

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES IN  
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF  
MASTER OF CITY PLANNING

AN HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF URBANIZATION AND TOWN PLANNING  
IN UGANDA

BY: DONALD T. MALINOWSKI

DEPARTMENT OF CITY PLANNING  
UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA  
WINNIPEG, MANITOBA

(c) DONALD T. MALINOWSKI 1989



National Library  
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale  
du Canada

Canadian Theses Service    Service des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada  
K1A 0N4

The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence irrévocable et non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège sa thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

ISBN 0-315-54867-3

Canada

AN HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF URBANIZATION AND  
TOWN PLANNING IN UGANDA

BY

DONALD T. MALINOWSKI

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of  
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
of the degree of

MASTER OF CITY PLANNING

© 1989

Permission has been granted to the LIBRARY OF THE UNIVER-  
SITY OF MANITOBA to lend or sell copies of this thesis, to  
the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm this  
thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film, and UNIVERSITY  
MICROFILMS to publish an abstract of this thesis.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the  
thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or other-  
wise reproduced without the author's written permission.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge and thank Dr. Mario Carvalho (Department of City Planning) for his thoughts and assistance as my thesis advisor. I would also like to thank Professor Basil Rotoff (Department of City Planning) and Dr. John Loxley (Department of Economics) for their insights as my thesis readers.

I would especially like to thank Mrs. Shawna-Lee Garside for providing me with excellent and highly professional word processing services over the many trying months of this endeavour.

Don T. Malinowski

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS		i
LIST OF FIGURES		v
LIST OF TABLES		vi
ABSTRACT		vii
UGANDA PROFILE		
	- UGANDAN FACTS	ix
	- URBAN CHRONOLOGY	xi
CHAPTER I	INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER II	HISTORY OF URBANIZATION	5
	Early History	- ancient sites - royal capitals - urbanization: the pre-colonial debate
	Modern History	- siting of urban centres - district towns - town boundaries/ layouts - building standards - growth of centres
CHAPTER III	IMPACT OF URBANIZATION	61
		- the urban African - urban/rural dichotomy - urban expenditures

- Colonial Era
- Early Planning Phase: health, safety and order 1890-1945
  - work of Professor W. T. Simpson
  - work of A. E. Mirams
  - Master Planning Phase: housing 1945-1962
  - work of Henry Kendall
  - government housing efforts
  - urban planning schemes
  - town planning

Post-Colonial Era

- National Planning Phase: socio-economic - physical planning 1962-
- reliance on foreign planning expertise
- integration with other forms of planning
- United Nations Planning Missions
- Kampala Development Plan

- role of urban centres
- urbanization
- urban planning

## APPENDICES

- I. Explanatory Notes on the Plans of the Royal Enclosure and the Capital: Plan
- II. Kampala Outline Scheme, 1951
- III. Draft Planning Schemes for:  
Fort Portal; Gulu; Kabale;  
Masaka; Mbale and Tororo

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 1	-	Uganda Political Boundaries 1969	ix
FIGURE 2	-	Ancient Earthworks and Settlements in Uganda	8
FIGURE 3	-	Plan of the Kibengo Earthworks	10
FIGURE 4	-	Capital Sites of Ankole	12
FIGURE 5	-	Major Tribes of the Lake Victoria Region 1840-1884	14
FIGURE 6	-	The Capital of Buganda	21
FIGURE 7	-	Administration Stations of British East Africa up to 1914	35
FIGURE 8	-	Towns and Districts in Uganda	40
FIGURE 9	-	Arua District Town	46
FIGURE 10	-	Central Hills of Kampala - Mengo	79
FIGURE 11	-	Kampala in 1902 and Kibuga Boundary	81
FIGURE 12	-	1912 Kampala Scheme	83
FIGURE 13	-	1919 Kampala Scheme	87
FIGURE 14	-	1930 Kampala Scheme	92
FIGURE 15	-	Character Zoning, Town Planning Zone, Kampala 1951	104
FIGURE 16	-	Public Buildings and Open Spaces, Kampala 1951	106
FIGURE 17	-	Road Network, Kampala 1951	108
FIGURE 18	-	Jinja Town Planning Scheme 1954	112
FIGURE 19	-	Entebbe Town Planning Scheme	114
FIGURE 20	-	Zones, Districts, Sectors, Kampala 1972	141

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 1	-	Origin of Significant Urban Centres in Uganda	31
TABLE 2	-	Basis for Site Selection - Significant Towns of Uganda	38
TABLE 3	-	Modern Day Features of Main Towns - Circa 1935	49
TABLE 4	-	Ugandan Population in Census Years	52
TABLE 5	-	Population of Main Towns 1928-1969	54
TABLE 6	-	Racial Origin of Urban Population in Selected Major Towns 1959	57
TABLE 7	-	Estimates of Urban Population and Urban Growth Rates in Uganda 1950-1970	58
TABLE 8	-	New Buildings Completed for Private Ownership 1957-1968	60
TABLE 9	-	Ugandan Government Expenditures on Urban Development 1947-1953	72
TABLE 10	-	Ugandan Significant Towns - Planning Areas/Outline Schemes	109

ABSTRACT

This work traces urbanization and town planning in Uganda from inception to the early 1970's. Urbanization is examined from the time of ancient sites and includes the royal capitals of African Kingdoms as well as 20th century colonial towns, while town planning is assessed from the early 1900's to 1972, a decade following Uganda's independence. The impact of urbanization, particularly in regards to Africans is examined in the major urban planning challenges facing Uganda in the 1960's and early 1970's are identified.

This work is based on extensive materials acquired from various university libraries throughout Canada and the United States. These consisted of a wide variety of books, reports, journals and articles.

Uganda's urban roots were found to extend back many centuries prior to the 1890's. This was the pre-colonial era when urbanization was a product of indigenous African forces. Uganda's modern urban history however was marked by the beginning of the colonial period in the late 19th century. British district towns which were established throughout Uganda became the foundations of the country's major urban centres of today.

Efforts to control the use of urban land began soon after the turn of the century and in time evolved into town planning. Initially based on medical criteria, town planning following the second world war matured with the recognition of its interdisciplinary nature and the need to integrate it with other forms of planning in post-colonial times.

The main town planning challenges found facing the Ugandan Government in the years immediately following independence was the need to address the various urban ills resulting from rapid urbanization and the necessity of determining what roles urban centres, urbanization and town planning were to play in relation to national development goals.



Urban Population: 10.6% (1990 estimate)

Annual Urban Growth Rate: 9.2% (1960-1970)  
3.4% (1980-1990 estimate)

Infant Mortality: 91/1,000 births (1985)

Life Expectancy at Birth: 53 years (1985)

Per Capita Income: \$220 U.S. (1985)

Languages: English (official), Luganda, Swahili, Bantu,  
Nilotic

Religions: 33% Protestant, 33% Catholic, 16% Moslem

Ethnic Groups: Baganda, Teso, Nkore, Soga, Kiga, Ruanda,  
Lango,  
Gisu, Acholi

Land Area: 236,036 square kilometers

Main Exports: Coffee, cotton, tea

Currency: Uganda shilling

Date of Independence: March 1, 1962

Capital City: Kampala (Population: 330,700 - 1969)  
(730,000 - 1990 estimate)

UGANDA'S URBAN CHRONOLOGY**\*\* EARLY HISTORY \*\***

- 1000 B.C. - Period of first occupied settlement sites
- 1000 A.D. - Period of first village life
- 1500-1600 - Period of ancient Ankole capitals
- Emergence of royal capitals of Buganda, Bunyoro and Toro Kingdoms
- 1750-1800 - Bugandan capital, the Kibuga remained sited within a small geographic area of Buganda
- 1844 - First Arab to visit the Kibuga
- 1862 - First European to visit the Kibuga
- 1885 - Kibuga permanently located on Mengo Hill
- 1890 - British establish a fort near Mengo Hill marking the birth of Kampala
- 1893 - British establish an administrative centre at Entebbe

**\*\* COLONIAL ERA \*\***

- 1894 - Uganda declared a Protectorate of the British Empire
- 1894 - Entebbe established as the Protectorate capital
- 1894-1902 - Centres of Fort Portal, Hoima, Masindi, Masaka, Mbarara, Jinja and Mbale established
- 1903 - Uganda Townships Ordinance
  - First urban related regulations adopted
  - First attempt to direct town growth with the reserving of public lands in Kampala
- 1909-1911 - Centre of Mubende, Gulu and Lira established

- 1912
  - First layout scheme of Kampala produced
  - Centre of Kitgum established
- 1913
  - Professor W. T. Simpson produced first report on town planning and housing policies
  - Centre of Soroti established
- 1914
  - Town Planning Committee formed to oversee healthy development of all towns
  - Centres of Arua, Kabale and Moroto established
- 1918
  - Central Town Planning Board established to replace Town Planning Committee
- 1919
  - Planning Scheme for Kampala was completed
- 1921
  - Centre of Tororo was gazetted as a township
- 1923
  - Policy of segregation of races in town development was officially abandoned
- 1929
  - Centre of Moyo was established
- 1930
  - A. E. Mirams produced reports and plans addressing the future growth of Kampala and Jinja
- 1935
  - Public Health Ordinance adopted which regulated construction standards and planning matters
- 1941
  - First planning scheme for the Kibuga drafted
- 1947
  - Town Planning Board established for Kibuga
- 1948
  - Town and Country Planning Act adopted which served as the foundation for all subsequent planning legislation
  - National Town and Country Planning Board established to develop general town planning policies; replaced Central Town Planning Board
  - First comprehensive urban African housing program created
  - Kampala's status upgraded from township to municipality, also declared a planning area

- 1949 - Henry Kendall, first qualified town planner hired by the Protectorate
- Department of Town Planning established to advise on all planning matters and to draft town development schemes
- 1951 - Planning scheme for Kampala completed
- 1954 - Department of African Housing established to facilitate the construction of new owner occupied urban estates
- 1955 - Planning scheme for Jinja completed
- 1958 - Buganda Town Planning and Building Law adopted authorizing the drafting of planning schemes for the Kibuga
- 1959 - Planning schemes completed for Entebbe, Fort Portal, Gulu, Lira, Mbarara and Soroti
- 1960 - Planning schemes completed for Kabale, Masaka, Mbale, Tororo
- 1961 - Development plan for the Kibuga adopted

\*\* POST COLONIAL ERA \*\*

- 1962 - Uganda gains independence (March 1st)
- Kampala proclaimed the national capital and has its status raised from municipality to city
- Mengo (the Kibuga) has its status raised from township to municipality
- Centre of Kapchorwa established
- 1964 - United Nations Kampala - Mengo Urban Planning Mission completes a series of studies and recommends various actions to address Kampala's projected growth
- Department of Town and Regional Planning established to replace the Department of Town Planning in order to undertake regional planning

- 1966 - United Nations Kampala - Mengo Regional Planning Mission completed its report and recommends among other things the creation of a single metropolitan authority for the Greater Kampala Area
- 1968 - Greater Kampala Metropolitan Area established with the incorporation of Mengo Municipality and the township areas of Nakawa and Kawempe
- 1969 - United Nations Regional Physical Planning Mission completed the groundwork for a development plan for the Greater Kampala Metropolitan Area
- Public Land Act adopted which nationalized all land except that found in Buganda Region
- 1972 - Development Plan for the Greater Kampala Metropolitan Area approved, replacing the 1951 Kampala Scheme and addressing projected growth needs to the year 2000.

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

The arrival of the British explorer John Hanning Speke on the northern shores of Lake Victoria in 1862 introduced the western world to the land that was to become known as Uganda. Since that time missionaries, soldiers, scholars and others have studied this region as it evolved from a collection of indigenous kingdoms, to a colonial protectorate, to finally a sovereign nation. One aspect of the country that has received relatively little attention is the subject of this thesis: "urbanization and town planning in Uganda".

Considerable debate surrounds the question of when urbanization first began in Uganda. While the existence of urbanization prior to the colonial era, which began in the late 19th century, has been disputed, archeological evidence suggests that it has been a feature of East Africa for many centuries. This traditional form of urbanization was truly African in nature, being a product of indigenous forces and values. However, Uganda's modern contemporary major centres are not descendants of this tradition but rather a product of European colonization. The colonial towns established by the British to facilitate the subjugation and administration of Uganda are the foundations for the country's significant urban centres. Representing European values in design and composition, it was not surprising that the Africans viewed

these towns as foreign entities, a perception still prevalent in the early 1970's.

But to many Africans, the colonial centres increasingly over time came to represent, whether real or imaginary, economic opportunities and a "better" (European) lifestyle which spurred rural-urban migration. However most Africans came to the towns poorly equipped and with little effort and few resources on the part of the authorities to accommodate them, serious conditions arose. These in turn gave rise to many of the major urban challenges which face Uganda's Government today.

Urban planning efforts in Uganda commenced shortly following the establishment of the first colonial towns, soon after the turn of the century. The question however of when "formal urban planning" began still remains. Planning, both during and for at least a decade after the colonial era was primarily undertaken by European expatriates. While mainly directed toward the larger centres of southern Uganda, urban planning was initially based on narrowly defined design criteria which were rooted in health and aesthetic considerations and where urban centres were treated as isolated entities. By the early 1970's it had taken on a multi-disciplinary comprehensive nature in which urban-rural-regional-national sectors had become inter-related. The challenge which this posed for authorities was how to

effectively utilize urban planning within this integrated context in order to achieve national goals and objectives.

The purpose of this work is to examine the historical evolution of urbanization and town planning in Uganda from inception to the early 1970's. It will also involve identifying the major impact and issues arising from both. The early 1970's were chosen as the chronological end of the study period because it marked the end of a 70 year period of relative peace and progress which was followed by over 15 years of devastating civil unrest which began with the 1971 military coup d'etat. It was during this tumultuous time that all aspects of Ugandan life suffered. Political instability, warfare and the near total collapse of the cash economy led to the widespread destruction and decay of urban centres and disruption of urbanization. The fate of urban planning during this period is uncertain although it no doubt as most functions of government, would have been adversely affected.

The challenges inherent in undertaking this thesis topic have related to the dearth of written publications on the subject, a situation which is compounded by the distance of Winnipeg from Uganda and other potential sources of materials. Travel to the country which was not possible for various reasons, would have afforded me additional insights and experiences. In working to overcome these challenges it

is hoped that this thesis will serve as a small but valuable contribution to understanding the subject of urbanization and town planning in Uganda.

## CHAPTER II. HISTORY OF URBANIZATION

### Early History

"It has been remarked that the eighth edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica (1853-60) contains no heading 'Uganda', and between these years may be set the bounds of any precise knowledge of the country and its inhabitants. Not often has an ordered, though primitive, civilization, such as has been settled for centuries to the north and west of Lake Victoria, passed on to a world ... so unsubstantial a record of its past". (Thomas, 1935, p. 2-3).

The above statements underlie the difficulties experienced by those who engage in the study of Uganda's early history. The absence of written records prior to the arrival of Arabs and Europeans in the latter half of the 19th century had required scholars to rely on oral accounts and archeological evidence to piece together a history of Uganda prior to the 1800's. Over the past number of decades, many inroads have been made into the subject but it is widely acknowledged that much work remains to be done.

The search for Uganda's urban roots necessitates scholars to delve into that period of history which has been described more by "speculation and conjecture" than "fact and data". Such an exercise has led to three general observations:

- (1) There appears to have been little importance placed on ascertaining histories and descriptions of early

population centres whether they be hamlets, villages or towns. For instance, it cannot be accurately determined when certain population centres began, what form they took and in many cases, what was their fate.

- (2) Census taking in Uganda only began in the early 1900's, it involved only the significant centres versus the smaller villages, and it was difficult to obtain an accounting of the growth of even the significant centres prior to the first census.
- (3) The only certainty regarding pre-19th century Ugandan history is that where centres of population have been noted, whether through oral, written or archeological evidence, it could be assumed that the inhabitants of these centres and those who came in contact with them experienced some form of rudimentary urbanization.

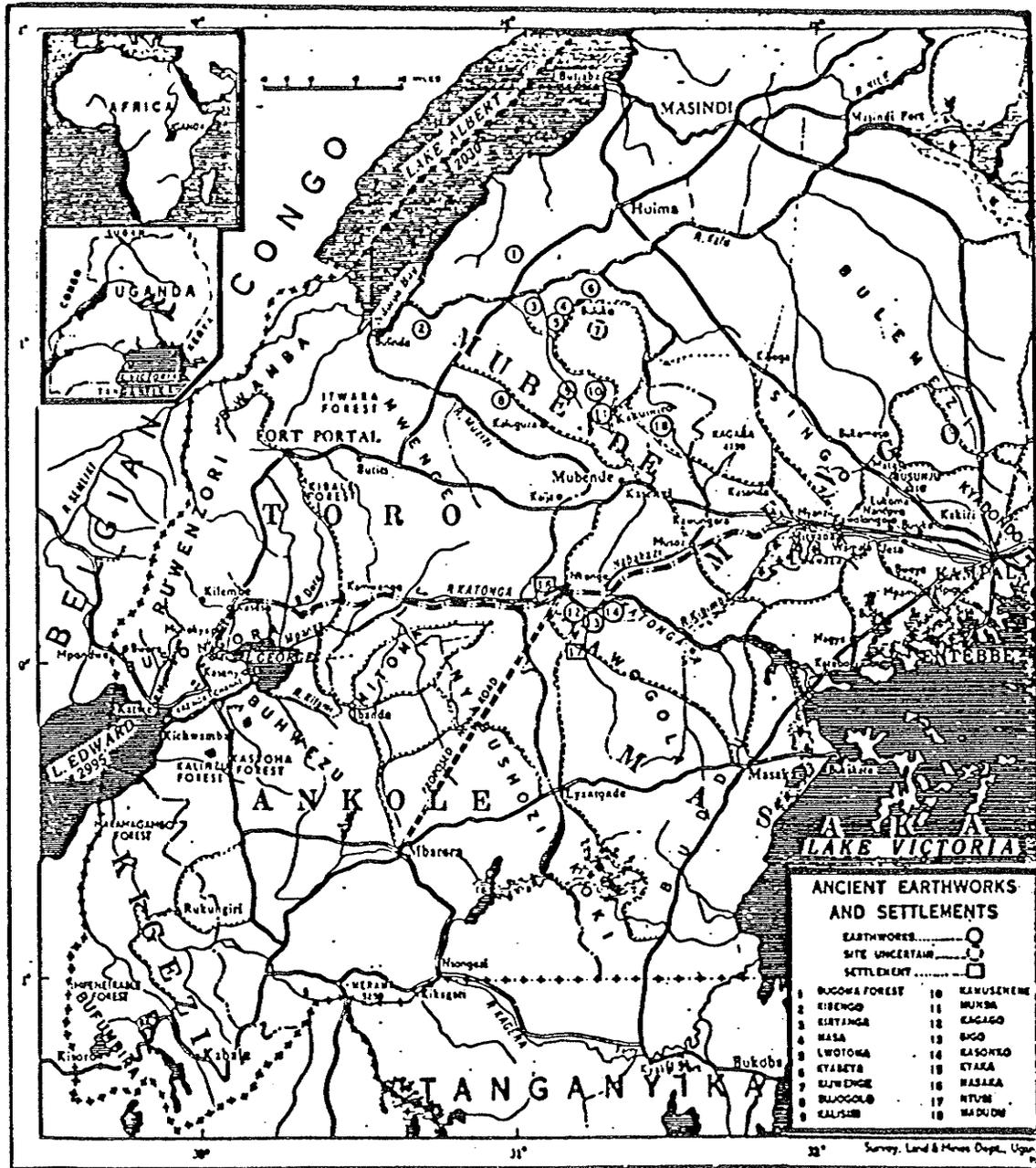
Just when the process of urbanization began in Uganda has not been clearly determined but based on archeological evidence it has been speculated that unearthed settlement sites in Uganda had been occupied in prehistoric times (Lanning, 1953). Whether such sites were villages is unclear but it has been estimated that village life did exist in Uganda at least as early as 1,000 A.D. (Hull, 1976).

Evidence of early settlements has been discovered in the form of ancient earthworks in Western Uganda. These have been found in two basic clusters. The first representing the northern cluster, lies between Lake Albert and the south bank of the Katonga River while the second representing the southern cluster, lies between the present town of Mbarara and the Tanzanian border to the south.

