

John Paul II Justice & Peace Centre

THE PLIGHT OF THE URBAN POOR AND YET INCREASED RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION

A Social-economic Analysis
in Ten Informal Settlements of Kampala.
Kampala - Uganda, 2009, No. 2



THE KAMPALA BASIC NEEDS BASKET

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ISBN 9970 - 821 - 26 - 4

Year of Publication 2009

Published by:

John Paul II Justice and Peace Centre

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Typeset, Designed and Printed at Marianum Press Ltd.,

P.O. Box 11, Kisubi - Uganda.

*John Paul II Justice and Peace Centre is a Consortium for Justice and Peace, founded by:
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1

Introduction

“The locus of global poverty is moving to cities, a process now recognized as the urbanization of poverty. Without concentrated action on the part of the municipal authorities, national governments, civil society actors and the international community, the number of slum-dwellers is likely to increase in most developing countries.”

Kofi Annan¹

Since its inception, JPIIIPC has been keeping an eye on the cost of living within the slums of Kampala. In February 2009, JPIIIPC conducted its second welfare survey in ten slums of Kampala. The 2009 survey was a follow up on the first Kampala Basic Needs Basket survey that JPIIIPC carried out in February 2008. The major purpose of conducting a follow up survey was to study the socio-economic changes that have so far taken place. We wanted to find out the change in the cost of living for a household of 6 members and to establish the change in the number of poor households within the slums of Kampala. It is important to investigate whether the life of slum dwellers is getting worse or better in order to comment about the effectiveness and efficiency of government plans to upgrade slums.

Due to the Centre’s limited financial envelope and human resource capacity, the 2008 Kampala Basic Needs Basket survey sampled only 120 households in six informal settlement villages. In the 2009 study, a total of 200 households were sampled in ten informal settlement villages. Widening the scope of the survey has enabled JPIIIPC to get a broader picture of ‘slum life’ and to argue more authentically about the socio-economic situation of the slums of Kampala. The second welfare survey tried to investigate the alternative sources of income for slum dwellers and also the extent to which the formation of development associations among slum dwellers affects the quality of their standard of living. Furthermore, the 2009 study sought to examine the major causes of Rural-urban migration and the reasons why people remain in the slums of Kampala despite the appalling situation therein.

¹ See the Forward to the UN-HABITAT Report, 2003.

1.1 Economic Growth and Slum Growth

Some economies pride themselves for achieving high levels of economic growth. The common belief is that the benefits of economic growth will eventually trickle down to the poorest person in the economy. However, this belief has slowly lost popularity because of the costs of economic growth and the challenge of wide income disparities. There is a shift of emphasis from economic growth theories to sustainable development theories and welfare economics. For example, some economists have come to realise that it is not enough to advocate for the establishment of large-scale industries without saying a word about social costs such as pollution and the growth of slums or without advocating for a just distribution of the economy's wealth.

1.2 Development through Industrialization and Urbanization

Due to the strong emphasis on mere economic growth, recent years have seen a dramatic expansion of urban centres especially in the third world. Most industrial areas have developed into urban centres and many urban centres have attracted the establishment of industries. A lot of people have moved to these urban areas in order to enjoy the industries' economies of scale. Some development economists have indeed claimed that if well managed, urbanization/industrialisation is an inevitable aspect of the development process. Notwithstanding the costs of urbanization, the proponents of this development theory insist that no country in the industrial age has enjoyed economic growth without the growth of urban centres and cities. It is believed that urbanisation is a sign of economic growth and therefore a means to economic development². However, it has been observed that urbanization is linked with the growth of slums since there are some people who want to live in urban areas and yet they cannot afford the cost of living in the formal settlement areas. Slums have become appropriate residential areas for the urban poor. Consequently, the onus has fallen on planners and policy makers to respond to the plight of slum dwellers as part of the process of urbanisation/industrialisation or development. Indeed at the beginning of this millennium, the UN was propelled to state that the strategy of slum upgrading should be adopted as a means to reduce extreme poverty and to achieve other Millennium Development Goals. In response to this invitation, some African leaders have committed themselves to combat the looming challenges of slum growth. This has resulted in initiatives such as the formation of the African Ministerial Conference on Housing and Urban Development (AMCHUD) as joint efforts to struggle for economic development.

² This theory, however, must be adopted with a grain of salt and be adapted to the resources of specific places and countries.

1.3 Urbanization, Rural-Urban Exodus and the Genesis of Slums

There is a strong correlation between the rate of rural-urban migration and the rate at which slums mushroom in urban areas. Since history has shown that the process of urbanization cannot be reversed, it is highly likely that rural-urban migration will persist, slums will continue to mushroom and, as an inescapable consequence, urban poverty will only get worse.

According to a 2006 UN-HABITAT report, 327 million people live in slums in Commonwealth countries. Furthermore, in a quarter of Commonwealth countries, at least two out of three urban dwellers live in slums and many of these countries are urbanizing rapidly³. In some African countries, Nigeria for instance, the growth of slums is so fast that by 2015 there will be more people in the urban areas than in the rural areas⁴. It is postulated that by 2015 at least half the world population (about 3.3 billion people) will be living in urban areas. As if that is not enough, the number of slum dwellers is expected to have increased to 5 billion by the year 2050 and that majority of these people will be absolutely poor. With an urban growth rate of 3.5% per annum, Africa will be the mostly affected continent by rural-urban migration and slum poverty. Note that the global average rate of urbanisation is 2.7% per annum.⁵

The immediate aftermath of a high urban growth rate places cities at a disadvantage. In Uganda, for example, due to a high rural-urban migration rate, Kampala is faced with a huge challenge of increasing demand for food items, land, housing and social services and infrastructure. Unfortunately, the demand for basic needs is far higher than their supply. This results in market disequilibrium and hence an increase in the general price level. Slum residents are also challenged by income disparities, high unemployment levels, lack of basic public services and unsustainable patterns of development. Juvenile delinquency due to the gradual decline of traditional social values and the breakdown of family cohesiveness and of community spirit has also added to the misery of slum dwellers. Consequently, most slum residents tend to despair about life since they have little or no capacity to influence policies that would improve their lifestyles.

1.4 What are Slums?

Since the 1950s, most cities and towns in developing countries have faced an unprecedented rate of urbanization. This has resulted into rampant proliferation

³ UN- HABITAT Report, 2006

⁴ UN-HABITAT Report, 2003

⁵ Ibid

of slums and high levels of urban poverty. According to the UN-HABITAT, a slum household is “group of individuals living under the same roof that lacks one or more of the following conditions: access to safe water, access to sanitation, secure tenure, durability of housing, and sufficient living area”⁶ in an urban setup. Slums are unplanned neighbourhoods typically settled by squatters with minimal or no legal recognition and rights.

According to a UN Expert Group, a slum is characterized by inadequate access to safe water, inadequate access to sanitation and other infrastructures, poor quality houses, overcrowding, insecure residential status, and residents of very low socioeconomic status⁷. In many slums, especially those in developing countries, the conditions of living are appalling. Most slums are as a rule overcrowded, unplanned, and unhygienic. Many slum dwellers are self-employed in the informal sector as: vendors, shop attendants, drug dealers, casual workers and prostitutes. Due to the lack of basic social services in most slums, slum residents are often victims of disease outbreak, drug abuse, illiteracy, crime, famine and other symptoms of abject poverty. These challenges call for an urgent response in order to better the life of slum dwellers.

1.5 Slum Upgrading

Attempts have been made by several developing countries to solve the problem of slums. However, in most cases, slum dwellers have been treated as a problem or a burden that ought to be eliminated rather than an asset with great untapped potential. One such approach was to stop the growing numbers of the urban poor by eradicating slums or relocating slum dwellers to rural resettlement areas. However, displacing the urban poor or replacing their physical facilities with modern housing estates created a lot of problems. The urban poor opposed such inhumane and discriminatory moves while the governments feared losing popularity. Government expenditure increased due to the costs of compensating and resettling those who were evicted and modernizing the former slum areas. Clearance and redevelopment was another approach used to improve the life of slum dwellers. This entailed moving the slum residents temporarily to other places and building new housing for them on the same site. However, this approach too was challenged by the high social and economic costs of relocating the slum dwellers and modifying the slum areas.

