poor?

The urban poor also face dire socioeconomic constraints. The enormous disparities that separate the rich and poor in cities are also reflected in the education system. Slum dwellers are not a part of the perceived urban advantage and so their educational needs are often overlooked. The urban poor are largely left invisible in the international discourse on education.

While the universal policies eliminated tuition fees, there still remain many barriers to education for the extreme poor. Affordable schools are often not available to slum families – and even when they are, many cannot afford even the lowest of costs associated with attending school. These include the costs of uniforms, textbooks, school lunch, and scholastic materials. A Ugandan government study in 2003 found that 55 percent of dropouts still cite "costs of schooling" as their reason. While it is undeniable that education in Uganda is drastically more affordable now, it is still financially out of reach for the poorest of the poor, who are increasingly urban rather than rural.

A 2005 study on children in Uganda found that out of the surveyed sites, Kampala had the highest number of children living in abject poverty and the highest number of those who are 'temporarily out of school' or have 'left school'. A case study of a specific primary school in Kampala revealed that the main challenges for retaining urban poor children were low involvement of parents or guardians, lack of learning materials, lack of accommodation for children with special needs, and the inability of families to pay for school meals and other costs associated with education (UNESCO, 2005).

Many slum children do not attend school because they must work to help support their families' economic survival (UNHabitat, 2006). Poor urban families often cannot afford the cost of water so many children must spend time searching for and collecting water, leaving them late or absent from school. Orphaned children may also need to take on responsibilities for younger siblings (UNESCO, 2005). During both day and nighttime hours children can be seen in urban centers of Uganda selling goods, begging, or living on the streets.

Image 1. The Focus is on Rural Uganda

There are a limited number of alternative education options for the urban poor in Uganda. Basic Education for Urban Poverty Areas (BEUPA) is an initiative supported by government that was launched in 1997 following the passage of UPE. BEUPA currently operates centers around Kampala and targets poor children by offering flexible and condensed versions of the primary school curriculum. Unfortunately this program has stalled over recent years – mainly due to lack of funding – and the number of learning centers and the amount of scholastic equipment and materials has significantly dwindled. Various non-governmental organizations (NGOs) also operate outreach programs to street children in urban Uganda.

Despite the challenges involved in reaching marginalized urban populations, there are opportunities for more effective action. Increased government investment in urban education – directed toward the slums – combined with further collaboration with NGOs could produce a more inclusive system. The barriers that stand in the way of education for the urban poor and other marginalized groups are not impenetrable. With enough resources, contextual adaptations, and community involvement, these barriers can be broken down and access to quality education can be truly expanded to all.

Image 2. Children at a BEUPA Non-Formal Learning Center in Kampala

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Slum Dwellers Federations and Technological Solutions in the Developing World

Jeneil Bamberg

Over the years, the design, construction, usage and implications of innovative technology in the developing world has captivated my attention. A plethora of examples exist in this area, shaped by time, circumstance, and demand for innovation. Despite the complexity of challenges the world faces today, I find both contemporary examples that are currently unfolding in developing countries, as well as future technologies such as those described *Abundance: The future is better than you think,* by Peter H. Diamandis and Steven Kotler, to be extremely inspiring.

Development Challenges and Slum Dwellers International's Role

The state of technology in developing parts of the world is not all rosy. For example it is estimated that in many regions of India and sub-Saharan Africa, there is far greater access to mobile phone technology than to flush toilets, with wide-ranging, negative sanitation, health, and economic implications. It is these types of challenges such as inadequate sanitation and other serious development problems that the in-country federations of Slum Dwellers International (SDI)[1], are determined to tackle.
Slum Dwellers International is a network of community-based organizations of slum dwellers and the urban poor spread across thirty-three countries. In SDI, groups of the urban poor organize around the practice of collective daily savings, which in SDI ideology is a strong tool to overcome poverty. For example, Uganda alone has five hundred savings groups comprised of about 35,000 total members; the collective daily savings of these groups is 728,000,000 shillings or 291,200 US dollars. These savings groups use their savings as well as community loans to execute and maintain crucial development projects for their communities. One type of group that SDI works with in-country is the federation. Federations take different forms in different countries, which is why they come together regularly to share experiences, knowledge and best practices.[2] Ultimately, the role of Federation is to unite slum dwellers from across a country, to work towards a brighter future. One specific aim is to improve access to sanitation facilities and technologies in slums across the country.

Water and Sanitation

At the 2013 9th Slum Dwellers International East African Hub meeting, Federation members presented large range of different projects that communities initiated in response to a need that that the government was not meeting. For example, they showcased the Bugembe Water Point site in Wanyama Settlement in Jinja. Wanyama Settlement is so dense with slum dwellers and their informal housing units that visitors have to pass luggage over houses to get it through. Before the Water Point project came to fruition, the 5,000 people in Wanyama Settlement lacked access to a consistent local water source. The local savings group, experiencing the dire need for consistent access to a reliable water source, worked with the national slum dweller federation and the national Ugandan SDI affiliate to meet this need. Through the gift of some land by a local man, the local savings group's own savings and an SDI community loan, the Bugembe Water Point was constructed. It consists of a large underground water tank and spout, with water provided by National Water and Sewerage Corporation.
Anyone in the settlement can now pay 100 shillings, or about 0.04 USD, to fill a jerry can with water that can be used for cooking and cleaning. 100 shillings might be a lot for people in a country where the majority lives on well under $2 USD per day, but a jerry can will often last a household two or three days. Thus, the impact of this technology on people's lives can be significant. Women, who are often the main gatherers of resources like water in Uganda, may have had to walk kilometers to reach a water source. It is estimated that on average women in sub-Saharan Africa spend half an hour per day collecting water, and sometimes much longer than that. Now a woman in Wanyama Settlement can reach the water point within minutes, allowing her to devote time to other things, such as helping her children with their education, or seeking a job. The potential personal productivity gains and quality of life improvement from such a unit may be large. Though the single water point to service 5,000 people is still not enough, it is a start.

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[1] I worked with Slum Dwellers International's Uganda partner, ACTogether, in the summer of 2013.

[2] In June 2013, I had the pleasure of attending one such gathering, the 9th Slum Dwellers International (SDI) East African Hub Meeting that was held in Jinja, Uganda. The East African Hub meets quarterly and is comprised of the SDI federations in Uganda, Tanzania and Kenya, with talk of adding Rwanda and Burundi to the mix.

Image 1. Bugembe Water Point in Jinja, Uganda serves water for cleaning and cooking to 5,000 people in one settlement

Community Development Projects and Community-Municipal Partnerships

Throughout the East Africa conference, there were impressive examples of the work of SDI Federations in initiating, constructing and maintaining community development projects. The Ugandan federation has taught their members how to construct sanitation units. When this article was written, community members were building such a unit in Kawempe, a division of Kampala in Uganda that contains a large slum settlement where sanitation facilities are lacking. There is also a similar sanitation unit in Mbale, Uganda, at the Mission Settlement. Before this unit was put in place, 1,133 families lacked a sanitation unit in their settlement. To resolve this pressing issue, the community collectively bought a 150-square meter plot of land and built a 55.8 square meter sanitation unit, the cost

of which was 25,000 USD. The municipality offered technical support. The unit is built of brick and mortar and has six toilet stances, two shower stalls, urinals, as well as handicap accessibility. Plans for a community hall on top, which are a signature of similar Federation sanitation units, are in the works and would allow for a community meeting space, training center and many other functions. Since my visit to the unit, which involved a "toilet inauguration celebration," I have heard reports that the community has been using and maintaining the facility. Maintenance is a critical component of long-term sustainability of such units, and it would seem that since the impetus for the project came from the community, they have a sense of ownership in taking care of the unit.

Image 2. Jinja Municipal Development Council President and National Slum Dwellers Federation of Uganda Jinja Chairperson Michael Kasede in front of the Mbale City Mission Cell Mission Sanitation Unit
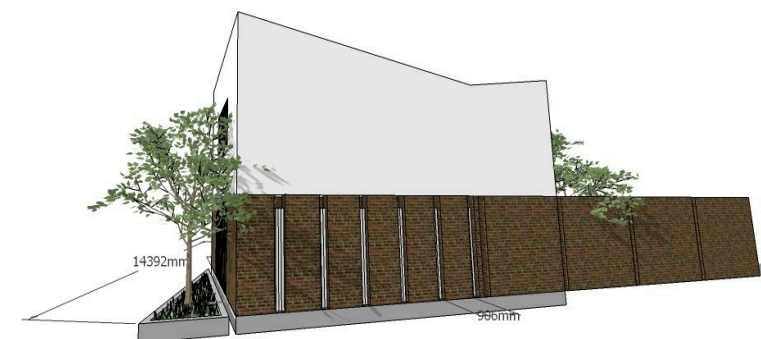

Figure 1. A model of the Mbale City Mission Cell Mission Sanitation Unit. The first phase is complete with the sanitation unit on the first floor; the community hall on the second floor, shown here, is currently being constructed

Abundance

While all these projects are exciting developments, what most sparks my excitement is considering the impact that future technologies could have on the developing world. Some of these future technologies are described in *Abundance*, by Peter H. Diamandis and Steven Kotler, which remind us that even in the most resource-limited settings, here are always possibilities for potentially useful resources; it may just be a matter of looking outside of the box to seem them.
First of all, the book tells us that the pessimism to which many people – perhaps especially Westerners - default in modern life is not conducive to seeing the great abundance and possibilities that the world has to offer. *Abundance* encourages us to see beyond our pessimism to the possibilities, going so far as saying that our progress would be far greater if we could do so. One of the ideas that the book is premised on is that of cumulative progress. Exchange and specialization throughout human history

have led to increasingly specialized technologies that continue to improve the quality of our lives. As our world literally speeds up due to the exponential increase in computer chip technology – which doubles every eighteen months and becomes twice as fast for the same price – it contributes to the even faster spread of ideas and resources that build on the previous ones.

In *Abundance*, we can see how the spread and increase of these technologies are going to be game changers in many ways. The book describes projects and technologies that are being developed right now that are going to transform our world. For example, we now have drugs to treat many diseases, but much of the developing world and even developed countries with massive aging populations have a shortage of doctors. Emerging Lab on a Chip (LOC) technology is being developed to provide "…accurate, low-cost, easy-to-use, point-of-care diagnostics designed specifically for the sixty percent of the developing world that lives beyond the reach of urban hospitals and medical infrastructure." Health conditions in urban slum settlements could be monitored with this device. Today's 3D printers can print a vast array of materials and objects, including producing concrete for constructing extremely low-cost, multiroom housing. Such housing could serve as semi-formal or permanent housing in the developing world. And when combined with infinite computing, because computing today is low in cost and huge in scalability thanks to the online cloud, 3D printing will be available to many more people. For example, a design in Asia could be perfected, printed and put to work in Europe or South America all in the same day. Slum dwellers and the poor in the developing world could have access to better housing, improving quality of life for millions. The possibilities with these and other developing technologies seem endless.

SDI Federation Advocacy for Vital Technologies: How the Model Works

Of course there's a caveat: in a capitalist, ranked, unevenly developed world, how will developing countries get these life-improving technologies? I would argue the answer lies in engaged citizenship, which means that people are actively working to educate themselves and their fellow citizens about technologies and advances that could help to improve their lives, advocating for these technologies for themselves, and negotiating with governments and other potential partners to help them obtain such technologies. While the term "engaged citizenship" does seem to frame engagement within the nexus of the nation-state, people involved in the Slum Dwellers International network, for example, engage in exchanges between countries where knowledge about technologies can be shared and where people can come together across borders to advocate for themselves and for the acquisition of these technologies. Indeed, this was evident at the East African Hub, where Kenyans, Tanzanians and Ugandans each shared information about different technologies that were being used to a greater degree in one country and that could benefit the others. In addition to the savings groups networks within countries, which allow individual savings groups and local, regional and national networks of such groups to organize and advocate for themselves, this international element of the Slum Dwellers International model allows for the urban poor to share information, gain international recognition and unify to call for beneficial technological developments and equitable access. This social infrastructure of SDI is one of its greatest innovations. The federation model allows people from the local to the international levels to exchange information rapidly and organize quickly and effectively for action. Though there is little doubt that the process won't be easy, these groups will be at the forefront of mobilizing to bring vital, world-changing technologies such as those described in *Abundance* to communities that most need them, and as the world speeds up due to the

speeding up of microprocessors in computers, this process will become faster and faster.