The northern cluster contains 18 known sites of which Bigo is said to be the "most extensive, best preserved and most fascinating" (Dunbar, 1968, p. 26). [Refer to Figure 2]. What has been found at Bigo are a series of deep wide trenches on a flat-topped hill overlooking the Katonga River to the north. They form an outer perimeter measuring 9,000 feet and form an elaborate trench system on three sides. Evidence has indicated that the trenches were greatly extended a few centuries after they were initially constructed. This has led researchers to speculate that Bigo was originally dug and occupied in prehistoric times, occupied for a number of centuries, abandoned for several centuries and then reoccupied (Lanning, 1953).

It is assumed that Bigo was developed because it was sited on the most strategic hill, controlling the best available ford on the Katonga River. Evidence relating to the earthworks during the second occupation of Bigo sheds little light as to who the inhabitants were but does reveal that

FIGURE 2: Ancient Earthworks and Settlements in Uganda



SOURCE: Lanning, E. C.; "Ancient Earthworks in Western Uganda", *Uganda Journal*, Volume 17, No. 1, March 1953.

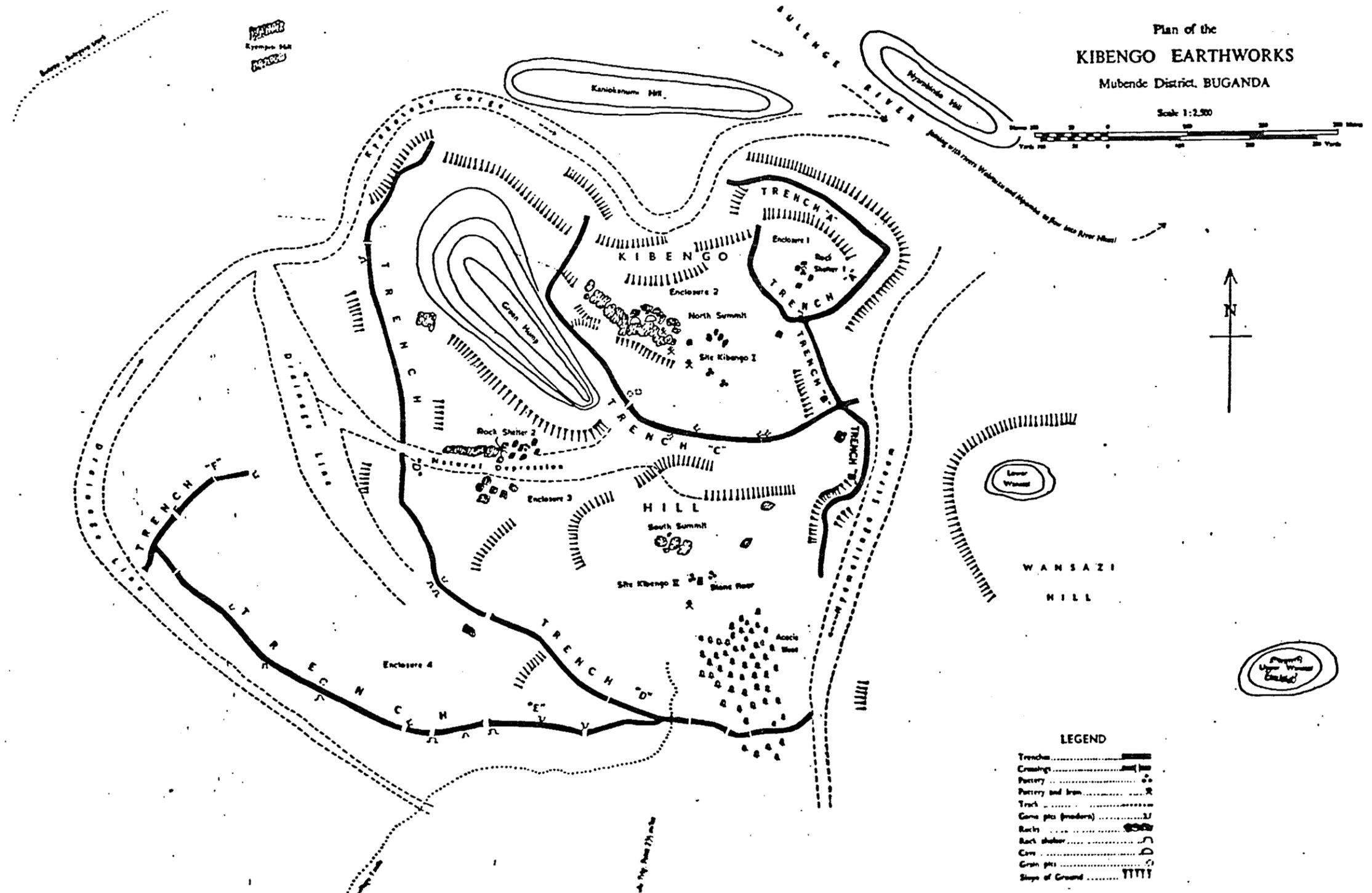
considerable activity and extensive occupation had occurred. One theory based on folklore contends that Bigo was occupied by the Backwezi who mysteriously or not arrived and then disappeared 400 to 600 years ago (Dunbar, 1968).

It is believed however that the settlement was certainly built and lived in by an African population some 500 years ago not markedly different in culture from the present inhabitants of the area (Shinnie, 1960).

Within 8 miles of Bigo, three well known earthworks considered to be satellites of Bigo; Kagago, Kasanko and Ntusi were found south of the Katonga River. Kagago and Kasanko similar to Bigo are believed to be of ancient origin with the former thought to have been reoccupied by the Backwezi (Dunbar, 1968). Ntusi according to the Ankole tradition was thought to have been the Backwezi ruler Wamara's main capital in the 15th century (Oliver, 1959).

Along with these three locations, sites north of the Katonga River showed signs of trench systems and perimeter earthworks, all believed to be associated with the Backwezi with the possible exceptions of Munsa and Musa, which are considered to be prehistoric (Lanning, 1953). The earthworks at Kibengo serve as a prime example of the trench systems of the northern sites. [Refer to Figure 3].

FIGURE 3:



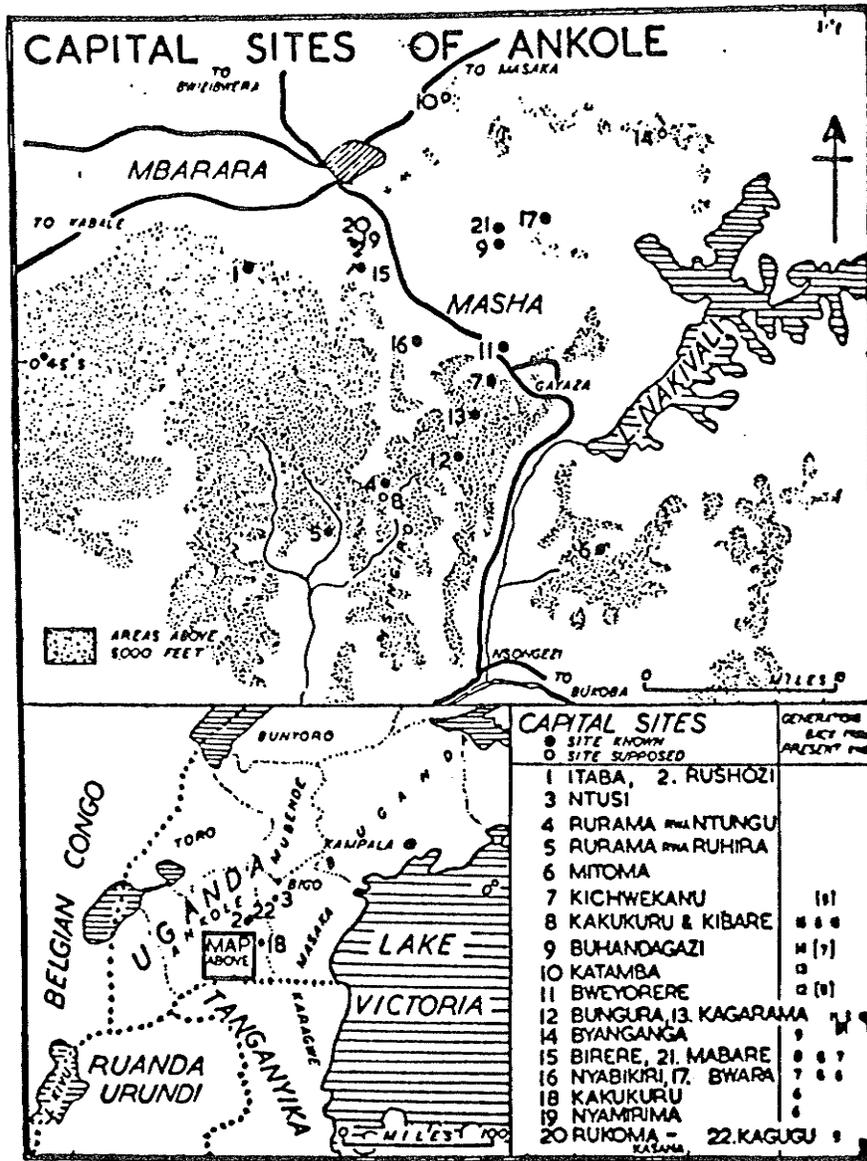
SOURCE: Lanning, E. C.; "The Earthworks at Kibengo, Mubende District", Uganda Journal, Volume 17, No. 1, March 1953.

Theories related to the origin of this cluster of earthworks suggest among other things that the sites provided evidence of the existence of people whose custom it was to live behind or around a defensive position (Dunbar, 1968). In general, based on the material findings, it has been concluded that the builders and occupiers of these sites were African.

The southern cluster located between Mbarara and the Tanzanian border to the south, consists of what are believed to be the 21 known capitals of the Bahinda who date back to at least the 16th century and emerged with the decline of the Backwezi Kingdom. [Refer to Figure 4].

It was believed that Itaba (1) was the headquarters for Wamara (the last ruler of the Backwezi Dynasty) who ruled over Ankole district during the 15th century. But of the various sites which have been dated back 400 to 500 years ago, Bweyorere (as Bigo was in the northern cluster) was the most impressive and best preserved. Onsite evidence revealed an outline of a large settlement a quarter mile long, and what is thought to be a palace perimeter and area where pages, soldiers and chiefs lived around the palace (Oliver, 1959). Although Bweyorere has been defined as a compact town site dateable between the mid 17th to mid 18th century, its status as a town has been strongly rejected (Posnansky, 1968).

FIGURE 4:



SOURCE: Oliver, Roland; "Ancient Capital Sites of Ankole", Uganda Journal, Volume 23, No. 1, 1959.

A cursory exploration of other sites has revealed limited information. What has been learned is that sites at Kagarama appeared to have been occupied as the capital for the Ankole Kingdom for some 70 years during the 15th century

and that Nyabikiri was believed to have been a settlement of considerable size.

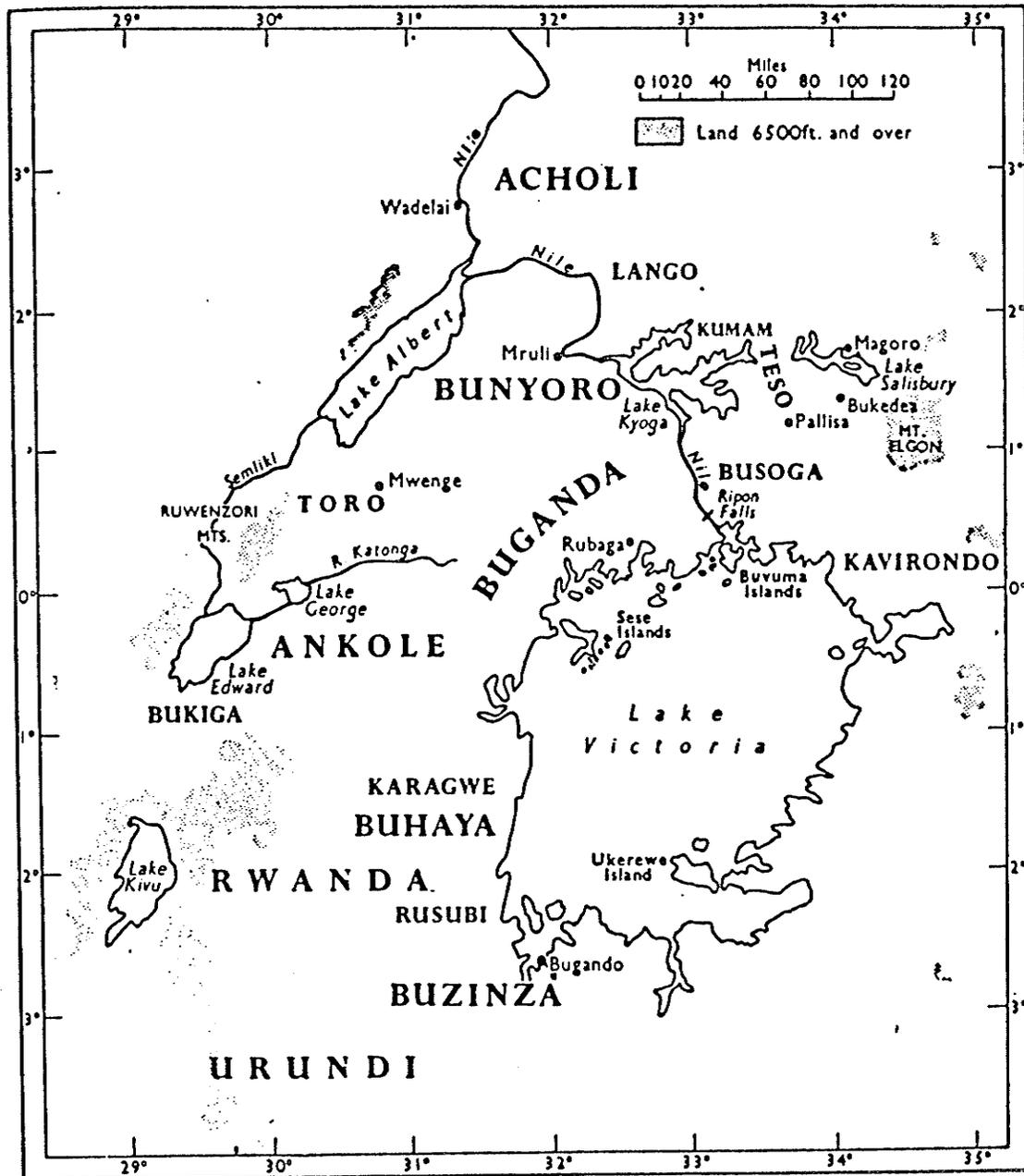
Given the size and complexity of the sites, two conclusions were reached. Firstly, that the capitals were built to last at least the length of the ruler's reign and their relocation during a reign was not commonplace. Frequent relocation of capitals is viewed as a 19th century phenomenon as exemplified by the Bunyoro Kingdom whose leader Kabarega moved his capital six times between 1885-88 (Hemphill, in Oliver, 1968).

Secondly, the capitals were recognized as actual towns and not merely extensive kraals belonging to the ruler (Oliver, 1959).

### Royal Capitals

From the time of the ancient earthworks to the 19th century, Uganda became settled by various ethno-linguistic groups. When the Europeans began arriving in Uganda in the latter half of the 19th century, they found a number of kingdoms located to the north and west of Lake Victoria. Although all were to varying degrees centralized, the Kingdoms of Buganda and Bunyoro were larger and more powerful than the smaller, less organized Kingdoms of Toro and Ankole. [Refer to Figure 5]. Of the two dominant kingdoms Buganda was the

FIGURE 5: Major Tribes of the Lake Victoria Region  
1840-1884



SOURCE: Dunbar, A. R.; History of Bunyoro - Kitara,  
Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1968.

most advanced.

When the British arrived, they found that Buganda was already a well-organized, agriculturally productive trading society, exchanging ivory and slaves for cotton goods, brass wire and cowrie shells. Strategically located, Buganda controlled most of the market northwest, north and east of its own territory (Shepard in Diamond and Burke, 1966).

To the north of these kingdoms beyond Lake Kyoga lay less centralized groups such as the Acholi, Karamojong, Lango and Teso while in southern Uganda east of the Buganda Kingdom beyond the Victoria Nile lay the Busoga.

All of the groups occupying Uganda are assumed to have arrived in the region over the past 500 years. These centuries are believed to have witnessed population movements in East Africa on a "scale which had not occurred in Europe since the Dark Ages" (Oliver, 1963, p. 171). It was over this time that a supposedly sparsely populated land was invaded by peoples from the central reaches of the Nile (Sudan) known as the Lwo who spoke languages of the Nilotic family.

It is speculated that the Lwo while establishing settlements north of Lake Kyoga were at the same time entering southern Uganda, adopting Bantu speech and founding a number of

related Bito Dynasties such as Bunyoro and Buganda in the 15th or early 16th centuries.

Over time, kingdoms arose in southern Uganda beginning with Bunyoro and Buganda, followed by the lesser Ankole and Toro. All four were ruled by leaders who established capitals. Some of the most notable such as Kibero (Bunyoro), Kabarole (Toro) and Kamukuzi (Ankole), possessed some manifestation of urban character (Langlands in Safier and Langlands, 1969). Unfortunately, little more than passing reference is made to them by historians even in the latter half of the 19th century.

The first mention of the one time Bunyoro capital of Kibero located on the western shore of Lake Albert dates back to 1872, when the Bunyoro ruler, Kabarega was forced to seek refuge there after being defeated by an enemy. It could be assumed that this event marked Kibero becoming the capital of the kingdom. Aside from acting as a port on Lake Albert, being located on the site of hot springs and being a centre for a long standing flourishing native trade in salt, little is known about the size or nature of Kibero (Ingham, 1975).

In 1876, British General Gordon visited Kibero and in 1888, Sudanese troops sacked the settlement. The attack on Kibero no doubt caused Kabarega to flee and thus abandon Kibero as the kingdom's capital. Six years later, the British built a

fort on the site to protect the salt works.

In the case of Kabarole in the kingdom of Toro, it would appear that it was established by the ruler, Kasaguma as his capital in 1872/3 and then reestablished in 1894 after being burned by invaders. The "township of Kabarole" was again raided in 1895 by Sudanese troops but later recovered to continue as the kingdom capital at least into the early 20th century (Ingham, 1975).

Very little has been stated about Kamukuzi, the capital of the Ankole kingdom. What is known is that it was established in 1899 near Mbarara, following the siting of the British civil office at the town. No reference has been found regarding its size or form.

An exception to the general absence of information on African settlements is Mengo, the capital of the Baganda Kingdom. What accounts for this knowledge is information gleaned from various sources such as travelogues, government documents, mission records and diaries of many individuals who came into contact with the Baganda during the 19th century. By the early 1900's, scholars undertook a close examination of Mengo, which by that time had been flourishing for decades in its final location among the foothills near the northern shore of Lake Victoria by Murchison Bay.

What has been learned is that Mengo (a generic term used to note any hill occupied by the Kabaka [ruler]), also commonly known as the Kibuga, originated as early as 1700 A.D. As the Baganda Kingdom began to consolidate and centralize throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, greater importance was placed on the Kibuga where the power of the Kabaka was concentrated. The Kabaka resided in his palace known as the lubiri which was situated in a royal enclosure described in the following fashion:

"The king lived upon a hill situated in the neighborhood of the lake. The summit of the hill was levelled, and the most commanding site over-looking the country was chosen for the king's dwelling houses, court houses, and shrine for fetishes, and for the special reception room. Round these buildings on the lower slopes of the hill other houses were built: in front were huts for the guards and retainers, and the many houses for the wives, their maids and slaves, were built on the sides and at the back of the royal houses. The whole of the royal enclosure was divided up into smaller courtyards with supervision of some responsible wife. Wide paths between high fences connected each group of houses with the king's private enclosure. In the reign of the famous king Mutesa (1857-84) there were several thousand residents in the royal enclosure: he had five hundred wives, each of whom had her maids and female slaves; and in addition to the wives there were fully two hundred pages and hundreds of retainers and slaves. A high fence built of elephant grass surrounded the royal residence, so that it was impossible for an enemy with the ordinary primitive weapons to enter. At intervals round the outside of the enclosure guard houses were built: there were four or five entrances which were strongly guarded; both inside and out were huts with soldiers always on duty, to prevent any person except the slaves and wives from entering. Again

inside the enclosure near each of the gates were other guard houses with soldiers on duty, who had instructions as to what persons were to be admitted by the gatekeepers. The main entrance in front of the royal residence was the only way by which the public were allowed to enter or leave the court. All the land between the royal residence and the lake (Lake Victoria) was retained for the king's wives and here they grew their plaintains". (Roscoe, in Gutkind, 1963, p. 88-9). (For further details refer to Appendix I).