⁶ UN-HABITAT Report, 2003

⁷ <http://en.Wikipedia.org/wiki/Slum>

A more effective approach to improve the life of slum dwellers is what is now known as slum upgrading. This approach rejuvenates the existing community with minimum disruption or loss of physical and social assets. Slum upgrading is aimed at providing security from eviction and improving the existing infrastructures.⁸ Another aspect of slum upgrading is the involvement of the community in the entire development process. This enables slum dwellers to own the development of their area. However, the approach of slum upgrading takes a long duration to bear fruits.

1.6 The Ugandan Context

Uganda is ranked among the countries with the worst slum populations in Sub-Saharan Africa (UN-Habitat, 2001). Most slum dwellers in Uganda are extremely poor even by national standards. More than 50% of the people in Kampala, the capital city of Uganda, live in slums. The slums of Kampala include: Kisenyi, Kasubi, Katwe, Kalerwe, Katanga, Bwaise, Kivulu, Wandegaya, Nakulabye, Naguru II, Wabigalo, Nsambya Kamwanyi, Nsambya Gogonya and others. These slums cover up to 25% of the total area of Kampala city and each of them is heavily congested. Because of the high rate of rural-urban migration, slum landlords build simple structures to match the high demand for houses. Most slum dwellers can only afford one room for a household of about six members. The single room serves as a dining, store, bedroom, kitchen and sitting room and for some families, the children sleep under their parents' bed. Most slum dwellers hardly eat enough or nutritious food due to poverty. Crimes are common in slum areas and flood-related diseases accompany every rainy season. People stay in slums just because they cannot afford the alternatives

Through its slum upgrading programmes, the Government of Uganda hopes to improve the condition of slum dwellers by installing better drainage systems, providing piped water and extending health services such as AIDS awareness and family-planning programmes to the slums. However, as demonstrated in the following report, the situation in the slums is still appalling and so it needs urgent attention.

⁸ Ibid

2

The Cost of Living in The Slums of Kampala

Empirical statistical data has become more and more indispensable for both policy makers and socio-economic analysts. This is the major reason why JPIIIPC has remained faithful to its research activities. The Kampala Basic Needs Basket research findings enable JPIIIPC to participate in the war against poverty in Uganda and also to contribute towards the achievement of other Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), for example enabling at least 100 million slum dwellers (worldwide) to cross the abject poverty line by the year 2020.⁹

2.1 Objectives of the second Kampala Basic Needs Basket survey

- To establish 'new' poverty lines and find out the change in the cost of living for a household of 6 members within the slums of Kampala.
- To establish the changes in the incidence and intensity of poverty within the slums of Kampala.
- To study the alternative sources of income for the residents of the sampled slums.
- To examine the causes of rural-urban migration and find out the reasons why people prefer staying in the slums of Kampala to going back to the rural areas.
- To analyze the availability and accessibility of social services in the slums of Kampala.
- To draw policy conclusions based on the findings of this survey and advocate for the rights of the urban poor and suggest what needs to be done in order to upgrade the slums of Kampala.

⁹ This is the 7th MDG.

3

Research Methodology

3.1 Scope and coverage

Six informal settlement areas (Nsambya, Kisenyi, Katanga, Namuwongo, Bwaise and Kamwokya) were sampled for the 2008 Kampala Basic Needs Basket Survey. In order to get a broader picture of the socio-economic situation in the slums of Kampala, the scope of the 2009 survey was widened by sampling ten informal settlements, namely, Nsambya, Katanga, Namuwongo, Bwaise, Kamwokya, Kalerwe, Wabigalo, Kivulu, Banda and Kiswa. In order to get a clue about any changes in the standards of living within the slums of Kampala, the informal settlements (except Kisenyi) that were sampled during the 2008 survey were also sampled during the 2009 survey. Thus, five 'old' slums and five 'new' ones were sampled for the 2009 survey. Kisenyi was dropped because during the 2008 survey some of the respondents were harsh with our researchers due to the influence of drugs while those who were a little sober complained a lot about the length of our interview guide.

3.2 Sampling Procedure

From each of the selected informal settlement areas, one village was sampled. The following villages were selected for the 2009 survey: Gogonya East II zone from Nsambya, Kimwanyi zone from Katanga, Kasanvu zone from Namuwongo, Lufula zone from Bwaise, Kifumbira zone from Kamwokya, Sebina zone from Kalerwe, Centinary zone from Wabigalo, Kivulu I zone from Makerere-Kivulu, Works zone III from Banda and Kiswa zone II from Kiswa. From each of the sampled villages 20 households¹⁰ were selected with the assistance of the Local Council leaders (LCs). Some of the respondents from the 'old' settlements were still staying in those settlements and so they were again selected for the 2009 survey in order to study the changes in their standards of living. However, it should be mentioned that during the 2009 survey all the respondents from Kamwokya were completely different from those that were sampled during the 2008 survey. The reason for this is that during the 2008 survey the LC sampled

¹⁰ By household is meant "all the people who live under one roof and who take, or are subject to others taking for them, joint financial decisions" (Lipsey 1983, PP. 67-68).

only households that were relatively well-off and by doing so, she to some extent biased the findings of the research. The 2009 survey tried to overcome this error and its consequent bias by sampling households that belong to the category of a 'slum dweller'. Also, Kiswa was included in the 2009 survey to serve as an example of an informal settlement area that is gradually evolving into a better place.

3.3 Research Tools

Two interview guides were designed for primary data collection: one for interviewing the respondents from the sampled households and the other for interviewing the LCs of the sampled slum villages.

The household interview guide was designed to capture three welfare indicators, namely, (i) the particulars of the household head¹¹ (age, gender, education level, occupation and monthly income), (ii) household size and composition and, (iii) household monthly expenditure and disposable income. Additional questions were included in the 2009 household interview guide to collect data about the different sources of income for slum dwellers, the effect of development associations on the lifestyles of slum dwellers, the causes of rural-urban migration and the reasons why people continue to stay in the slums despite all the challenges. The interview guide to the LCs was designed to collect information about the condition of certain social services and facilities in the slums, for example health, education, water, drainage systems and sanitation. The LCs were also asked to suggest possible ways of how the slums of Kampala could be upgraded.

3.4 Data Collection

For primary data, the local council leaders of the sampled villages were contacted by the two main researchers (Mr. Avuni Alfred and Kyaligonza Lawrence, S.J.) prior to the 'census night' in order to identify certain households as potential research units for the survey. Both the household interviews and the local leaders' interviews were conducted in the month of February. The household respondents were asked about their monthly expenditures for the month of January.

Secondary data was gathered by reading some of the household survey reports published by the Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBOS) and other relevant publications, for example the 2004-2006 Nairobi Basic Needs Basket Survey reports and the research report about the profile and situation of slums in Uganda

¹¹ A household head is the member under whose guidance the major decisions of the household are undertaken. He or she is sometimes referred to as the breadwinner of the household.

that was published in November 2008 by the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development.

In order to supplement the efforts of the two chief researchers, five research assistants were employed during the primary data collection stage. We are indebted to our research assistants for their collaborative spirit and especially for helping us to administer the research guide to the respondents who could not speak English. The following are the names of our research assistants and their respective research areas:

Researcher	Research area
Mr. Bberinya Hillary	Kalerwe and Bwaise
Mr. Senfuka Kenneth	Nsambya, Wabigalo, Banda and Kiswa
Miss. Namatovu Cissy	“ “ “ “
Mr. Mutegeki Vincent	Namuwongo, Kamwokya, Katanga and Kivulu
Mr. Kwizera Charles	“ “ “ “

We are also very grateful to Mr. Anguyo Richard who helped us in the process of secondary data collection and also to administer the LCs' interview.

3.5 Data Management and Processing

To ensure good quality results, the two interview guides were pre-tested by interviewing a few slum dwellers. This enabled us to modify the interview guides prior to the 'census night' and also to train our research assistants. During the data analysis stage, we used a manual system for grouping qualitative data and a computer program (Microsoft Excel) to derive general and average statistical estimates.