Conclusion

What most impressed me about the East African Hub is not that the slum dweller federation members there had all the answers to their problems, but that they were actively advocating for themselves and their communities through engaging other stakeholders such as the government. They may be among some of the world's most disadvantaged people, but they are making their voices heard, and forming partnerships to innovate solutions together. As world-changing technologies become cheaper and more widespread through the process of cumulative progress, these visionary slum dweller leaders will bring them to their communities. The tagline of "Abundance" is "the future is brighter than you think." I truly believe this, and I believe also in the call and repeat at the East African Hub: "We are the problem, we are the solution."

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CHAPTER 3 |
Land Sharing:
Case study of
Kisenyi III

Inclusive Redevelopment in Kampala

Brian Longin

Scholars and practitioners of the urban condition recognize that the difficulty in securing land in the developing world is one of the greatest constraints to providing housing and to developing appropriate infrastructure. The citizenry of these countries run into vast obstacles in obtaining affordable and sufficient land.

Image 1. A slum in Kampala

Land tenure refers to the ways in which land is owned, engaged, used and disposed of within communities of a particular nation. When land tenure and rights are appropriately defined and managed, fair and sustainable development of cities can be realized. However, in Uganda, this is not the case. As in most of Africa, land in Uganda is associated with a tumultuous and geopolitical history, unique tribalism, and many differing identities, rights, and belief systems.

In Uganda, land tenure is a complex system that consists of four types of ownership: public land, freehold land, mailo land and Kabakaship.

- Public land: administered by the Kampala Capital City Authority (KCCA), which can grant leasehold tenure.
- Freehold land: mostly religious and educational institutions.
- Mailo land: demarcated land appropriated to the King, his notable and local chiefs. Mailo owners received a land title from colonial administration. Over time, this and became further subdivided through sale, donation and inheritance.
- Kabakaship: owned by the Kings or chiefs of the Buganda Kingdom (Giddings, 2009)

Fully understanding the complexities of the Ugandan land tenure system takes a great deal of time and effort; it seems that many Ugandans are even befuddled by the system. This confusion and complexity is the large hurdle in establishing flourishing development projects in Kampala.

The majorities of citizens in Kampala reside in the slums or informal settlements, taking advantage of the confusion of the multi-land tenure system and weak enforcement by illegally occupying undeveloped wetlands. These lands are actually owned, though the landowner often does not reside there.

Some informal settlements in Kampala are located on highly valuable and profitable land that is quite attractive to both formal and informal investors. Evictions on these lands are becoming widespread in order to clear the land for the construction of high-income housing or to advance formal private sector and commercial development. The urban poor residing on these lands are forced to the periphery of the city, where they may experience considerably larger costs that they cannot afford. A worse

consequence is that those evicted must face the possibility of even more dire conditions than before. Evictions and relocations have shattered elaborate networks and communities that have evolved over many years.

Land Sharing

To address this challenge, the practice of land sharing can be a pioneering slum rehabilitation technique in Africa and other regions in the world. Land sharing initiatives have the potential to defend these communities by constructing sound housing for the dwellers, while at the same time making land available to private and commercial interests. Land sharing is a private-public partnership that includes the local community of slum dwellers, the landowner, and a developer. These stakeholders come to an arrangement to share the land and develop it in a mutually beneficial manner. As an option, assistance and coordination from international organizations and local government authorities is often also provided.

In Kampala, land sharing agreements could be an opportunity for commercial development through humane negotiations rather than inhumane evictions. Landowners would finally be able to develop land where squatters have resided, while upgrading infrastructure and appreciating the value of their land. As importantly, tenants would have access to a new high-quality residential structure. Consequently, local communities secure adequate and safe housing and improve the quality of their lives – while also setting a precedent for innovative measures to upgrading other informal settlements around Uganda and the world.

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The Planning of the Kisenyi III Land Sharing Project

Claudie Mabry

A land sharing project has been proposed for Kisenyi III, a parish of Kampala's largest informal settlement Kisenyi, which is adjacent to the Central Business District. ACTogether, an affiliate of the Slum Dwellers International (SDI), and a support organization for the National Slum Dwellers Federation of Uganda (NSDFU) is the central sponsor of the project. ACTogether mobilizes Kisenyi III residents in Kampala's Central District and facilitates the implementation of the land sharing project. The project can be added to a list of several other successful slum upgrading initiatives sponsored by ACTogether.

Kisenyi III is divided into six divisions, with landowners holding titles within each of them. All divisions are located on prime *Mailo* land[1]. For years Kisenyi III land has been desirable to developers and private interests who have incentivized landowners to give up their land. Without protection or precise knowledge of land rights, it is common for slum dwellers to be forcefully evicted from their structures in order for the construction of market rate developments. Within a land sharing platform, a landowner agrees to provide his or her land to support the tenants located there so forceful evictions no longer take place. In return, the landowner's assets are upgraded, and with the help of private and governmental agents, the overall project can incorporate economic opportunities within the site that can further benefit Kampala.

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[1] Mailo is a land tenure system implemented during British colonialism in Uganda, which usually favors landowners' preferences and desires - often dispossessing slum dwellers.

ACTogether approached Hajji Mulangwa, a landowner holding a title deed within the Kiti Division of Kisenyi III. There are approximately 75 households (with 147 total residents) currently residing under his title (1.6 acres in size). Most of these residents are members of the NSDFU and participate in savings groups, which encourage community members to mobilize and save their money. Their money is then reinvested in housing, infrastructure and sanitation projects. Some project examples include a sanitation building (which features communal toilets and showers plus a community hall and NSDFU offices), as well as model houses that are currently on Mulangwa's land, all of which were implemented by ACTogether. Mulangwa currently hosts five structure owners who own the residential structures on site and collect monthly rent from tenants. Structure owners must always be in compliance with Mulangwa's demands. Most structures on site are constructed with mud walls and iron sheets for roofing. According to Edward Belinda, Federation chairperson of the Kampala Central Region and longtime resident of Kisenyi III, most tenants are paying between 50,000 and 70,000 Ugandan shillings on monthly rent (. In addition, most residents declare the reason for their moving to Kisenyi III is the fact that economic activities are more accessible there since it is within the Central Business District, unlike their previous place of residence (E. Belinda, 2013).

Mulangwa originally intended to sell his land. However, he was convinced by SDI President Jockin Arputham of the investment benefits of participating in a land share. SDI invited him to a trip to India, where he visited a number of successful land sharing projects put forward by the Slum Dwellers Federation of India. Immediately impressed, Mulangwa has since cooperated to the fullest extent, and in return, his assets will be upgraded. With the landowner in agreement of the project, the next step for ACTogether is to convince the government sector of the exceptional benefits associated with the project. With substantial support from the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development (MLHUD) obtained, the Kampala Capital City Authority (KCCA) is the next agency that needs to be on board. The support of the KCCA appears to be imperative for the project's success (E. Belinda, 2013).

Figure 1. Map of Haji Mulangwa's land

Thus far, plans for the project look like the following: one durable structure, which will feature a ground level for 44 commercial units (for a total of 1,300 square feet), as well as three additional stories for 81 residential units (for a total of 3,950 square feet) designated for Mulangwa's tenants. Each residential unit will be designed to have a

private toilet, a balcony, and the freedom for residents to design their own interior space. The commercial floor will be rented out either to multiple local businesses or to one corporation. ACTogether has been in conversation with MTN Mobile, a leading telecommunications company in Uganda that supports and participates in the economic growth of urban Uganda that may be interested in utilizing space on the commercial floor. Occupancy of local business will help finance the entire structure through the form of cross subsidies. The roof of the structure will also function as a communal space for residents, as well as the site for solar panels and the drying of briquettes[1]. In addition, the building aims to be sustainable, and will match up with the topography of the land, as well as stand environmental impact such as flooding, which the area is already prone to. Finally, Mulangwa's property will be upgraded to feature a modern home for him and his family, as well as a personal business, which would have to compensate for the rents he is receiving from the structure owners and his current business on site. ACTogether hopes to utilize these steps and designs mentioned above in order to form the final project that can be presented to all stakeholders and approved for implementation.

Other important considerations of the project include transportation, public space, and parking. The KCCA has established their master plan for transportation in the city, which seeks to alleviate the congestion that scars Kampala every day. The flow of traffic is expected to improve on Katwe Road (at the intersection of Mutebi Road), a major road network that passes adjacent Mulangwa's land, by implementing a new junction. It's expected to improve the flow of vehicle and pedestrian traffic in and out of the area. Proposed public space within the land title plans to implement flora, fauna, and benches. On-site parking is also being considered. For a commercial building to be in good standing with the KCCA, one parking spot for every 40-square meters of commercial space is required. The

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[1] Briquette making in Kampala is discussed in other chapters of this work.

option of using existing parking off-site but in close proximity to the site is also being considered.

Phase One of implementation will need to include the demolition of the existing structures. This can be conducted by slum dwellers that live on-site. Phase Two presents incremental construction, which seeks to provide minimal disturbance during the relocation of tenants because only a small number of households will be moved at a time, instead of the entire community. The construction period is still unknown, but ACTogether anticipates that it will take about half a year to complete upon approval, based on timelines for past urban housing projects they have completed. As mentioned earlier, cross-subsidies can generate construction income, avoiding burden on the funds of SDI.

The Kisenyi III land sharing project is a leading example for other informal settlements in Kampala and urban Uganda as a whole. If the project is able to evolve as planned, the results can expect to increase the formation of public-private partnerships for slum redevelopment. Projects such as these can provide slum-upgrading mechanisms to alleviate mass evictions in developing cities.

Image 1. View of Kisenyi III

Financing Land Sharing in Kisenyi III

Brian Longin

The Kisenyi III land sharing project is an attempt to tackle the challenge of providing adequate and affordable housing for Kampala's urban poor population. The main constraint towards realization of this project remains to be the relatively high costs. How can we finance such projects?

Cross-subsidization is a type of financing method that could be useful in the implementation of the Kisenyi III project. Cross-subsidization is a financing technique, which uses income from "market-rate" units to provide affordable housing opportunities to low-income families, or in this case, slum dwellers. The goal of this type of method is to significantly reduce the need for public funds. The best-case scenario for this method is when the proposed land to be used is located on prime real estate area and has high market prices – and this is the case with Kisenyi III. The estimated cost for constructing such a building is close to $2 million USD. According to Knight Frank, a leading international real estate organization, the suggested market rate for renting to commercial enterprises in center-city Kampala is approximately $14.00-$17.00 USD per square meter per month. The proposed structure in Kisenyi III designates roughly 1,300 square meters for commercial space, which if completely rented would bring in well over $200,000 USD per annum (not including rent income from the affordable units and community income generating projects).

If investors are able to provide the necessary upfront capital to begin the construction of this project, the income generated from the commercial space should be sufficient

to cross-subsidize the payments of debt from construction in a reasonable time period. ACTogether believes twelve years is a realistic time frame with the income generated to pay back their loans and their interest rates.
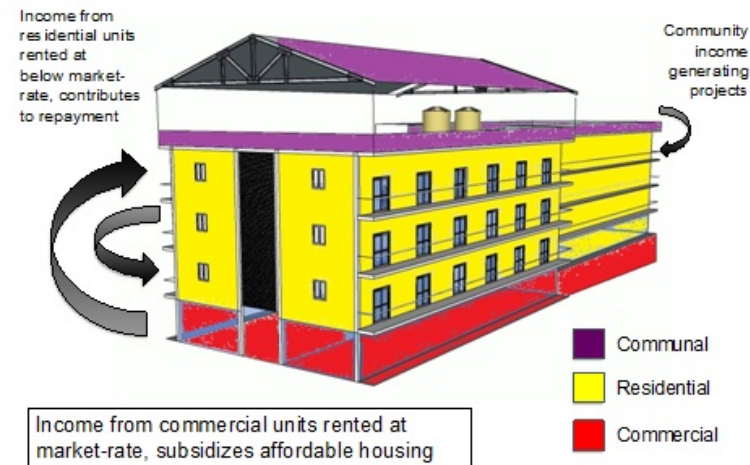

Figure 1. Cross Subsidization Diagram for Kisenyi III Land Sharing Project

Similar projects have often ignored the social environment of the slums or have not compensated for the loss of informal commercial space that is critical to urban poor livelihoods. Conveniently, in the case of Kisenyi III, most of the residents who will be replaced into a new multi-level structure already use their residence for informal commercial business.

There is obviously an incentive to maximize the amount of space that can be used for commercial units, in order to create the largest possible income while leaving the residential units minimal in size and quality. It will be important to keep the Kisenyi III project from evolving into a slum redevelopment scheme that is little more than a disguised auction, which benefits developers and destroys

the social infrastructure of the community. As previously noted, reasonable income can be generated from the project as constituted and slum dwellers and entrepreneurs alike can maximize their benefits. The socioeconomic experience for Ugandans from all income-levels could be improved.