The palace itself often consisted of a spacious and lofty hut, characteristically the largest in the capital. Upon the death of the Kabaka the palace, hence the Kibuga was abandoned and relocated to a new site selected by the ascending king. For instance, upon the death of Kabaka Mutesa in 1884, the new king, Kabaka Mwanga relocated the Kibuga the following year to what became its permanent location on Mengo Hill.

In close proximity to the lubiri (palace) was the Lukiko or parliament. It was generally a large hut which functioned as a meeting place for senior Baganda Chiefs who advised the Kabaka on important matters. With respect to the overall layout of the Kibuga it was described in the following manner:

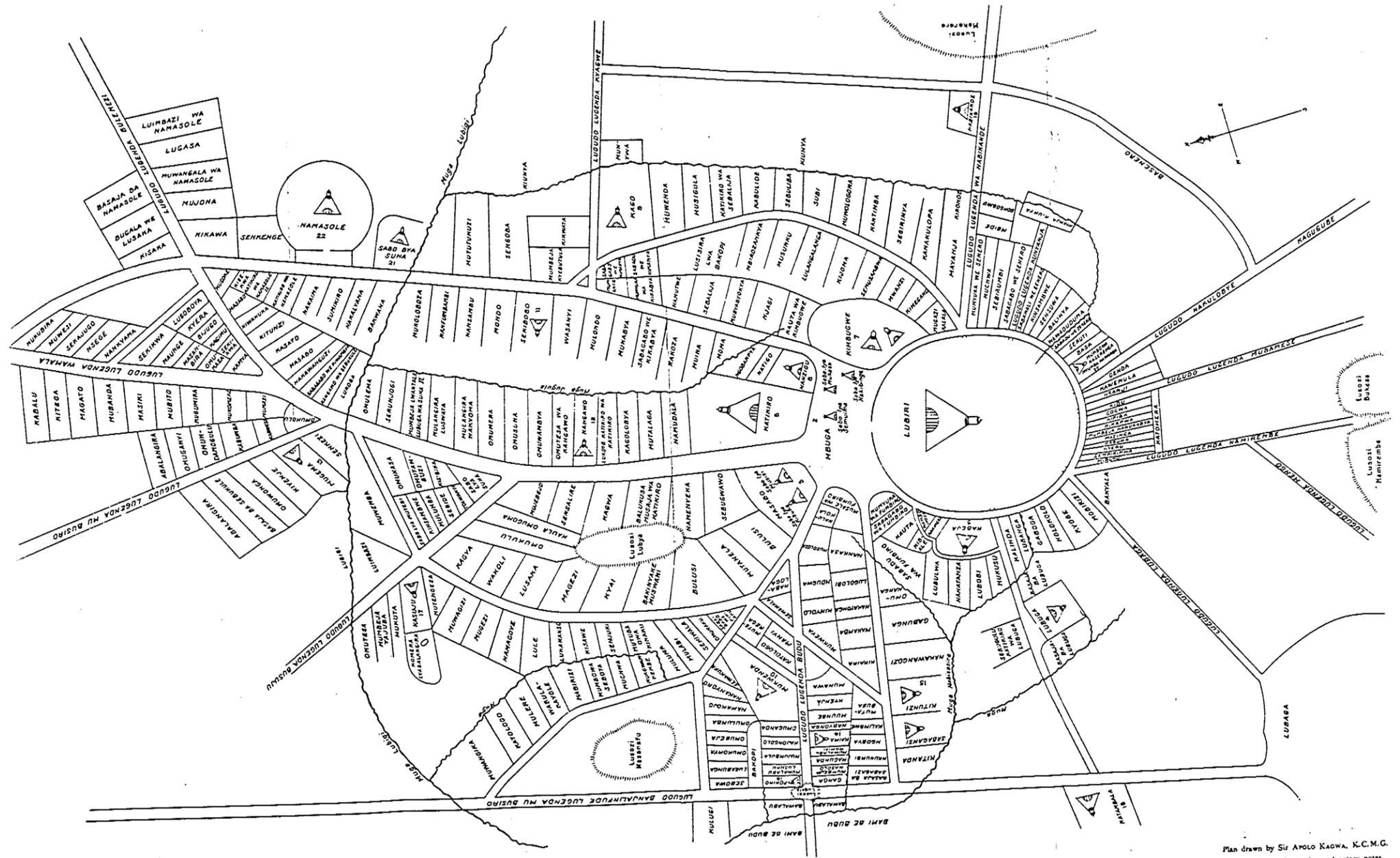
"The capital was divided into a number of sites corresponding to the country districts: every leading chief was surrounded by the minor chiefs from his district, and a portion of uncultivated land was left on which peasants could build temporary huts when they

were required to reside in the capital for state work. By this plan all the people from a particular district were kept together, and the sites remained the official residences of the chiefs of the district to which the sites belonged. Chiefs built high fences of reeds round their estates in the capital; the fence bordering on the main road leading to the capital was always neatly finished, and the space in front of the gate was kept swept and free from weeds. Within the enclosure there was a considerable amount of land cultivated, with plantain trees which were well cared for, and the fruit of these trees supplemented the food which was brought up from the country estate, and also supplied the table in any emergency. Every chief built a number of houses within his enclosure, not only for his own use and that of his wives, but also for slaves and retainers, and a supply too for casual visitors who might wish to stay with him for a day or two. When a chief was promoted, or deposed, he had to leave the site he was on which he had been living within a few hours; this was so ordered to prevent chiefs from using all the food on the site, and from causing destruction to the property". (Roscoe, in Gutkind, 1963, p. 32).

Access to and throughout the Kibuga was provided by impressive and well maintained roads, all seeming to terminate at the royal residence. The earliest known plan of the Kibuga on Mengo Hill in the late 1800's clearly marks the various features of the capital. [Refer to Figure 6].

The issue of the Kibuga's population size is a subject of great speculation. It has been estimated that around the year 1750, the Baganda capital's population exceeded 20,000 and by 1850 had grown to over 40,000 (Chandler, 1974). Estimates of its size in the late 1800's ranged from 15,000

FIGURE 6: The Capital of Buganda



Plan drawn by Sir AMOLO KAGWA, K.C.M.G.  
The numbers refer to the explanatory notes.

SOURCE: Roscoe, John; The Baganda: An Account of their Native Customs and Beliefs, London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1965.

to 80,000 (Howard, 1975). And by the early 20th century, estimates ranged from 60,000 to 77,000 (Johnston and Wilson in Gutkind, 1963).

The Kibuga's physical size which varied over time was affected by relocations of the capital and the number of individuals needed or permitted to reside there. The earliest reference to the size of Kabaka Mwanga's capital in the 1850's stated that:

"... the settlement, is not less than a day's journey in length; the buildings are of cane and ratten. The sultan's palace is at least a mile long, and the circular huts, neatly ranged in line, are surrounded by a strong fence which has only four gates". (Burton, in Gutkind, 1963, p. 34).

In the late 1880's, the Kibuga was described in the following fashion:

"There was one plan followed, which has been used by the kings for years without variation. The enclosure was oval shaped, a mile in length and half-a-mile wide, and the capital extended five or six miles in front and two miles on either side". (Gutkind, 1963, p. 35).

In the early 1900's the Kibuga was noted as covering an area of approximately twenty square miles similar to its present day size (Roscoe, in Gutkind, 1963).

Aside from the most prominent African centres such as Mengo, little else is known about other centres of note prior to the late 1800's in Uganda. A possible exception would be the modern day salt mining town of Katwe on the northern shore of Lake Edward in western Uganda. Katwe has been acknowledged by many as an African settlement dating back to at least the mid-1800's. A passing reference to its size was noted in an examination of tribal conquest during the early 1880's when the Bunyoro seized from the Busongora "control of the salt lakes ... including the two thousand inhabitants of the village of Katwe". (Ingham, 1975, p. 57).

Beyond this exception however, the question that arises is whether other smaller centres existed. One could speculate that perhaps other centres did exist but due to their isolation and lack of contact with the outside world nothing in the way of documentation survived. On the other hand, it could be argued that there was a definite absence of significant urban settlements outside of the southern kingdoms among the less advanced peoples of northern Uganda. The lack of archeological evidence would support this position.

#### Urbanization: The Pre-Colonial Debate

Based on what is known, the royal capitals of the southern

kingdoms could be recognized as significant African settlements and in the case of Mengo, a centre which represented the manifestations of an emerging urban society.

In examining the work of numerous scholars on the subject of Uganda's urban past however, it becomes quite evident that a dichotomy in opinion exists on the question of when the process of urbanization first commenced in Uganda. Contributing to this debate is the question of what is meant by the terms "urban" and "town". In a general sense, "urban" may be defined as, "of relating to, characteristic of, or constituting a city" and "town" as "a cluster or aggregation of houses recognized as a distinct place with a place name ... distinguished from surrounding territory" (Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary, 1976, pp. 1287 and 1235).

For the purpose of determining when a collection or concentration of individuals constitute an urban settlement, these definitions are not suitable. What is necessary is a refined definition which also takes into account the socio-economic, cultural and political circumstances of the country or continent. When done so, it has been determined that a concentration of people does not in itself give rise to a town but that:

"a town or city should be a centre of religion, the arts, governance, the military, industry or commerce ... it must also act as a cultural transmitter and possess an ability to radiate its institutions". (Hull, 1976, p. xiii).

From this perspective, a definition has been derived in which a traditional, pre-colonial African town or city represented:

"a collective body of inhabitants under the jurisdiction of an elite with political, economic or religious authority". (Hull, 1976, p. xiii).

However, it is apparent from the debate about the inception of urbanization in Uganda that not all scholars accept this definition. On the one hand, some authors claim that Uganda's urban history began only after the arrival of the Europeans and was a direct result of British colonial policies. Others, however, point to many of the examples cited earlier in this text to refute such claims. Figuring significantly in this debate is the lack of a sufficient accounting of Uganda's early history. In order to draw any conclusion about this subject, a brief examination of both sides of the issue is required.

According to one group of scholars, urban life in Uganda began only after the arrival of the British colonialists in the 1890's (Scaff, 1967 and Oram, 1954) and urbanization was

considered to be a response to the immediate economic and political demands of the colonial administrators (Witthuhn, 1974 and Bakwesegha, 1975). In order for the British to secure control over Uganda after declaring it a protectorate in 1894, efforts were undertaken to establish administrative district centres in every region. It has been noted that with few exceptions most of Uganda's major centres do possess colonial foundations (McMaster in Beckinsale, R. P. and J. M. Houston, 1968).

The arguments made by these scholars to a large extent were rooted in a general perception of pre-colonial Africa, in that African peoples south of the Sahara had no urban traditions "worthy of the name, and hence urban life and problems in contemporary Africa are essentially of external and European origin". (Southall, 1971).

Scholars arguing against the existence of pre-colonial urbanization discounted the royal capitals of the southern kingdoms or simply chose to ignore them. In dismissing the capitals, many referred to the East African Royal Commission Report 1953-5 which stated:

"Away from the coast there are a number of organized concentrations of huts which surrounded the headquarters of hereditary chiefs north and west of Lake Victoria, but these were temporary growths which bore no resemblance to the permanent urban centre as we know it today ... Towns developed along the

routes which were opened up into the interior by European enterprise from the beginning of the present century ... As new areas were brought under European administration, headquarters were set up which were the origin of many of the larger towns in East Africa today". (Dow, 1955, p. 200).

Some scholars while acknowledging the existence of the royal capitals were quick to dismiss them as mere impermanent clusters of population.

"There were indeed the Bibuga of the Bakaba and the Mbuga of the Bahama ... Complicated and even formalized though these centres were and large as the population may have been they were not organic growths because they were liable to removal and destruction at the whim or death of the Chief". (Oram, 1954, pp. 255-6).

Even the significance of the formidable capital of Buganda was downplayed:

"... prior to colonialism ... the Ganda capital of Mengo, which had never previously remained in one place was therefore only marginally urban". (Southall, 1971, p. 237).

In contrast to this line of thinking are a number of other scholars who believe that the foundation for urban society in Uganda was laid before the arrival of the Europeans and manifested itself in African towns and settlements. Despite the absence of any acknowledgement of Uganda's ancient settlement sites by those arguing against the existence of

any urban settlement heritage, proponents of pre-colonial urbanization are quick to do so:

"Many contemporary towns and cities, marketplaces, inter-regional trade and communication networks and social arrangements have an ancient heritage". (Howard, 1975, p. 247).

Further:

"It is obvious that European colonizers were not entering a continent lacking complex spatial structures, hence it is a mistake for regional analysts of the 20th century to assume a kind of vacuum into which "modern" elements were planted". (Howard, 1975, p. 263).

Also in response to the claims that colonization was the only impetus to urbanization it was argued that:

"European Initiative was not the only decisive or important factor in the founding of towns, that urban growth in East Africa during the period was a much more complicated process than a simple series of conditional reflexes to the coming of the Europeans". (Twaddle, 1966, p. 25).

The presence of an urban character in the royal capitals of Buganda, Ankole, Bunyoro and Toro along with Katwe, Mbale and the predecessor of Masaka are recognized on the basis of the specialized, centralized administrative hierarchy that existed in each. (Langlands in Safier and Langlands, 1969).

Despite the questioning by some of Mengo's urban status due to its apparent impermanence of location, many recognize it as the most significant pre-colonial African centre in Central East Africa. Its relocation through the centuries is overshadowed by the fact that its *raison d'être* (as the centre of power and authority) remained intact along with the existence of its highly specialized ruling class. Thus its urban status was claimed to be beyond reproach (Langlands in Safier and Langlands, 1969).

If one is to reflect upon the arguments put forward based on available evidence, one is compelled to agree that Uganda's urban roots do stretch beyond the latter half of the 19th century. One must avoid dismissing out of hand ancient traditions and evolution and carefully examine the environment into which the colonial powers entered in order to appreciate the influences and customs that prevailed in Uganda prior to the 1890's. At the same time it must be acknowledged that in most cases, Uganda's major urban centres do owe their origin to actions stemming from British colonial policies.

### Modern History

In 1894, the declaration of Uganda as a Protectorate of the British Empire marked the beginning of the colonial era for Uganda. The challenge of gaining political and economic

control of the entire Protectorate was formidable and required the British to quell any internal opposition to its rule. In alliance with the Baganda, the British through military and diplomatic endeavours, within the first 30 years were able to consolidate their control over Uganda and establish provinces, districts and counties within its borders.

The method employed in expanding colonial influence throughout the Protectorate was noted as follows:

"The pattern of occupation was everywhere the same; first an armed expedition would be made from an established fort to a new area; ...after skirmishes or pitched battles a new fort would be established and a garrison of armed Baganda installed. This garrison would then extend its influence over the surrounding country side by establishing armed posts or minor forts. When local opposition had been overcome the region would be declared a saza (county) and the smaller areas controlled by the outlying posts would be defined as gombalolas (parishes)". (Lawrence, 1957, p. 18).

Over time a number of these forts (such as at Hoima, Fort Portal, Soroti and Moroto) evolved into centres housing the machinery needed to administer the surrounding district. Others were established directly as administrative centres or district headquarters. [Refer to Table 1]. The date of origin of the centres chronicals the general geographic pattern of how British colonial influence was extended throughout Uganda.

TABLE 1: Origin of Significant Urban Centres in Uganda

<u>Centre</u>	<u>Date of Origin</u>	<u>Date Gazetted as Township</u>	<u>Basis of Origin</u>
Kampala	1890	1906	Site of first British fort - administrative centre for Mengo District
Mengo	1885 (on Mengo Hill)	1931	Capital of Baganda Kingdom - residence of the Kabaka
Arua	1914	1916	Established as the headquarters of the West Nile District
Entebbe	1893	1903	Established as administrative centre for Entebbe District - Protectorate Capital (1894)
Fort Portal	1894	1906	Site of British fort (1894) - established as administrative centre for Toro District (1900)
Gulu	1910	1911	Established as government station (1910)
Hoima	1894	1906	Site of British fort (1894) - established as headquarters of Bunyoro Collectorate (1900-12); 1924 -
Jinja	1900	1906	Established as Collectorate for Busoga District (1900)

TABLE 1: continued

<u>Centre</u>	<u>Date of Origin</u>	<u>Date Gazetted as Township</u>	<u>Basis of Origin</u>
Kabale	1914	1914	Established as head-quarters for Kigezi District (1914)
Kapchorwa	1962	1962	Established as head-quarters for Sebei District
Kitgum	1912	1914	Established as head-quarters for Chua District
Lira	1911	1914	Designated headquarters for Lango District (1914)
Masaka	1897	1906	Established as British fort (1897) - later designated headquarters for Masaka District
Masindi	1895	1906	Established as British fort (1895) - was designated as substation of Hoima (1900) and served as headquarters for Bunyoro District (1912-24)
Mbale	1902	1906	Founded by Semei Kakungulu - Kabaka of Bukedi and Muganda General
Mbarara	1898	1906	Established as administrative centre

TABLE 1: continued

<u>Centre</u>	<u>Date of Origin</u>	<u>Date Gazetted as Township</u>	<u>Basis of Origin</u>
Moroto	1914	1922	Established as a military and police post - later designated headquarters for Karamoja District
Moyo	1929	1932	Established as government station - later designated headquarters for Madi District
Mubende	1909	1914	Designated government station after its establishment
Soroti	1913	1914	Established as British fort - later designated headquarters for Lango District
Tororo	?	1921	Designated station (1935) - later became headquarters for Bugisu District

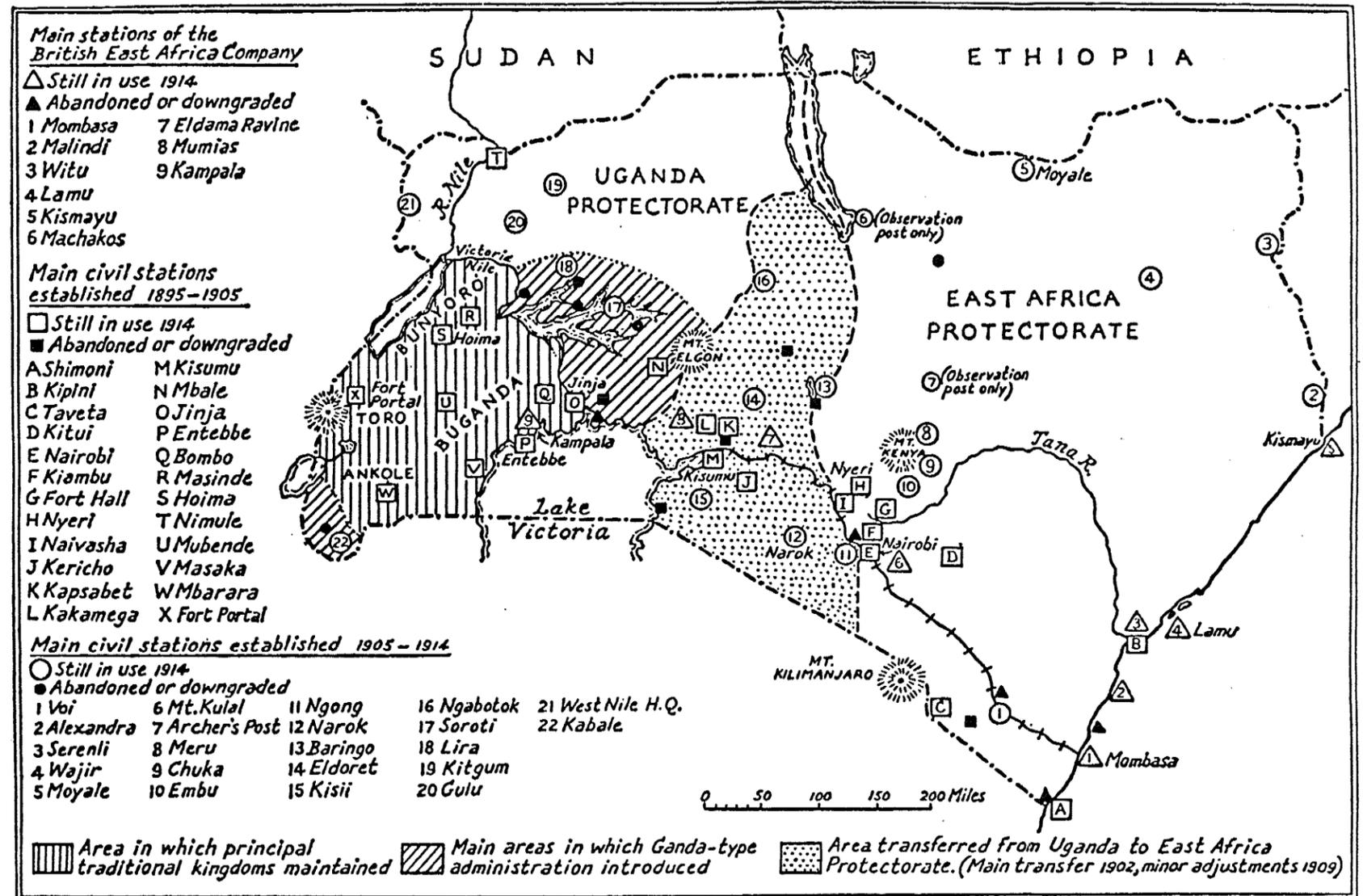
For instance, nearly all the earliest centres are found in the southern and western regions of the country (the areas of the Buganda and Bunyoro Kingdoms) such as Kampala, Masaka, Hoima and Fort Portal. Spreading outward from these areas to the north and east, the British consolidated their control with the establishments of centres in the farther reaches of the Protectorate such as Lira, Moyo and Moroto. Soon after being established (or in some cases concurrently), the centres were gazetted and officially recognized as townships.

