

THE CHALLENGES OF URBAN MANAGEMENT IN UGANDA

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ABSTRACT

The urban areas in Uganda are increasingly getting under pressure from a rapidly growing population. The challenge of a growing population has coincided with the central government policies that favour rural districts more than urban areas.

The challenges that the urban areas face include the problem of two populations (the night and day time); high generation of garbage; poor revenue base; a growing informal sector; growing squatter settlements; deteriorating water quality; and the limited institutional capacity to provide the required urban services. Financial resource mobilisation has been inadequate due to high costs of tax administration, low institutional capacity for enforcement, and a general public apathy to tax payment.

Keywords: *Urban area, population, rural districts, government policies*

INTRODUCTION

In an increasingly competitive globalised economy, urban local governments the world over are feeling the effects of central government's belt tightening. Faced with their own financial constraints, central governments are cutting back fiscal transfers to urban local governments. Urban local governments on their part are being faced with the challenges of providing services to an ever-increasing population against a background of a shrinking budget (World Bank (2000)). Faced with this scenario, urban local governments have had no choice but to search internally and come up with solutions to this challenge. The above scenario has been true to Uganda as it has probably been true to other developing countries. In addition, urban management in Uganda is faced with its own unique challenges, the major ones being:-

- a) The problem of two populations, namely night time population as well as daytime population.
- b) The biased policies of central governments that favour rural districts as opposed to urban areas.
- c) Unusually high generation of garbage compared to other urban centres in the region.

- d) The poor revenue base and the problem of poor finance management.
- e) Dealing with a backlog of 25 years of neglect in urban infrastructure investment.
- f) Revenue sharing with central government and with lower local governments and the fragmentation of scarce financial resources.
- g) A growing Informal Sector.
- h) Limited Institutional Capacity

This paper looks at these challenges and how they impact on urban management in Uganda. At the end, an attempt has been made to show how some of the urban councils have tried to meet these challenges.

Background

The term "urban" seem to have no clearly acceptable universal definition. The most common used definition considers "urban" to be settlements of 20,000 or more people, but some consider smaller settlements to be urban as well, with various cut-off points in different countries. Most governments define urban settlements based on one or a combination of criteria, including population size, population density, and social and economic factors, such as the proportion of the labour force engaged in non-agricultural activities, the administrative or political status such as national, provincial, or district capitals, or census designations (Hinrichsen, Salem, and Blackburn, 2002) In understanding urban, one may also consider the density of residential buildings, and the type and level of public services provided. Few countries consider a small centre of 1,000 or 2,000 inhabitants to be urban.

According to UBOS (2002), the data on urban areas included Trading Centres of 1,000 persons or more as long as these areas were/are gazetted cities, municipalities, and towns. However, the previous censuses in Uganda (1980, 1991) has included non-gazetted Trading Centres of 1,000 persons or more. The current urban population in Uganda is 12% of the total population of 24.7 million, equivalent to about 2.9 million people.

Historical Perspectives of Urbanisation in Uganda

Urban settlements in Uganda are a recent phenomenon, hardly 150 years old. This compared to other urban settlements in the region like Dar-es-Salaam and Mombasa that are over 500 years old, make urban settlements in Uganda relatively young.

Urban settlements in Uganda are of two different types but they all share one common characteristic: they are all unplanned at the time of settlement. Urban settlement Type One is that of administrative centre set up by the British at the turn of the 19th Century as they went about colonizing the country.

Often this would take the form of identifying a strategically positioned hill (strategic in military terms) and the presence of reliable drinking water source. Settlements would be effected first and planning would follow later. For example when Captain Lugard established his Fort on Old Kampala Hill in 1890 it was not until 24 years later in 1913 that the first attempt at planning this settlement was made. This style of settlement was repeated for other towns such as Arua, Mbale, Masaka, Gulu and Mbarara (Figure 1).