Incentives to keep residents in their new units must be developed. Otherwise there could be severe repercussions throughout the rest of the city. Many low-income citizens and slum dwellers that have been provided housing through processes such as this have moved back into slums to make a profit on their units. In addition, they cannot afford the cost of maintaining the resettlement units. Maintenance costs must be incorporated into the planning of Kisenyi's land sharing project and keeping the residents in the new proposed housing should be a priority. Constraints to prosperous development such as high influxes of population, as well as, conflicts over legal statuses of land occupied by slum housing is as much an issue in other developing regions as it is in Uganda and Sub-Saharan Africa. In Thailand, the government has established a nationwide slum rehabilitation program called Baan Mankong, which supports community groups and organizations in searching for possible solutions in providing slum dwellers secure land to build housing. In a five-year span between 2003 and 2008, Baan Mankong supported 512 upgrading initiatives involving over 1,000 Thai communities (Boonyabancha, 2009).

Baan Mankong seemingly has effectively built confidence among urban poor communities in Thailand. This program encourages the same communities to be key actors in the urban development process rather than quiescent recipients. Perhaps what has made the Baan Mankong project more successful than similar projects around the world is the way in which the Thai government provides funds to the program. Baan Mankong uses government funds in the form of "infrastructure subsidies and soft housing and land loans, direct to poor communities, which plan and carry out improvements to their housing,

environment, basic services and tenure security and manage the budget themselves (Boonyabancha, 2009)." Kisenyi III, much like Baan Mankong, uses partnership with the urban poor to promote development techniques. The partnership utilizes the emerging potential strategies to combat financial challenges and to foster new innovations from a range of different participants. While stimulating investment opportunities, such projects can rehabilitate the slum neighborhoods. Successful new partnership techniques and subsidization processes can create a platform for alternative financing strategies for affordable housing. Many of the programs and strategies utilized in Thailand can be modified and utilized in the development in Kisenyi III.

Potentially, what is needed in Uganda is new institutional and governmental reform that can provide flexible financing to urban poor communities and projects such as Kisenyi. In turn, these communities can develop their own housing upgrade solutions and be effective on a citywide level. The Ugandan government must also demonstrate to the new developing corporate sector that it is in their best interest to participate and partnership with the development of Kisenyi-like projects. Ultimately it is in the interest of corporations to be part of such a partnership and assist in creating a stable economy and community.

A Potential Partner

Many recognize the role of technology as the cause of Africa's recent successes, particularly mobile telecommunications. According to the International Telecommunication Union's Development Sector and World Telecommunication/ICT Indicators, the number of cellular subscriptions in Africa has risen from under 50 million in 2000 to over 700 million in 2012. This places Africa as the world's fastest growing telecom market (ITUD, 2013).

A telecom company could be the right partner for the Kisenyi III Land Sharing project. A company such as MTN can be expected to be attracted to gaining prime commercial land in center Kampala where almost the entire population has access to mobile technology—even the slum dwellers of Kisenyi. If the entire commercial space in the structure were made available to one commercial tenant, the hurdle of finding many tenants would be cleared and a source for reliable income would be established.

MTN is a large international corporation who could afford the market value for renting the land in Kisenyi III. MTN Uganda Foundation exists as a non-profit legal entity through which MTN implements its Corporate Social Investments. The Foundation strives to improve the quality of life in communities where MTN operates in a sustainable manner. The Foundation even has a program, which supports low-cost housing and shelters projects. MTN has partnered with Habitat for Humanity and other international NGOs to build low cost adequate housing for poorer communities in Uganda. To date MTN Uganda Foundation has spent over 570 Million UGX and built over 230 houses in 7 years of existence (MTN Uganda Foundation, 2013). Essentially, MTN could have a commercial space in Kampala without even taking part in a charitable program. MTN just acting resourcefully and enterprisingly would be renting out prime commercial space while also supporting an initiative that provides affordable housing for slum dwellers of Kisenyi—a vision their Foundation recognizably promotes.

Kisenyi land sharing can be a model for economic development in Sub-Saharan Africa and other developing regions around the world. While providing new employment for citizens of Uganda, corporations such as MTN can also provide increased wealth for their own industries. Additionally, it is an opportunity for assisting the communities develops an esprit de corps. The people will learn to be invested in and participate in city government

interests in creating commercial development while having affordable and adequate housing.

The telecom industry can develop its ever-growing access to mobile phones and expand the need for increasing development of its products. The industry should clearly understand that the creation of a healthy and stable community is in its own best interests. The betterment of community will allow for future growth and development of their investments.

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Kisenyi III Land Sharing Project: Affordable Housing Design
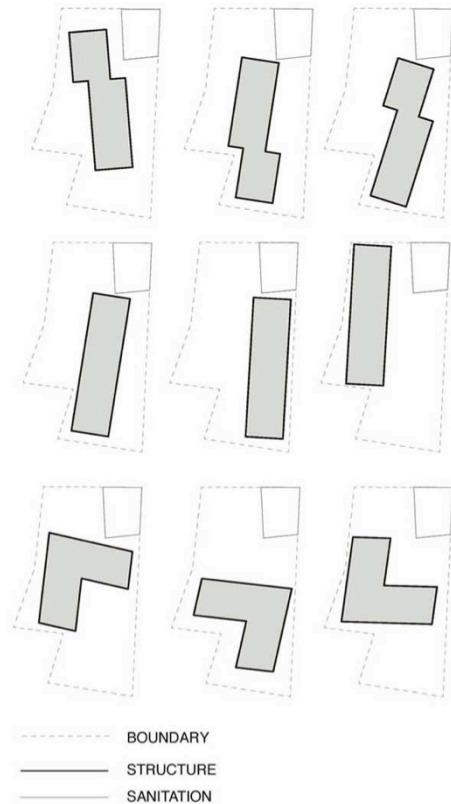
Amy Obonaga

Figure 1. Footprint iterations

The stakeholders in the Kisenyi III land sharing project are looking for a sustainable, mixed-used complex consisting of a ground floor dedicated to commercial use and three floors of residential units, approximately 35 square meters large.

The Kisenyi III site is now comprised of one-story informal units with a ring of four seven-story structures located on adjacent streets. The site is approximately 1160m above sea level and only experiences a six-meter change in elevation. Flooding from the west to the east side of the site remains a significant problem.

As a designer, I wanted to approach designing a new complex only after considering multiple factors and needs. First, I was concerned that the housing complex may appear too large and institutional. To avoid this, an idea was to split the structure and shift the units to break up the complex. Another possibility was to bend the structure in to an L-shape to closely follow the property line and to break up the structure so it would not be a looming, monolithic building in comparison to the surrounding one-story structures.

Analyzing solar patters was another key concern of mine. Solar path analysis is most useful in ascertaining solar gain and shadow ranges in Kampala, as the city is only eighteen minutes north of the equator. Uganda sees a consistent and somewhat strong solar exposure. Using the butterfly diagrams allowed us to visualize the shadows that occur over a range of seasons and times of day. Processes like climate and light analysis, used in first phases of design, are rough tools to help eliminate forms that may not work well on the site. Using the shadow diagrams, we began to rule out building forms that were L-shaped because they cause pockets of the site to remain in darkness longer.

I also examined building materials as a way to reduce this large structure. Using various local materials, we could design a structure that was sensitive to the surrounding environment, sustainable, and could utilize local labor to reduce costs and employ residents. Stabilized Soil Blocks (SSBs) were researched and encouraged by ACTogether as a possible material for construction. Using SSBs would also reduce costs, as community members could press blocks themselves once they received training.

ACTogether staff and Makerere University professor, Dr. Musaazi, has constructed buildings and done extensive research with SSBs. We discussed with ACTogether staff the possibility of utilizing local industries and labor to reduce building costs. The parish of Kisenyi III has a large industry of metal workers. Though Kisenyi III metal workers are not members of the Federation involved in the project, ACTogether staff members believed that local workers are a viable alternative for metal elements that would be used on the structure.
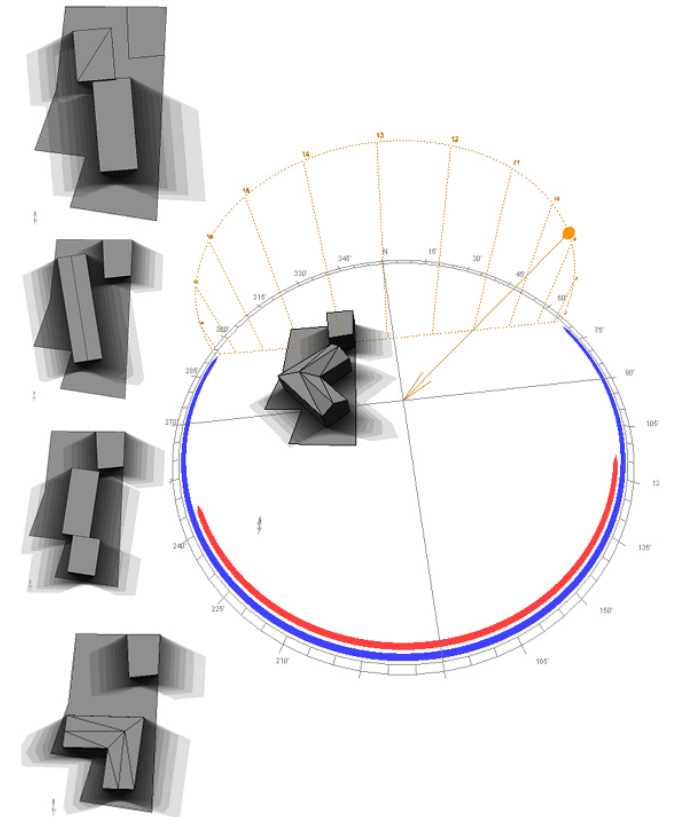

Figure 2. Butterfly diagram
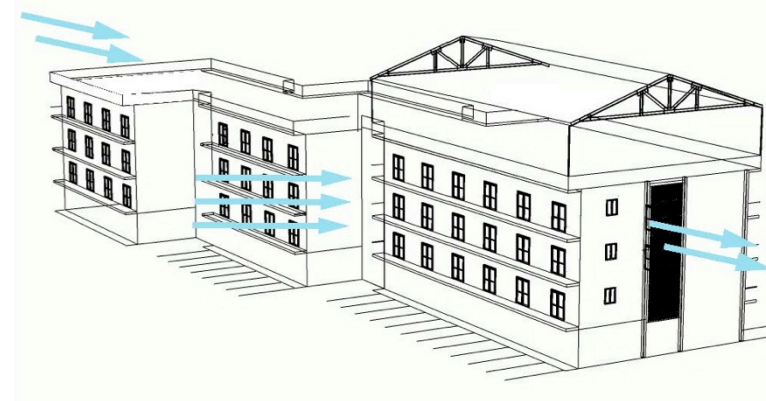
Figure 3. Three-dimensional model
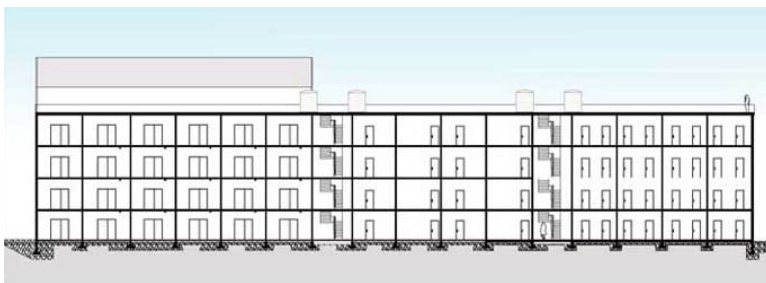

Figure 4. Wind diagram

Figure 5. Section through complex looking east

Next, I considered temperature and heat concerns. Given Kampala's equatorial latitude, solar heat gain is a very real concern. In Uganda, the predominant wind direction flows from Victoria Lake in the east. The building form utilizes this fact and the narrow circulation space to facilitate a Venturi effect, made by the constricted space of the hallways. This effect will increase the airflow through the structure and reduce the solar gain on the building, making it feel cooler. The two stair cores are perpendicular to and wider than the hallway to encourage a cross flow of air through the structure.

Public space is often an element missing in informal settlements. According to Rosario C. Giusti Perez and Ramon Perez in *Analyzing Urban Poverty, GIS for the Developing World*, informal settlements are comprised of only 3% public space (that is features like sidewalks, parks, and promenades) while wealthier neighborhoods can have as much as 20% of their land dedicated to public space. With this fact in mind, we planned for the complex to have a ring of outdoor market places and green spaces at the north and south end of the structure.