By 1914, British civil administration had been established in nearly all areas with the exception of the north eastern reaches of the Protectorate. [Refer to Figure 7].

The criteria for the siting of new centres consisted of two general considerations:

- (1) the site had to be healthy for its European residents and be defensible;  
  
and
- (2) the site had to allow the inhabitants to easily administer the surrounding district.

FIGURE 7: Administration Stations of British East Africa up to 1914.



SOURCE: Oliver, Roland and Mathew Gervase (eds), History of East Africa: Volume I. Oxford University Press, 1963.

### Health/Safety

Concern for the health and safety of prospective European residents led the Protectorate Government to select sites for future townships that would minimize the threat of tropical diseases or hostile elements. This often led to centres being situated in elevated areas such as hilltops, ridges or interfluves between shallow valleys.

Such actions prevented towns from being established in wet, swampy areas where thriving diseases such as malaria and sleeping sickness were prevalent. Kampala serves as an example where European occupation was first established upon a central hill. Although initially well protected from tropical diseases the growth of Kampala down the slopes of the central hill towards the swampy valleys at the base of the hill exposed residents to black-water and malarial fevers carried by mosquitoes. This led to immediate calls for draining of the swamps. (Kendall, 1955).

The elevated siting of the centres also offered the residents a natural form of protection from any attacking enemy and provided the opportunity to flaunt colonial prestige and imperial pomp. (Bakwesegha, 1975). As many towns originated as government forts it is not surprising that these centres would come to dominate the surrounding landscape. Centres such as Kampala, Arua, Masaka and Soroti

among other reasons have been situated in consideration of topographical influences. [Refer to Table 2].

### District Administration

The second criterion for siting new centres was related to the factor of geographic centrality which would allow town residents to easily administer the surrounding district. The siting of many towns was therefore related to the drawing of district boundaries. As part of British colonial policies, the Ugandan Protectorate was divided into districts which were meant to segregate the major African ethno-political groups. Having achieved this objective, the British then centrally emplaced administrative headquarters within the district boundaries. The best examples of such towns are Lira in Lango District and Soroti in Teso District. Exceptions to this practise are the towns of Kabale in Kigezi District, Arua in West Nile District and Fort Portal in Toro District. This has been attributed to the glaring assymetrical distribution of the native population in the districts. [Refer to Figure 8].

Two other exceptions are Mbale, established by an African leader Semei Kakungulu (Twaddle, 1966) to which colonial administration was added and Jinja the site of a significant pre-colonial ferry crossing at the head of the Victoria Nile River.

TABLE 2: Basis for Site Selection - Significant Towns of Uganda

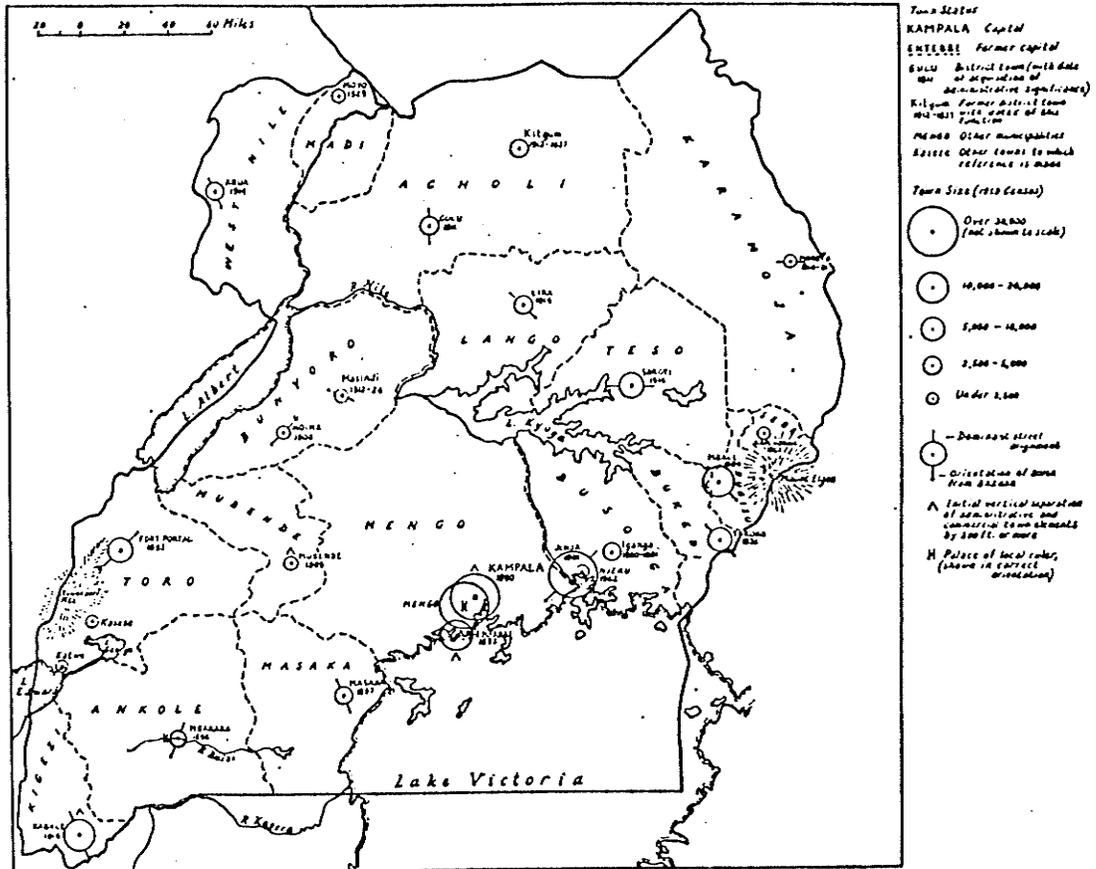
<u>Centre</u>	<u>Influencing Factors</u>
Kampala	(1) Adjacent to Mengo (2)
Arua	(2) (4)
Entebbe	(3) Lake Victoria
Fort Portal	(1) Adjacent to Kabarole (2) Ruwenzori Foot Hills (3) Mpanga River (4)
Gulu	(2) (4)
Hoima	(1) Residence of the Mukama
Jinja	(1) Site of pre-colonial ferry (3) On shore of Lake Victoria & banks of Victoria Nile
Kabale	(2) (4)
Kapchorwa	(2)
Kitgum	(3) On south bank of Pager River (4)
Lira	(4)
Masaka	(1) (2) (4)
Masindi	(1) (4)
Mbale	(2) On ridge above foot of Mount Nhokonjiru

TABLE 2: continued

<u>Centre</u>	<u>Influencing Factors</u>
Mbarara	(1) Adjacent to Kamukuzi (3) Southern bank of Ruizi River (2) (4)
Moroto	(4)
Moyo	(2)
Mubende	(1) Legendary Mubende Hill (2) (4)
Soroti	(2) (4)
Tororo	(2) Toro Rock (3) Near Osia & Turuku Rivers (4)

- 
- (1) Historical Influences - established on or adjacent to important native places.
- (2) Topographical Influences - established on hilltops, ridges, interfluve between shallow valleys.
- (3) Geographic - established by rivers, lakes.
- (4) Ethno-Political - established centrally among ethno-political groups.

FIGURE 8: Towns and Districts in Uganda



SOURCE: Beckinsale, R. P. and J. M. Houston (eds); Urbanization and its Problems: Essays in Honour of E. W. Gilbert, New York: Barnes and Noble, 1968.

Strongly influencing the drawing of district boundaries and siting of administrative centres in southern Uganda was the shape of the royal kingdoms and the location of their

selection.

### Town Boundaries/Layout

Town boundaries were often extensively drawn to encompass the centre's water supply and to accommodate future urban growth. Initial boundaries were circular with a radius of one to two and one-half miles from the fort, hill, district commander's office or his residence.

The design and manner in which towns grew in Uganda can be directly attributed to British colonial policies based on two fundamental beliefs.

The first was rooted in the theory of indirect rule and the philosophy of the British administrators that towns were not suitable permanent places for Africans to live. Emphasis was therefore focused on maintaining rural tribal societies instead of fostering an educated African urban elite. The second was that towns were regarded as centres of administration and commerce and not as centres of civilizing influence. (Dow, 1955).

In turn, the countryside was viewed as the permanent haven of the African, which was dependent upon but not reciprocal with the towns. It therefore existed not for development but merely for exploitation of its natural and human

capitals in the late 19th century. Districts arose from the Kingdoms of Bunyoro, Toro and Ankole, while the Kingdom of Baganda although divided among the districts of Masaka, Entebbe, Mubende and Mengo was consolidated within the boundary of Buganda Province.

District headquarters were often located adjacent to or on the site of the Royal Capitals or places considered highly significant to the Kingdoms. [Refer to Table 2]. This was reflected by the link between the following: Kampala-Mengo and Mbarara - Kamukuzi in the Kingdom of Buganda; Fort Portal - Kabarole in the Kingdom of Toro and Hoima and the residence of the Mukama in the Kingdom of Bunyoro. In most cases these important African sites were centrally placed within the kingdoms thus making them obvious locations for new towns. One must also acknowledge their strategic positions as already recognized centres of power and authority or reverence among the African population.

Finally, it is surprising to note that geographic influences such as rivers and lakes did not figure prominently in the decision to situate new towns. With the exception of centres such as Jinja, Entebbe and Kitgum, most centres were not located near significant or major bodies of water. [Refer to Table 2]. It could be speculated that the tropical diseases often associated with surface water as already mentioned, served as a dissuading factor in site

resources. (Bakwesegha, 1975).

In keeping with these beliefs, the British were resolved to maintain urban areas non-Native and rural areas African. To do so, colonial administrators sought to protect the way of life, land and trade of the African rural population by limiting trading activities of non-Africans to towns. Furthermore, township ordinances restricted non-African settlement and all other commercial activities to gazetted towns.

Within the towns all land in most cases was declared Crown owned and was made available to residents in the form of leasehold or licenced properties. Land outside the townships was also considered the possession of the Government but was administered de facto by local African authorities. Africans were allowed to inhabit such land according to the Crown Lands Ordinance until such time when it was needed for use by the Government. Natives would then be relocated to similar land elsewhere or would be compensated in some manner. (Kangeihamba, 1973).

The consequences of British beliefs and policies regarding the establishments of towns were to be profound and long lasting. Firstly, they ensured that the rural African population was to remain largely segregated from the urban non-African population. This was further achieved inten-

tionally or not, through the subsequent design of the urban centres.

Being ever so mindful of the health considerations of its European population, colonial administrators ensured that the central areas of towns were well laid out with wide roads, open spaces and buildings and services based on European standards. This area also represented the administrative core of each town and was referred to as the boma. Usually located on the highest land within the centre, it would be the site of all government offices and the district or provincial commander's residences. These often consisted of modest one storey buildings.

Nearby would be the police station, post office, district hospital and in some cases a hotel. With the exception of Moyo, Kapchorwa and Moroto, the boma would usually be surrounded by a golf course which would separate the resident European population from the Asian and African.

In close proximity to the boma would be a second common feature of the district town, that being the bazaar. It characteristically consisted of permanent rows of shops and assorted businesses and dwellings - the precursor of the central business district. Often laid out on a elongated grid plan, the bazaar was predominantly occupied by Indian traders in standardized shops. Linking the bazaar with the

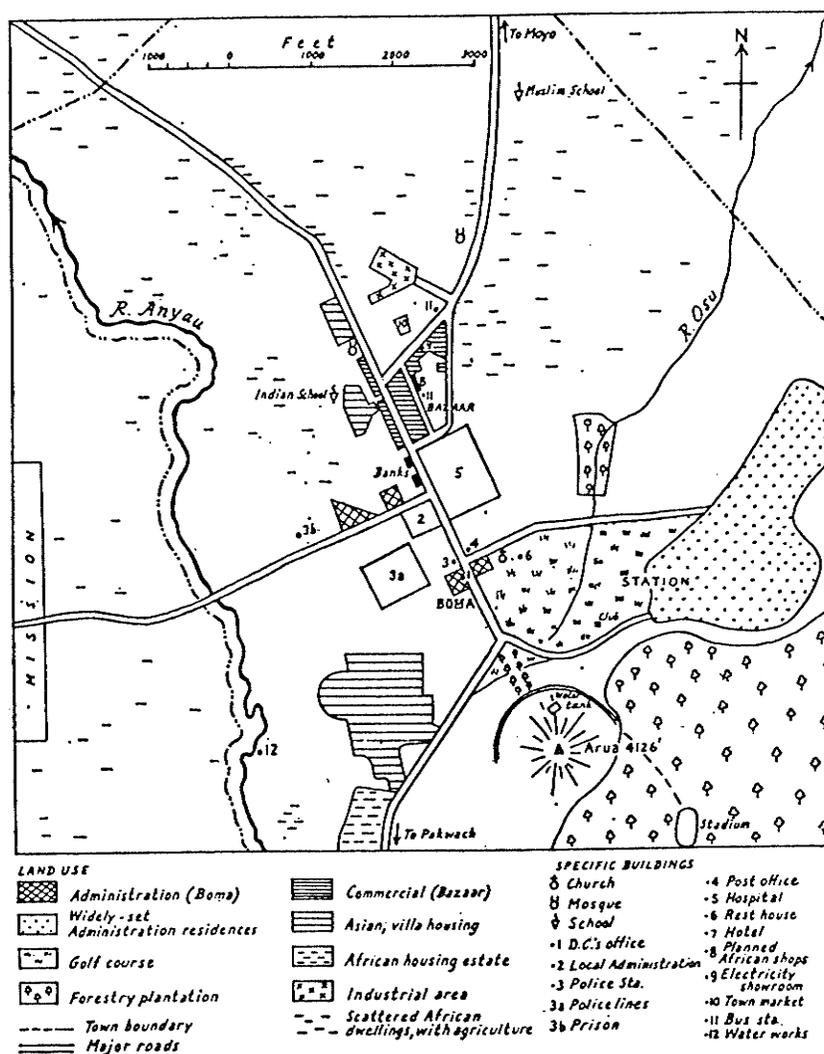
boma was the main road or avenue of the centre. Typical of this layout was the town of Arua in the Western Nile District. [Refer to Figure 9].

The adoption of European building standards and town design rendered the cost of residing or conducting trade in the centres too prohibitive for the vast majority of the African population. Natives were therefore further dissuaded from residing in established urban areas even if they were so inclined. At the same time towns nearly became the exclusive domain of the European and Asian populations. In smaller gazetted townships dominated by commercial trading, the entire resident population was Asian, given that this group controlled much of this business trading sector in the Protectorate.

Having put in place a segregated urban/rural settlement pattern, it was not surprising that over time the African population did not and possibly to this day, wholeheartedly embrace urbanization.

This has been borne out by the low levels of urbanization among the African population over the past century. Granted that the fledgling towns offered Africans few meaningful economic opportunities, stringent urban building standards further dissuaded them from making the quantum leap from traditional rural life to so called modern town life. Such

FIGURE 9: Arua District Town



SOURCE: Beckinsale, R. P. and J. M. Houston (eds), Urbanization and its Problems: Essays in Honour of E. W. Gilbert, New York: Barnes and Noble, 1968.

a move would have required some effort on the part of the Government to condition, educate and train African newcomers to the urban centres, something that was contrary to the

Government's beliefs that towns were not to be "centres of civilizing influence".

A second consequence of British policies regarding the establishment of towns was the adverse effect on the economic development of the Protectorate. By restricting the movement and residence of the non-African population (which was capable of supplying goods and services) to existing towns, the British lost the opportunity of incorporating greater areas of the Protectorate, sooner into the modern economy. For the presence of non-African traders was believed to be able to stimulate economic activities among the Africans and encourage them to participate in the larger Protectorate economy. In addition, urban growth was not allowed to accompany industrial development which later took place around Lake George in south-western Uganda. (Dow, 1955).

#### Growth of Urban Centres

In most cases, towns in Uganda after having been established as administrative centres grew slowly up until the Second World War, with the exception of the larger towns of Kampala, Entebbe, Jinja and Mbale. Initially occupied by administrators and followed by predominantly Asian traders, it wasn't until the 1950's that towns experienced the greatest growth. The rapid development of towns during this

decade has been attributed to a boom in the demand for Uganda's export crops of coffee and cotton, and the extensive development of communication and public services. (McMaster in Beckinsale, R. P. and J. M. Houston, 1968).

This general observation of early town growth was based on government figures related to public sector expenditures on urban services from 1900 onward. These were contained in the Protectorate Government's annual Blue Book and annual reports of the Public Works Department and later, Ministry of Works. Reliance on such information to provide some indication of urban development was due to the absence of any comprehensive census data prior to the late 1940's. In order to obtain some sense of the degree to which towns had developed prior to World War II, a general inventory of modern day features found in each centre was compiled. [Refer to Table 3].

By 1935 it was evident that with few exceptions all towns possessed some elements of modern day commerce such as banks, insurance companies and hotel accommodations. Most maintained at least one medical facility, postal/telegraph service and a golf course. Many of the larger centres were linked by air traffic while all towns were accessible by roadway. It was apparent that towns in the southern areas of the Protectorate such as Kampala, Jinja and Tororo had developed to a greater extent than northern centres, as

TABLE 3: Modern Day Features of Main Towns - Circa 1935

## FEATURES

<u>Town</u>	<u>Banks</u> (No.)	<u>Insur- ance</u> <u>Co- panies</u> (No.)	<u>Post &amp; Tele- graph</u> <u>Offices</u>	<u>Hosp- itals</u>	<u>Landing</u> <u>Grounds</u>	<u>Hotel</u> <u>Accom.</u>	<u>Golf</u> <u>Courses</u>	<u>Piped</u> <u>Water</u> <u>Supply</u>
Kaapala	4	32	*	E,A,N	*	*E	*	*
					(Lake)			
Arua	1		*	N			*	
Entebbe	2		*	E,A,N	*		*	
Fort Portal	1		*	N		*E	*	
Gulu		1	*	N	*		*	
Hoiwa	1		*	A,N			*	
Jinja	4	8	*	E,A,N	*	*E	*	*
Kabale	1		*	N		*E	*	
Kapchorwa								
Kitgum			*	N			*	
			(No Tele- graph)					
Lira	1		*	A,N			*	
Masaka	1	3	*	A,N			*	
Masindi	1	1	*	A,N	*	*E	*	
Mbale	1	6	*	E,N			*	
Mbarara	1		*	N	*	*A	*	
Moroto			*	N				
			(No Tele- graph)					
Moyo				N				
Mubende	1		*	N			*	
Soroti	1	3	*	A,N			*	
Tororo	1	4	*	N	*	*E	*	

## KEY:

Hospitals: E - European, A - Asian, N - Native

Hotel Accomodation: E - European Managed; A - Asian Managed

\* Existing

Sources: Adapted from H. Thomas and R. Scott, Uganda, London: Oxford University Press, 1935.

reflected by both the number and type of facilities they contained.

It is also quite evident that by the 1930's, Kampala had evolved into the dominant commercial centre of the Protectorate, followed by Jinja and Entebbe the Protectorate capital. Kampala and Jinja were the most developed of all centres having the only piped water systems in the Protectorate.

### Population

An accounting of Uganda's population first began with a partial census in 1911. It was at that time that the three distinct dominant groups were identified: Europeans, Asians (Indian and Goans) and Africans. From the first census it was determined that 640 Europeans and 1,904 Asians resided in the Protectorate while nearly 100,000 Africans were accounted for in the areas lying just to the north of Lake Victoria (Thomas, 1935).