4

Data Analysis

4.1 Measuring Poverty (The CBN method)

Since most of the households that live in slum areas are economically homogenous (poor by national standards), our study, like the previous one, used absolute poverty statistics. Also, in order to be in harmony with the 2008 Kampala Basic Needs survey, we used the Cost of Basic Needs method (CBN) to determine the number of people who could not afford the basic necessities of life. We established two monetary poverty lines, namely, the food poverty line and the absolute poverty line. Using the CBN method, the household mean monthly expenditures on the Food Basket¹² and on the Basic Needs Basket¹³ are referred to as the **food poverty line** and the **absolute poverty line** respectively. The food basket that was used to calculate the 2009 food poverty line included the following food items: **bread, milk, sugar, tea/coffee, maize flour, cassava and millet flour, rice, beans, groundnuts, potatoes, Matooke (bananas), cassava, meat, fish, eggs, onions, tomatoes, vegetables, cooking oil, fruits, iodized salt, drinks and hotel meals**. This is the same food basket that was used during the 2008 survey. The food basket was not adjusted because it was reasonably assumed that household incomes had not significantly increased to cause major changes in the range of food items consumed by the slum dwellers.

In order to establish the absolute poverty line, we needed to calculate each household's monthly expenditures on *all* its basic needs. That is to say, using the CBN method, the absolute poverty line is derived from the household monthly expenditures¹⁴ on food and on other basic needs usually referred to as 'basic non-food items'. The following items constituted the basic non-food items for

¹² A Food Basket is a list of food items that are frequently consumed in a given location.

¹³ A Basic Needs Basket is a combination of the two major components of welfare, namely, food and essential non-food items such as housing, medical care, clothing, education and fuel. A household's standard of living is measured by its expenditure patterns on a given Basic Needs Basket.

¹⁴ The expenditure approach is commonly used because from economic theory and also from our own experience during the two surveys, most people hardly tell the truth about their incomes.

both the 2008 and the 2009 surveys: **medical care, clothing and foot wear, education, house rent, water, fuel (paraffin, charcoal, firewood), transport/fare, communication (airtime or public phone use), security, toiletries (bathing soap, toothpaste and brushes, body lotion), laundry soap, barber/saloon, house upkeep (brooms, dusters), house equipment.**

Since poverty is both a multidimensional phenomenon and an elusive concept, monetary poverty lines alone cannot suffice for meaningful socio-economic analysis. Bearing this in mind, we enquired about household monthly savings and monthly expenditures on leisure activities in order to get a better picture of the poverty situation in the slums of Kampala. More so, the interview guide for the local leaders was designed for getting information about the availability and accessibility of certain social services and facilities in the slums. This enabled us to analyze household poverty in relation to the general socio-economic conditions under which slum dwellers struggle with life.

4.2 The Poverty Incidence Measure

After calculating the poverty lines, the next stage in poverty measurement and analysis is the determination of the poverty incidences for the different locations. Poverty incidence (the headcount index) is the percentage number of households that cannot afford a minimum standard of living of a given society i.e. the percentage number of households whose monthly expenditures fall below the established poverty line. There are two poverty incidence measures: the food poverty incidence and the absolute poverty incidence. A household is said to be food insecure if its monthly expenditure on food is less than the established food poverty line¹⁵. Likewise, a household is said to be absolutely poor if its monthly expenditure on the basic needs basket falls below the established absolute poverty line¹⁶. Note that the food poverty incidence of a given area is not necessarily equal to its absolute poverty incidence since there are some households that are food insecure but 'absolutely rich' or vice versa. This to some extent depends on how the household's income is shared between food and basic non-food items.

The main limitation with the poverty incidence measure is that it only captures the number of poor households in a given area but it does not reveal the intensity of poverty in that area. It simply categorizes households as 'poor'

¹⁵ Food poverty line is the average monthly expenditure on food items for the sampled households

¹⁶ Absolute poverty line is the average monthly expenditure on the basic needs basket for the sampled households

without distinguishing between those that are close to the poverty line from those whose consumption levels are far below the poverty line. Indeed the poverty incidence of an area would not change even if people became poorer as long as their number remained the same. In order to overcome this limitation and also to make sound policies, most socio-economic studies supplement the poverty incidence measure with the poverty gap measure.

4.3 The Poverty Gap Measure

The Poverty Gap Measure is used to analyze the depth or extent of poverty in a given location. It is a measure of how poor the poor people of a given area are and it is used by planners as a crude tool to determine the amount of additional monetary resources that would be required on a monthly basis to boost poor households at least to the established poverty line. The Poverty Gap Measure captures the expenditure deficits or *gaps* (as the name suggests) of the poor households in a given area. The gaps are the differences between the poor households' monthly expenditures and the established poverty line. The Poverty Gap Measure is obtained by summing up all the gaps (deficits) of the poor households and dividing the total by the number¹⁷ of poor households in a given area. The average figure thus obtained is then expressed as a percentage of the established poverty line. The food poverty gap captures the degree of food insecurity in a given area while the absolute poverty gap is a general measure of the extent of abject poverty in a given area. These two poverty gaps should not necessarily be equal for any given location. Likewise, it is possible for two locations to have the same poverty incidence but different poverty gaps or to have the same poverty gaps but different poverty incidences. The obvious explanation for this is that some poor people are poorer than other poor people and also different poor locations are worse-off than other poor locations.

¹⁷ The number of poor households can be calculated from the poverty incidences.

5

Research Findings

5.1 Establishing the Poverty Lines

Table 1 overleaf presents the average monthly household expenditures for the ten slums that were sampled during the 2009 survey. The mean monthly expenditure on food for a household of six was established at US\$ 183,022 and the mean monthly expenditure on the basic needs basket was estimated at US\$ 399,291. Thus, during the data analysis stage, US\$ **183,022** and US\$ **399,291** were established as the food poverty line and the absolute poverty line respectively.

Table 1: Household Mean Monthly expenditures

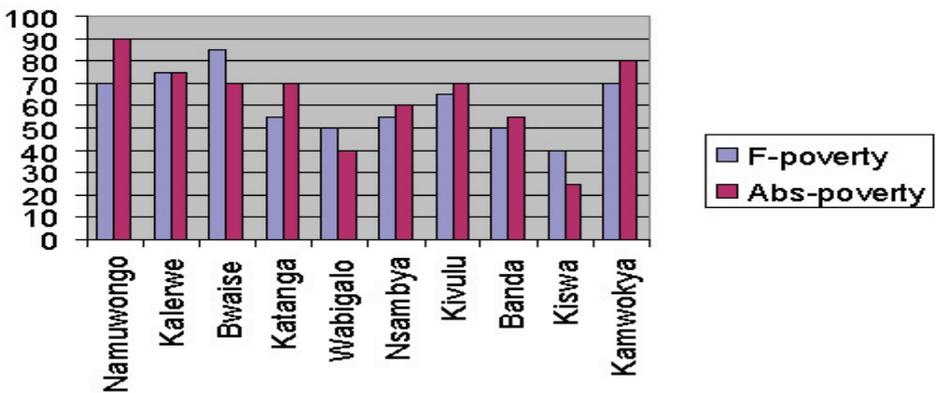
Average expenditures (US\$)			
Location	Food	Non-Food	Total
Namuwongo	160,940	136,633	297,573
Kalerwe	158,263	171,523	329,786
Bwaise	137,355	182,083	319,438
Katanga	166,308	188,633	354,941
Wabigalo	177,863	260,153	438,016
Nsambya	214,293	218,290	432,583
Kivulu	176,933	159,165	336,098
Banda	216,495	245,935	462,430
Kiswa	272,795	442,245	715,040
Kamwokya	148,975	158,033	307,008
Overall Average	183,022	216,269	399,291

Compared to the 2008 survey findings (even though the sample sizes of the two surveys were different), the 2009 survey findings revealed an increase in the poverty lines. The food poverty line increased from US\$ 160,700 to

UShs 183,022 while the absolute poverty line increased from UShs 361,700¹⁸ to UShs 399,291. Simply put, the cost of food for a household of six increased by about 13.9% while the cost for its basic needs basket increased by about 10.4%. These crude inflation rates are mild compared to the Consumer Price Indices that were reported by the Uganda Bureau Of Statistics (UBOS), namely, food inflation rate for the year ended February 2009 was estimated at 30.39% while the inflation rate that excludes food items was estimated at 13.1% for the year ended February 2009 and the general inflation rate was estimated at 14.8% for the year ended February 2009 (UBOS. March, 2009). In any case, it is obvious even to non-economists that in Uganda and elsewhere in the world commodity prices are on the increase.