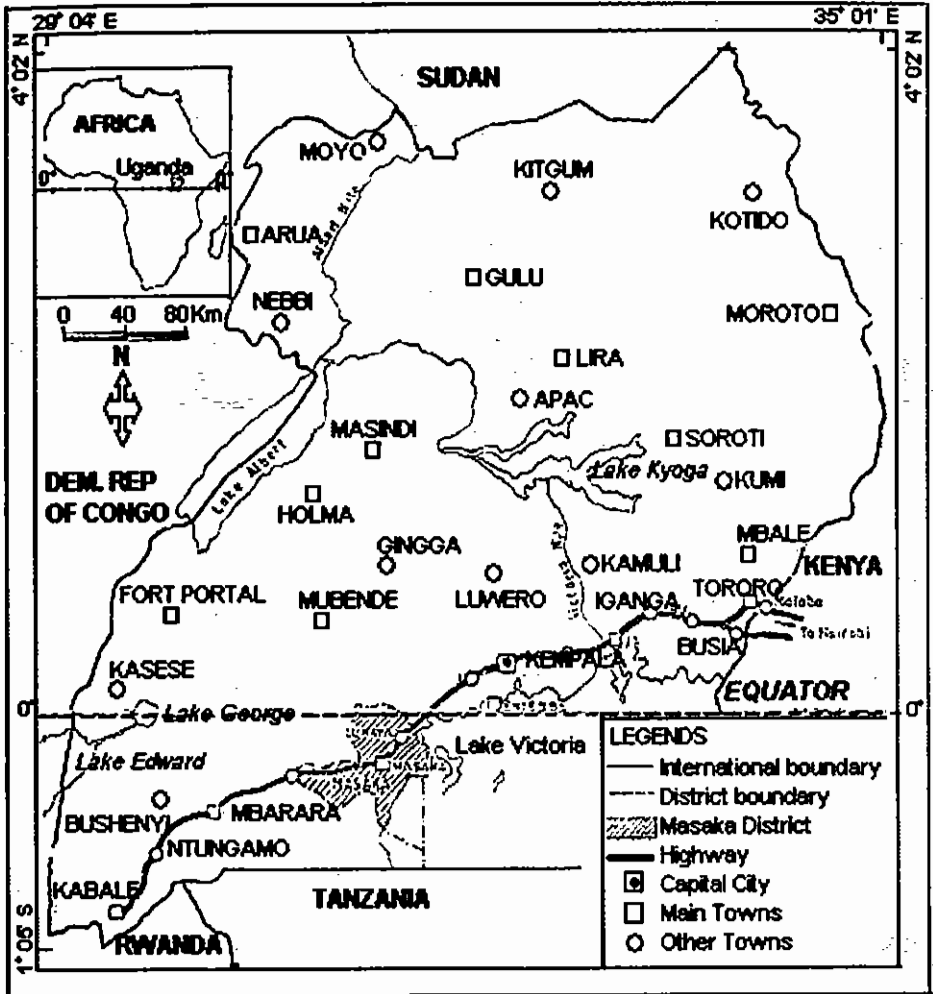


Figure 1. Major Urban Areas and Towns of Uganda

Even when physical planning followed it was only applied to those sections of the town where colonial administrators lived and beyond that everywhere remained unplanned. Colonial policy in Uganda regarded towns as centres of non-African settlement and shaped legislation and administration to that end. Urban authorities were first defined by an Act of that name only in 1958. The Urban Authorities Act, 1964, subsequently amended the Act of 1958. As a legacy to this historical problem, most urban centres have fringes and unplanned settlements. This has posed a great challenge to the management of urban centres in Uganda particularly with the rapid expansion of population in these urban centres.

Urban settlement Type two is that of the urban settlements that followed highways and commercial routes. These settlements were literally founded by long distance truck drivers. These urban settlements came spontaneously and are a lot newer than urban settlements created by the British colonialists. The examples of 'trailer towns' are Bugiri, Lyantonde, and Lukaya (Figure 1). Unlike urban settlements created by the British, the 'trailer towns' were not strategically positioned; neither did they follow the availability of a reliable drinking water supply source. These stops that later grew into towns were positioned where sunset found the trailer drivers and where there was a ready supply of food. These 'trailer towns' were and still are largely unplanned even after some of them have been gazetted as urban centres as per the Town and Country Planning Act, 1964.

The above historical background poses a serious challenge to the present urban management in that planning must of necessity follow development, which is the reverse of the normal and the ideal. Secondly the scarcity of resources to employ qualified physical planners and surveyors in the country has meant that the few employed physical planners are overstretched and often cannot cope with the volume of work. Historically, physical planning was never considered a necessary and important discipline and the few physical planners that there are studied physical planning by accident rather than by design.

Patterns and Trends of Urbanisation in Uganda

According to MoFPED (2003), there is a growing urban population in Uganda. The proportion of the urban population has been on the increase for the last several decades. Statistics indicate urban population growth throughout the last four decades. Between 1959 and 1969 urban population growth rates of 8.2 per cent; 3.9% during 1969-1980, 5.8% during 1980-1991 and 4.6% between 1991 and 2003 (Table 1).

Table 1. Urbanisation in Uganda, 1969-2003

INDEX	1969	1980	1991	2003
No. Towns	58	96	150	74
Urban population	634,952	938,287	1,889,622	2,921,981
Proportion Urban (%)	6.6	7.4	11.3	12.2
Urban Growth Rate (%)	8.17	3.93	6.35	3.73
Capital city (%)	53.9	47.9	41.0	40.7
20 largest Towns (%)	87.4	80.4	74.4	76.6

Note: The figure for the 1969, 1980, and 1990 are as per the 1991 definition, while those for 2002 are as per 2002 definition and hence may not be compared.