Of the European population, nearly one third of its working sector was employed as Government Officials (in administrative and military positions) while the remainder was involved in missionary work or private enterprise. The Europeans (largely British) as colonizers, in large part constituted the administrative/ruling class. The working

segment of the Asian population was largely employed in commerce and trade, clerical positions and as skilled artisans. Their arrival in the newly established Protectorate was welcomed by the British for "many brought a spirit of enterprise and commercial acumen which were rare and desirable qualities in Uganda" and they soon evolved into the Protectorate's mercantile class. (Ehrlich in Harlow, 1965).

In adherence to British colonial policy, Europeans and Asians worked and resided for the most part in the emerging towns. British administrators were dispensed to ensure the proper functioning of the centres. The Asians, on the other hand were responsible for introducing modern day commerce to the towns.

"Indian traders advanced their posts from Kampala to Toro and the vicinity of the Congo Free State, to five places in Bunyoro, and all posts which European or native soldiers were established in the Nile Province, besides opening bazaars at all the stations in the Eastern half of the Protectorate". (Ehrlich in Harlow, 1965, p. 408).

Africans being largely excluded from the towns remained in rural areas involved in subsistence farming and pastoralism. By the early 20th century, the demographic and socio-economic dye for Uganda was cast with a small European ruling class, followed by a larger Asian mercantile urban

class and by the largest, albeit less influential rural African peasant class.

The 1921 and 1931 census revealed growing European and Asian populations while by 1931 the first accounting of the Protectorate's African population was achieved. [Refer to Table 4].

TABLE 4: Ugandan Population in Census Years

<u>Race</u>	<u>Census Year</u>		
	<u>1911</u>	<u>1921</u>	<u>1931</u>
European	640	1,269	2,001
Indo-Pakistanis )	1,904 )	5,032	13,026
Goan )	)		1,124
Arab )	- )	572	515
Other )	- )		601
Total Non-African	2,544	6,873	17,267
African	100,000*	-	3,536,267

\* Partial Census

Source: Compiled from Census - East African Statistical Department.

It should be noted that between census years the total non-African population more than doubled due to the near doubling of the European population every ten years and the near tripling of the number of Asians over the same time. With residential restrictions in place it would be fair to assume that the non-African population represented town dwellers for the most part. The earliest reference to town

population found by this author indicated that 149 Europeans resided in Kampala in 1919 (Dow, 1955). By 1926, this number more than doubled to 359 and further increased to 400 by 1928. Substantial numbers of Asians began to make Kampala their home, numbering 1,726 in 1926 and increasing to 2,000 by 1928. Despite their predominantly rural orientation, Africans began to be attracted to urban centres making their presence felt in Kampala by accounting for 1,948 of the residence in 1926 and more than tripling by 1928 to 6,389 (Mirams, 1930).

In 1928, Kampala's population was estimated to be 8,789 and quickly grew with each passing decade. By 1948, the town's population had reached 22,094. [Refer to Table 5].

Along with Kampala, Entebbe, the Protectorate's capital and Jinja a burgeoning commercial centre, came to dominate Uganda's fledgling urbanscape by the early decades of this century. Partial figures for Entebbe in 1935 revealed the town's non-African residents numbered 600 compared with its total 1948 population of 7,942. This generally indicates the extent to which it had developed. By the same year, Jinja with a recorded population of 8,410 had become the second largest centre in the Protectorate.

In comparison to these three centres, it could be deduced that the growth of other southern towns was occurring at a

TABLE 5: Population of Main Towns 1928-1969

<u>Towns</u>	<u>1928</u>	<u>1935</u>	<u>1948</u>	<u>1959</u>	<u>1969</u>
Kampala	8,789	10,589	22,094	46,735	330,700
Arua				4,645	10,837
Entebbe		600*	7,942	10,941	21,096
Fort Portal				8,317	7,949
Gulu				4,770	18,170
Hoima					2,339
Jinja			8,410	29,741	52,509
Kabale				10,919	8,234
Kapchorwa					
Kitgum					3,242
Lira				2,929	7,340
Masaka				4,782	12,897
Masindi					5,226
Mbale				13,569	23,544
Mbarara				3,844	16,078
Moroto					5,488
Moyo					2,656
Mubende					6,004
Soroti				6,645	12,398
Tororo				6,365	15,977

\* Only partial accounting - African population excluded.

SOURCE: (Compiled from various sources)

1. Mirams, A. E., Kampala, report on the town planning of, Entebbe: Government Printer, 1930.
2. Thomas, H. and R. Scott, Uganda, London: Oxford University Press, 1935.
3. Census: East African Statistical Department.

NOTE: Preliminary 1980 Census results have provided some indication of the growth/decline of particular centres after 1969 such as Kampala 458,423; Jinja 45,060; Masaka 29,123; Mbale 28,039; Mbarara 23,155; and Gulu 14,958. Source: Europa Publications Ltd., Africa South of the Sahara, 1989, 18th Edition, London: Europa Publications Ltd., 1988.

somewhat lesser pace. However, in relation to the northern region of the Protectorate, urbanization in the south was taking place at a much faster rate. This was very much a result of the political and economic modernization of the southern region of the Protectorate in advance of its northern counterpart.

The earliest census data available for most towns was 1959. Figures from that year reveal that Kampala was firmly established as the primary urban centre having doubled its population over the 1950's to 46,735. Jinja had more than tripled in population to 29,741 over the same period, remaining the second largest centre in Uganda. Despite increasing in size by nearly 3,000 to 10,941 over the 1950's, Entebbe's status as the third largest centre was eclipsed by the administrative and commercial centre of Mbale (13,569). Other southern and central towns such as Kabale (10,919), Fort Portal (8,317) and Soroti (6,645) had revealed substantial growth. While northern towns such as Gulu (4,770), Arua (4,645) and Lira (2,929) reflected smaller scale development.

Census figures for 1959 indicating the racial origin of town dwellers revealed that Africans had become the largest group accounting for more than one half of Uganda's urban population. Indo-Pakistani and other Asian groups composed the second largest group, followed by a small number of

Europeans. [Refer to Table 6].

The figures indicate that by the middle of the century, towns no longer remained the exclusive domain of the non-African population but that Africans had been attracted to the towns in substantial numbers. In addition, expansion of town boundaries over time often resulted in the inclusion of peri-urban areas that were occupied by Africans thus classifying them automatically as urban.

Although the European urban population continued to grow, it was outpaced by Indo-Pakistani groups. With the exception of Entebbe, the Indo-Pakistani group outnumbered the Europeans in some cases by nearly 20 times. It was this group that flourished in the towns and dominated the business sector.

From 1959 to 1969, most towns in Uganda experienced healthy growth. Kampala, as the primary urban centre and national capital of a sovereign nation since 1962, increased over sevenfold to 330,700. Other centres, Jinja (52,509), Mbale (23,544) and Entebbe (21,096) added substantially to their populations. Although northern centres in general remained smaller in size than their southern counterparts, by 1969 they began to experience substantial growth such as Gulu (18,170), Arua (10,837) and Lira (7,340).

TABLE 6: Racial Origin of Urban Population in Selected Major Towns 1952

Towns	Europeans	Indo-Pakistani	Goan	Arab	Other	Total	African	Total/All Races
Kampala	3,179	18,128	1,140	41	191	22,679	24,056	46,735
Arua	96	505	11	40	2	654	3,991	4,645
Entebbe	910	588	316	--	40	1,854	9,087	10,941
Fort Portal	128	496	23	8	15	670	7,647	8,317
Gulu	118	553	18	--	38	727	4,043	4,770
Jinja	828	8,609	274	43	159	9,913	18,828	29,741
Kabale	73	603	8	10	39	733	10,186	10,919
Lira	90	653	18	15	1	777	2,152	2,929
Masaka	138	2,073	66	15	33	2,325	2,457	4,782
Mbale	397	4,443	132	92	72	5,136	8,433	13,569
Mbarara	134	868	51	21	46	1,120	2,724	3,844
Soroti	99	1,798	35	37	58	2,027	4,618	6,645
Tororo	259	1,193	27	11	57	1,547	4,818	6,365

-----  
SOURCE: Census: East African Statistical Department

The overall level of urbanization (reflecting population residing in centres of 2,000 or more) has increased significantly from 1950 to 1970. [Refer to Table 7].

TABLE 7: Estimates of Urban Population and Urban Growth Rates in Uganda 1950-1970

	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>Per Cent Per Annum</u>	
				<u>1950-60</u>	<u>1960-70</u>
Level of Urbanization	3.4%	5.3%	8.0%	7.07%	7.85%

Source: Obudho, R. R.; "National Urban Policy in East Africa: Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania". in Regional Development Dialogue, Volume 4, Autumn 1983, p. 87.

Although relatively low in comparison with western nations, the level of urbanization over a twenty year period had more than doubled from 3.4% to 8.0%. As well, Uganda in keeping with most less urbanized countries maintained an urban growth rate of over 7.0% per annum, a rate more than double the average of developing countries. At such a pace, Uganda's urbanization level by the year 2,000 A.D. was projected to be 23.5%. (Obudho, 1983).

In addition to tracing the growth of urban population, examination of building construction data also provides an indication of town development. It has been noted that among the six most prominent centres, Kampala and Jinja experienced the greatest level of private sector con-

struction in the years immediately preceding and following independence in 1962. [Refer to Table 8]. On the basis of floor area constructed for private ownership between 1957-68, Kampala with 5.6 million square feet far outpaced Jinja with 1.9 million square feet and the centres of Entebbe, Masaka, Mbale and Tororo with a combined total of 1.5 million square feet. Over this period, Kampala maintained a fairly steady rate of construction both before and following independence. Jinja on the other hand nearly doubled the amounts of floor area constructed from 112,500 square feet per annum (1957-62) to 211,000 square feet (1963-68). In contrast to both Kampala and Jinja, the centres of Entebbe, Masaka, Mbale and Tororo experienced a significant decline in floor area constructed from 159,700 square feet (1957-62) to 96,100 square feet (1963-68).

TABLE 8: New Buildings Completed For Private Ownership 1957-68 (Residential and Non-Residential)

Town	1957-62		1963-68		1957-68	
	Total No. Constructed (per annum)	Floor Area '000 sq. ft. (per annum)	Total No. Constructed (per annum)	Floor Area '000 sq. ft. (per annum)	Total No. Constructed (per annum)	Floor Area '000 sq. ft. (per annum)
Kampala	426 (71.0)	2,938.2 (489.7)	444 (74.0)	2,745 (457.5)	870 (72.5)	5,683.2 (473.6)
Jinja	240 (40.0)	675.0 (112.5)	192 (32.0)	1,266 (211.0)	432 (36.0)	1,941 (161.8)
Entebbe )	288 (48.0)	958.2 (159.7)	197 (32.7)	577 ( 96.1)	485 (40.4)	1,535.2 (127.9)
Masaka )						
Mbale )						
Tororo )						

-----

SOURCE: East African Statistical Department 1957-1966.

CHAPTER III. IMPACT OF URBANIZATIONThe Urban African

The implanting of colonial towns into Uganda's landscape, facilitated British efforts to subjugate and administer the Protectorate. Although urban centres served as effective vehicles for implementing colonial policies, the introduction of "western style" urbanization to Uganda was to raise a fundamental issue of how Africans were to "fit" into the emerging urban milieu.

Based on their extensive interaction with the native population in the latter half of the 19th century, the British concluded that Africans of the Protectorate as elsewhere on the continent, were fundamentally peasants with deep cultural and historical roots in agrarian life. It was observed that:

"... whatever his rank or stage of education may be, [he] neither understands nor has sympathy with a manner of life which is not intimately connected with the land". (Thomas, 1935, p. 275).

African households were self-sufficient in food production and in meeting their basic needs, while their tribal groupings provided them with a sense of community, security and heritage. Cultural traditions of the tribes especially

respect for their ancestral spirits served to confine Africans to their hereditary homelands. Hostility between tribes and variations in the type of food staples available from region to region further served to dissuade the movement of African population in Uganda. Given these conditions, the British did not expect Africans in any great number to concentrate in newly developing areas or centres.

In assessing town life and what it had to offer the rural self-sufficient African, the British may have been right in their opinion to conclude that natives would have had little need or interest in colonial towns. Something towns could offer was a wage earning subsistence. But as was observed of the African:

"The wage-earner is not socially important; he does not consider himself the provider of his family's sustenance, and resents being constrained to accept that position".  
(Thomas, 1935, p. 275).

The apparent lack of interest on the part of Africans to reside in the colonial towns and partake in urban living bode well with British intentions to design and build centres based on European standards. As was noted previously, the desire of the British to construct for themselves healthy towns in tropical settings necessitated the adoption of stringent building codes. Due to costs associated with adhering to these construction standards,

all but the well-to-do wage earning residents (mostly British) could afford to reside in these centres. Thus for those Africans who may have wished to make the townships their home, they would have found the costs prohibitive.

Despite the policies relating to the colonial towns, Africans would appear to have resided in these centres from the outset. These native early town dwellers were composed of two groups; the first was comprised of subsistence farmers who occupied and cultivated land within town boundaries while the second represented an emerging wage earning class.

Prior to World War II a large majority of Africans within towns were able to continue their agrarian lifestyle due to the large tracts of unutilized Crown lands. As was noted earlier, initial colonial town boundaries were ambitiously drawn in a circular fashion up to 2-1/2 miles in diameter from the fort or district commander's residence. With only a small portion of urban land initially required by the Crown, Africans were allowed to continue occupying areas within town boundaries until such time as the land was needed. In that event, natives were evicted and received some form of financial compensation or offered land elsewhere in exchange.

The rate at which these "urban farmsteaders" were displaced

from towns depended upon the non-African growth rate of each centre. For instance, the fastest developing centre Kampala, over the 1920's consumed an average of 15 acres of land per year, due to Government leasing practises or public sector construction (Mirams, 1930). The result was a rapid eviction of agrarian Africans within Kampala's boundary. Following World War II, Uganda experienced a large influx of non-African population which caused the large scale dislocation of African urban farmsteaders from all major centres. For instance in Jinja in the late 1940's "between three and four thousand Africans were evicted to make way for Europeans". (Oram, 1954, p. 256).

The second urban native group was composed of a small wage-earning class of labourers. These initially consisted of unskilled workers and domestic servants. The African labourer was viewed by the British as a "strange person" who possessed nomadic habits and an "extraordinary degree of independence". (Mirams, 1930). As was previously noted most Africans were self-sufficient and therefore had little or no incentive to engage in manual labour for payment.

Many were content to work just long enough to pay their poll tax and return to their villages. Others who worked for extended periods in the towns always maintained one foot firmly at home in their village. In time a wage earning group evolved which consisted of skilled Africans such as

clerks, foremen and artisans and later African professionals such as doctors, barristers, builders and businessmen. This group emerged over the years to constitute the African urban "working class".

Not long after colonial towns were established, growing numbers of Natives began to perceive town living (representing European lifestyle and affluence) as a means of gaining benefits and opportunities not had before and something according to British example, that was meant to be desired. Interaction between Africans and non-Africans particularly in the urban settings, created "sociological conditions" which in part gave rise to a demand for luxuries and consumer goods previously unknown to the Africans. Slowly seduced by the consumption habits of the non-Africans, native wage-earners by the early part of this century found themselves able to acquire such things as:

"... clothes, bicycles, watches, and other luxuries, of a kind not even heard of some 15 years ago". (Mirams, 1930, p. 88).

In time, a general perception arose among natives both in Uganda and across Africa that:

"The city offered the African the good life-where working for wages he would earn more than his rural counterpart and be able to acquire luxury goods". (Mabogunje in El Shakhs, 1974, p. 15).

For those natives seeking more than just the acquisition of a few luxury goods from urban centres, there was bitter disappointment. Doors to higher education, commerce and social equality were firmly closed as the British, pursuing their colonial policies showed no interest in fostering or promoting the emergence of an educated African elite:

"Urbanization during the colonial period denied the African the opportunity of acquiring modern productive skills ... and the chance of learning organizational skills". (Mabogunje, in El Shakhs, 1974, p. 15).

Thus by the 1930's, although the Africans numerically began to make their presence felt in towns, they lacked any associated clout. It was observed in Kampala that:

"Comparatively few of the Africans have had any real civic education, and are generally unfitted to take any serious part in Municipal life". (Mirams, 1930, p. 24).

In Uganda prior to the Second World War, the presence of natives in the townships although not highly encouraged by the colonial administration was tolerated to some degree. This could be attributed to the Protectorate Government's need for accessible cheap labour and the fact that the number of urban natives was relatively low. Up until that time, towns had not yet experienced any mass influx of Africans. It was in fact observed that:

"There is no evidence ... of a tendency on the part of natives to congregate in the townships, ... there is no sign that any considerable part of the population is becoming urbanized". (Thomas, 1935, pp. 274, 275).

The small but growing urban African wage earners were housed within towns by their employers on their housing compounds. In Kampala at least, in addition to such arrangements, Africans were offered room and board by the employers for a fee or could reside in a government established camp. In 1930 such a camp in Kampala housed 500 men. (Miram, 1930). It was however considered nothing more than a temporary shelter which was unsatisfactory because it did not allow labourers to reside with their families. In general urban housing for African labourers throughout the Protectorate was sorely lacking.

By the late 1940's, the cumulative effect of displacing African urban farmsteaders, lack of adequate affordable housing for native labourers and the increasing allure of towns for growing numbers of Africans gave rise to the formation of peri-urban areas or shantytowns. The African response to being excluded from residing in urban centres was to create their own settlements along the outskirts of the towns. Beyond the stringent health and building codes of the centres these peri-urban areas consisted of closely packed huts found in squalid surroundings. For instance it

was noted that:

"land around the fringes of Kampala town has developed into slums and with the continued expansion of the town the position is deteriorating rapidly". (Kendall, 1955, p. 39).

By the early 1950's the growth and expansion of the shantytowns, fueled by increasing rural-urban migration, began to alarm Protectorate Officials who viewed them not only as eye sores but as potential health threats to the residents of the towns. The burgeoning commercial town of Jinja was described in the following manner:

"Overcrowded insanitary and uncontrolled settlements on the township boundary will inevitably continue until the supply of houses of a decent standard approaches the demand for accommodation". (Uganda Labour Department Annual Report, 1951 in Dow, 1955, p. 207).

Along with acknowledging the existence of this troubling problem, Protectorate administrators began to recognize and seriously examine the cause and effects of the phenomenon.

"... the municipality of Kampala is a non-native island in an African sea. The same is true of Jinja and the rest of our townships ... in Kampala as elsewhere in Uganda, the African population has piled up on the perimeter to form slums or near slums. There is ... economic discrimination because few Africans can afford to build to the standard and pay the rents demanded in urban areas". (Oram, 1954, p. 256).

Social costs arising from the sprawling shantytowns were also identified. The peri-urban squatter settlements housed an unstable labouring and unemployed population. The lack of privacy and adequate space within them contributed to the breakdown of the traditional African family. Labourers could not afford to feed, clothe, house or educate their families. From such conditions sprang prostitution, excessive drinking, theft, other crimes and general human misery.

The emergence of peri-urban settlements was a result of growing numbers of Africans seeking to make the transition from traditional agrarian life to an urban wage earning one. Ill equipped and denied essential opportunities by colonial authorities, natives found themselves both physically and socially on the outskirts of modern urban society. By the early 1950's the Protectorate officials could no longer ignore the plight of aspiring urban natives and for the first time, the integration of Africans into urban centres became a major issue. It was now being advocated that:

"We must give Africans every opportunity to come into towns on equal terms with the other races". (Oram, 1954, p. 260).

Despite the call for action, the fate of peri-urban natives in general appears to have remained unchanged. In the late 1960's the existence of "shanty areas", also referred to as

slums, was acknowledged both within and along the outskirts of such larger centres as Kampala and Jinja (Langlands in Safier, M. and B. Langlands, 1969). Despite government efforts both prior to and following independence in 1962, the urban African issue persisted, being spurred by relatively high rates of urbanization, largely attributed to rural-urban migration.

Another consequence of rural-urban migration was its negative impact upon the countryside. It was remarked that:

"In Africa the townward drift has, essentially acted as a 'brain-drain' depleting the already impoverished rural areas of their 'talents and the energy of the young people' that are so badly needed in rural areas and so poorly utilized in the capital cities". (Johnson in Bakwesegha, 1975).

As greater numbers of Africans made their way to towns, governments were inclined to direct greater amounts of their national expenditures to urban centres at the expense of rural areas. Such action served to sustain and enhance the growing economic disparities between "urban" and "rural", thus continuing to make towns attractive to natives in the countryside.