The increase in the cost of living in the slums of Kampala can be attributed to the general rise in food prices due to the high demand for food both locally and from the neighbouring countries. Given that the market forces of demand and supply determine almost all commodity prices, food prices simply shoot up as soon as the demand for food exceeds food supply. This is what Uganda is currently experiencing. The situation is even worse for low income slum dwellers because most of the food consumed in urban areas comes from the rural areas and so food is very costly in Kampala and in other urban centres. Food prices in Kampala are influenced by the huge transport costs of moving food items from the rural areas. Slum dwellers are in precarious situation because the increase in food prices is not necessarily accompanied by an increase in their monthly disposable incomes. It is therefore not surprising to find out that the rate of poverty is very high in the slums of Kampala.

Graph 1: Poverty incidence



¹⁸ From the analysis of the 2008 survey findings, UShs 160,700 and UShs 361,700 were established as the food poverty line and the absolute poverty line respectively

Food insecurity in the slums of Kampala

Using the estimated food poverty line of US\$ 183,022, Bwaise reported the highest incidence of food poverty (see graph 1 above). 85% of the households that were interviewed in Bwaise live below the food poverty line. Bwaise was followed by Kalerwe with food poverty incidence of 75%. Namuwongo and Kamwokya reported food poverty incidences of 70% each. Kiswa reported the lowest incidence of food poverty with 40% of the interviewed households living below the food poverty line.

The overall analysis of the research findings revealed that **61.5%** of the households that were interviewed live below the food poverty line. This is a very high level of food insecurity given the fact that the established food poverty line was as low as US\$ 183,022 – an amount that a rich person would not hesitate to spend for a single meal in a hotel. With the exception of Kiswa, at least half of the households in each of the sampled slums cannot afford one decent meal per day although they live in a country whose economy is growing at a fast rate. Some respondents told us that ‘whenever things get tough’, they take tea for lunch and supper.

Abject Poverty trap in the slums of Kampala

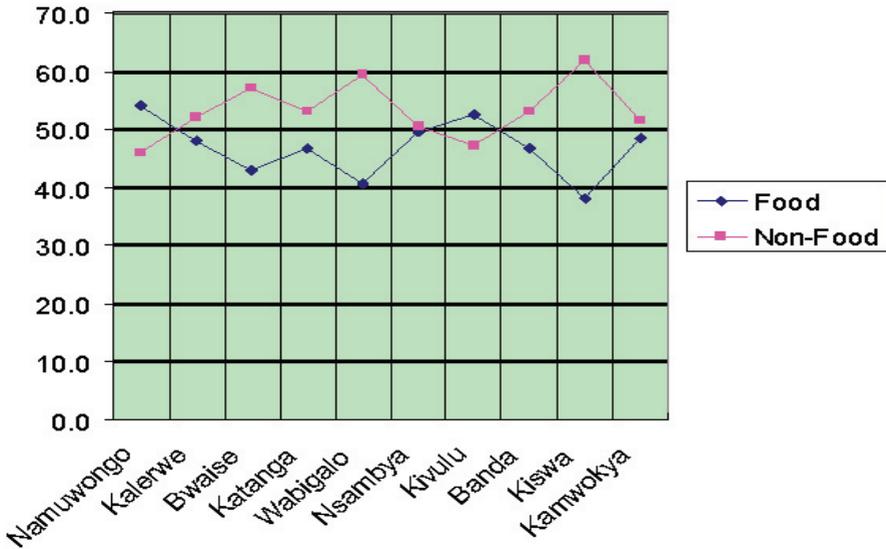
Based on the absolute poverty line of US\$ 399,291, it was estimated that **63.5%** of the households in the sampled slums cannot afford the basic needs of life. With the exception of Kiswa and Wabigalo, more than 50% of the households from the sampled slums are poor. Namuwongo reported the highest incidence of absolute poverty (see graph 1 above). 90% of the households that were interviewed in Namuwongo live below the absolute poverty line. Namuwongo was followed by Kamwokya and Kalerwe where 80% and 75% of the interviewed households live below the absolute poverty line respectively. Bwaise, Katanga and Kivulu reported an absolute poverty incidence of 70% each. Once again Kiswa reported the lowest incidence of abject poverty. In Kiswa, only 25% of the households that were interviewed are poor.

As will be explained later, there are several possible reasons why poverty is rampant in the slums of Kampala. Most slum dwellers earn very low incomes because they do not have formal jobs and yet the cost of living is very high. Also, unlike in the rural areas, in an urban setup people have to pay for ‘everything’ including waste management, house rent, water and ‘toilet services’. Slum dwellers have to allocate a big percentage of their incomes to some non-food items that are indispensable.

5.2 Budget allocation to Food and Non-food items

Graph 2 overleaf portrays the way slum households allocate their incomes to food and non-food items. From the graph we notice that in all the slums, with the exception of Namuwongo and Kivulu, households generally spend more on non-food items than on food. This is a reality that was well established from the findings of both the 2008 survey and the 2009 survey. From the findings of the 2009 survey we established that on average a household spends **54.2%** of its monthly budget on non-food items and **45.8%** on food¹⁹. Given the fact that slum dwellers are low income earners, 45.8% of a slum household's budget cannot buy enough food for the household members. Food insecurity, as we have already indicated, is prevalent in the slums. However, despite the high levels of food poverty in the slums, slum dwellers have to squeeze their meager budgets in order to meet their obligatory expenditures on certain basic non-food items. Indeed during the 2009 survey, most respondents told us that they sometimes skip lunch or supper or eat inferior food in order to meet other basic needs. As a coping mechanism, most of the respondents reported that they depend on cheap food staffs such as Matooke, sweet potatoes, cassava, beans and maize flour while food items such as meat, fish, eggs and fruits were categorized as 'food for the rich'. Unfortunately for the slum dwellers, the increase in price for Matooke, cassava, sweet potatoes and Irish potatoes was more significant than the increase in the price for other food items (UBOS. March, 2009).

Graph 2: Budget shares for Food and Non-food Items



¹⁹ Please refer to appendix table X

The level of food insecurity in the slums is worsened by the fact that households have to meet other basic needs if they want to remain in the city. In the slums, some needs are in fact more basic than food. Some respondents told us that they skip some of their meals in order to spare some money for settling their house rent otherwise they would be 'kicked out' by the landlords. From the findings of our 2008 and 2009 surveys, we established that Education, house rent, fuel and transport are the major non-food items that take large proportions of poor people's incomes. The findings of the 2009 survey revealed that in addition to these items, slum households allocate a big percentage of their monthly budgets on medical care. Some respondents told us that they try to reduce their monthly expenditures by all possible means, for example by buying second-hand clothes instead of luxurious ones, footing to town instead of using a taxi in order to reduce transport costs and seeking medical care from traditional healers instead of going to expensive hospitals.

5.3 Poverty Gaps

So far, we have been describing the prevalence of poverty in the slums. We now embark on the task of describing the intensity of poverty in the slums. We shall mainly use the poverty gap measure. Table 2 summarizes the Food Poverty Gaps (FPG) and the Absolute Poverty Gaps (APG) for the ten slums that were visited. For each slum, the two columns (Av. FD) [Average Food Deficits] and (Av. AD) [Average Absolute Deficits] indicate the amount of additional money (subsidy) that would be required on a monthly basis for an average poor household to reach the estimated food poverty line or absolute poverty line respectively.

Food Poverty Gaps

Notice (Ref. Table 2) that Wabigalo reported the highest food poverty gap of 40.5% followed by Namuwongo and Kamwokya with food poverty gaps of 39.1% and 37.8% respectively. Kiswa and Nsambya reported the lowest food poverty gaps of 18.0% and 16.1% respectively. The interpretation of these findings is that to overcome their food poverty, the poor households in Wabigalo would require more money than those in any of the other slums. Thus, food insecurity is in fact more acute in Wabigalo than elsewhere even though the number of households that are food insecure is highest in Bwaise and Kalerwe. Compared to Wabigalo, both Kalerwe and Bwaise would require less money to overcome their food poverty although, as we saw earlier on, Wabigalo reported a moderate food poverty incidence of 50%.