We also considered the roof as an important public space. Though the consulting structural engineer informed me that an occupiable roof would add expense, the local economy would benefit from having a space to dry briquettes (a local industry and source of income for Kisenyi residents) and carry out other tasks. In addition, the roof could be used as a gathering space for the residents. I decided to create a roof that had a portion that would protect residents from the sun, but that would also contain two sections for residents to dry laundry, grow small planters of vegetation, and dry briquettes. The consulting engineers also designed outdoor patio and chimneys for residents to cook on outside the units. Electricity is expensive in Kampala and in informal settlements residents tend to cook with briquettes or charcoal outside. Cooking with charcoal inside tight living quarters contributes to poor respiratory health, and moving the cooking outside would improve the living conditions of the residents.

Finally, in addition to the outdoor market places, green spaces, and roof operating as places to gather I also saw the stair core as another opportunity for neighbors to meet. Informal settlements have their social and political operations, like any other living space, and to leave out the ways in which architecture can facilitate community would be an oversight.
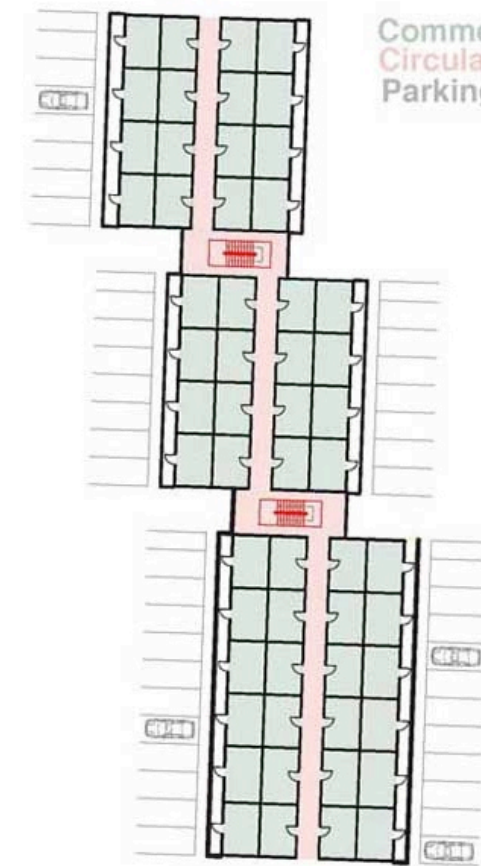

Figure 6. Ground floor plan
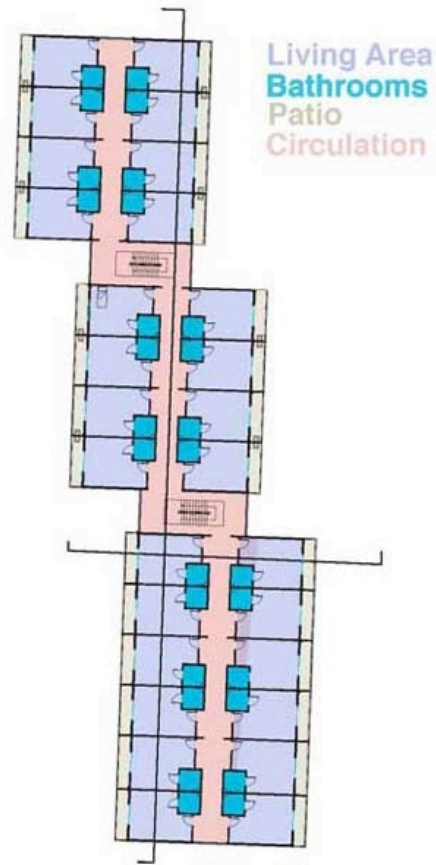
Living Area
Bathrooms
Patio
Circulation

Figure 7. Second floor plan

What emerged was a complex system of carefully considered buildings. The residential floors – up to three floors above the ground floor – would house at least 75 families. Each of these residential units would be identical but would allow each family to design their own space. Each unit is to have a bathroom and balcony. Consulting and in-house engineers provided square meter guidelines for each unit and also arranged units in a way to efficiently distribute resources within the complex. Parking would be crucial to the real estate value of the commercial units and so is an additional priority.

Though architecture cannot be responsible for social ills created by poorly conceived legislation and long-lived social inequalities, with programs like slum upgrading we can utilize what architecture does best. That is - to create design that is conscientious of site and budget; that is sustainable and energy efficient; and that intends to be more than just shelter. Meeting the above conditions and designing with these challenges in mind is where architecture can excel.

Figure 8. Section through complex looking north

Landowner mixed-used structure
Sanitation Block
Commercial
Residential
Existing structure
Green space
Property Line

Figure 9. Proposed master plan

Looking Ahead: Lessons Learned from Kisenyi III
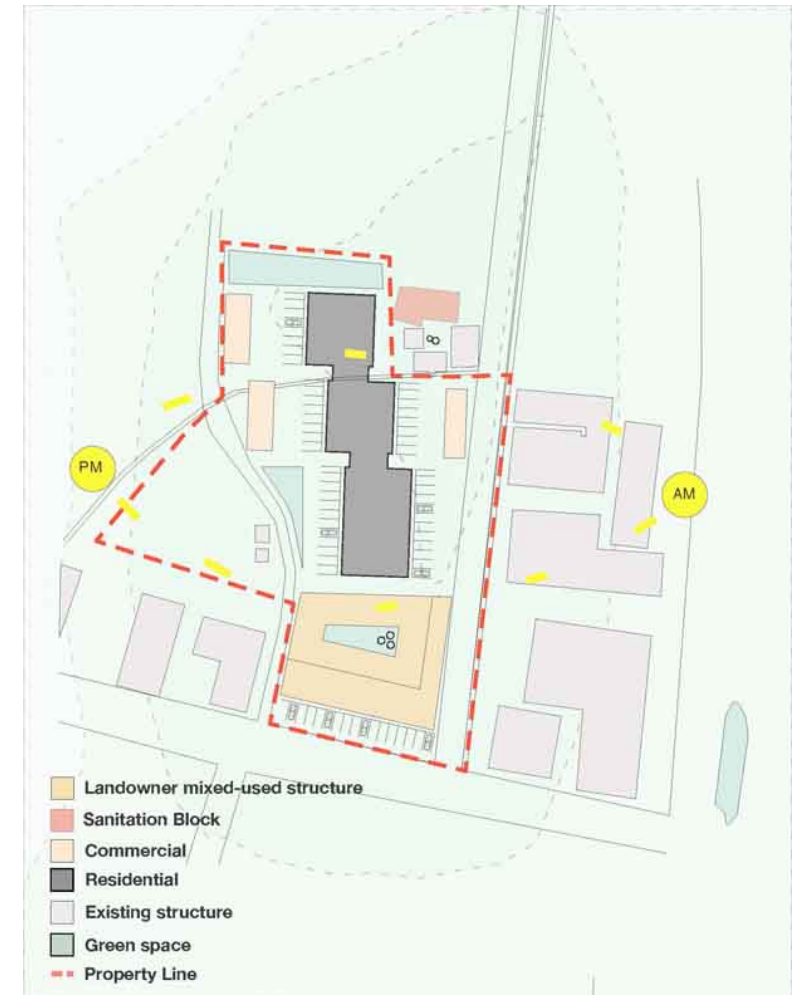
Maria Carrizosa

The Kisenyi III slum upgrading project implies an enormous challenge for all stakeholders, including: the Federation (which has to scale up and diversify its efforts), the supporting NGO (which needs to be to be refurbished with complementary expertise), the local government (which has overwhelming responsibilities, but a low fiscal base), the national government (who needs to translate into concrete actions its professed support), and also the slum dwellers themselves (who are bound to overcome more financial pressures, and develop belief in formal institutions). The assemblage of all these actors is far from easy. Someone has to voice the enthusiasm, the expertise, and show enough confidence in the future success of this process.

Kisenyi III Land-sharing Project Proposed Relational Map

Figure 1. Relationship Map

Stakeholders have their own agenda, narrative, and built-in trust patterns. Diverse participants need to push forward a common goal, which none of them could be able to attain on their own. Hajji Mulangwa, the landowner, wants a big modern house and a bakery, and he wants to stay true to the promise he made all those years ago to the President of Slum Dweller International (SDI). The Federation wants to bring the most to its members, those who have been saving a coin a day for the last 10 years. The government wants to demonstrate that partnerships are the way urban development can move forward at a better pace. SDI wants to show that this model works and prove on the ground that doing the homework pays back. Tenants want to avert evictions and maintain the uses for space they already have.

Everybody wants to cut a ribbon, but no party can do all of this on their own. Partnerships begin with the sense that no actor has enough capacity to accomplish the goal individually. Besides the common goal, a Public Private People Partnership (PPPP) must also trace a common path insuring every stakeholder feels included in the process. Moreover, this route needs to be 1) socially grounded, 2) economically viable, and 3) compliant with urban regulations. Most actors can claim to deliver one or two of these three prerequisites, but individually, none can realize all objectives.

For the Kisenyi III project to come to life, it is necessary to build institutional arrangements in the preliminary phase. Stakeholders involved can only assume the new roles demanded from them by the project, and interact properly with each other, if those institutional arrangements are formalized beforehand so that their commitment to a common cause is pre-agreed, showing a feasibility signal to all participants.
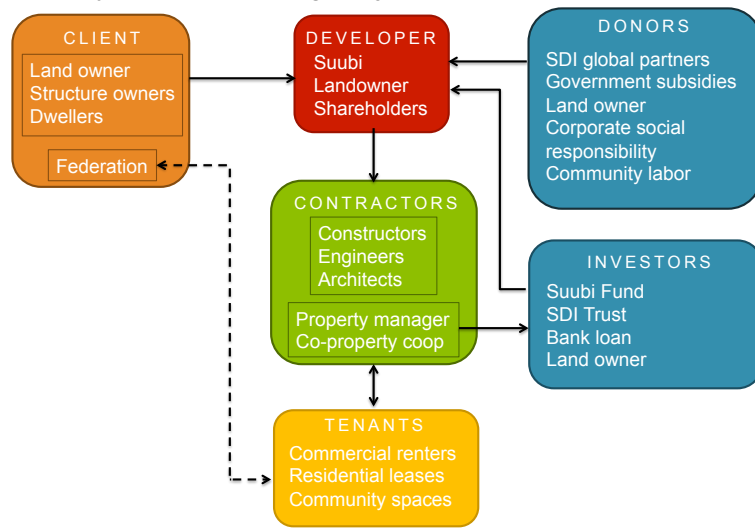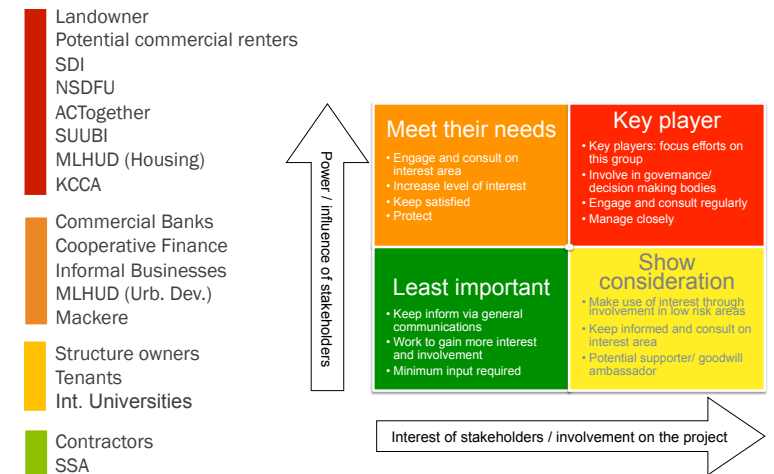

Stakeholder Analysis

Figure 2. Stakeholder Analysis

At the center of a housing project, even a community-driven one, there must be a developer. A developer's role is to coordinate the input from the different stakeholders, keep the schedule, meet the demands of the clients, and design budgetary allocations. Moreover, it is the developer's task to structure the project anticipating risks at every level, which means learning from previous success stories and failures. To be a "'participatory development-developer", as is the task that this project demands of ACTogether, is a unique type of actor. It requires build-in capacity from often-antagonistic professional and practical disciplines: the socially sensible, and the business-minded.