Source: UBOS, 2002:10

A growing urban population has led to a lot of challenges for urban management. The pressure on the limited urban services has increased; transport problems such as motor accidents have escalated, traffic congestions and transport costs increased. Similarly, the prices for other utilities such water, telephones and electricity have remained high. This scenario has been accompanied by the deteriorating water quality and sanitation, including escalating water-related diseases.

Uganda's population has been increasing over the years (Table 2) and the current population stands at 24.6 million persons. Uganda's population has grown at an average of 2.5 percent (1980 – 1991) and 3.3 percent (1991 – 2002).

Table 2. Uganda's population, 1948 - 2002

	1948	1959	1969	1980	1991	2002
Population	5 m	6.5 m	9.5 m	12.6 m	16.7 m	24.7 m
Population Increase	-	1.5 m	3m	3.1m	4.1 m	7.9 m
Average annual Increase	-	143,000	300,000	282,000	367,000	695,000

Source: MoFPED (2003c). *The State of Uganda's Population Report 2002: Taking Stock of Achievements:Kampala: Population Secretariat, Table 1.1 pp 2.*

The above population growth rate poses very high challenges to social, political and economic development in the urban areas. This is because; the population does not grow in relation to Uganda's economy. Tanking the economist argument seen above, we see that population of 3% matched with GDP of over 20%, therefore, Uganda's population growth of 3.3% should have been matched with a GDP of over 22%.

The Legal Framework

There are two basic statutes that provide a legal framework on which the management of urban councils is based. These are:- the Town and Country Planning Act 1964, and the Local Governments Act 1997.

The Town and Country Planning Act 1964

The Town and Country Planning Act 1964 provides a legal framework against which physical planning is done on urban settlements. This law provides for the creation of the Town and Country Planning Board, a body that is responsible for land use planning and also for approval and gazetting structural plans. No urban settlement in Uganda gets gazetted as an urban settlement except by the Town and Country Planning Board. Likewise, no physical scheme gets operationalised unless when the Town and Country Planning Board have approved it (MoFPED, 2001).

The Local Government Act 1997

The Local Governments Act 1997 defines and describes the various levels of governments, their creations and how they relate to each other. This law also defines and clearly sets out the roles of central government and other lower local governments. It also clearly defines the revenues reserved for local governments and which local government is to collect which revenue. It sets out how revenue between local governments is to be shared out as well as how the central government is to share revenue with local governments. Lastly, this law devolves certain functions from the central government to local governments.

While the devolution functions and responsibilities has worked well for the centre to district relationship, the devolution of responsibilities for the district to lower local governments has not been as smooth. The reason for this could be (Lwanga-Lwantale, 2003):-

- The entities here are very small and the tendency to overlap is greater at this level than the central local government relationship.
- The revenue sharing between the district local government and the lower local government is constrained by the fact that the amounts are small and when divided further to lower local governments, their effectiveness is greatly reduced. For example the 30% required by law to be sent to the divisions by the city council has proved practically difficult largely because the Divisions will have retained 50% of the revenue they collect in the first instance and the district will therefore not be able to remit 30% of what it retains back to the divisions.

The sharing of revenue as detailed out under the local governments Act has meant fragmentation of scarce finances and the end result has meant that what is left at the end is too small to be of real use.

Dealing with a backlog of 25 years of no investment in urban infrastructure and physical planning

Until 1971, urban local governments operated well under the Urban Authorities Act of 1964. Councils were elected and generally urban local councils executed their obligation to the expectation of the residents. In 1971, there was a change of governments and this impacted on urban governments in two ways:-

- Shortly after this change of government, Asians and foreigners doing business in Uganda were given 90 days to wind up business and leave the country.
- Asians and foreigners largely owned the properties in all urban centres.

The change of government introduced a military regime that was oppressive. The regime negatively affected overall production and service delivery in Uganda. This led to general economic decline and subsequent socio-political instability. For example, the expulsion of Asians and other foreigners meant that the properties left behind were ownerless. This has the following adverse effects on urban councils:-

- The payment on property rates on which these towns depended for raising money to build the infrastructure and provide services were adversely affected. The “Abandoned Property Custodian Board” a body created to manage the properties left behind by the expelled owners failed to manage these properties could not be paid. This meant a drastic drop in revenue income for the urban councils that depended on property rates to develop infrastructure and provide services to the residents of the councils.
- The expulsion of the Asians and other foreigners meant that the properties left behind were ownerless. These properties were dishd out free of charge to the political friends and functionalities of the regime in power. Every time there was a change of regime there was automatic change of those who lived and worked in these properties. Since no one owned these properties and tenure in them was uncertain, these properties soon deteriorated physically and occupants were not prepared to invest in their physical rehabilitation because the properties did not belong to them. As a result of this fact, soon towns took on an ugly look of disrepair and abandonment. According to MoFPED (1997), the councils that were responsible for managing the towns looked on helplessly as the main sources of revenue, property rates, soon dried up. By way of illustration, property rates accounted for 80% of the revenue of Kampala City Council in 1971. By 1979 revenue from property rates had fallen to 10% of the total revenue to the city council. The state of affairs obtained virtually in every urban council in the country.