#### Other Issues

Having established administrative towns throughout the

country, the Colonial Government assumed responsibility for their development and administration. The costs associated with this responsibility increased over time as the towns grew. The extent to which the government committed itself to the centres was revealed in their expenditures on urban development. Annual figures from 1947 to 1953 indicated how quickly Government spending rose from a total of \$163,380 in 1947 to \$1,279,125 in 1953 and how it rapidly increased from accounting for 3.6% of the total national budget in 1947 to a peak of 10.5% in 1950. [Refer to Table 9].

Despite Government efforts to accommodate urbanization, the rapid growth of the towns, beginning in the late 1940's with the arrival of large numbers of non-Africans and coupled with a steady increase in the number of African migrants from the rural areas, outpaced the administrative abilities of the authorities. Underfunded, Ugandan towns began to experience conditions, typically found among urban centres throughout Africa; housing shortages; street congestion; inadequate sanitation and services; poor health conditions; high unemployment and a shortage of developable land. (El Shakhs, 1974).

The growing demand of urban centres upon the coffers of the Protectorate created a dilemma. To allocate greater portions of the Protectorate budget to urban development would be to do so at the expense of rural areas where the

TABLE 9

Ugandan Government Expenditures on Urban Development  
1947-1953\*

<u>Year</u>	<u>Recurrent</u>	<u>Non- Recurrent</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>% of Total Government Budget</u>
1947	\$116,116	\$ 47,264	\$ 163,380	3.6%
1948	165,900	74,440	240,340	3.6%
1949	226,330	176,245	402,575	6.0%
1950	230,142	612,566	842,708	10.5%
1951	297,821	879,132	1,176,953	9.5%
1952	375,311	855,681	1,230,992	7.7%
1953	463,785	815,340	1,279,125	7.3%

---

\*"Urban Development" includes all contributions (including rates and refunds of revenue) to autonomous Municipal and Town Councils.

Source: East African Statistical Department

vast majority of the population resided and in many cases where the needs were greatest. The result of continuing to maintain, and enhance towns was to continue making them attractive to rural dwellers which in turn led to further urban growth and created the need for additional government investment.

On the other hand, the government by ignoring or inadequately addressing the needs and demands of the urban centres would result in the deterioration of the towns and the potential loss of the government's initial investment in infrastructure.

The coming of independence in 1962 brought this issue into sharper focus as the government began to pursue national development policies. The question arose as to whether the modernization and economic growth of the country could best be achieved through urbanization whereby towns would serve as (growth poles) from which development would radiate to the surrounding rural areas or whether government resources should be concentrated directly at rural areas. This issue has become a major challenge for planners and will be further explored in a subsequent chapter.

CHAPTER IV. EMERGENCE OF TOWN PLANNINGColonial Era

It has been widely recognized that town or physical planning in Uganda began during the colonial era before 1962. However, what is not unanimously agreed upon is when during that era was planning first introduced and when was genuine planning first undertaken.

For instance the advent of urban planning has been dated from 1900 (Safier in Safier and Langlands, 1969); 1918 (Kanyeihamba, 1973) and 1950 (Kendall, 1955). While it has been stated that genuine planning in Uganda was being practised during the early decades of this century (Mirams, 1930), it was also claimed that the work of town planning had not been achieved prior to 1950. (Kendall, 1955). Additionally, the effectiveness of planning itself was called into question. Some argued that prior to independence town planning consisted of only "token gestures" when it came to addressing urban problems (Hather in Safier and Langlands, 1969). While others claimed that following independence the effective practise of town planning was seriously undermined due to its lack of integration with economic, regional and national planning (Scaff in Safier and Langlands, 1969; Odongo in Safier, 1970).

The lack of consensus amongst planners and scholars alike regarding town planning in Uganda can be attributed in large part to changing definitions, functions and expectations of planning and of social, political and economic changes within the country. Tracing the efforts of the authorities to control, plan and develop land within urban centres will help to shed light on these issues.

### Town Planning During the Colonial Era

#### 1890-1945 Early Planning Phase: Health, Safety and Order

It has been generally acknowledged that over the first five decades of the Uganda Protectorate, planning efforts and land use legislation were almost wholly inspired by medical criteria and aesthetics. (Stevens in Kendall, 1956). Of prime importance to the British was the creation of healthy environments in order for them to occupy and administer the Protectorate. To accomplish this task they required control over the use of land and the establishment of appropriate regulations to safeguard against unhealthy conditions.

Soon after their arrival in the late 1800's, the British took steps to secure land through a series of treaties, agreements and legislation. Upon declaring Uganda a British Protectorate in 1894, the British passed the Land Acquisition Act which afforded them the right to acquire

land for public purposes and for companies (Gutkind, 1963). In 1897 the Uganda Land Regulations were adopted which created land leases for non-natives in areas administered by the British. In 1899 the first legislation was passed known as the Uganda Laws which were designed to address the prevention and control of disease, particularly small-pox, through the control and purification of buildings and areas (Gutkind, 1963).

The most far-reaching development regarding the securing of land was the Uganda Agreement of 1900 between the British and the Baganda. The Agreement outlined how the Protectorate was to be governed by the British and among other things declared all areas within Uganda Crown land. As part of the Agreement however, 19,600 square miles were retained by the Baganda for their kingdom (Mirams, 1930). This area became known as mailo land (mailo meaning the English square mile, was adopted into the Uganda language meaning a land estate of any size). Property within this area was of freehold tenure which was restricted to natives. All other lands could be occupied as freehold plots, through temporary occupation licences or through long term leases of 99 years offered by the Protectorate Government.

In 1903 the first urban related regulations were adopted in the Uganda Townships Ordinance. This short enabling Act allowed the Protectorate Government to declare any location

a township, define its boundaries and authorize the establishment of township rules governing such items as building sizes, sanitation, and the construction of roads. The same year the Act was proclaimed Entebbe was declared a township, followed by Kampala, Fort Portal, Hoima, Jinja, Masaka, Masindi, Mbale and Mbarara in 1906. In 1914 the township rules were significantly bolstered to include such building codes as minimum residential plot sizes of 100 x 50 feet, maximum dwelling coverage of 50% per plot and the necessity for concrete foundations and other structural building requirements.

Through further revisions in 1916 and 1924 rules were adopted requiring all buildings to conform to township general plans. In spite of other legislation having been adopted since that time it is believed that the township rules are still in affect (Langlands in Safier and Langlands, 1969).

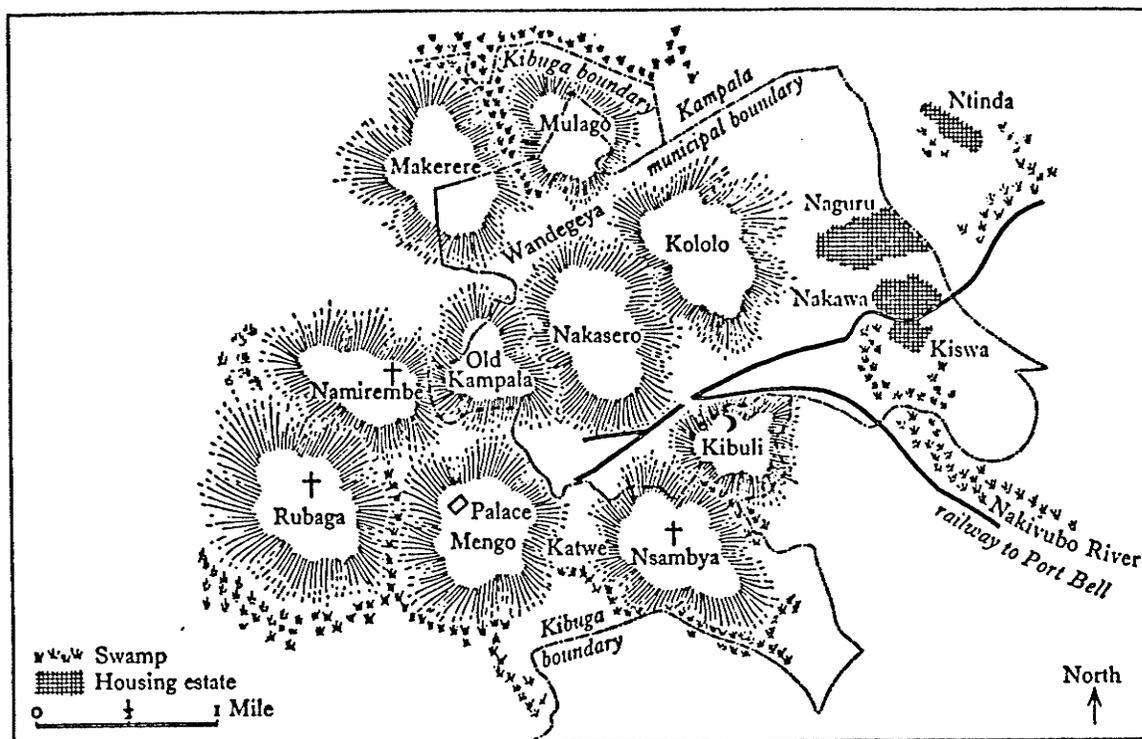
A number of other laws were adopted over this period aimed directly at ensuring healthy urban environments such as the Kampala Township Boundary Sanitary Rules, 1931; the Baganda Township Sanitary Law, 1931 (Gutkind, 1963) and the Public Health Ordinance 1935, under which regulations were established relating to constructional standards and planning matters such as access roads and the designation of residential areas (Buchanan, 1954).

Administrative and planning actions during this time also appear on the surface at least to have been driven by the need to create orderly aesthetic and healthy town environments, where the non-native population primarily resided. To begin with, site selection for colonial towns involved avoiding poorly drained areas which were often infected with diseases such as malarial and black water fevers. As was noted previously, many urban centres were located on hilltops or mountain ridges or interfluves between shallow valleys. [Refer to Table 2].

The British for instance when arriving in Uganda in 1890 first occupied a hill on the future site of Kampala which became known as Old Kampala or Fort hill. As this location soon became over-crowded the colonialists moved to Nakasero hill which was one of the many neighbouring hills. The British at Kampala found themselves in the company of others who had recognized the need to avoid settling in the swampy valleys between the hills. Thus perched upon the other hills were: the Kabaka (King) of the Baganda on Mengo hill, the Catholic White Fathers' Mission on Rubaga hill, the Anglican Church Missionary Society on Namirembe hill and the Mill Hill Mission on Nsambya hill. [Refer to Figure 10].

In general, following the establishment of the township, the Protectorate Land Officer became solely responsible for all town planning matters and was provided with technical

FIGURE 10: Central Hills of Kampala - Mengo



SOURCE: Southall, Aiden; "Kampala - Mengo" in Horace Miner's The City in Modern Africa, New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1967, p. 298.

assistance by the Director of Public Works. As well each urban centre had formally established a Sanitation Board to monitor and address unsanitary conditions. With the Township Ordinance of 1903 in place, authorities were able to have some sense as to what land uses were acceptable within township boundaries and urban layout became a related by-product of this awareness.

The first efforts to direct town development began in Kampala immediately following the turn of the century with

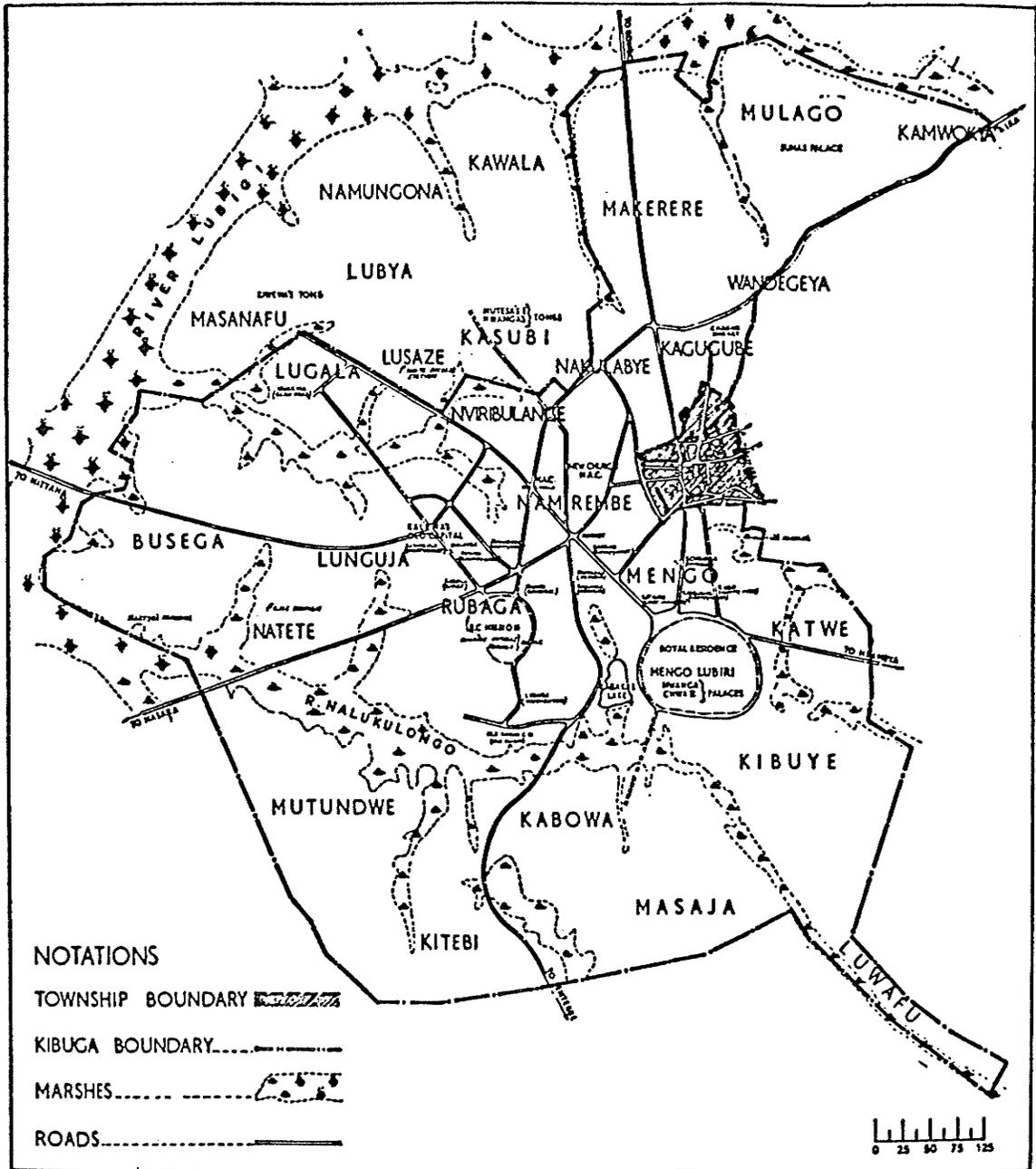
the construction of roads and the reserving of land for the future development of a Government Square. (Mirams, 1930).

Kampala at that time had begun to develop to some extent in an east, north-easterly direction from Old Fort (Kampala) hill, surrounded as it was on the north, south and west by the Baganda Kibuga (capital). [Refer to Figure 11]. The Kibuga was a region of 19 square miles that contained the Kabaka's enclosure and palace on Mengo hill, the Lukiko (parliament buildings) and the official residences of the principal African chiefs.

In 1910 a Siting Board was established at each of Uganda's emerging urban centres and relieved the Land Officer of the responsibility of selecting the sites for government buildings.

In order to further safeguard the health of its urban inhabitants it has been argued that the Colonial Administration was required to pursue from the outset an "unwritten policy of racial segregation". (Oram in Kendall, 1956). As was already noted in the previous section, towns were viewed as the exclusive domain of non-natives. Through various methods, Africans were removed and discouraged from residing in the urban centres. In addition to this action legislation was passed allowing for the residential and commercial segregation of Europeans and Asians on grounds of

FIGURE 11: Kampala in 1902 and Kibuga Boundary



SOURCE: Gutkind, Peter; The Royal Capital of Buganda: A Study of Internal Conflict and External Ambiguity, The Hague, Mouton & Co., 1963, p. 22.

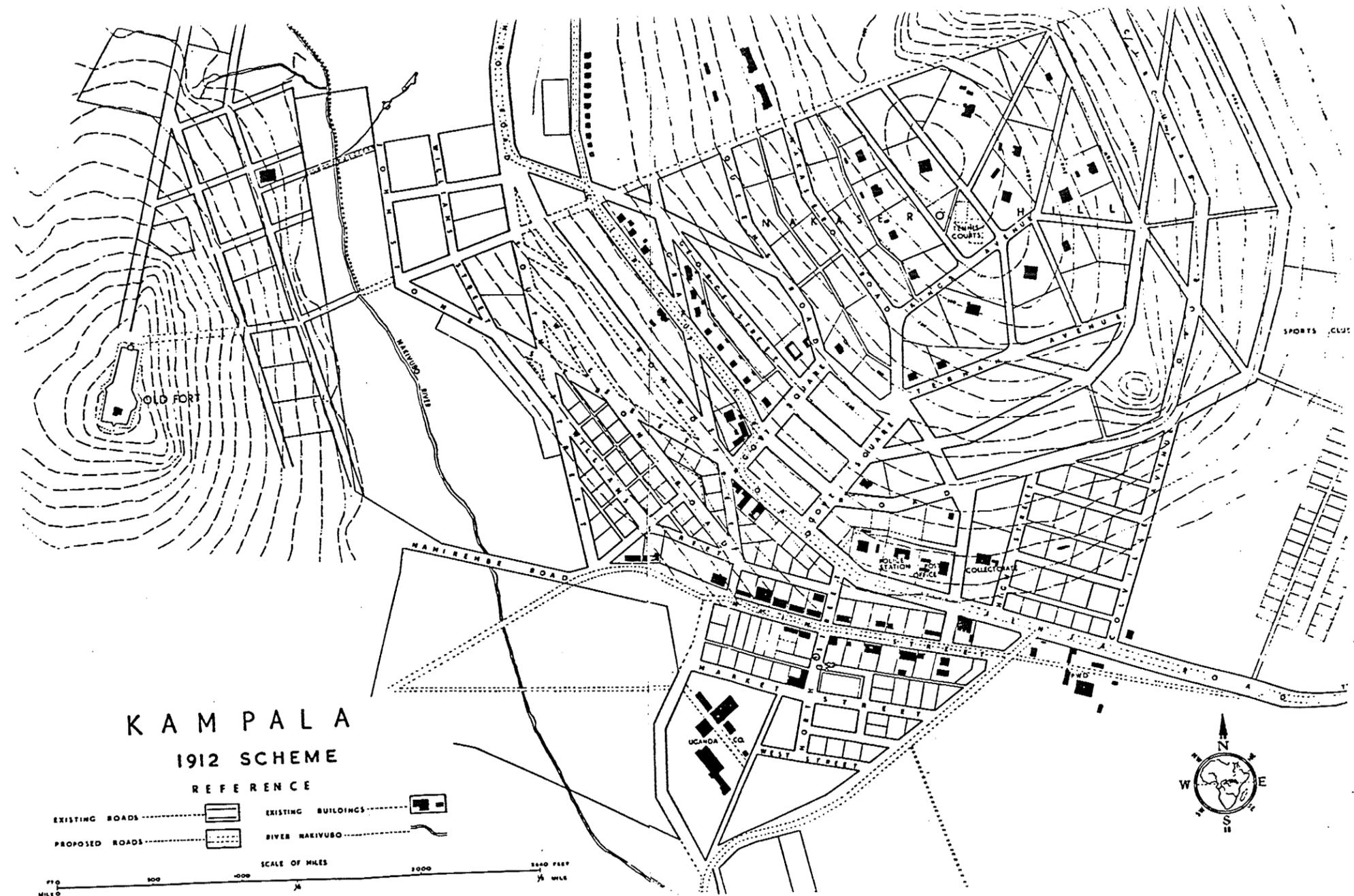
health consideration. In Entebbe for instance in 1907 an area within the township was restricted to persons of European origin or extraction (Dow, 1955). While in Kampala in 1912 the Siting Board made recommendations for the prevention of the spreading of diseases which involved the removal of all natives living on Nakasero hill and the establishment of certain inter-racial zones of up to 200 to 400 yards in width (Mirams, 1930).

Although the policy of segregation of races in town development was officially abandoned in 1923, effective "environmental protection" through the control of the use and ownership of urban land was maintained with the considerable expansion of township regulations in 1924, that governed building standards.