Table 2: Poverty Deficits and Poverty Gaps

Location	FPG (%)	Av. FD (UShs)	APG (%)	Av. AD (UShs)
Namuwongo	39.1	71,562	33.7	134,561
Kalerwe	34.2	62,594	33.9	135,360
Bwaise	33.0	60,397	38.8	154,925
Katanga	36.4	66,620	31.9	127,374
Wabigalo	40.5	74,124	39.1	156,123
Nsambya	16.1	29,467	22.4	89,441
Kivulu	26.4	48,318	33.3	132,964
Banda	27.9	51,063	23.7	94,632
Kiswa	18.0	32,944	25.8	103,017
Kamwokya	37.8	69,182	33.7	134,561
General Averages	30.94	56,627	31.63	126,296

From table 2 we notice that the overall food poverty gap was estimated at **30.94%**. The implication of this is that $[(30.94/100) \times 183,022] = 56,627$ additional shillings would be required on a monthly basis for an average household to reach the estimated food poverty line. Recall that the overall food poverty incidence was estimated at 61.5%. Thus, in order to uplift all the $[61.5/100 \times 200] = 123$ poor households from their food poverty, a monthly subsidy of $[56,627 \times 123] = 6,965,121$ shillings would be required.

Absolute Poverty Gap

The general absolute poverty gap was estimated at **31.63%**. Thus, $[(31.63/100) \times 399,291] = 126,296$ additional shillings would be required on a monthly basis for an average household to 'overcome' its abject poverty. With an overall absolute poverty incidence of 63.5% and absolute poverty line of UShs 399,291, in order to uplift all the $[63.5/100 \times 200] = 127$ poor households from their abject poverty, a monthly subsidy of $[126,296 \times 127] = 16,039,592$ shillings would be required.

As indicated in table 2 above, Wabigalo reported the highest absolute poverty gap of 39.1% followed by Bwaise with absolute poverty gap of 38.8%. Nsambya and Banda reported the lowest absolute poverty gaps of 22.4% and 23.7% respectively. This implies that if there was a plan to reduce abject poverty, Wabigalo would need more funds as subsidy than any of the other slums while Nsambya would need the least amount. There is something unique about Wabigalo. On one hand, Wabigalo reported moderate poverty incidences while on the other hand it reported the highest absolute poverty gaps. This means that

there is a high likelihood of high income inequalities²⁰. For example, more funds would be needed to assist the 40% of the households that are absolutely poor in Wabigalo than would be needed to assist the 90% of the households that are absolutely poor in Namuwongo.

²⁰ Income inequality is characteristic not only of slums but of the entire country. According to the survey data of 1999, 10% of the Ugandan population own 34.9% of the national income while the poorest 10% own only 2.3% (World Development Indicators, 2005)

6

Major Factors associated with Slum Poverty

This section deals with some of the factors that influence the welfare of slum households. We shall give a brief description of how factors such as the age, gender, education and occupation of the Household Head affect the welfare of slum households. Finally, in this section, we shall briefly describe the size and composition of slum households, other sources of income for slum households, the culture of saving among slum dwellers, the ways of spending leisure time in the slums and end with the question of slum household incomes. This is an important section because it helps us to reflect on the major causes of poverty in the slums and also to think of possible solutions to the evil of slum poverty.

6.1 Age of the Household head

During the analysis of the 2009 research findings, we establish a weak correlation between the age of the household head and the household's welfare. 11 household heads were at least 65 years old. 9 out of these people's households were absolutely poor. We attributed the poverty of these 9 households to their breadwinners' inability to do heavy jobs due to their age given the fact that 'slum' jobs require a lot of physical energy.

The average age for the household heads was estimated at 39 years. Most of the household heads were aged between 30 and 55 years. This is an age bracket of physically strong and active people who, given the means, should be able to fend for their households. However, we established that some of these people's households were poor while others were 'rich'. This implies that any poverty experienced in such households must be attributed to other factors but not the age of its breadwinner.

6.2 Gender of the household head

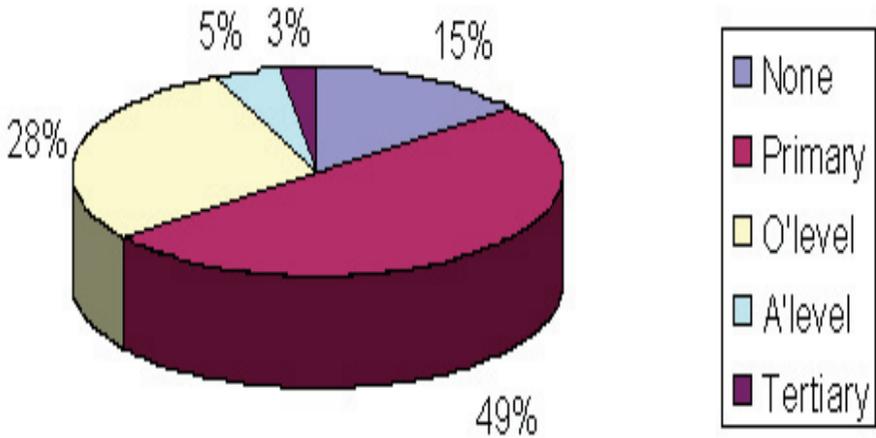
Out of the 200 households that we visited, 84 were headed by females while 116 were headed by males. From our analysis, we established that poverty is slightly more prevalent among female headed households than among the male headed households. 66.7% of the female headed households live below absolute

poverty line while 61.2% of the male headed households are poor. Since the difference in the two poverty incidences is small, we could conclude (basing on our findings) that there is a strong relationship between a household’s welfare and the gender of its breadwinner although this could be the case for some households. Indeed the poverty in some of the households could be attributed to the fact that their breadwinners cannot participate in most of the ‘slum/urban’ jobs simply because they are female; for example, because of their physiological makeup and traditional customs, it would be odd for a woman to be employed as a heavy weight lifter or as a *boda boda* cyclist. Thus, job opportunities are more limited for female household heads than for their male counterparts and this disparity has implications on their household’s income and welfare levels. The evidence for this hypothesis was well established in Kamwokya, Kalerwe and Namuwongo where all the female headed households were below the absolutely poverty line.

6.3 Education level of the Household head

Most slum dwellers do not have high academic qualifications and so it is a bit hard to establish the link between their standards of living and their education levels. From the chart below, we notice that out of the 200 household heads that were visited during the 2009 survey, 15% did not attend school, 49% were primary school leavers, 28% attended ordinary level, 5% attended advanced level and merely 3% finished tertiary education.

Chart 1: Education level of Household heads



It is quite obvious that most of the household heads did not use any academic transcripts to get their jobs. 35 of the interviewed household heads reported that they were casual workers, 33 were petty traders²¹, 21 were crafts persons, 10 were security guards, 7 were boda boda cyclists, 6 were civil servants, 6 were shop attendants, 3 were professionals employed by the private sector while the rest were engaged in 'other' activities²².

Thus, we can still claim that the low level of education among slum dwellers contributes to the high incidences of poverty in the slums. Most of the respondents told us that even though jobs are rare for university graduates, it is impossible for uneducated people to hope that they will one time get better paying or stable jobs. Some of the respondents attributed their households' relatively good standards of living to the education level of their household heads. This claim was made by respondents from 7 out of the 9 households that were under the care of Advanced level graduates and 4 out of the 5 households whose breadwinners had completed tertiary education.

6.4 Household size and composition

In economic theory, it is widely believed that household size is inversely proportional to the household welfare. *All* factors kept constant, the higher the number of members in a household, the lower will be its standard of living and vice versa. This is particularly true where most of the household members are *dependants*. Indeed the findings of the 2009 survey indicated that households with higher numbers of dependants tend to be poorer than those with fewer dependants. 73.5% of the households that were interviewed reported that only one member of their households was 'employed' while the rest of the members were dependants. This high level of dependence must be responsible for the poor standards of living for most slum households.

From the analysis of the 2009 research findings, we established that on average a slum household consisted of 6 members with 4 children and 2 adults. Most respondents reported that the members of their households were close relatives. Only 7 households reported that they were staying with at least one non-relative. Usually, it is rich urban dwellers that experience an influx of distant relatives and non-relatives from the rural areas. We concluded from the findings of our survey that the dependence syndrome in the slums is not as a result of

²¹ It is likely that some of these traders lost their property to the fires that gutted Owino market on 25th February, 2009 thus increasing the unemployment rate and misery among slum dwellers.

²² Those who told us that they are engaged in 'other' activities did not want to be specific about the nature of their work. It is most likely that they are involved in illegal activities such as selling drugs or prostitution.

staying with distant relatives or non-relatives but is part of the parental duty to fend for one's children who cannot be employed. This is not particular to slums because even in the rural areas children are not supposed to be breadwinners.