Figure 2. Poor physical planning of Ugandan towns and urban centres

The challenges posed by day and night time population

Unlike other cities or towns elsewhere those in Uganda are unique in that they host two types of population. There is a night time population on which the official statistics are based. This night time population tends to be small because most of the people who work in the cities and towns live outside the boundaries of these towns. The daytime population, which is almost double of the nighttime population, is never captured in the official urban statistics although the infrastructure provided has to cope with this reality. Those who manage these urban settlements must of necessity try to estimate the daytime population because it is mainly the daytime population they must provide the services for. The central government, which is responsible for drawing up population statistics, has been slow in realising how critical this day and night time population differential means to the urban councils and in particular to the provision of infrastructure services. The current population of Kampala city has been put to 1.5 million people as per the 2002 census. The daytime estimated population is about 2.5 million people (MoFPED, 2003). The wide variations between the night and day populations have a number causative factors; viz

Past policy: Past policy, especially before independence, focused on the white man as the owner of the urban area. The indigenous man came to accept the rural area as his place and considered the city as a place for the whiteman.

Poverty: Most of urban areas of Uganda are serviced by the surrounding rural environment which is basically poor. The rural poor trek to the urban areas during the day eke out a living from urban occupations, but cannot afford to pay for the urban accommodation. This poverty leads to the emergence of a 'commuter population.' But, the 'commuter population' has a number of problems such carelessness use of public property, irresponsible dumping, and high involvement in crime because of the possibilities of escape to their rural area of abode.

Cultural factors: for example intimacy with land at home. In Uganda, very many people want to do some form of farming, own personal land, and build personal houses. Land is almost a cultural asset that is passed on from one generation to another. Probably, limited trust in government institutions coupled with the absence of welfare services and inadequate social security options makes people to crave for owning land. Those who own it within a commutable range from the urban areas quite often choose to live on their land, even when it has limited services such as piped water and power, and commute to the urban centres.

The biased policies of central government that favour rural districts as opposed to urban councils

In 1997, the central government introduced a plan of action to tackle the crippling poverty (MoFPED, 1997). This plan of action is known as the Poverty Eradication Plan (PEAP). The strategy of PEAP is that by 2017 the percentage of those who live below the poverty line should have dropped from the current 80% to 30%. This eradication action plan is based on 4 pillars and these are:-

- (i) Creating a sustainable economic growth and structural transformation.
- (ii) Ensuring good governance and security.
- (iii) Increasing the ability of the poor to raise their incomes.
- (iv) Improving the quality of life of the poor.

Local governments including urban local governments have been brought on board in the implementation of this PEAP. Urban centres wherever they are situated have been known for a long time now to be stable engines of economic growth. Kampala city alone produces over 60% of Uganda's GDP and about 80% of all manufacturing industries are located in Kampala. Other urban centres in the country also play an equally important role in the economic development of the country. The background to the budget 2001/2002 revealed that from 1991/92 to 2000/2001 the total agricultural output fell from 51% to 42%. However, industrial output rose from 13% to 19%. One would have expected that with these facts in mind, the central government would have targeted urban centres in its fight against poverty and general economic improvement; quite the opposite. In the financial year 2002/2003 Kampala with a population of 1.3 million people received Ug.shs.2.4 million

(US Dollar \$ 1420) in unconditional grants (this is a grant that a district can use on any development project of its choice). In the same year, Masaka district (Map 1), a rural district with a population of 760,000 people almost half the population of Kampala received Ug.Shs. 2.5 billion (US Dollar \$15 million). Under the pillar 3 increasing the ability of poor to raise their incomes, the central government came up with the PMA (Programme for the Modernising of Agriculture). This is a rural based programme. There is no equivalent for the urban poor. It is the promotion of programmes like these that show clearly the bias in the way the central government treats urban and rural governments.

According to De Connick (12994), one of the main challenges therefore of urban management in Uganda has been to get the central government to realise that investing in urban centres means faster economic growth and ultimately greater stability for the country.