In 1912 the first scheme depicting the layout of Kampala was produced. The scheme revealed such features as proposed and existing roads; the building pattern with the European residential area atop Nakasero hill; the administrative sector composed of the police station, post office and collectorate further down the slope of the hill along Bombo Road; and other features such as Government Square and the Old Fort hill. [Refer to Figure 12].

In 1913 a Professor W. T. Simpson was called upon to produce a report on sanitary matters in Uganda, particularly in

FIGURE 12:



SOURCE: Kendall, Henry; Town Planning in Uganda, Entebbe: Government Printer, 1955.

Kampala. In his report Simpson identified the five most pressing issues associated with the health of Kampala, they were:

- (1) the necessity of securing its development on healthy lines;
- (2) the protection of its present water supply and the substitution as soon as possible of a public supply from Lake Victoria;
- (3) the drainage of the marshes;
- (4) the removal of the ginnery located in the town, and, in the meantime, the compulsory disinfection of certain stations of all raw cotton from infected districts before being brought into Kampala; and
- (5) the systematic examination of rats for plague, establishment of an infectious hospital, and of a properly equipped observation camp.

(Kendall, 1955, p. 17).

Due to the considerable growth Kampala had experienced over the first decade of this century, the Protectorate Government was required to employ new measures for combating

unhealthy conditions. For instance, the relative seclusion initially afforded the Europeans atop Nakasero hill was undermined as development progressed down the slopes towards the marshes and the less regulated, higher density residential and commercial areas. Through such contiguous development disease was allowed to gradually spread up the hill, thus necessitating the elimination of disease prone areas or activities.

Professor Simpson was also called upon to comment on the future development of Kampala and Jinja and to produce a report suggesting town planning and housing policies for all existing and future centres in Uganda. Again being ever so preoccupied by health considerations, he posited a number of recommendations, the three most significant being:

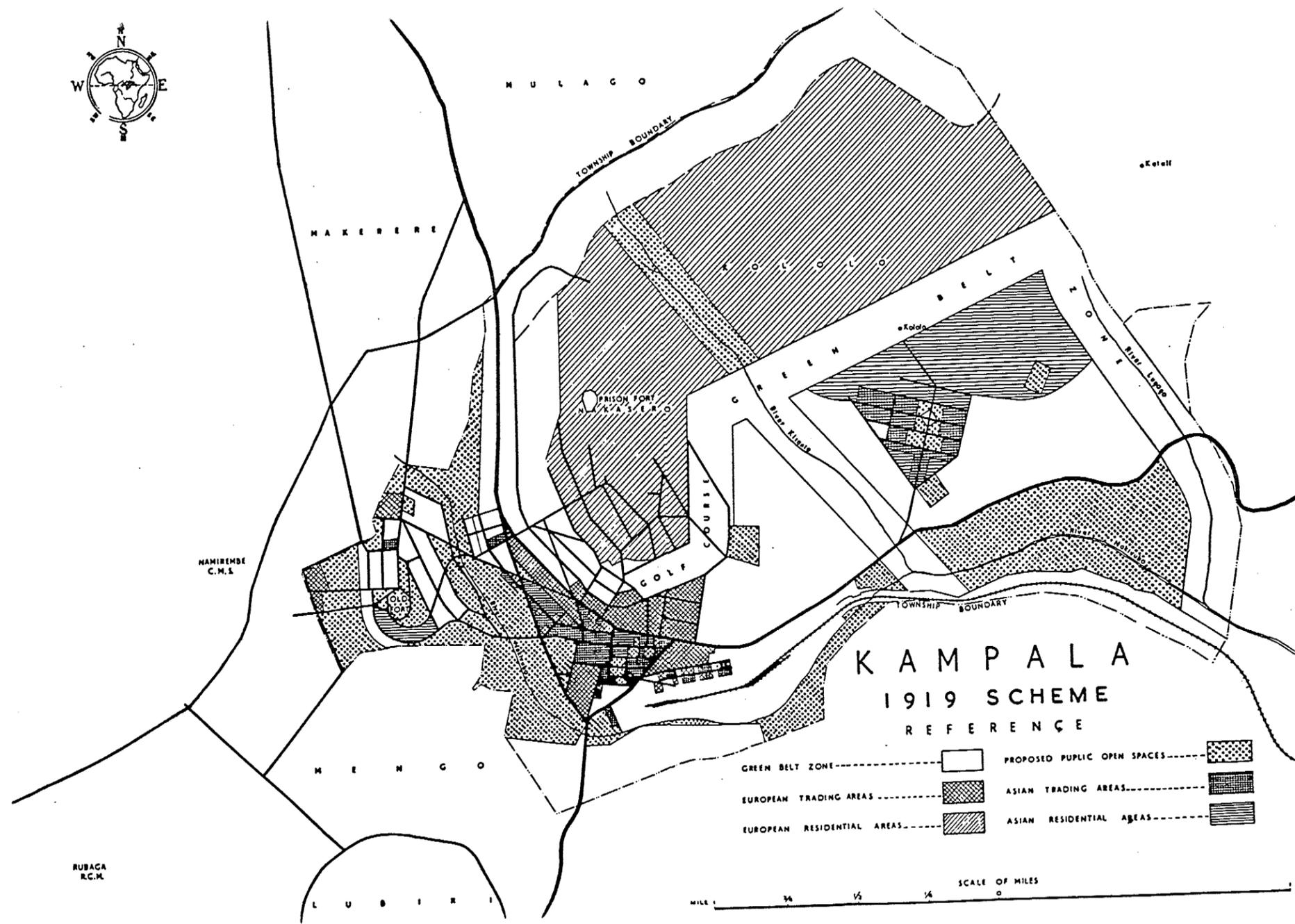
- (1) the need to establish separate quarters for Europeans and Asians which would be divided by a neutral green belt;
- (2) the need to restrict the subletting and subdivision of residential and commercial plots to prevent overcrowded and slum conditions; and
- (3) the establishment of a town planning committee composed of the principal medical officer, chief sanitary officer, land officer, director of public

works, medical officer of Kampala and Kampala's district commissioner to oversee the healthy development of all towns.

Both these and other recommendations made by Simpson were acted upon. For instance, in 1913 a Town Planning Committee was established. In 1914 the Township Rules were expanded to include many of his suggestions particularly in regards to the sub-division of plots and his notion of separating racial groups in urban centres which was incorporated into the 1919 planning scheme for Kampala much to the protest of Ugandan Asians. (Ramchandani, 1976).

This scheme for Kampala consisted of a clear delineation of residential and commercial zones. Residential zones consisted of a European area which in addition to Nakasero hill was expanded to include the neighbouring Kololo hill and an Asian area which was primarily confined to a location southeast of Kololo hill. [Refer to Figure 13]. As with the residential zones, European and Asian commercial areas were segregated. Although the primary commercial district was located on the southern slopes of Nakasero hill there was a significant Asian trading area immediately adjacent to the Asian residential zone. What is of interest was the use of open space within the township. Perhaps what was most striking was the development of an extensive green belt zone partially consisting of a golf course, which insulated the

FIGURE 13:



SOURCE: Kendall, Henry; Town Planning in Uganda, Entebbe: Government Printer, 1955.

European residential area within the township boundaries as well as the Asian residential zone. Also, low lying areas between the hills were designated as open or green space preventing building construction from being undertaken. Additionally within the commercial zones open space had been designated as a means of easing congested conditions.

The scheme for Kampala had been produced by the Central Town Planning Board which was formed in 1918. Replacing the earlier Town Planning Committee, it was composed of the Protectorate's Principal Medical Officer, the Medical Sanitary Officer and the Sanitary Engineer. The role of the Board was to oversee matters relating to the development of all townships of Uganda. By that time 16 significant and many more minor centres had been gazetted. Similar to its predecessor, the composition of the Central Planning Board reflected its prime concern, that being the prevention of the outbreak and spreading of contagious diseases.

Throughout the 1920's, Kampala being the fastest growing centre was well on its way to becoming the Protectorate's commercial capital. As a result it naturally received the Central Planning Board's greatest attention followed by Entebbe and Jinja which also had planning schemes developed. Although the Board was credited with making many sound decisions on Kampala at that time, its work was characterized as ad hoc in nature with little consideration for

future development and lacking coordination between Government departments with respect to overall planning policy. This situation to some extent was attributed to the absence of any overall master plan for Kampala. (Kendall, 1955).

In light of the situation, the Protectorate Government called upon a planning consultant named Mr. A. E. Mirams to undertake a report and a plan for both Kampala and Jinja. The plan was to advise on the general layout of both centres as they would relate to: future expansion, the siting of public buildings, layout of roads, drains, sewers, electric light and power lines; the problem of native location; refuse disposal, revision of township rules and the drafting of a town planning ordinance. (Kendall, 1955).

Insight into Mirams' approach to his task was reflected in his views and beliefs about town planning and architecture. With respect to town planning he believed that its main purpose was:

"to study intensively, conditions which control the efficient distribution of population, commerce, trade and recreation, and to design the layout of the town and its environments with such roads and open spaces as will promote the health and well being of the present and future residents; its supreme justification, is its contribution to the furtherance of the purpose of the plan itself which is to promote the most efficient, economical and attractive building develop-

ment, and preserve for the future a proper relationship between the living places, and the work, learning and playing places". (Mirams, 1930, p. 2).

He further stated that:

"Beauty in architecture does contribute to healthy conditions alike of mind and body; it satisfies some natural craving and aspiration and makes for the general uplift of human nature". (Mirams, 1930, p. 81).

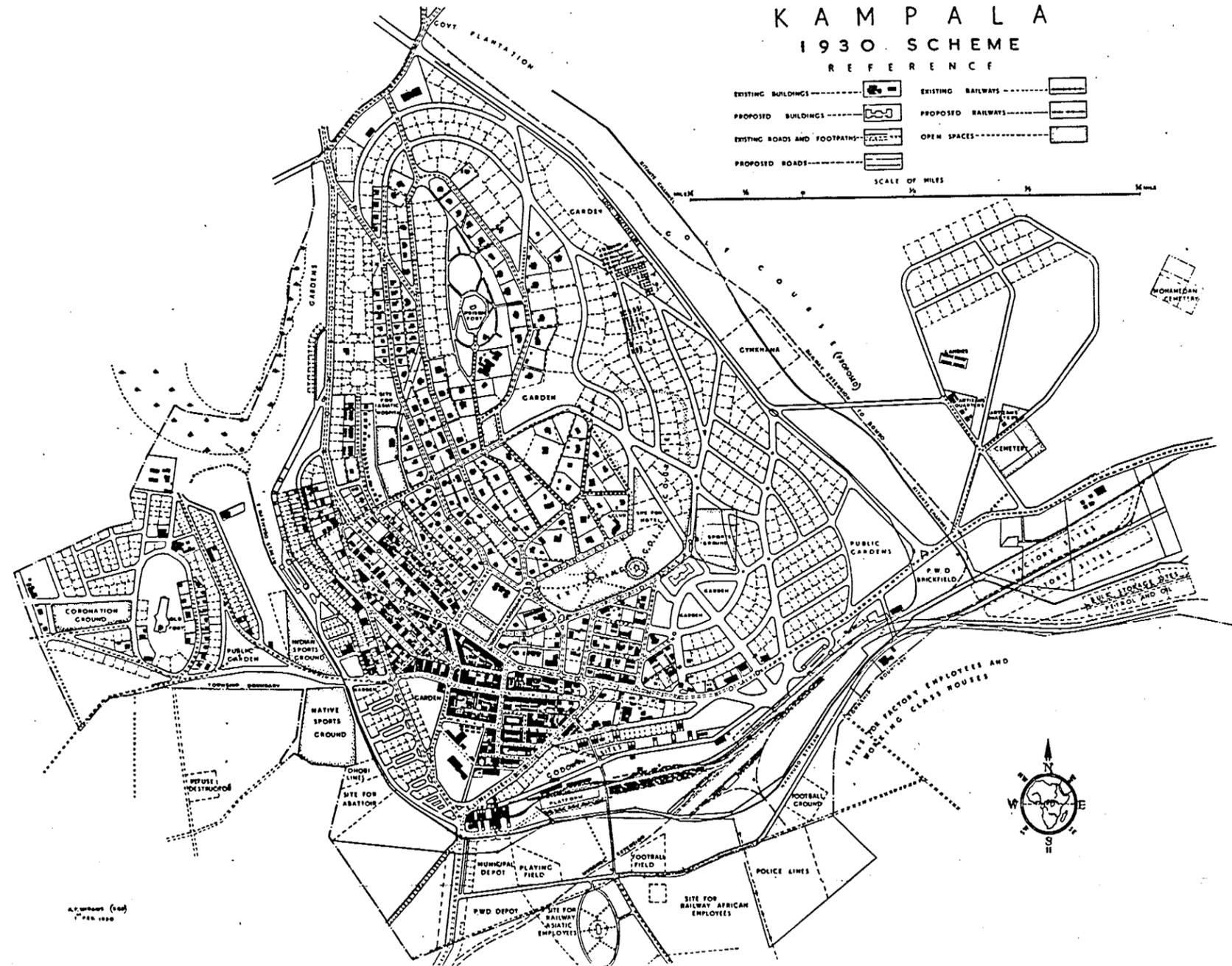
Steeped in such philosophy, Mirams embarked upon establishing a sense of order for Kampala and Jinja and laying a foundation for their future development along healthy and aesthetic lines. In the case of Kampala which many felt was in a state of chaos and almost breached all reasonable development, he made numerous recommendations regarding such items as: creation of zoning districts; establishment of building densities and architectural design controls; laying of future roads and the upgrading and widening of existing streets, developing open spaces and public gardens; draining of swampy areas; the setting aside of land for railway lines and airports; and the creation of legislation that would empower the authorities to implement desirable development. With respect to Africans in Kampala, who numbered approximately 6,389 in 1928 and who no doubt resided in the poorest of conditions, they received little attention from Mirams. He stated:

"After due inquiry there appears to be no reason ... for setting out a site for a 'Native location', as such. Good working class housing sites are provided ... which will meet any necessary requirements in this direction". (Mirams, 1930, p. 86).

In addition to his report on Kampala, Mirams produced a planning scheme, incorporating many of his recommendations. [Refer to Figure 14]. What is immediately apparent is the extensive roadway system which largely conformed to the slopes of Nakasero hill and the orderly layout of commercial and residential land plots. Also of note was the establishment of zones for specific land uses such as for factories and working class housing in the southeast area of the township. Absent from the scheme was an extensive green belt, earlier proposed to demarcate the European quarter. With the official revoking of segregational planning policies in 1923, green belt areas were built upon. The desire for open areas and recreational spaces was however accommodated through proposed public gardens and numerous sports grounds and a second golf course.

Although racial segregation was formally eliminated, it was replaced by a more subtle form of discrimination along economic grounds. Through zoning and building regulations, the largely exclusive European residential area containing the "best housing stock" remained intact and protected. What was more blatant however was the designation by Mirams

FIGURE 14:



SOURCE: Kendall, Henry; Town Planning in Uganda, Entebbe: Government Printer, 1955.

of separate sites for Asiatic and African railway employees in south Kampala, as well as locations for sports grounds and an Asian hospital.

In the case of Jinja, Mirams produced a report in accordance with the same planning principles he applied to Kampala. His report addressed such general issues as road alignments, parking, and open recreational areas. It also dealt with specific matters such as the location of the new railway station, traffic congestion in the commercial area, the siting of a new market and aesthetically preserving the Ripon Falls area. (Kendall, 1955).

Aside from Kampala, Jinja and possibly Entebbe the Protectorate capital, no other planning schemes or reports were undertaken for Uganda's townships prior to 1945. Up until that time all significant urban centres were characteristically small in size and dominated by a non-African population. Given their slow growth rates, the Protectorate authorities appeared satisfied to allow them to evolve under the apparent watchful eye of the Central Town Planning Board which was to ensure their adherence to minimum health standards.

The one noted exception was the Buganda capital Kibuga, centred around the Kabaka's palace on Mengo hill. Established in 1885 and reaching a population estimated at

between 60-77,000 by early 1900 the Kibuga created a serious concerns for the authorities in Kampala. Surrounding the township on three sides, the 19 square mile Kibuga was under the sole control of the Baganda. Beyond the reach of town ordinances and regulations, it was allowed to develop in an uncontrolled and haphazard manner. The result was the creation of slums and unhealthy conditions that not only threatened Kibuga residents but neighbouring Kampala citizens as well.

As a result, the Protectorate Government felt compelled to attempt to persuade Bagandan authorities to adhere to siting and building standards as early as 1906 (Gutkind, 1963).

Despite ongoing efforts, it wasn't until 1938 that steps were taken to address the issue of the Kibuga. This involved the incorporation of the Wandegeya area along Kampala's northern boundary into the township, thus bringing it under a planning authority. In addition, a planning scheme was drafted for the Kibuga and in 1941 the first township planning law was adopted by the Lukiko (Baganda Parliament). This law, the first of many was enacted to safeguard the lubiri (Kabaka's palace enclosure) from encroaching development. Although some actions to address the physical conditions of the Kibuga were initiated, it was not until after 1945 that major steps were to be taken.

Master Planning Phase: Housing

1945-62

Upon reflecting on the efforts made by the Protectorate Government to plan and administer the townships up to the 1930's, the Protectorate's Governor remarked:

"little attention had been paid to the urban areas in Uganda ... because it had always been everyone's idealistic hope that the African of Uganda would remain purely an agriculturalist and urban development would not become a major problem to the Protectorate". (Mitchell in Gutkind, 1963, p. 159).

In contrast to that statement was the conduct of the Protectorate Government in the 1940's. The end of World War II marked the beginning of a period of significant change and growing planning challenges in Uganda. The post-war influx of Europeans and Asians from abroad to the Protectorate's townships coupled with the ever growing presence of Africans, set off a time of unprecedented urbanization that was to last into the early 1970's. New urban problems arose such as housing shortages for Europeans and Asians in the larger centres. At the same time authorities began to realize the wider function of town planning beyond aesthetics and sanitation as well as the inadequacies of the existing land use legislation in directing urban development.

In response to these issues, the Protectorate Government began by establishing the 1948 Town and Country Planning Ordinance which was based on the United Kingdom 1932 Act. Recognized as the first law of its kind in Uganda and the foundation for all subsequent planning legislation, it provided the Protectorate Governor with the authority to declare any location a planning area; disallow development within a planning area; and call for a readjustment of boundaries (Gutkind, 1963). In 1951 it was amended to regulate the drafting and approval of all planning schemes. The main components of this legislation were:

- (a) provision for declaring of planning areas;
- (b) provision allowing normal development to proceed in areas declared planning areas, but ensuring that any such development which could interfere with a planning scheme would be halted;
- (c) provision for planning committees which in the case of a municipality would be the municipal council and in other areas would be representative of the local authority or authorities;
- (d) provision empowering the Governor to acquire land for public amenities and to acquire land that would not have been developed in accordance with any scheme

approved under the Ordinance, subject to certain safeguards. (Colonial Office, 1952).

Under the 1948 Act, a national Town and Country Planning Board was established, replacing the Central Town Planning Board. The new body was responsible for formulating general town planning policies and was composed of the Protectorate's Land Officer, Director of Public Works, Director of Medical Services, Secretary for African Affairs, Attorney General and other unofficial members.

In 1949 the Protectorate in further recognition of the need for orderly urban development, acquired its first qualified town planner, Henry Kendall who was appointed to the Town and Country Planning Board. In addition, Kendall assumed responsibilities as the Director of the newly established Department of Town Planning of Uganda.

Unlike earlier times, the need to provide extensive housing for Africans in urban areas was acknowledged. This led to the initiation of a comprehensive African housing program in 1948. The Protectorate Government adopted a general policy for the larger townships:

"to provide, as far as resources may allow, housing accommodation for all sections of the African community who work and live under urban conditions, irrespective of the nature of their employment ...". (Colonial Report, 1949).

Under this policy a Superintending Engineer was appointed to the Protectorate's Public Works Department to coordinate all efforts to improve African housing conditions and to implement extensive African housing schemes. Kampala and Jinja were targeted, as these centres suffered from the greatest shortages.

In 1949, construction was launched of Government-built housing estates. These were composed of blocks of houses centred around a compound with communal lavatories and bath houses. They were aimed at those Africans seeking work in urban centres and would accommodate both single labourers and families.

In Kampala along with the building of a small number of family dwelling units, work began on 544 bachelor units. Entebbe saw the construction of a limited number of units while in Jinja the construction of a 60 acre labour settlement began which was to house 2,000 bachelor labourers and 700 married men. (Colonial Report, 1949).