The culture of saving among slum dwellers

Typically, in the 'middle' years of income earning (about 30 to 60 years) household heads spend less than they earn in order to save for the future (Hardwick, Langmead and Khan, 1999. P. 417). However, this might not be true for poverty stricken households. Poor people hardly save because their incomes are not enough even for their consumption expenditures. To borrow an economics jargon, poor people's Marginal Propensity to Consume (MPC) is higher than their Marginal Propensity to Save (MPS).

From the findings of the 2009 survey we established that monthly average saving ratio²³ is as low as about 6.64%. We estimated that on average a household saves about US\$ 26,500 per month. 56% of the households that were interviewed reported that they were willing but not able to save because of their low incomes. However, even those who told us that they do save might be doing so in order to pay school fees for their children or to be able to contribute for social functions such as funerals and weddings. Such savings would not be of any economic significance.

Spending leisure in the slums

Although all people have a right to leisure (rest)²⁴, some people have been made to believe that it is only the rich people who have that right. Leisure has been commercialized and so it has become expensive for poor people.

During the 2009 survey, only 6% of the respondents reported that their households had a budget for leisure activities. This is far less than what we established during the 2008 survey. It is possible that leisure has become more expensive. The unfortunate consequence of this is that more and more slum dwellers will end up opting for dubious alternative ways of spending their leisure. In fact this could be the reason why some of the slum dwellers have ended up becoming alcoholics. Whenever we moved around to collect data, we saw people drinking local brews as early as ten o'clock in the morning instead of doing some constructive work. This kind of leisure has negative consequences on the welfare of the victim's household and also on the entire economy of Uganda.

²³ Average saving ratio is average household saving expressed as a percentage of average household income (or expenditure for our case)

²⁴ John Paul II deals with the question of workers' rights in his encyclical *Laborem Exercens*, 625-29.

The question of slum household income

One of the challenges faced by socio-economic researchers is to get the exact figures of the respondents' incomes. Most people hardly tell the truth about how much they earn especially for the fear of taxes while those who have unstable and informal sources of income might not know exactly how much they earn per month.

During the 2009 survey, none of the respondents revealed to us a disposable income figure equal to or greater than his or her household's expenditure. 29 respondents told us that they meet some of their monthly expenditures by acquiring loans, 29 reported that they get help from their relatives in rural areas, 2 get help from relatives abroad while the rest reported no other source of income apart from their simple jobs. Those who have additional sources of income are certainly better off than they would have been with only one source of income.

An important secondary source of income that was reported by the LCs of Namuwongo, Nsambya, Wabigalo, Banda, Kiswa and Kamwokya is membership in a development association. Both the leaders and the household respondents that belong to development associations reported that these associations assist their members to acquire soft loans especially during difficult times. The members are also offered financial management lessons and so they acquire the culture of saving.

Needless to say, slums too are characterized by income disparities. Indeed there are some middle class people who hide in the slums and mingle with the real slum poor because life there is relatively cheap. To illustrate the issue of income inequalities in and among the slums, we computed per capita monthly food expenditures for each of the households that were interviewed²⁵. From table 3 below, we notice that in the same slum some people are poorer than others. For example, in Kivulu we computed a per capita monthly food expenditure of US\$69,000 for a certain household while in the same slum there was a household with per capita monthly food expenditure of less than US\$6,000. As indicated in the table, we established that the most food secure person lives in Kiswa while the most food insecure person lives in Kivulu.

²⁵ Computing per capita food expenditures is a very crude way of measuring income inequalities but at least we get a picture of how the situation is like. This analysis made an unrealistic assumption that food intake is the same despite the differences in age and sex among the household members.

Table 3: Maximum and Minimum Per Capita monthly Food Expenditures

Location	Maximum	Minimum
Namuwongo	63,450	11,800
Kalerwe	57,779	12,189
Bwaise	49,920	8,857
Katanga	44,313	7,271
Wabigalo	61,000	9,180
Nsambya	38,933	19,764
Kivulu	69,000	5,833
Banda	92,857	11,400
Kiswa	107,760	9,745
Kamwokya	68,375	10,380

7

Rural-urban Migration and Slum Poverty Incidence

In this section, we present the responses to the second part of the household interview guide and the views gathered from the LCs of the sampled slum villages. One part of this section deals with the question of rural-urban migration while the other is about the availability and accessibility of public services in the slums and the possible solutions to slum challenges.

7.1 Slum-dwellers' Rural Origins

From the responses by the LCs we were able to establish the following districts as the places where most of the slum dwellers originally hail from: Kisoro, Masaka, Bushenyi, Kitgum, Iganga, Mpigi, Mbarara, Kamuli, Soroti, Gulu, Sironko, Kabarole, Mbale, Kasese, Bundibugyo, Kyenjonjo, Ntungamo, Kampala, Wakiso, Kabale and Luwero. Notice that most parts of Uganda are here represented. Rural-urban migration is directly related to slum poverty. All factors kept constant, the higher the rate of rural-urban migration, the higher will be the incidence of poverty in the slums. Most of the people who migrate from the rural to the urban areas sneak to the slums. Thus, if the number of people who move to the slums increases without a corresponding increase in the supply of goods and services, the rate of poverty incidence immediately shoots up.

7.2 Reasons for Rural-Urban Migration

From both the household and the LC respondents, we established the major reasons why people move from their rural districts to the urban areas of Kampala. These reasons include:

- the search for money or employment opportunities (140)²⁶
- following a spouse who is already staying in Kampala (62)
- hoping to find better standards of living and services (for example education, medical care, water and electricity) in the city (55)

²⁶ The figure in brackets indicates the number of respondents that gave that particular response

- running away from domestic violence, conflicts with relatives or wars in the rural areas (Luwero and Gulu) (21)
- lack of where to stay after the death of a close relative, for example a husband or parents (10)
- peer influence (6)
- loss of land to the land grabbers in the rural areas (5)

7.3 Challenges faced in the slums of Kampala

Most of the people who migrate from the rural areas to the urban areas of Kampala end up staying in slum areas. This is because they soon discover that they cannot afford the standards of living in the formal settlement areas such as Kololo, Ntinda and Muyenga. Slum dwellers face a lot of challenges that people in rural areas might not experience. The following were reported as the major challenges faced by the inhabitants of the slums of Kampala²⁷:

- High food prices (108)
- High rent costs even though the houses are of low standards (87)
- Floods during the rainy seasons, poor drainage systems, poor hygiene and sanitation (83)
- Theft, insecurity, high levels of immorality and high crime rate, rampant accidents (49)
- Higher school fees compared to rural schools (42)
- Additional costs, for example paying for going to the toilet and garbage collection (34)
- Congestion-related diseases (33)

7.4 Reasons against Urban-Rural Migration

Given the above challenges, it would be more rational for someone to migrate to the countryside than to continue staying in the slums of Kampala. However, during our survey we established that most slum dwellers would rather persevere with slum challenges than return to what they referred to as 'rural misery'. According to them, going back to the village is like falling from the frying pan to the fire. The following were given as the major reasons why people continue to stay in the unfavorable slums of Kampala instead of migrating to the countryside:

- accessing services is easier for the urban poor than for the rural poor (95)
- The possibility of getting better employment opportunities than one's current job is higher in Kampala than in the rural areas (92)

²⁷ These reasons are what we might refer to as the 'opportunity cost' of staying in the slums of Kampala instead of going back to one's rural origin

- Lack of rural land or home (39)
- The spouse is working in the city and so it is better to stay together in the city (14)
- Security reasons [afraid of the wars in rural home area or conflicts and witchcraft] (5)

7.4 Social services in the slums of Kampala

We now look at the availability and accessibility of public services in the slums of Kampala.

Water supply and sanitation

Water is one of man's very basic needs. We need water irrespective of whether we are rich or poor or whether we stay in an urban setup or in a rural setup.

During the 2009 survey, all the LCs reported that they have piped water in their areas. All except the one of Kivulu and the one of Kiswa, reported that their settlement areas have at least 10 water taps; Kivulu has 1 water tap while Kiswa has 4. In addition to the taps, 4 LCs reported that their areas have some protected wells and some open wells. From this we can conclude that although its safety or cleanliness is questionable, water is generally available in the slums and it is accessible. However, unlike in the rural areas, in most slums people have to pay for water and this reduces their purchasing power for other commodities.