The Land Tenure

According to Article 237 of the 1995 Constitution land belongs to the people. Even before the writing of the constitution the land tenure was complex enough. The objective of the Land Act, 1998 is to operationalise all constitutional reforms relating to land and to provide a framework for the management of land under the decentralized system. Specifically, the act was intended to among others (UBOS, 2002):

- Provide for the tenure, ownership and management of land
- Amend and consolidate the law relating to tenure, ownership and management of land
- Provide security of tenure to all land users.
- Resolve the land use impasse between registered owners and lawful occupants of the land.
- Provide an institutional framework for the control and management of land under a decentralized system.
- Redress historical imbalances and injustices in the ownership and control of land.

Land is an important factor of production. Therefore improved management of land is vital for poverty reduction. Over 90% of households in Uganda obtain their livelihood directly from land. Consequently, competition for land by various land user – groups is very intensive and need to be managed appropriately. Although we have a Land Act, Uganda does not have a Land Use Policy to guide land use planning in the country. Under the constitution of Uganda, land is vested directly in the citizens of Uganda.

“Land in Uganda belongs to the citizens of Uganda and shall vest in them in accordance with the land tenure systems provided for in the constitution”.

An understanding of the land tenure system is a pre-requisite for any land investment undertaking. The Land Act (1998) aims at providing for greater security of Land tenure.

This would serve as an incentive for investment in Agriculture, Forestry and allied natural resources in Uganda.

The Land act (1998) acknowledges four forms of land tenure arrangement under which land can be accessed in Uganda, viz (Banana and Gombya-Sembajjwe, 2000):

- Customary (a form of common property)
- Freehold (private property held in perpetuity)
- Leasehold (Period of ownership of land is specified by the owner and often this is Government land controlled by the Uganda Land Commission)
- Mailo land (a modified form of freehold)

Customary: Refers to a variety of tenure forms that are given different names ranging from clan, family to tribal tenure. It should be noted that customary tenure is now recognized as legal and equal to other forms of tenure.

Freehold: Land under this tenure was initially given to churches and a few plantation owners. Freehold tenure is the goal of the 1998 Land Act.

Leasehold: Mainly related to land that was converted from customary land. The assumption is that individuals could lease land for a specified period - 5, 45, 99 or 999 years from the state.

Mailo: This is a peculiar tenure in Buganda, a region around Lake Victoria. It emerged out of the British act of rewarding Baganda chiefs who assisted them in extending and consolidating the colonial frontier. In total 8,000 square miles of land were given out to 1000 chiefs while 1003 square miles of land were allotted to the King.

On these four types of land tenure only customary (public) land was available for leasing out to developers. Freehold and mailo land could only be accessed through outright passage. Customary land in Kampala was only 15% of the total land area the rest being mailo land 47% freehold 20% and 18% government land. With this kind of land holding, the urban councils face problems in that they have no land to pass on to intending developers and in particular those who wish to undertake industrial development. Quite often, urban councils have come under attack for frustrating investors and developers in general but few people (including political leaders) know that urban councils do not have the land to give to developers.

The Constitution (1995) and the Land Act (1998) gives the guidance on questions on land ownership and tenure. The 1995 Constitution vested land in the citizens of Uganda and decentralized land administration. There is no longer a category of public land, only customary, freehold, mailo and leasehold land (article 237 of the Constitution, article 3 of the Land Act). Under forestry, it is significant that customary ownership of land is valid and legal, whether registered and titled or not.

All land is owned, including the trees growing on it, whether government or private land. However, there is ambiguity in special conditions applying to trees of reserved

species. Although trees planted on private land have always been privately owned, trees of reserved species are not widely planted because of uncertain ownership.

Garbage Management

Most of the urban centres in Uganda are littered with uncollected garbage, the streets are most of the time not swept and generally the towns are not clean (NEMA, 2003; MUIENR 2000). Getting the towns clean once again has proved a great challenge to those who manage the towns. The reasons as to why the towns have been covered by uncollected garbage are many but we shall only highlight a few major ones as:-

- The period between 1972 and 1995 saw serious decline in the revenues of most of the urban councils. As revenue declined so did the ability of the urban councils to collect garbage from streets and homesteads. Later on, it became more or less a culture for urban councils to financial resources would be available.
- Within this period (1972-95) there was sharp rise in the population of urban centres. Kampala's population in 1969 stood at 340,000 people. In 1981 it had jumped to 780,000 people and twelve years later it was 1.3 million people. All this population increase meant more garbage generation.
- The value of garbage generated per household is the highest in the region largely because of the nature of food consumed in these homesteads. Most of the urban centres in Uganda feed on bananas, sweet potatoes, cassava and maize. All these food items have a tendency of leaving behind huge amounts of residue when being prepared for consumption. It is estimated that each household in Kampala generates between 4-5kg of garbage per week. Meanwhile, in Nairobi and average household generates 2-3kg of garbage per week.