> "We need businessmen. Our NGOs are packed with social people, who we need for mobilizing, putting people together, and advocating for better policies. But now we need developers and businessmen if we want to move forward, to accomplish what we aim for."
>
> *Skye Dobson, SDI Program Officer and ACTogether Interim Director*

Legal Structure for Project Development and Financing
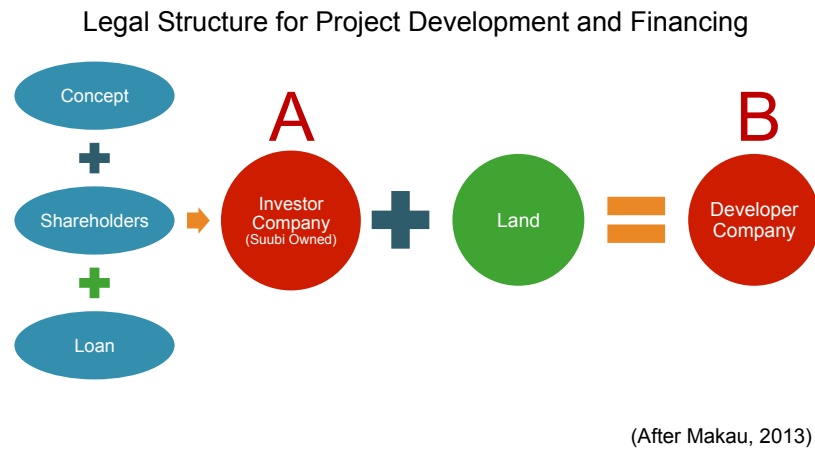

(After Makau, 2013)

Figure 3. Development and Financing

Slum upgrading initiatives are indispensable elements of urban planning for developing countries worldwide, and they are even more essential in cities with fast urbanization, like Kampala. These initiatives require steady participatory processes and strong governments. Because they are so difficult and challenging, these initiatives are also very scarce. Hundreds of initiatives across the world begin, but few get to be finished. Successful ones are even fewer. Overconfidence in these processes is expected and frequent, but tends to be unrewarding, thus a tightly cautioned approach on behalf of the developer is mandatory.

Participation of Stakeholders in Kisenyi III Developer Company
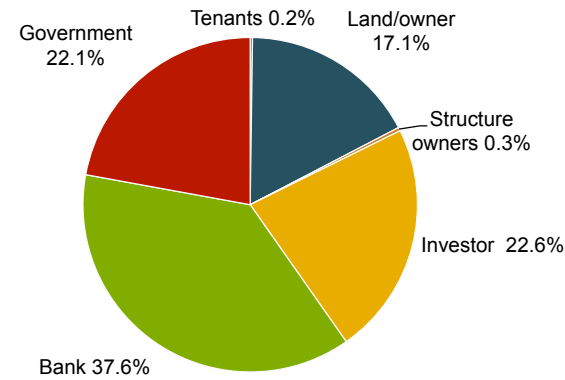
(Makau, 2013)

Figure 4. Stakeholder Participation

Among the lessons learned from failed slum upgrading and land sharing projects, these four resound as most relevant for ACTogether:

1. First of all, the public sector has to be on board, understanding that slum upgrading is not expenditure but an investment. Political will has to be maintained and fostered, and it must translate into financial opportunities for the project, willingness to adopt new planning instruments, as well as vocal leadership. Both national and local governments have to be partners of the project, each deploying technical, regulatory, political, and financial support for the project.

   There is a declared interest of the government in partnerships. But how do we effectively move on? What are the prerequisites of a partnership so that it can be effective? No party in this project can claim to be inherently inclusive, not even the poor. Inclusiveness does not mean to put the poor in the center, as the city is everyone's –both the rich and the poor. How can we

live together? Why and how would we want to live together?

The answer is because of the value that city centers have. Slum upgrading in the city center (in-situ upgrading) means people will change houses, but not settlements. The new houses should not destruct but preserve the socio-economic vitality one is able to find in the current place. This un-tapping of the hidden economic value of informality, is what De Soto suggests can only be done by granting the poor access the "representational system". Finance, legal structures, holding companies, securities, mortgages, stakes, and trusts, are all animals of this "representational system" that De Soto is talking about.

2. As housing is not only shelter but also the site of economic development, both at the level of the household and the community, slum upgrading needs to be complemented with projects addressing local economic development. Failure to incorporate revenue from informal shops may ruin the project's success in keeping beneficiaries living there, as they are highly dependent on returns from these businesses. In fact, it is often found that "slum dweller cooperatives have often shifted allegiances from [the supporting NGO] SPARC to private developers who promise better returns on projects" (Roy, 2009:170). Such a behavior should warn the developer: fidelity to the project and the Federation is sensitive to common sense and economic returns.

   The participatory governance of the National Slum Dwellers Federation of Uganda (NSDFU) works well for community mobilization, creating a financial base, a database, voicing concerns of the poor, and managing small water and sanitation projects. But another different chapter opens up when housing projects are on site. Moving from a tap water project, to drainage, then to a sanitation unit, is incremental. But then from a sanitation unit to a two million dollar housing project –

that sounds like magic. What sort of transmutation is required? Scaling up, scaling up, and scaling up. How is this done? With capital, good ideas, clear structure, transparency, and good-hearted values.

3. Slum upgrading should include not only private but also public space. Anything as simple as a road, a sidewalk, a community hall, or a tree with a bench to sit under, can have a notable impact on such a community. Bypassing efforts to address an upgrading of public spaces lessens the effectiveness of the accomplishments made in the private space, and sends a paradoxical signal to society at large about the whole process. The efforts of these partnerships should prioritize inclusiveness of city-making initiatives, and space is the main container of meaning in this sense.

4. Very much in line with this last point is the fact that these processes cannot spare the chance to incorporate and protect the main environmental features that service the city, even if indirectly. Incorporating an environmental rationale guarantees sustainability of the project in the medium and long term. It also may help channel additional funding. Environmentally-sound slum upgrading projects contribute to citywide climate change adaptation responses; increasing the city's resilience and adaptive capacity by helping reduce socio-economical vulnerability of the population most at risk.

5. Another challenge is to contribute to the city's urban regulatory framework for slum upgrading. This could also be a pilot legal project, enabling slum dwellers to negotiate with the city government the fact that for urban regulations to shape the city properly (to comply with master plans and building permits), they must also to make sense of how things work on the ground (mixed-use and incremental construction). Special planning for formalization projects and instruments like the transfer of development rights could be deployed – enabling planning regulations to be inclusive and effective.

Successful slum upgrading cases have to pass the test of time. This is no small matter. The most successful slum upgrading cases often turn out to be nothing less than subsidized gentrification: the better off (the less poor or even middle classes) replace the original beneficiaries within the project. Beneficiaries find it more profitable to rent their redeveloped upgraded houses and receive a steady income, hence pushing the urban squatting frontier to the periphery. Condominium and cooperative regimes have not proved effective enough to retain the beneficiaries. It is possible that only healthy, tightly knit communities and genuine participatory processes can counter this tendency. In this sense, the NSDFU should have a better chance of being successful than most other actors.

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Image 1. Panoramic view of Kisenyi III as seen from its sanitation building

CHAPTER 4 |
Urban
Movement

The Greater Kampala Roads Improvement Project: Lessons from the Cross-Bronx Expressway

Claudie Mabry

Today, road improvements are necessary for any metropolis to meet the demands of urbanization. Improvements can be funded either through tax dollars, such as in the United States, or through grants, which is the case for many developing cities. Road maintenance is a critical issue for modern day Kampala. In recent years, Kampala's government agencies have been restructured and are poised to take on the challenge of mass congestion that has plagued the city since waves of massive urbanization erupted in the twentieth-century. Oftentimes, road and transportation improvements come at a hefty cost, especially in cities whose citizens significantly outnumber land capacity. The costs can result in displacement, economic loss, or environmental degradation.

Kampala's City Infrastructure

Kampala is attempting to upgrade city infrastructure without dividing communities. Historically, the construction of road infrastructure has displaced residents of Kampala, especially those within low-income brackets. Construction costs have already plagued Kampala in recent years. In 2009, an article published by The Observer entitled "First Flyover Expected as Hundreds Face Eviction," examined the Japanese International Co-operation Agency's (JICA) agreement with the Government of Uganda on the final designs of the long-awaited Northern Bypass highway. As a result of the controversial, delayed construction period, those anticipated hundreds were evicted, including some

who were not necessarily settled in road reserve areas. Government compensation was not large enough to finance the inconvenience and loss Ugandans faced. Today an additional expansion of 21 kilometers for the Northern Bypass flyover is expected to begin. This expansion will further displace citizens via the purchasing of land from title owners for acquisition.

Image 1. Section of the Northern Bypass

The bypass has significantly decongested northern Kampala and surrounding suburbs considering its prior condition. It is highly utilized and is the network that connects major neighborhoods and landmarks, including the Nelson Mandela National Stadium and Makerere University. This anticipated expansion and other congested junctions within the Kampala Metropolitan Area are planned for creation or capacity upgrade. Based on the success of the Northern Bypass, an 18-kilometer Southern Bypass is currently in the design phase as well as plans to improve traffic flow between Kampala and nearby Entebbe.

My interests are finding policy solutions for the maintenance and management of crumbling road networks.

Whereas the projects I mention above cover the greater Kampala metropolitan area, I searched for the planning of the city's center core. I first learned of the Greater Kampala Roads Improvement Project (also known as the Kampala Flyover Project) at its preliminary workshop for stakeholders. The primary stakeholder for the project is the Uganda National Roads Authority (UNRA), the central agency responsible for all Ugandan public roads with the mission to develop and maintain networks that are responsive to sustainability, safety and economic development. Secondary stakeholders include the Kampala Capital City Authority (KCCA), who is responsible for many transportation initiatives in the capital city, and the Ministry of Works and Transport (MWT), the central client of the proposed BRT (bus rapid transit) project, which depends heavily on future road projects especially in the Central Business District. I engaged in policy discussions with all these stakeholders during my time in Kampala.

The preliminary workshop I attended was hosted by JICA, the same consultancy responsible for the Northern Bypass, as well as many other public works in Kampala. JICA presented their initial research, and their final recommendation of where the project matters most within Kampala Central Division, a division that sees more than 50,000 vehicles on its roads a day. JICA's next step is the feasibility survey. JICA's final recommendations for the Greater Kampala Roads Improvement Project entail the following:

1. A two-lane flyover (Jinja-Mukwano flyover) with a total length of 1.2 kilometers, traveling down Jinja Road and plans to end at the Eighth street Junction of Mukwano Road
2. The widening of Mukwano Road from the existing two-lanes to four-lanes including an underpass to end at Nsambya Road for the total length of 1.7 kilometers
3. A two-lane flyover at the Clock Tower ending on Queen's Way for a total length of 800 meters

4. The widening of the existing Shoprite-Clock Tower road from 4-lanes to 8-lanes (including lanes for the BRT), with the addition of a pedestrian bridge

The total project will be 2.03 kilometers in length. Flyovers will be designated for vehicle traffic (including heavy-load), whereas the existing roads also planned for upgrades will be designated for the BRT and non-motorized transport. Construction is expected to begin in 2015, and will take approximately three years to complete. The total cost of the project has yet to be finalized, but UNRA expects the World Bank to come on board with substantial financing. According to UNRA, the status quo is no longer an option. Heavy congestion is costing commuters time and potential wages. In addition, the existing combination of motor vehicles and non-motorized transport (cyclist and pedestrians) utilizing the same roads without separate lanes is too dangerous. To put it simply, Patrick Muleme, a highway specialist at UNRA states, "Today's conditions are extremely dangerous, and spatial separation in the form of flyovers are imperative for improvement. Flyovers are not the only solution, but they are one transportation alternative that will provide better results." (Muleme, Patrick, 2013).

The proposed project cuts directly through Kampala's Central Business District, which could leave a lasting impact. Structurally, Muleme notified me that he anticipates no structural demolition during implementation. Eighteen properties will be affected, but the "project-affected persons" (PAPs) have yet to be identified. The project budget includes compensation for PAPs in addition to construction and maintenance costs.
Thus far, the project succeeds in that stakeholders communicate actively on how to best engage in the Greater Kampala Roads Improvement Project. They share excitement in resolving the most congested area of the city. And Muleme laid a foundation for me on initial impact. However, I wanted to further investigate impact and the different ways this project could have positive and negative changes on the area. I wanted to discuss the socio-

economic and environmental impacts that could potentially harm the PAPs. Although the area affected is located in the Central Business District rather than a residential district, dozens of businesses can expect to be displaced for a lengthy time. I often found myself conducting a cross-comparison between the future of this project, and the existing results of the Northern Bypass. Though the scales of the two public works are distinct from one another, the impacts can be measured in a similar way. Compensation for this project could or could not meet the needs of business owners in order to be covered for a minimum of three years' worth of relocation and economic loss.

A Comparison: Cross Bronx Expressway

When placing the Greater Kampala Roads Improvement Project into the greater context of urban planning, I sought to analyze impacts of transportation development throughout history. For those who work in this field, Robert Moses rings a bell. The "Master Builder" was responsible for many of the public works that shape the New York City landscape today. He was responsible for most of the road infrastructure, which caters to eight million people, a city four times the size of Kampala. One of his largest projects is the Cross Bronx Expressway, which is nine kilometers in length, and took 24 years to complete. Many times, Moses was criticized for his lack of sensitivity in the conceiving of the project. Whereas many of his projects at the time were designated to upgrade multiple neighborhoods plagued by slum-like characteristics, the South Bronx communities affected by the implementation of the expressway were thriving. Thousands of households and businesses were displaced.