The question of sanitation is very crucial in all the slums that we visited. We estimated from the findings of our survey that on average the toilet to household ratio is about 1:25. According to what the LCs reported and from what we observed, the use of 'flying toilets' is very common in the slums.²⁸ 7 LCs told us that there are some public pay toilets and latrines in their areas. However, some household respondents were bold enough to inform us that they can neither dig their own latrines since they do not own land nor can they afford the public pay toilets on a daily basis. This implies that they sometimes resort to their 'flying toilets'. One respondent in Banda told us that the members of her household avoid eating certain foods in order to reduce the number of times they go to the toilet; the children are told to use the school toilets so that when they come back home they do not ask for money to go to the toilet. Poor sanitation accounts for all the cholera outbreaks that are usually experienced in the slums of Kampala.

²⁸ 'Flying toilet' refers to human waste put in a polythene bag and thrown away. This is caused by the lack of toilets and latrines in the slums.

Garbage management and drainage systems in the slums

Garbage management is another crucial problem in most slums. Garbage is littered everywhere and so the whole place stinks due to the filth. The LCs of the slums we visited described garbage management as a disaster or an unmanageable nuisance. The major reason for this is that slum areas are congested and ill planned. It is difficult to get a free place big enough for people to dump their garbage before it can be collected by the city council workers – if at all. Most people just throw garbage anyhow and more especially at night. Only three slums (Katanga, Kiswa and Wabigalo) have a systematic way of dealing with garbage. Each household pays a monthly fee of US\$1,000 for garbage collection and the garbage is collected by Kampala City Council. The only challenge that was reported by the leaders of these 3 slums is that Kampala City Council has not been faithful to its promise of collecting garbage on a weekly basis.

Related to the garbage problem is the challenge of drainage systems in the slums. Except for Kiswa, the LCs regretted to note that the problem of drainage in their areas might never get a solution. The houses in the slums have been built without following any urban plan. This makes it very difficult to dig water channels in the slums. Most of the places we visited were soaked with dirty water and floods even though it was during the dry season. The household respondents told us that the problem worsens during the rainy seasons when the slums become almost impenetrable. This is the reason why cholera is rampant in Kampala especially during rainy seasons.

Health facilities and services in the slums

Given the high prevalence of diseases such as cholera, dysentery, HIV/AIDS and other STDs, Malaria, malnutrition and Tuberculosis²⁹ in the slums of Kampala, it would be necessary to have sufficient and affordable medical facilities and services for preventive and treatment purposes. However, from the findings of our survey we established that there are no Government hospitals in any of the 10 slums that we visited. With the exception of Katanga and Bwaise, the rest of the slums are located far away from their nearest government hospitals. Most slums are at the mercy of private clinics and traditional healers. As indicated in appendix table Y, Kamwokya and Bwaise have the highest number of private clinics while Kiswa and Kalerwe reported the lowest numbers.

It is quite obvious from the above analysis that slum dwellers find it difficult to access medical facilities. During the interviews, the LCs reported that private clinics are not only expensive but they also lack adequate medicines and qualified

²⁹ According to what was reported by the LCs, these are the diseases that are common in the slums of Kampala.

personnel. Most of the household respondents told us that because of these challenges, they seek medical help only when they cannot avoid it. It is only for treatment but not for disease prevention that they visit clinics or traditional healers.

Education facilities in the slums

Education is both a fundamental human right and a means to better standards of living. It is widely believed that education is one of the most important tools that will reduce poverty in the least developed countries. People invest in education in order to learn more about life and also to acquire the necessary skills for doing certain jobs when they get employed. It is therefore important that education facilities such as schools and tertiary institutions are made available to the people and that they are in fact affordable.

Poverty is likely to be sustained by the low levels of education among slum dwellers. Most slum dwellers, as we pointed out earlier on, are primary school dropouts. As if that is not enough, the future of their children is also at stake since it is hard for them to access good schools. From the findings of our survey, we established that with the exception of Nsambya, there are no government secondary schools in the slums that we visited³⁰. Only 3 slums (Nsambya, Namuwongo and Kivulu) have private secondary schools. Most slums have private nursery schools and private primary schools but not secondary schools or tertiary institutions. The LCs reported that school-going slum children walk long distances or pay daily for their transport to go to school. Sadly enough, some of the children sneak to movie halls when they get tired of the long distances between their homes and their schools. This makes it hard and expensive for slum dwellers to educate their children to the same level other parents elsewhere in the country are educating their own children. Consequently, the future of slum children is bleak compared to that of their counterparts.

7.5 Possible solutions to slum challenges

What is not optional is the question of slum upgrading; the option is how to go about the whole process of upgrading slums. During our survey, the following ideas were given by both the LCs and the household respondents as suggestions of what could be done to improve the condition of Kampala slums:

- The Government of Uganda or rich people should demolish all the poor quality slum houses and build better ones (78)
- The Government or the landlords should put up public toilets and construct good drainage systems in order to improve the hygiene and sanitation of the slums (59)

³⁰ Please refer to appendix table Z

- The Government should establish more labor-intensive industries that will provide employment opportunities to slum dwellers (50)
- The Government should give soft loans to the slum dwellers (38)
- The Government should offer unemployment benefits to the urban poor (30)
- The Government should either beef up security or punish criminals, for example thieves (26)
- The Government should reduce or monitor prices of basic needs (20)
- The slum dwellers should form development associations in order to acquire knowledge about financial management and economic development (15)
- The Government should develop the rural areas and encourage some of the slum dwellers to go back to their villages (7)

Notice that the slum dwellers expect the Government of Uganda to do most of the work for them; they are to be on the receiving end of the spectrum.

7.6 Foreseen obstacles to the above suggestions

The respondents were skeptical about the process of slum upgrading. Most of them argued that it is possible to improve the life conditions in the slums but the willingness to do so is lacking especially among the government leaders and the landlords. The following issues were pointed out as possible obstacles to the process of slum upgrading in Kampala:

- Corruption among government leaders (58)
- Lack of funds for extending public services to the slums (33)
- Lack of interest among government leaders to improve the living conditions of slum dwellers (26)
- Resistance from the landlords to sell their land to those who can develop it (21)
- Loan defaulting by the slum dwellers (19)
- Resistance from the slum dwellers to any attempt of displacing them (8)
- Failure by low income dwellers to pay rent after the better houses have been built (5)
- Lack of information among the slum dwellers and hence the failure to participate in the slum upgrading process (4)

Conclusions and Policy Implications

One of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) is to improve the life conditions of slum dwellers. This target is not isolated from the other MDGs. There is a strong link between the goal of improving the life of slum dwellers and especially three other MDGs, namely, reducing extreme poverty, providing basic education for all children and combating diseases. The implication of this is that any policy that is aimed at the achievement of any of the MDGs must be in harmony with other MDGs-oriented policies. In other words, achieving the MDGs requires the formulation of policies and strategies that resonate with the plans of all the other stakeholders. It is also important to emphasize that *ability* minus the *willingness* to achieve the MDGs is like clapping with one hand.

Unless the stakeholders are willing to do so, it is an illusion and indeed mere sophistry to think or talk of reducing poverty or improving the life of slum dwellers basing only on a country's capacity and endowments. Uganda has the ability to improve the life conditions of all her citizens but the willingness to do so is still lacking. This is the major reason why despite all her natural resources, Uganda is still one of the least developed countries in the world.

Nevertheless, Uganda still hopes to achieve economic development. There are several plans and policies geared towards improving the life standards of *all* Ugandans. However, most of Uganda's plans to reduce abject poverty target rural areas and tend to underestimate the plight of the urban poor who are in fact poorer than the rural populace. It is becoming obvious even to non-economists that Uganda will not 'eradicate' poverty until there is use of a more comprehensive and inclusive development approach. The needs of the urban poor too must be addressed otherwise Uganda will continue to lag behind in development.

As already mentioned, most Ugandan urban residents live in slum areas because they cannot afford the cost of living in the luxurious formal settlement areas. The number of slum dwellers keeps increasing year after year and the reasons for this have been outlined in the previous sections of this report. The increase

in the number of slum dwellers is usually not accompanied by any increase in the supply of goods and services. This creates an imbalance between the forces of demand and supply for goods and services and consequently, it exacerbates poverty incidences in the slum areas. There is therefore need to reduce the number of rural migrants to urban areas (**preventive measures**) and to provide more goods and services to slum dwellers (**therapeutic measures**) in order for Uganda to make slum poverty history - if at all.