Resource Mobilisation and Management

Financial Resource mobilisation

Most urban councils or authorities depend on Local revenue and central government grants for survival. The local taxes levied included property tax, market due, parking taxes, trading licences, graduated (poll) tax, fees on construction of residences, and other services taxes. Urban local governments are faced with a challenge of collecting taxes due to lack of personnel; reluctance of the urban dwellers to pay; high collection costs; and a weak enforcement machinery (Platteau, 1996).



Figure 3. Market fees a source of revenue for urban authorities

As indicated already, the payment of property taxes by the property owners became difficult as the Asians got expelled from Uganda in the 1970s. The “Abandoned Property Custodian Board”, a body created to manage the properties left behind by the expelled owners failed to manage these properties and hence could not generate the required finances to pay taxes. This failure to manage properties has meant a loss in revenue for the urban councils.

Management and Accountability of Financial Resources

The collected financial resources are supposed to be put to use in form of financing services and development for the urban dwellers. Quite often the generated revenue are meagre and hence inadequate to finance urban service provision. A lot of money is spent on recurrent expenditure for office administration and staff salaries; and only little is left for capital development and service delivery. Urban authorities, however, receive both conditional and unconditional grants from the Central Government. As already observed, these grants are equally inadequate, but provide a reasonable relief in financing urban service provision (Mathieu, 2002).

In many urban areas in Uganda, financial accountability systems are in place. Urban authorities have access to the services of a Government Auditor. The Office of Auditor General from central government together with Inspectorate of Government closely

supervise financial management systems and practices of all urban authorities in Uganda. However, unscrupulous officials still embezzle government funds and many urban authorities have run into financial losses.

Challenges of managing selected urban infrastructure and social services Health services

Like in most developing countries, the urban resident has a relatively better access to health services than a rural dweller. Infant and child mortality rates are lower in urban areas than in rural areas. However, the urban poor face many health risks. As studies have indicated elsewhere "health conditions for the urban poor are sometimes even worse than they are for rural poor" (WHO 1998 in Hinrichsen, Salem, and Blackburn, 2002). The urban poor are quite vulnerable to poor health and environmental hazards because they are more likely than others to lack housing, sanitation and other basic services.

Urban authorities in Uganda have not afforded to extend adequate health services to the poor neighbourhoods mainly because many of the poor are in informal settlements that make them ineligible for such services. In addition, where such neighbourhoods are on land not suitable for housing, extending to them services such as water and road lines can have negative legal implications for the authorities.

Water and sanitation

Urbanisation has meant an increasing demand for water in urban areas. It has also meant a deteriorating water quality and sanitation standards, and escalating water-related diseases. Some water sources are contaminated leading to water-related diseases such as diarrheal diseases, cholera, and hookworm diseases. Sanitation services are equally inadequate. Many urban residents lack a flush toilet, or even a sanitary latrine (MUIENR, 2000).

Housing and squatter settlements

Many urban areas in Uganda have residents living in inadequate housing, mostly in slums and squatter settlement, where living conditions are poor and services inadequate (Figure 4). Over half of the housing units in the towns of Uganda are temporary structures, and about three-quarters do not conform to building regulations. About a decade ago in Jinja town, the second largest urban area in Uganda, studies indicated that over 80% of the residents were poor. The poor lived (and still live) in squalid conditions with improper housing (Lwanga-Ntale, 2003).

The urban slums are high-density dwellings, basically squatter settlements, where people occupy land and illegally build temporary or semi-permanent structures for themselves. Most of the slums in the urban areas of Uganda are built on land poorly suited for housing, for example, on wetlands or flood plains. Such residents usually lack security of tenure and continuously face eviction. The urban authorities hesitate to offer tenure to informal (or illegal) settlements for fear of encouraging more illegal settlements.

Even when the decision is made to register housing property, the registration processes are inefficient, complicated and expensive. Decent housing that meets the minimum standards is too expensive to be afforded by an average urban resident. Probably this high

cost is what has escalated the housing crisis (MoFPED, 2001). Generally, any given standards, there has been noticeable improvement in the quantity and quality of homesteads in the urban centres. The Pre-Independence period was characterised by poor, inadequate and substandard housing facilities for the black town dwellers which condition compared to the Post-Independence era (Figure 4).

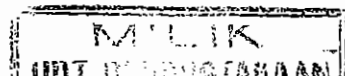


(a). Before Independence (1963)



(b). After Independence

Figure 4. Typical Urban housing and squatter settlements



Urban informal sector

There is a growing urban informal sector in Uganda. The informal sector refers to a collection of all private activities outside the formal sector. The sector poses great managerial challenges for urban authorities. The challenges arise from the characteristics of the sector such as having activities that are unprotected and unregulated, and enterprises that are located in slum areas of cities and towns. Furthermore, the sector is *inter alia* associated with survival activities rather than profit and a high level of entrepreneurship that could allow for expansion and growth of the informal enterprise. In effect, the activities of the sector appear to be reflection of urban poverty.