These communities never fully recovered, and the expressway contributed to the overall collapse of the South Bronx. What were once diverse immigrant neighborhoods in the early twenty-first century, slowly yet surely transitioned into crime filled, impoverished blocks. Property values in the area significantly decreased in the midst of

road implementation. Who really wants to live next to a highway? The consequences were so severe. It highlighted the trade-off in which planners and policy makers are consistently faced with. To build or not to build? Moses has said, "I raise my stein to the builder who can remove ghettos without removing people, as I hail to the chef who can make omelets without breaking eggs" (Moses, 1981). Using this, we can determine the challenges of displacement Moses faced. The results of the expressway contributed to strengthened advocacy, and strong discouragement of the construction of new roadways within the five boroughs, such as the planned mid and lower Manhattan Expressways.

Image 2. A section of the Cross Bronx Expressway with Flyovers. Charles E. Rotkin/CORBIS

Today, the Cross Bronx Expressway is highly congested and is one of the worst cases of transportation infrastructure in the United States. The expressway serves heavy-loaded vehicles transporting goods throughout the tri-state area, in addition to hundreds of thousands of daily commuters traveling into New York's Central Business District. In recent years, there have been proposals for the expansion of the existing lanes within the Cross Bronx.

Those have failed due to the lack of sufficient public land to reallocate. In urban planning, it is important to learn from past mistakes. If not analyzed from a 360-degree angle, the Greater Kampala Roads Improvement Project can be detrimental to the Central Business District. In addition, management is key as a project could fail if not managed properly – "at the end of the day, it won't work, unless it is well managed" (Muhwezi, David 2013).

Kampala and New York City are two very different examples, as I'm comparing the developing world versus the developed world. Moses and the City of New York had the economic capacity and tax base to create great public works, whereas the Government of Uganda relies heavily on allies such as the Government of Japan and the World Bank for consultation and grants to restore their chaotic road networks. The scale of these two projects and the populations they reach differ significantly as well. However, similar side effects of the Cross Bronx Expressway could impact the health of the Greater Kampala Roads Improvement Project.

As necessary as Kampala's project is, it will displace a section of the nation's economic generator. For many, compensation does not repay the amount of loss endured as a result of projects. However, as all master builders must consider, inconveniences to one community in the short-run can result in long-run key improvements to the wider landscape (if completed ethically).
For now, some strong considerations have at least been surveyed. At the stakeholders' workshop, JICA announced that they have completed a survey of some initial environmental and social considerations. Within their survey, they examined environmental impact as a criterion, with land acquisition and resettlement, impact to businesses, impact to living environment (noise, sunlight, vibrancy), and impact to the existing landscape as sub-criteria, with weight of significance in that order. They have conducted field surveys of the space including an air quality survey, a water quality survey, and a tree census survey along the existing roads to be upgraded by UNRA

(a flora and fauna survey is in the works). In addition, they've also established a working list of the 18 businesses to be affected by the project.

According to JICA, socio-economic impact will be examined with a field survey questionnaire. The survey will collect information on livelihoods, incomes, dependents, education levels and access to social services of PAPs. These individuals will be invited to multiple public consultation meetings, where the surveys planned to be distributed amongst other agenda items such as grievance procedures. In addition, a census and inventory survey conducted in the field is planned to identify affected land tenure as a result of land acquisition.

Establishing control over a city's traffic and road infrastructure determines that city's economic sustainability. Kampala, an ever growing yet slowly organizing city, can learn from the past mistakes of New York and other mega metropolises. Authorities and consultancies are always prevalent stakeholders in road initiatives, however PAPs should be considered the biggest stakeholder. Their needs and assessment should be addressed sooner than later, for projects to thrive. The last thing Kampala needs is a divided downtown.

For now, I believe in the improvement of Uganda's roads, and I see strong advocacy in the future of the road networks, both from the people on the ground, and from the authorities that work directly for them. I look forward to the outcome of impact investigation sponsored by JICA, and the implementation of the Greater Kampala Roads Improvement Project. I'll continue to monitor the contributions of UNRA, as I admire their significant research, planning, and policy tools. I admire their drive to advance Uganda, the pearl of Africa.

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The World on a Boda Boda: Stories of the motorbike taxi

Laura Guzman

An enormous flock of chickens, tied together by their feet, whizzes by. A man clutching an unfolded mattress, precariously waving in the wind, follows. Later, an entire family – mother, father, young kids, and a tiny baby – passes by, squished in to the shape of one passenger. Women, impeccably dressed, carefully sitting sidesaddle. A long wooden bench. A dining table. An impossibly high stack of bright blue plastic chairs. A bicycle. Men holding car windshields. Car and truck tires. Travelers with giant suitcases, en route to or from the airport. Arms wrapped around the disembodied front grill of a truck. Stacks of wicker furniture and baskets, held together by some invisible force. It seems one could spend weeks crafting a list of the impossible cargo that motorbike taxis, called boda bodas, transport in Kampala.

Despite the controversy surrounding them, these boda bodas are an indispensable form of transportation for many goods and people; they are a crucial source of income for thousands of Ugandans like Oyet David and Fred Kasujja, two young boda drivers in Kampala who dream of moving on to other jobs, but rely upon the boda boda to support themselves and their families.

Local lore has it that the name boda boda comes from the Kenya-Uganda border, where bicycles provided quick and cheap ways to cross the border. Drivers of bikes would yell "border-to-border" or "border-border" when looking for clients, and as the service spread, the name shortened to "boda boda." The service became popular in the cities as well as the countryside, and bodas came to stand for cheap, quick transportation. In the early 1990s, fueled by the need for faster transportation and long-distance travel, motorcycles became a popular alternative to the bicycle boda. This decade saw a huge spike in motorcycle imports and a corresponding spike in the reliance upon boda bodas. Today, bodas proliferate in many cities and towns across East Africa.

Who needs the boda?

Like *okadas* in West Africa, *habal-habal* in the Philippines, *ojek* in Indonesia, and the many other motorbike taxis across the world, the boda boda industry in Uganda is driven by need. Because of its relatively low cost, the speed with which it can navigate congestion, and the ease of hiring one directly to your destination, many individuals who cannot afford a car or private hire, or who need to escape the crippling traffic, depend upon the boda for transportation. And because of the ease of entry in to the market of boda driving, the possibility of earning a good income, and the countrywide lack of options for employment, many young men depend on driving the boda as a source of income.

As Fred Kasujja and Oyet David, profiled below, explain, without the boda boda they cannot eat, sustain themselves, or dream of a day when they do not depend on the boda. Therefore, the boda industry is driven by both a need for transportation alternatives and a need for employment. In Kampala, bodas fill a gaping lacunae in an inadequate urban public transportation environment, offer employment in areas with high rates of unemployment, and have quickly become an inextricable part of the urban landscape. Here, the boda boda is ubiquitous, but is also a source of contentious debate by locals, foreigners, and government and health officials.

Politics of the boda

The factors that stimulate the demand for boda bodas also create a slew of complex problems. The market for bodas in Kampala is largely unregulated and informal. Most of the thousands of bodas weaving through city streets are unregistered, untrained, and untaxed. Licensed drivers like Fred are very few, and most drivers are like Oyet, at best informally trained and unlicensed. Boda operators in Kampala have a reputation for being reckless drivers, brazen crooks, careless youth, or all of the above. These reputations, however, are not fair to the majority of boda drivers, who, like Fred and Oyet, are in the industry out of a need for employment.

That said, most drivers and passengers' travel without helmets and with little respect for others on the road or for traffic laws. This creates a situation in which two out of three road accidents reportedly involve boda bodas (Daily Monitor 2013). Everyone seems to have a story of an accident experienced or witnessed. At Mulago, the city's main hospital, a full 15 percent of the 2008/2009 total budget was spent treating boda accident victims (Daily Monitor 2013).

This does not have to be the case. In Kigali, Rwanda - while transportation problems may be less severe than

those in Kampala - the government has managed to ensure that every driver and rider travels with a helmet, that all drivers are registered, and that those who lack registration or break traffic laws are fined and banned from operating in the city ever again. It is not just the boda industry that Kigali has managed to regulate. The government has been able to enforce a litany of laws on cleanliness, transport, and roadways. This creates a safer and more organized environment that seems to be unique in the region. However, the success of Kigali, often referred to by regional news outlets as the most organized city in East Africa, is not easily transferred to Kampala. The government of Rwanda is more restrictive overall, enabling them to enforce laws more effectively. Depending on which number you consult, the population of Kigali is between a half and a third that of Kampala, thus laws need to be enforced on a smaller group of people. The culture of law enforcement also seems more ingrained in Kigali, where residents pride themselves in earning titles like "Safest City in East Africa," "Cleanest City in Africa," and "Top 10 Most Livable City in Africa," which place the present and future of the city in stark contrast to the atrocities held in its past (CCTV English 2012; CNN 2011; Gallup 2012).

Possibilities for change in Kampala

In order to enforce boda boda policies in Kampala, then, there is a need for a cultural shift in both the general population and the government regarding lawfulness in the country as a whole. Currently, implementation and enforcement of these policies is fraught with challenges. While some individual boda boda drivers, like Fred, agree upon a need for greater enforcement of laws and taxation, they seem to be in the minority. Additionally, support for enforcement of laws and taxation is not unqualified. As Fred points out, the population will only accept these if the government uses the revenue well, rather than squandering or pocketing it. This level of distrust, combined with the diverse motivators of demand for boda bodas both from potential passengers and their drivers,

means that any attempt at regulation will be challenging and will have wide-ranging effects.

Boda boda driving employs an estimated 70,000 individuals in Kampala, and each one of these drivers may support several family members or friends (Howe 2002). It can be lucrative, with some drivers earning double the salary of a teacher, which is enough to support a small family (Ssenkaaba 2013). However, most operators come from low-income strata and are less educated than the average Ugandan. Oyet, for example, found himself in the boda industry because he had been unable to complete his schooling and had no other employment options. Therefore, enforcing heavy taxation could be regressive, and proposals to enforce taxation have been met with cries of discrimination against the poor. Similarly, any attempt to enforce regulation of the industry would both increase barriers to entry – making boda driving less of an option for many – and remove many boda operators from their main source of income.

Since Uganda's youth unemployment rate is among the highest in the world, at a rate between 40-80 percent unemployed (Lule 2013; Restless Development 2013), and the youth are the main drivers of bodas, enforcement of regulations would negatively affect the sole sources of income of a large portion of Ugandans and would be met with strong opposition. Finally, there are several formal and informal associations for boda drivers. These provide security for the drivers, trace theft, notify family in the case of an accident, enforce disciplines, and sometimes also serve as savings groups. They are a sizable group, and one that the government need negotiate with if it wishes to pass regulations or laws affecting use of or demand for bodas.

In order to remedy the problems presented by the boda industry, government officials have spoken of the need for regulation, and occasionally enforce the requirements for helmets, licenses, or single passengers. However, the enforcement in Kampala has been irregular, and has failed

to provoke any change in attitude or behavior. Rather than adhere to laws on helmet use and single passengers at all times, boda drivers adhere to laws just as inconsistently as they are applied. In many cases, drivers will only put their helmets on when crossing busy intersections known for having police in the area, or will request their two passengers to get off the bike as they are crossing a police checkpoint and allow them to get back on once they have passed through the checkpoint. This option to remedy the boda industry's challenges – creating and enforcing legislation to make the industry safer and more formal – is difficult to pursue, perhaps for a combination of lack of political will and popular expectations of the police.
In cooperation with the transportation and traffic division of the KCCA (Kampala Capital City Authority), the Ministry of Works has yet another set of plans, which focus less on regularizing and formalizing, and more on shrinking the industry, and diminishing its importance. Representatives shared plans for a BRT (Bus Rapid Transit) system, a standard bus system, and even a passenger rail system, but ignore the important role bodas play. Instead, plans restrict bodas from operating in much of the city, and relegate them to less traveled areas. These systems were designed with the intent of reducing the number of and reliance boda bodas, without a plan for offering alternative employment for the many who would lose their jobs. If plans for the BRT, standard bus, and rail system do not serve the city in a comprehensive manner, Kampala residents will still need the service that bodas provide. The complexity of the forces shaping industry, along with the hundreds of thousands of individuals affected by its regulation in the city would indicate that the government's transportation sector plans – and dreams of increasing regulations – could be reckless and harmful. Perhaps dreams of a Kigali-like Kampala are farfetched and are holding the city back from other alternatives. The situation would seem to require a more creative range of approaches: it could be the creation of boda boda lanes; the integration of bodas in to a network of buses, taxis, and cars; establishment of free training institutes; alternate employment assistance; incentives for helmet and license

use; or many other programs that consider the existence of the boda industry as not only a question of transportation, but one of livelihood, governance, and the systematic barriers to employment.