Preventive measures:

From the findings of the 2009 survey, we established that rural-urban migration worsens the conditions of living in the slums of Kampala. Thus, one of the major ways of combating the problem of slums is to avert rural-urban migration. This requires addressing the major causes of rural-urban migration. We shall make use of two causes of rural-urban migration to explain the link between addressing rural poverty and combating the problem of slums, namely, the lack of employment opportunities and the lack of public services in the rural areas.

The high level of unemployment in rural areas is one of the major causes of rural-urban migration. People who cannot get jobs in the rural areas move to towns and cities with the hope that they will get jobs there but most of them get disappointed and so they end up in slums. The influx of rural migrants worsens the living conditions in the slums. The implication of this is that in order to address the problem of slums, it is important to create jobs in the rural areas so that people do not think of looking for jobs only in terms of migrating to the urban areas. Since the Ugandan economy depends heavily on agriculture, there is need to allocate more financial and other resources to the agricultural sector. This is something that has been recommended by several socio-economic analysts but the Government of Uganda has not done enough to implement its policies in that area. It remains obvious though that improving the agricultural sector would increase the incomes of most rural residents and the supply of food items to urban areas and hence reduce both rural and urban poverty incidences. It is also important to establish more agro-based industries especially in the rural areas in order to create more jobs for the rural populace and to decongest Kampala and other urban areas. Uganda needs industries that will make use of her natural resources and her labour force that is to a great extent composed of semiskilled people. We should emphasize here that part of the process of establishing an industry should be to put in place housing estates, water supplies, electricity and security for the prospective workers. This requirement will enable industries to prevent the growth of slums that has always accompanied industrialization processes.

In relation to the above issue, it is important to *modernize* rural areas so that people are not attracted by the glamorous urban centres. Providing rural areas with good and reliable roads, schools, hospitals, electricity, water and security will reduce the number of people who wish to move to urban areas in the search for these services and indeed some of the slum dwellers might decide to go back to their rural origins. Preventing rural-urban migration and instead encouraging urban-rural migration will reduce the pressure on the limited goods and services in the slums and thereby lessen urban poverty.

The 'preventive measures' require all the government ministries and other stakeholders to keep on their toes and to play their part. It would be absurd to expect that the Ministry of Urban Development will single-handedly address the problem of slums in Uganda.

Therapeutic measures:

What we have said so far about addressing slum poverty can only be categorized as long-term solutions. However, as John Maynard Keynes used to say, "in the long-run we shall all be dead". It is therefore important to suggest short-term remedies to slum problems, namely: high unemployment and underemployment levels, unplanned housing and low quality houses, high crime rates, drug abuse, immorality, poor or insufficient infrastructures and low literacy levels. What is even more crucial is the monitoring of prices of basic commodities such as food. There is need for a price mechanism to be set up so that middle men and women do not earn abnormal profits at the expense of the rural farmers and the urban dwellers. It is common practice in Uganda for some people to buy food items from the rural areas at very low prices and sell them at very high prices in urban centres. This must be stopped by the Government since it worsens income inequalities in the country and increases the level of urban poverty.

The Government of Uganda is currently planning to provide assistance to Ugandans who cannot afford the most basic needs of life and also to offer unemployment benefits to those who cannot get jobs. This must be good news for the slum dwellers since they form one of the most immediate target groups. Indeed the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development (MOLHD) plans "to improve the living conditions of slum residents living in the most depressed physical conditions in Uganda's urban areas on a sustainable basis" (MOLHD, 2008. P. 32). However, Uganda's benevolent plan of assisting poor people might be challenged by the lack of information about the number, specific attributes and needs of Ugandans who are truly poor³¹. Although it is hard to

³¹ We were indeed surprised during the survey to discover that the LC leaders did not know how many people reside in their areas of jurisdiction.

establish and to keep updating a data base for poverty stricken areas, it is almost impossible to run a welfare scheme without statistical information about the needs and number of the poor people in a specific area.

In the effort to assist slum dwellers, it is inevitable to create a data base of the information about each and every household in every slum village. It is important to know for each slum village how many residents need to be helped with nutritious food, housing facilities, water, electricity, medical care, school fees or job opportunities before the coupons can be distributed. Short of this, there is no way a welfare scheme for slum dwellers can be run and sustained. However tedious the task might be, there is need for the LCs to keep records of any new arrival in their slum area. This will enable the LCs not only to know exactly how many of their people qualify to benefit from the government's welfare scheme but also to be able to provide security to their people and to educate the new arrivals about the code of conduct and conditions of staying in their area of jurisdiction. For example, one condition could be that if someone comes to the slum area for the reason of looking for a job in the city but fails to get a job in 3 months, he or she should be automatically expelled from the slum.

Needless to say, one major limitation of running a welfare scheme is the creation of a dependency syndrome among the beneficiaries. It is therefore important to suggest that instead of giving handouts to the poverty stricken and semiskilled slum dwellers, the Government of Uganda should think of creating employment opportunities for them and training them in vocational skills. This might require establishing more labour intensive industries as opposed to the capital intensive industries that are being established all over Uganda. Surely, although the Government is insisting on a welfare scheme and avoiding the issue of coming up with a minimum wage policy, job creation is a better option because it increases poor people's disposable income without making them dependants.

It has been pointed out again and again by several socio-economic analysts that Kampala city is not well planned and this makes it difficult to provide certain public services to the city residents. The situation is of course worse in the slum areas. Thus, if the Ministry of urban development is serious about its plan to upgrade slums, there is urgent need to come up with good plans of how each slum can be reconstructed and improved. The way slums have chaotically mushroomed in Kampala, it is impossible to improve their drainage and sewage systems or to provide them with water taps, good toilets, roads, markets, schools, hospitals and any other public facilities.

Some prophets of doom have already claimed that the plan to upgrade slums in Kampala will be opposed by the landlords and the slum dwellers. But, it is important to know that development is an exceedingly painful and complex process and so Uganda should not expect to achieve economic development without experiencing some costs; you cannot give birth, at least under natural circumstances, without undergoing some pain. The Ugandan Government should be ready to face the challenges that will arise in the process of upgrading the slums of Kampala. One obvious challenge is the issue of compensating some of the landlords while for some of the slums, there is a likelihood that the residents will have to be relocated to other places. In any case, there is need to remodel the slums and this can only be achieved at some cost.

Finally, since Uganda is a mixed economy, the Government sector must work hand in hand with the private sector otherwise Uganda will never achieve economic development. From this axiom we can deduce that the war against slum poverty must be waged by both the Government bodies and the slum dwellers³². It is the duty of the slum dwellers to form associations in order to be able to participate in the development process for their area. Through development associations, slum dwellers easily access financial services, bargain for wage increments and better working conditions, fight against corruption, protest against unfair prices and organize community work. Slum dwellers have to work hard for their own development and forget about the possibility of manna falling from heaven especially during this era of a global economic meltdown.

³² We were surprised to establish that 55.5% of the household respondents that we interviewed had not heard about the government plan to upgrade slums.

Appendix

Table X: Percentage of Budget spent on Food and on Non-food Items

Location	Food (%)	Non-Food (%)
Namuwongo	54.1	45.9
Kalerwe	48.0	52.0
Bwaise	43.0	57.0
Katanga	46.9	53.1
Wabigalo	40.6	59.4
Nsambya	49.5	50.5
Kivulu	52.6	47.4
Banda	46.8	53.2
Kiswa	38.2	61.8
Kamwokya	48.5	51.5
Overall Average	45.8	54.2

Table Y: Type and number of health facilities in the slums

Location	Pvt hosp	Pvt clinics	Gov't disp	Trad healers	Gov't hosp
Namuwongo		3		2	
Kalerwe	1	1		1	
Bwaise	1	8		3	1
Katanga		6	1	5	1
Wabigalo	1	3			
Nsambya		3		2	
Kivulu	1	5	1	1	
Banda		3			
Kiswa		1	1		
Kamwokya		10			

Table Z: Type and number of schools in the slums

Location	Pvt nursery	Pvt pri	Pvt sec	Gov't pri	Adult lit	Gov sec	voc
Namuwongo	4		1				
Kalerwe		4					
Bwaise	1	2					
Katanga	3	3					
Wabigalo	2	1					
Nsambya	2	5	3	2		1	1
Kivulu	2	3	1		1		
Banda	0	0		0			
Kiswa	1			1			
Kamwokya	1						

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