Growing urban poverty

Like in most cities of the developing world, the urban areas of Uganda are increasingly facing the phenomenon of urban poverty. In a study carried out in Jinja Municipality, Lwanga-Ntale (2003) noted high levels of poverty. According to the same study, impoverishment increased when a number of industries in Jinja collapsed, civil servants got retrenched, and HIV/AIDS increased. In addition, the government reduced services in the health sector nationwide, and this coincided with the rising costs of essential goods and services. Consequently, the emergence of the informal sector became prominent.

The prevailing urban challenge to reproductive health is the HIV prevalence rate especially among the female reproductive age group. According to the AIDS Control Programme (ACP), the overall antenatal prevalence rate in 2001 was 6.5% with disparities according to rural-urban localities with urban areas having a higher prevalence of 8.8% as compared to rural areas of 4.2% (Table 3).

Table 3. HIV Infection Rates (%) in Three Selected Antenatal Sites 1992 to 2001

SITE	YEAR									
	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
Nsambya	29.5	26.6	21.8	16.8	15.4	14.6	13.4	12.3	11.8	9.5
Jinja	19.8	16.7	16.3	13.2	14.8	11.0	10.5	10.8	8.3	7.4
Mbale	14.8	8.7	10.2	7.8	8.4	6.9	6.3	5.7	5.5	5.6

Source: MoFPED (2001). *The State of Uganda's Population Report 2002*, pp 35, Table 4.3

Although the above statistics indicate that the prevalence rates have dropped HIV infection and prevalence is still a major challenge towards urban reproductive health.

More generally in the developing countries, although poverty affects both rural and urban populations, the former are most affected. This is because there are a number of cause-effect factors of poverty that don't encourage development in the rural areas. In Uganda, poverty is more predominant among the following: in the Northern region, among female-headed households, peasant farmers, large households, illiterate and small landholders (MoFPED 2003(a)). More interesting, rural poverty is in itself not a uniform phenomenon where even in rural areas some people are poorer than others for example, subsistence farmers are part of the rural poor yet, they are slightly above the landless and

unemployed who are the poorest of the rural poor Uganda remains one of the poorest countries of the world ranking 158 out of 174 countries in the United Nations Human Development Index (MoFPED, 2003a).

The causes of poverty in Uganda vary according to rural-urban disparities (Table 4). The Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) has been implemented as the national framework to reduce poverty to less than 10% by the year 2017 (MoFPED, 2003). The PEAP is often referred to as the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper among the Brettonwoods Institutions was formulated and adopted in 1997/98 at a time when poverty levels were estimated at about 44% of Uganda's total population.

According to MoFPED (2003), rural and urban poverty differ a lot because they each have quite different causes as can be illustrated in the table 4.

Table 4. Causes of rural and urban poverty in Uganda

RURAL AREAS PRIORITY CAUSE	% COMMUNITIES	URBAN AREAS PRIORITY CAUSE	% COMMUNITIES
Poor health / diseases	53%	Lack of jobs / employment	85%
Limited access to land	45%	Limited income and capital	62%
Alcoholism	38%	Limited access / land shortage	54%
Lack of market access	36%	Lack of education	54%
High/ unfair taxes / market dues	34%	HIV/AIDS	46%
Low prices and exploitation	32%	Lack of market access	46%
Pests and diseases	30%	Large family / many dependants	46%
Large family / many dependants	30%	Low prices and exploitation	38%
Low productivity – crop, animal	28%	Ignorance / lack of information	38%
Lack of education	28%	Death of a family member	38%
Drought	28%	High / unfair taxes and dues	38%
Lack of jobs / employment	26%	Poor health / diseases	38%
Limited income and capital	26%	Laziness/ idleness – usually men	38%
Rebels and insurgency	23%	Similar business activities	31%
Death of family member	23%	Oppression of women	31%
Lack of credit facilities	23%	Poor planning at household level	31%
Ignorance / lack of information	23%	Lack of credit facilities	23%
HIV/AIDS	21%	Casual / poorly paid work	23%

Source: MFPED, (2003a) *Uganda Participatory Poverty Assessment Report: Deepening the Understanding of Poverty*, Kampala: UPPAP pp 22, Table 2.2

The PEAP believes that poverty reduction will depend on economic growth, which is estimated at 7% average annually. The PEAP is implement through plans for each sector known as Sector Wide Approaches (SWAPs) and the SWAPs are implement through sector Investment Plan (SIPs) like the Education Sector Investment Plan, Health Sector Strategic Plan, Lands Strategic Sector Plan.