Oyet David, 24, Amoru

"How's life?" is what Oyet asks his passengers every time they hop on his motorbike. He is thoughtful and friendly, not hesitating to pull over as he is driving in order to greet a friend or familiar face. Oyet has been driving a boda boda since 2008 and living in Kampala since 2004. His parents died when he was young and he moved from his village in the north a few years later. When he reflects on his move and on his family, he is reserved, pain evident in his eyes. His mother was Sudanese, and his father, Acholi. Oyet spent most of his early years in the north of Uganda, in Amoru, but lived in the countryside of Sudan for five months, and now considers Kampala his home.

Oyet originally learned how to ride a motorbike in his village. He recalls being thirteen years old when he was given some money to spend, about 1,000 shillings. He took that straight to someone who would teach him to ride and paid for two small lessons. He never thought that he would be riding a boda boda to earn a living ten years later. When Oyet moved to Kampala, he worked odd jobs to earn money, but when someone told him he'd be a good driver, he decided to give it a try. He loaned a bike from a friend and started driving. Over time, he was able to buy that bike and a second one, which he now loans out. Years' later, driving a boda is his only source of income, and while he is able to save money from driving, "it is not much," he says.

Of the job, "it is very hard," he tells me. The days are long, the work stressful, and the effects of Kampala's air pollution take their toll. He goes to the doctor every month for a checkup and knows that the dirty air and stress can damage his lungs and heart. He tells me he has only crashed once, but he was without a passenger, and he was not seriously injured. Of the profession, "it's not dangerous," Oyet claims, adding later that it is only because he knows what he is doing that it is safe. Other boda drivers, he says, are young and don't know how to drive. These, we agree, are dangerous ones.

I ask him what he would be doing if he weren't driving a boda. After pausing and considering the question, Oyet tells me he would be in school. Because his parents died when he was young, he says he had no one to send him to school, and he had to work. He tells me he cannot read and write, but corrects my spelling of the Luganda words that he is teaching me. He believes that if he can gain some education, and "it's not too late," he says, then he would be able to take on a different job.

We talk of South Africa, where they don't use boda bodas, and Kigali, where they're carefully regulated. Oyet knows of the government's desire to "phase out" boda bodas, and he prays that they don't follow through with their plan. "It would leave people with no food," and he has no idea what he would do if he could no longer drive a boda.

Regulations are another vexed issue. He is not licensed to operate, but cannot stop working for the two or three months it takes to get a license. He tells me that investing in a license would also be a waste of time and money if the KCCA will end their operation soon anyway. Instead, Oyet shares that he would like a license to drive a private hire car, even though he does not yet know how to drive. Then he would be secure, and not need to fear being pulled over by the police. He tells me that the KCCA "has no idea what's going on in the streets, on the ground." The KCCA, he says, "call women who are selling sweet bananas 'dirty,' and tell them that they have to stop. But how are they supposed to eat?"

As he talks, it's clear that Oyet doesn't want to drive a boda. He doesn't want to operate illegally, fear being arrested for not having a license, wonder if today is the day the police starts pulling bodas off the road, or visit the doctor every month to check up on his health. But, as he said, without it, how is he supposed to eat? Oyet is also proud of his work. He talks of keeping his bike clean, making sure that shines. He brags of how he knows to drive very carefully when I am his passenger, and of the fact that he has never been in a serious accident. He is proud that he is able to save money in a bank account, to use for a new bike, a car, a license, or, one day, an education, but he knows that he is currently stuck. Without a license, and with the government's current plans, his insecurity is clear. Without an education, he believes his options are limited. But without the boda, he cannot eat.

Fred Kasujja, 29, Zirobwe

Kasujja Fred, who goes by his Christian name, moved from his village of Zirobwe to Kampala in 2008. In Zirobwe, Fred worked as a ditch digger, grew maize, and worked in rice fields to make a living, but it was very hard to earn enough. When he came to Kampala looking for better employment, he spent an entire year without reliable work. He tried to get jobs in construction and would walk from Kansanga to Kibuli each day, looking for jobs. A friend one day asked him if he knew how to drive a boda. Lying, Fred said that he could, but that he would have to pick up the boda the next day. That night, Fred got in touch with a boda boda-driving friend, asking him to teach him how to drive. The

friend agreed, only if Fred paid the cost of the fuel they used. Since he had no work, Fred had no money, and had to borrow some from his older brother in order to pay for the lessons and the motorbike. Within two days, "*vroom, vroom*," Fred says, reaching his hands out and revving an imaginary motorcycle engine.

Since that time, Fred has worked as a boda driver. He does not have the certificate required by the Ministry of Works authorizing him to carry a passenger, but he does have a training certificate from the International Driving Agency, and a license to drive a motorbike, something that very few boda drivers have. He pulls out a newly laminated card – he received it last week – and shows it to me proudly. "Class A," he says, meaning that he is licensed to drive motorbikes. "Next year, it needs to be Class B, so that I can drive a car." Fred, like other boda boda drivers, hopes that he can one day drive a car as a private hire. It is safer, he says. "When you have an accident on a boda," Fred explains, "it is your body hitting the ground. In a car, you are more protected." The process, of buying a car, however, is expensive and it takes a long time to save the 16 million shillings or more that is needed. And for the license? Another several months, fees, and even more in taxes.

We talk about taxes and regulations. Fred has heard that soon the KCCA will start charging monthly taxes to the stage, areas where boda bodas park their bikes and wait for passengers. These taxes will be collected from the drivers who already pay to use the stages. I ask him if this is a good thing. "Yes, it's good," Fred says, surprising me, "but only if they use the money well." As it stands, the craters along the small percentage of paved roads, and the fact that the vast majority of roads are packed red marram are a testament that no, they don't use the money well. Instead, the politicians are corrupt; "they eat so much money" as Fred says. The unkempt roads add to the danger and make drivers less and less willing to pay taxes. "If I were president," Fred proclaims, "I would fire all of the ministers, all of the officials."

I ask how the situation around bodas can be made safer. He responds, "First, schooling. If they start arresting people who don't go to driving school, more people will go." He tells me he wishes that the KCCA would enforce its laws, so that more people would see the importance of wearing a helmet, following traffic laws, and being well trained. Too many drivers are untrained, and unlicensed. Fred tells me it is very dangerous to ride the boda. You put your life in danger every time you get on one. He never goes without a helmet, and counsels his passengers to buy one as well. I ask if he has had an accident and he says "Yes, one time. It happened when I was going to Bombo." Fred pauses for a long time, and looks at the traffic-clogged Ggaba Road our cafe sits on, distracted. "You can ask another question," he says, turning towards me.

We talk of his family. He has one son, who is one and a half years old. Fred, his son, and his wife live further out from the city, where they can rent a house for 80,000 shillings each month. He says he is happy there, because he cannot afford to live closer in to the city. It is too expensive, he tells me. From driving, he earns about 25,000 Ugandan shillings in one day. From that, he tells me that he has to pay 5,000 for fuel, and 10,000 for food and basic needs for his family, leaving him with only 10,000 shillings. When a problem arises, or when he needs to pay school fees for his younger brother, or hospital fees for his wife or son, he loses everything that he had saved. The savings, then, "goes slowly, slowly," but saving from his job driving a boda is his best option. For now, then, Fred will continue driving a boda like many other drivers who would agree, as he says, "we are riding because we don't have any other choice.

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CHAPTER 5 | Cultural Expressions & Society in Kampala

The Beautiful Game: Football Culture in Uganda

Tanya Kar

"We go, we go! Uganda Cranes, we go!"

Amidst raucous cheers and boisterous crowds, our minivan tumbled along the dusty roads winding through Kampala toward Mandela National Stadium. Still known as Namboole, the stadium is home to Uganda's national football team, who had advanced to the next round of qualification for the 2014 World Cup after a victory against Liberia. It was match day against Angola and the bustling city was electric with energy. A symphony of wailing sirens and revving engines filled Jinja Road, echoed by the clapping and whooping of excited passersby. As we stepped out of the car, street peddlers swarmed us with their assorted variety of football merchandise – which we eagerly seized, hoping to look a little less like a group of graduate students from New York City. We marched to the stadium, waving our flags and sounding our horns, completely consumed by the growing clamor of the crowd around us. The gates opened and a billowing mass of black and yellow jerseys flooded the arena. Donning costumes, wigs, and painted faces, tens of thousands had gathered from all corners of the country to watch this national drama unfold on the pitch. The excitement in the air was almost palpable.

No sport inspires passion, fosters unity, or evokes emotion quite like football. With over 250 million official players across nearly every country, as well as a global fan base of billions, football is undoubtedly the most popular sport on the planet. "The sport's stars are global heroes, its teams, global icons, and its history, a global narrative" (Yale Global Online). The international power of soccer becomes especially prominent every four years during association football's showcase event, the World Cup. However, despite its reigning status as "the World's Game," football is much more than just ninety minutes on the field. It is a lens through which to see and understand our complex world. It is a culture of tradition and pride that creates heroes, builds nations, and ends wars. It is a worldwide phenomenon that reflects the intricate balance of politics and economics that drives our global society. It is a common thread powerful enough to bind us together and bridge even the strongest of divides. It is an infinite source of hope in the face of immense adversity. It is a lesson in discipline and a test of faith. But above all, it is a way of life.

Image 1. The field at Nelson Mandela National Stadium

To countless players and spectators all around the world, football is fundamental to existence. This bears no exception in Uganda. In this small East African country, football has become embedded into the national culture. The Ugandan football team, affectionately termed "the Cranes" after the national bird, the Crested Crane, is a fixture in the public consciousness. Team members are revered and children grow up with the game.[1] Young boys clad in national jerseys bearing the names of their idols play nightly matches in fields on the outskirts of town. Crazed fans can be found cramming into living rooms, filling the stadiums, and lining the pubs on match day. Even in a country where the piety is almost visceral, devotion to the game borders on religious. Pre-match rituals, group chanting, pilgrimages to far-off arenas, idol worship of football relics, and the prevalence of symbols are only some elements of the cult-like fervor surrounding the sport. Matches are always on at sports bars, restaurants, gambling parlors, and even nightclubs. Football is at the center of every schoolyard exchange and water cooler conversation in Kampala.

Immersion in this ubiquitous culture of football was a thrilling novelty for me as an American. Unfortunately, growing up as a soccer enthusiast in the United States leaves much to be desired. Despite its international hegemony, the U.S. is still on the sidelines when it comes to this global game. Trailing baseball and American football, the homegrown favorites, soccer ranks as the nation's fifth most-watched sport. Despite the considerable revenue generated by David Beckham's calculated move to the Los Angeles Galaxy, Major League Soccer (MLS) remains a blip on the radar of American sports. (One can imagine the status of soccer in a country when even the power of Beckham's branding cannot revitalize the industry.) Thus, the lackluster options at home forced our fandom overseas, where it found solace inside the majestic stadiums of Europe's football powerhouses – Chelsea, Barcelona, Manchester United. Like other Americans with a more international taste in sports, I took to the ever popular Premier and Champions Leagues, the only competition boasting both the skill and the budget to

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[1] "The Beautiful Game in Uganda." *Building Tomorrow*. 20 June 2011. Accessed 5 Aug. 2013. <http://www.buildingtomorrow.org/zeta/2011/06/the-beautiful-game-in-uganda/>.

receive television coverage in the States. In this way, American soccer culture is very similar to Uganda's. Though both the United States and Uganda have an immense amount of pride and passion for their home teams, neither offers the same level of competition as the international football stalwarts of Europe and South America. Along with their notable history in the African Cup of Nations, placing fourth in 1962 and second in 1978, the Uganda Cranes have won Africa's oldest football tournament, the CECAFA Senior Challenge Cup, a remarkable eleven times. Yet, despite such noteworthy achievements, the Ugandan national team is only ranked 77th internationally and has never made it to a World Cup.[2] As holds true for many sports, teams that win attract the most support – and the most money. The relative mediocrity of Ugandan soccer leagues has contributed to waning interest and funds in local football over the years. Consequently, foreign leagues, particularly, the English Premier League, have garnered a huge following in Kampala and other cities across the country. In fact, veteran defender David Obua is often referenced as a major success story in Ugandan football. His impressive performance for the Cranes earned him a coveted position on the Heart of Midlothian Football Club in the Scottish Premier League.[2] Though not on par with the formidable Premiership, signing with a European football team is something most professional African players can only dream of.

Many Ugandan sports officials attribute the national enthusiasm for the Premier League to a dearth of good local football, which has been extremely disorganized due to purported mishandling and corruption among team administrators.[3] In addition, accessibility is limited because, like in the United States, most local leagues lack broad publicity and television coverage. Conversely, due to the rapid progression in Kampala's urbanization and development, improved digital technology and satellite telecommunications have allowed Premiership matches to be televised locally.[1] Some speculate that the football frenzy surrounding British teams is simply a current social

fad in which support for elite teams flaunts status. Irrespective of its trendiness, the demand for Premier League attire is almost greater than that for local merchandise. Although Cranes jerseys seem to be the unofficial uniform in Uganda, jerseys for Liverpool or Arsenal are just as common, despite being nearly double the price. Regardless of the reason, English leagues have gripped the country, illustrating the transition of our world into a proverbial global village.[3] "European clubs, whose primary fan base at one time hailed almost exclusively from their respective neighborhoods, are now backed by entire continents" (Matsamura, 2005). While these regional games provided regular season thrills, they were no matches for the World Cup – especially this year with the Cranes' best performance in tournament history.

To most Americans, attending a FIFA match is simply local tourism or a mere social outing. To an avid football fan, however, it is an experience that transcends the sport. There are few things in the world more magnificent than a football match. With its fluid and dazzling play, "the beautiful game" more than merits its honeyed epithet. Football's universality and simplicity constitutes an important layer of its beauty. As I witnessed all summer in Kampala, where children used fallen branches as makeshift goalposts, a worn ball, and no gear, the game can be played anywhere with anything (Wilsey). Unlike many other sports, soccer requires very little, thus appealing to the world's masses. The brilliance of football is in its execution. The style and finesse of the players as they glide across the field like poetry in motion. The speed, the agility, and the control. The dribbling and the passing; the possession and dispossession; the attacks and counterattacks. The various formations on the pitch and the crisp set pieces. The dexterity of a first touch and the challenge of a slide tackle. The heart stopping shots on goal and the momentous saves. But the sport goes much further beyond skill and tactics. The true beauty of football lies in its passion, which runs even deeper during World Cup years. Held once every four years, the World Cup showcases a veritable who's who of association football from around the world as they compete for the glory of

international championship. On a fundamental level, football, like all sports, is a physical manifestation extolling the highest virtues of mankind like strength, endurance, intelligence, camaraderie, integrity, and persistence. But while the tournament itself is electrifying, the attitude of the crowd and the match day atmosphere are often the most memorable aspects, and I feel so lucky to have witnessed it firsthand.

Image 2. A young Cranes fan cheers from his father's shoulders at the World Cup qualifier

June's World Cup qualifier between Uganda and Angola at Mandela National Stadium was a truly profound cultural experience. When watching a spectacle like the World Cup, it is impossible not to be

swayed by the extreme passion of the devoted supporters, as well as the players. Known for its spirited fans and their intense investment in the sport, football elicits reactions spanning the entire spectrum of human emotion, and this game was no different. From the rush of adrenaline when the teams entered the pitch to the rising anxiety after a scoreless first half, the crowd's mood mirrored the ebbs and flows of the wonderfully unpredictable match. Insults were hurled at the referee for contentious calls while exclamations of agony and ecstasy punctuated the play. Despite many close calls, both teams left the field at halftime without any points. As the Cranes tightened their defense in the second half, we began to feel a renewed sense of hope for a better strategy. Our eyes darted back and forth across the pitch, breathlessly following each formation. Suddenly, Angola scored a goal, and a nervous hush fell over the crowd. The afternoon sun blazed down unforgivingly as we looked on disbelief. Everyone was still, waiting with bated breath to see if Uganda would keep their World Cup dreams alive. We watched each shot on goal with unfettered optimism, but clung to hope through each excruciating miss. With their qualifying season hanging in the balance, Uganda revitalized their offensive play and turned the game around. The Cranes scored twice within eighteen minutes, and Angola was unable to come back in stoppage time. In a classic underdog story with an ending that could not have been better scripted, Uganda scored with minutes left on the clock, managing to eke out a stunning last minute victory over Angola. The grandstand erupted in absolute mayhem. Amidst the deafening uproar, people cried, laughed, danced, embraced, and even fainted. Kampala was the picture of both chaos and celebration as screaming fans poured out of the arena and paraded the streets. Uganda was now one step closer to their first World Cup appearance, adding to the enormity of the moment. But this match bore testimony to the fact, however clichéd, that football is about so much more than winning or losing.

Football, at its core, is a passion that has the unique and awe-inspiring ability to unify the farthest reaches of the world. On and off the field, the beautiful game transcends demographic and geographic barriers, bringing together people of all classes, races, and religions. Though team rivalries may divide Uganda's Premier League supporters, everyone in the country loves the Cranes. From socialites to slum dwellers, all Ugandans share in the excitement and anticipation over next year's World Cup. As the only sport that competes on a global scale, football has a way of unearthing our innate sense of national pride. So many aspects of daily life revolve around the game that it is fostering a new notion of identity by redefining concepts of citizenship and patriotism. Children grow up with undying allegiances to their national teams, proudly donning their country's colors as a sign of their citizenship and a symbol of their birthright. This deep-seated nationalism surges even stronger during the World Cup, a sporting event unmatched in its cultural, social, and political significance.

Image 4. Uganda scores again and the crowd celebrates the amazing victory

While sports do reflect society's prevailing attitudes, football has also served as a powerful agent of social change. Most notably, after leading Côte d'Ivoire to their first World Cup in 2006, Captain Didier Drogba dropped to his knees in a heartfelt plea for peace to the combatants, who agreed to a ceasefire after five years of civil –war (kickshot.org). The 2010 World Cup in South Africa was also a major sociopolitical milestone. Given the dynamic of the nation's troubled past, hosting this event was a significant representation not only of South Africa's recent economic success, but also of its strength in post-Apartheid unification. As such, Africa has always had a particularly special relationship to this international football tournament. Presenting a level playing field for all nations, be they large or small; rich or poor; developed or developing, a football pitch is perhaps the only setting in which an underdog can regularly overwhelm a world superpower. The beautiful game is one that has captivated the whole world because we...

Image 3. Uganda plays strong defense near the end of the second half

…cannot resist its United Nations–like pageantry and high-mindedness, the apolitical display of national characteristics, the revelation of deep human flaws and unexpected greatnesses, the fact that entire nations walk off the job or wake up at 3 AM to watch men kick a ball. [4]

Countless communities who are fighting a silent, desperate battle against poverty, disease, and violence have relied on football to sustain themselves emotionally. [3] While visiting slums and orphanages across Kampala, I noticed the sheer joy the sport gave to so many struggling with so much. It was so poignant that even amidst seemingly endless hardship and suffering, they have something that ignites hope and drives inspiration. For these reasons and so many more, football has become a cornerstone of Ugandan society. Spawning a culture, which has elevated the game to a level of global relevance not achieved by any other sport, football is the universal lifestyle, religion, philosophy, and phenomenon that unite us all.

Image 5. The national pride is reflected by the final message on the Jumbotron

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Kampala, Uganda: Signs of a Society

Susan Williams

The incongruous nature of Kampala was apparent to me from the moment the driver pulled out of the airport parking lot. The presence of religion was immediately palpable as we meandered down Entebbe Road through hundreds of villages and finally into the sprawling city of Kampala itself. Taxis, matatus and boda-bodas proudly displayed hand-painted promises of eternal salvation if we loved Jesus and feared God. Tiny businesses run out of wooden shacks bore names like "God's Love Shoe Repair," "God's Mercy Hotel" and "God's Plan Supermarket" (Home of Quality Skin & Hair Products). Virtually every school had a religious name attached to it. Churches and billboards with pastors advertising massive stadium sermons peppered the landscape like wildlife on the Serengeti.

What struck me, however, was not the overwhelming presence of religion; after all, I have witnessed this phenomenon throughout the developing world, particularly in Zambia and Ethiopia. What made this place immediately stand out was the juxtaposition of religious institutions and icons amongst literally hundreds of makeshift gambling parlors, ramshackle bars, strip clubs and pool halls. In fact, the ratio of sacred symbolism to what I can only assume would be considered by the devout as "houses of ill repute" was virtually 50/50. I wondered exactly how this worked; surely the population couldn't be equally divided among the pious and the depraved, or could it? Could such radically different people live in harmony, politely ignoring the bothersome presence of one another? Maybe they are a mixture of both persuasions? Is this an incredibly ambiguous society? So far, the latter seems close to a plausible

explanation, and as time goes on, the abstruse nature of the Ugandan culture continues to intrigue me.

Perhaps most striking, however, are the overtly sexual advertisements that dominate the terrain. This is not the usual fare of scantily clad women hawking beer and lipstick; this is truly a phenomenon by any Western standards. This signage did not simply use women's bodies to sell various goods and services, but seemed to invoke actual sexual experiences, i.e. a woman licking her lips in sheer ecstasy whilst eating a sandwich and moaning "Mmmm" with the caption "she's not faking it; it really is THAT good." This was an ad for lunchmeat. A major cell phone provider urged us to "get the perfect threesome," which was text, talk and internet, but the offer was represented as a man flanked by two women. Still another sign depicted a woman anxiously about to bite into a chicken leg, along with the caption "For the love of Nice Chicks with Big Thighs." It took me a few seconds to work out that the ad was indeed for chicken and not some sort of cellulite treatment.

Equally perplexing as the ads themselves is the public's reaction to them. While I find them endlessly fascinating, at times amusing, and almost always offensive, Ugandans take little, if any, notice of them. On several occasions I asked my boda-boda driver to pull over so I could take a photo of one of these signs, much to his total bewilderment. Even after explaining their significance and why I wanted to photograph them, he would just shrug and look at me quizzically. "You want to take a picture of that SIGN?" he would ask. "Why do you like it?" Ugandans, being an amendable sort of people, tend to laugh politely and agree to most requests, even as one can see how befuddled they are at some of these entreaties.

I had been doing some work with a group called MEMPROW (Mentoring and Empowerment Programme for Young Women). This organization had several projects running at an orphanage where I volunteered and I had also attended several conferences on women and girls

issues. Surely, I thought, I would find camaraderie in my distress over these ads amongst these women; after all, MEMPROW is one of the most effective and recognized women's rights organizations in Uganda. Certainly they would be horrified at my growing portfolio of offensive signage and would perhaps even launch a campaign to put an end to this madness. But alas, as they carefully examined my photographs, I could see by their expressions that they, like my boda-boda driver, had little idea of what the fuss was about. Ultimately, after careful thought, one of the women said, "I wondered why these signs always bothered me! They ARE kind of sexual, aren't they?" I realized at that moment that these ads had become so pervasive that they had woven their messages into the fabric of the culture and that no one questioned whether these signs might be detrimental to how society views women in general. After discussing the issue with the ladies of MEMPROW, I was somewhat relieved; they agreed that the ads did not portray women in a positive light. I even had visions of a war being waged against these companies because of my efforts raise awareness regarding the signs. However, that might be a bit of a stretch.

A source of immeasurable admiration I have for the Ugandan people, particularly in the face of adversity, is their sheer determination and remarkable entrepreneurial spirit. Is it their unique heritage and chaotic history that has spurred such willingness to experiment with new modes of doing business and efforts to sustain themselves? Whatever the explanation, it is truly awe-inspiring. Somewhere along the way they have found that diversity is the key to economic success, as the "multiple business" model has really taken hold here. Hand painted signs attached to tiny shacks offer fruit, hair cream and plumbing services, and will also charge your cell phone for a few meager shillings. The more elaborate signage on larger stores offer odd combinations of crafts, children's clothing and fumigation, or printing, lamination and wedding cakes. No matter how incongruous these efforts are - and it seems they are choosing some pretty random

products and services to market - they must be applauded for their efforts. (Although one has to wonder if the quality of the lamination and of the wedding cakes could possibly be equal).

It seems Ugandan business owners have also decided that attaching a western brand name to their businesses would ensure economic success, hence "The Facebook Wine and Spirits" and the various Obama-themed offerings: Obama Pizza, Obama Rolex stands and my personal favorite, The New Obama Hotel, which is a wooden shack with no windows, located on a dusty road in the slum community of Mackindye. One has to wonder what happened to the old Obama Hotel; yet another curiosity that deserves further exploration.

Thus far, in the spirit of the Ugandan people, I have learned that I must quell some of these burning curiosities (at least to a manageable degree), accept life as is, pop open a Nile Special Lager and enjoy the journey. It's almost always bumpy, but never uniform or staid; and I, for one, have learned much from this uniquely charming and culturally diverse society.