Although Uganda is a country that has large food supplies, the nutritional status in urban areas is still low having many children stunted and a number of people affected by food shortages with 46% of the rural and 25% of urban children are undernourished (Table 5).

Table 5. Key Nutritional Indicators in Urban areas of Uganda

INDICATOR	PERCENTAGE AFFECTED	
	1995	2001
Wasting among children under 5	6%	4.0%
Stunting among children under 5	36%	39.0%
Underweight children under 5	27%	23.0%
Vitamin A deficiency among children	-	28.0%
Anaemia in children under 5	-	64.0%
Anaemia in pregnant women	-	41.2%
Anaemia in non-pregnant women	-	26.2%

Source: MoFPED (2003b). *Uganda Poverty Status Report 2003*, Table 3.2, pp 110.

Urban malnutrition is categorized as:

- Stunting – chronic nutrition, which is a result of inadequate intake of food over a long period of time and chronic illness;
- Wasting which reflects acute malnutrition, as a result of recent failure to receive adequate nutrition enhanced by acute illness and;
- Underweight that reflects either chronic or acute malnutrition or a combination of both.

Key nutritional statistics indicate that acute malnutrition (wasting) rates and underweight urban children have declined since 1995 while chronic malnutrition (stunting) rates have increased which is explained by inadequate food intake, ignorance, poverty, taboos, and high prevalence of HIV/AIDS in the urban areas. Ironically, the urban population is more affected by malnutrition as compared to the rural population with over 40% of children being stunted (MoFPED (2003). Weaning of urban children is often done after a short time and often abruptly which leads the child to have difficulty adjusting to other food that is mainly carbohydrates and exposes the child to deficiencies in nutrition leading to high risks of death. Even within the general population, it is the women in reproductive age and children that are vulnerable to the destructive consequences of malnutrition.

Public – private partnership

The principle of public-private partnership in urban service management has been widely considered important in many cities in the world (Mathieu, Zongo and Pare, 2003). Joint cooperation between the local authority and the community is still a new phenomenon in Uganda. Many urban communities still consider the urban administrative authorities as adversaries. The authorities are seen as having divergent interests because they collect taxes and enforce a number of laws that restrict the operations of the community. The community would rather not pay taxes for they have little trust in the urban authorities whom they consider less useful in improving the service level and quality (Hardiman and Midgley, 1989). The challenge for the urban authorities has been to educate the masses on

the possible partnership between the private and public sector, and hence create a sense of belonging and community stewardship.

It is the desire of urban authorities that their communities become active partners in programmes that improve the livelihoods of the urban dwellers. When the urban residents organise and work together they increase their power to negotiate with the local government and in the process increase the local government's power to negotiate with the central government, thus creating a chain of partnerships.

Institutional capacity

The level political will of many urban authorities is simply lukewarm in as far as handling urban challenges is concerned. Many councils still harbour the feeling that their problems are insurmountable. Even when the council has a development project of undertake the belief that little will be achieved is held by most of the managers of such a project. In addition, the area of enforcement of urban standards has been softly handled usually due to a half-hearted approach or a lack of enforcement capacity in terms of human and financial resources (Basset, 1993). Most urban authorities in Uganda today have got trained manpower to deliver the required services to the population. The greatest hindrance to service delivery has been limited financial resources with which to finance the various development and service delivery initiatives. Inadequate finance has also meant that urban authorities cannot afford to hire and retain adequate human resources critical service delivery.

Urban authorities response to challenges

Managing an urban centre on scarce resources is a very difficult task. Urban councils have been conscious of this and many have tried hard to do the following:-

- Raise their own internal revenue.
- Lean on central governments for increased governments transfers
- Institute greater controls on expenditure and improve on general finance management.
- Come together under the Urban Authorities Association to create a voice that can be heard by central government and a strength that can enable them to negotiate with the various stakeholders.

The solutions to the various challenges facing urban management lies in a combination of factors namely:-

- The need for all urban councils to appreciate that something needs to be done.
- Look at the quality of personnel and investing more in quality personnel.
- Investing more in regional planning and sorting out the land factor.
- Improving on revenue collection and finance management.
- Conducting a dialogue and get the central government to realise that no country has economically advanced by neglecting the urban sector.

CONCLUSION

The challenges facing urban management in Uganda are quite many. Basically, these challenges rotate on excessive demand for urban services that outstrips the supply of these services. The enormous demand coincides with limited municipal finance, and weak institutions to manage the cities and towns. The end result is a poorly serviced urban population and a constantly blamed low delivering urban leadership.

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Appendix 1