Throughout the early 1950's the Protectorate Government quickly expanded its housing estate program. In 1952 it had spent nearly £300,000 which was increased to £400,000 the following year. By 1955, 2,643 families and 784 single labourers were housed on Government Estates in five centres: Kampala, Jinja, Entebbe, Mbale and Tororo. (Colonial

Report, 1954).

In 1953, an African Housing Officer was appointed and charged with organizing a Department of African Housing which was established in 1954. That same year the Government came to the realization that despite its apparent enthusiastic and ambitious endeavours, it was not nor would it ever be, prepared to house the whole urban population due to the high cost and sheer enormity of the task. This realization led to a shift in government policy. It was decided that no additional General Housing Estates (renter subsidized) would be constructed. Rather, efforts would be concentrated on expanding and improving conditions within the existing six estates in the five urban centres. The intention of the Government was to limit its role as a direct provider of rental housing and in a matter of a few years, they were able to fulfill this objective.

The change in policy was also reflected in the mandate of the newly formed Department of African Housing which was primarily to facilitate the construction of new owner-occupied urban estates. In some cases, tenants were encouraged to "rent to own" their homes on long term leased serviced plots. In other cases, serviced plots were made available for tenants to construct their own housing, which had to conform to area building standards within 7 years. (Colonial Report, 1954).

Despite these efforts, it was found that only a small proportion of Africans could be accommodated adequately, largely due to their inability to afford housing that was required to meet stringent standards. In response, the Government in 1955, agreed to reduce building standards while maintaining minimum health and safety standards. What resulted was the establishment of Grade II and Grade III building rules which allowed houses to be constructed by traditional methods such as with mud and wattle walls. (Colonial Report, 1955).

Throughout the mid to late 1950's, Government African housing policy remained unchanged. By 1959, nearly all housing construction on Government Rented Estates had ceased. Limited, but steady housing development was occurring on Home Ownership Estates, while somewhat more construction was taking place in lower grade housing areas.

That same year, the Department of African Housing was incorporated as a division into the Ministry of Social Development and a wholesale review of the African housing policy was initiated. Following the review, the Government withdrew from constructing housing altogether and instead limited itself to training housing managers for the Estates and promoting the building of houses by private individuals. This was undertaken through Government assistance in the form of plans, advice and loans. The Government also

engaged directly in the selling of its housing stock.

Over the course of a little more than a decade, the Protectorate Government's policy on African housing had gone through a complete transformation. The Government's role also changed drastically from being a key player as a direct provider of housing from the late 1940's to mid 1950's, to being a sideline coach by the late 1950's whose primary role was to prompt first time players onto the housing ownership playing field. Despite its efforts however, the Government by independence had come to realize that only minor inroads had been made into resolving the issue of adequately housing Africans in the larger urban centres. And it was resigned to the fact that this over-whelming issue was beyond its capacities.

#### European and Asian Housing

Unlike the African Housing issue, it would appear that the Protectorate Government was able to address the housing shortage for the European and Asian populations in the major urban centres. The influx of these two groups from abroad into Uganda's towns in the mid to late 1940's had created an acute housing shortage especially in Kampala, Jinja and Entebbe. In response, the Protectorate Government commenced a housing building programme which in 1949 saw the construction of 256 staff quarters. (Colonial Report, 1949).

In 1951 the programme was expanded and 140 units were constructed and 206 were planned. (Colonial Report, 1951).

Despite these efforts, an acute shortage persisted due mainly to the lack of skilled labour and the need to import materials such as cement. In 1952 for instance, it was estimated that in Kampala 600 Asian housing units were required. (Dow, 1955). That same year a cement plant was completed in Tororo which greatly relieved supply shortages and allowed the Government to embark on an all out effort with its building programme. This action in conjunction with the curtailment in overseas recruitment allowed the Protectorate Government to alleviate European and Asian housing shortages by the end of 1955. Following that year, the Government refrained from directly providing housing to these groups.

#### Urban Planning Schemes

In 1948, Kampala (population 22,094) had its status upgraded from township to municipality; was declared a planning area; and work commenced on its comprehensive development plan. The plan was produced by a Planning Committee which was composed of both technical and non-technical individuals and was chaired by town planner, Henry Kendall. In assessing the state of Kampala, Kendall credited the 1930 planning scheme of Mirams which he referred to as "extremely far-

sighted" especially in regards to his road network, zoning and appreciation for open spaces. For it was recognized that Kampala had generally developed along its broad lines. (Kendall, 1955).

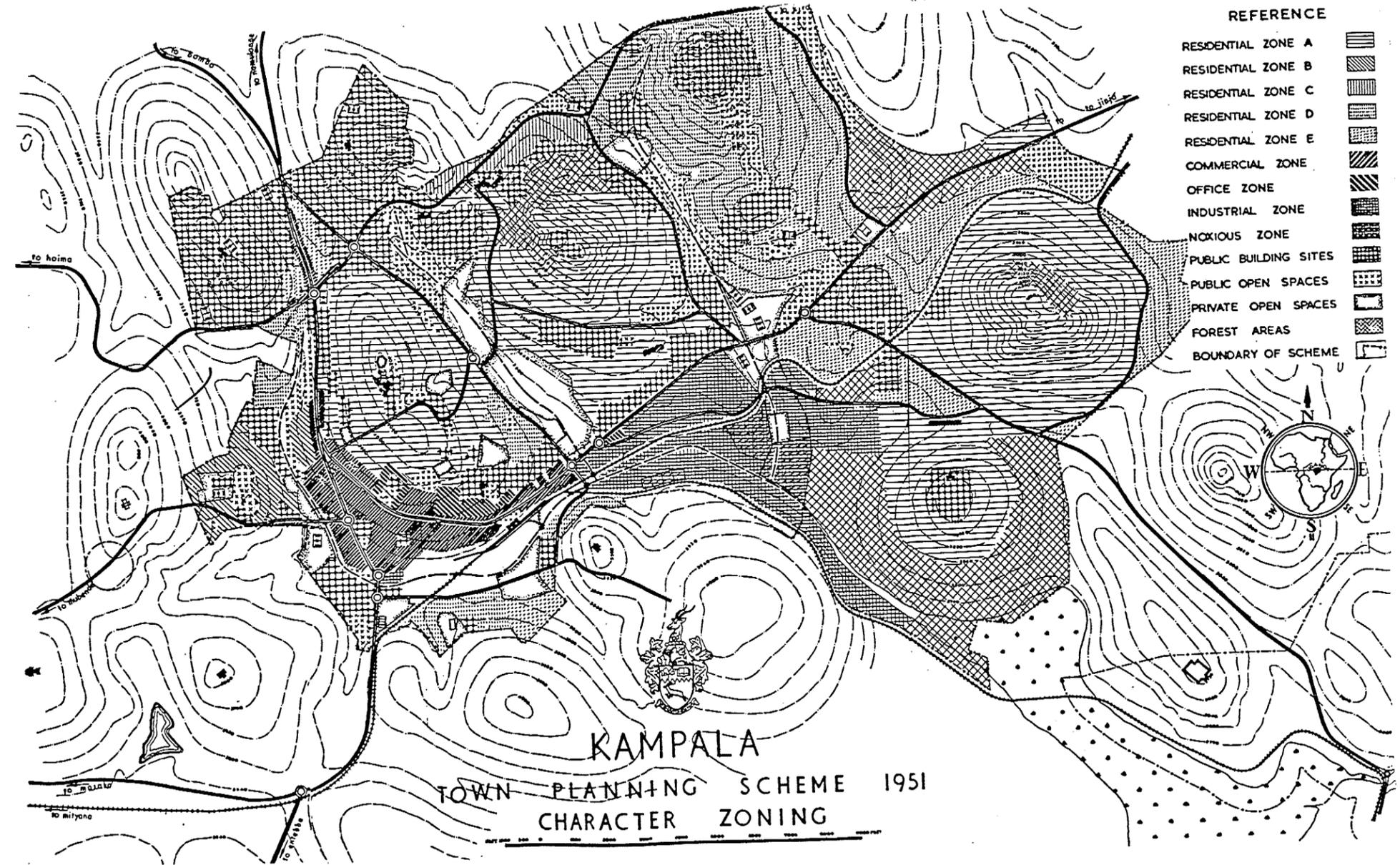
The rapid development of Kampala since 1930 and its projected growth, necessitated a new planning scheme, the purpose of which was:

"to control the development of the land comprised within the Planning Area, to secure proper conditions of health and sanitation, communication, amenity and convenience in connection with the laying-out and use of land; to preserve existing buildings or other objects of architectural or historic interest; to protect existing amenities and places of natural interest or beauty". (Kendall, 1955, p. 53).

In 1951, the Planning Scheme was completed and contained extensive provisions for zoning, building and roads. [Refer to Appendix III]. The primary component of the Scheme was the land use zoning plan. Under it, all areas within Kampala were contained within one of several zones such as: residential, office or industrial. [Refer to Figure 15].

According to the Character Zoning Plan there were five residential zones, all largely centred upon the upper slopes of Kampala's hills. Each zone was subject to regulations with Zone A being the most stringent and most costly to

FIGURE 15:



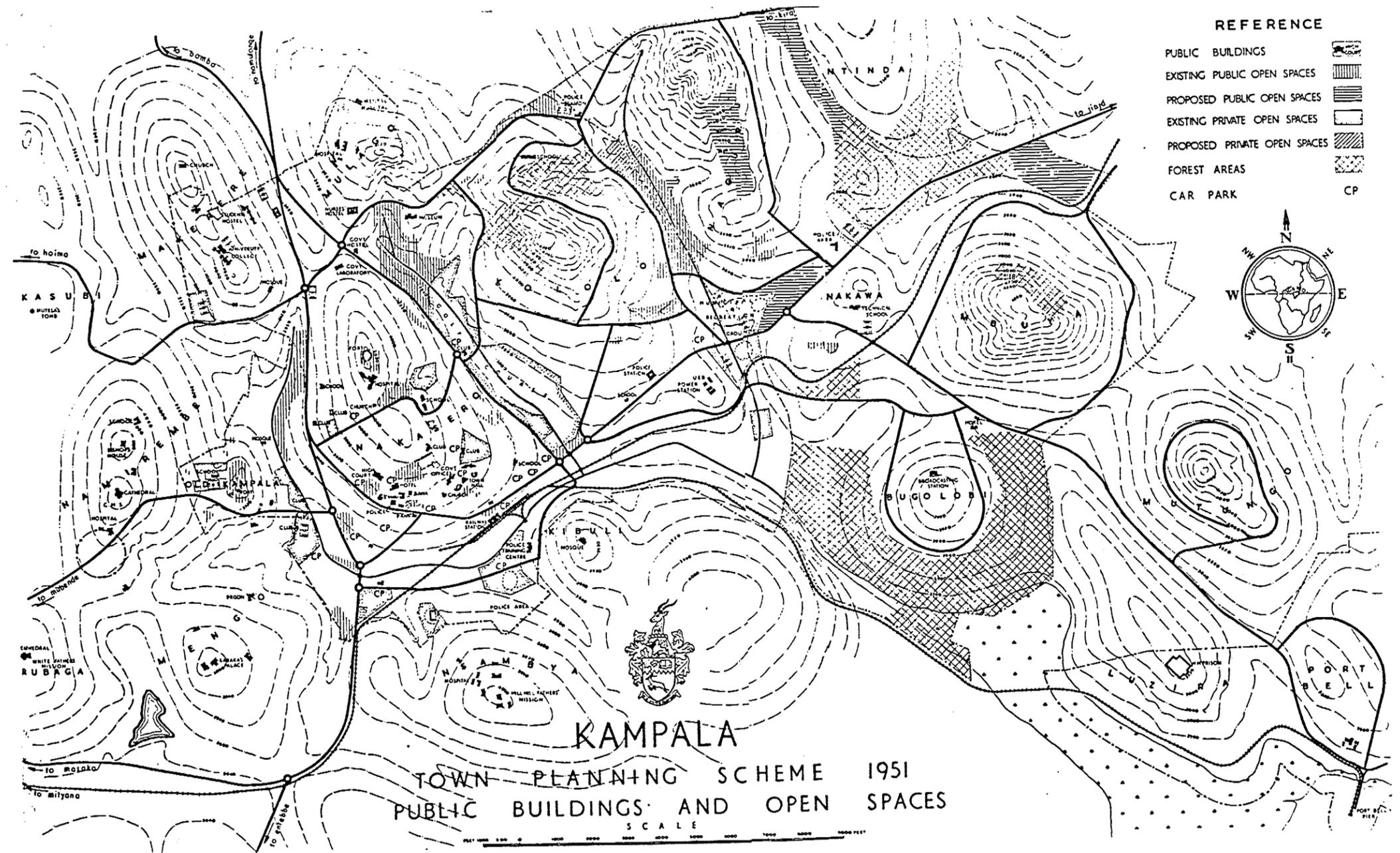
SOURCE: Kendall, Henry; Town Planning in Uganda, Entebbe: Government Printer, 1955.

occupy and Zone E being the least stringent and least expensive to occupy. For instance, the minimum allowable lot size in Zone A was 40,000 square feet in comparison with 5,000 square feet for Zone E. (Kendall, 1955, p. 59). Not surprisingly, the proposed residential zones coincided with the existing residential pattern of the three dominant population groups and continued to reinforce racial segregation along economic lines.

Europeans who could not afford the best housing had their neighbourhoods zoned A.1, the Asians who were less well off had their neighbourhoods zoned B and C; while the Africans who could least afford to reside in Kampala had their areas zoned D and E.

Through the Zoning Scheme, an effort was made to separate conflicting uses and to concentrate them in designated areas such as: a central commercial zone in southwest Kampala adjacent to a central office zone; and an industrial area located along the southeast and central edge of the town. Areas throughout Kampala were assigned for public building sites and open spaces and forest areas designated for low-lying locations. The siting of public buildings and open spaces was depicted in the Scheme. [Refer to Figure 16].

FIGURE 16:



SOURCE: Kendall, Henry; Town Planning in Uganda, Entebbe: Government Printer, 1955.

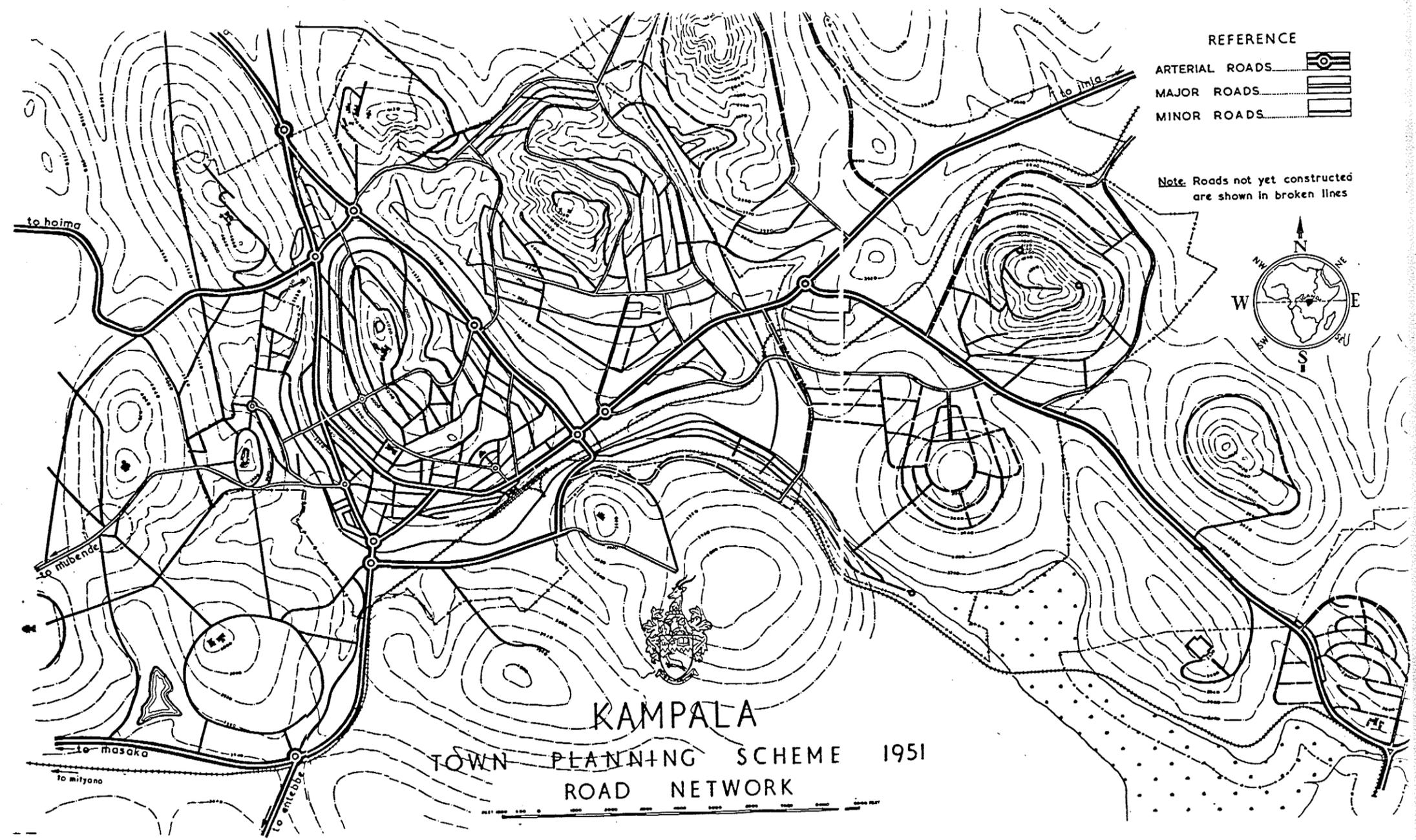
To expedite the Zoning Plan, provisions were made to eliminate non-conforming uses within the various zones as well as obsolete buildings over time.

A second major component of the 1951 Scheme was the extension of Kampala's road network. [Refer to Figure 17]. By 1951 Kampala's road network had developed considerably, based primarily on Mirams' 1930 scheme. Building upon the existing, roadways were extended particularly in the eastern areas both within and beyond Kampala's boundary.

The 1951 Scheme provided for an optimum population of 100,000 and work began immediately on two detailed schemes for the development of industrial, commercial and residential zones. Although these schemes were completed and approved by 1954, the rapid growth of Kampala by 1957 compelled the Town and Country Planning Board to call for the complete reassessment and revision of the 1951 Scheme. This effort commenced in 1958 and continued to the time of independence.

Throughout the 1950's, planning outline schemes were initiated for all of Uganda's significant towns and for a number of its minor centres. Most larger towns were declared planning areas and had their outline schemes completed by 1960. [Refer to Table 10].

FIGURE 17:



SOURCE: Kendall, Henry; Town Planning in Uganda, Entebbe: Government Printer, 1955.

TABLE 10: Ugandan Significant Towns -  
Planning Areas/Outline Schemes

	<u>Year Planning Area Declared</u>	<u>Year Outline Scheme Approved</u>
Kampala	1949	1951
Arua		
Entebbe	1956	1959
Fort Portal	1956	1959
Gulu	1956	1959
Hoima		
Jinja	1953	1955
Kabale	1956	1960
Kapchorwa	1967	
Kitgum		
Lira	1956	1959
Masaka	1958	1960
Masindi		
Mbale	1958	1960
Mbarara	1958	1959
Moroto		
Moyo		
Mubende		
Soroti	1956	1959
Tororo	1956	1960

---

Source: Langlands, B., "Urban Functions and Urban Form In Uganda and Their Implications for Planning Policy" in M. Safier and B. Langlands. Perspectives On Urban Planning For Uganda, 1970.

## Jinja

Following Kampala, work began on the outline schemes for Jinja, Tororo, Fort Portal and Mbale in 1953. The first of these to be finished was Jinja. The centre was located astride the Nile River at its headwaters at Lake Victoria. The prospect of hydro-electric power created by the Nile which materialized with the completion of the Owen Falls Dam in 1954, led the Protectorate Government to designate Jinja as the prospective major centre for industries in Uganda.

As was noted earlier, efforts were made to guide Jinja's development prior to World War II. The pressure of population growth in the late 1940's necessitated the drafting of a preliminary plan. Unable to wait for the undertaking of an outline scheme, the authorities allocated lands for a first class residential area, an African housing area to house a population of up to 10,000, a light industrial zone to the east of Jinja and a heavy industry sector on the western bank of the Nile. Having taken steps to accommodate these needs, work began on the development plan.

While incorporating these areas into the 18 square mile planning area, 5 neighbourhoods zones were established to house the different racial groups. These districts were designed for populations of 10,000 at various gross

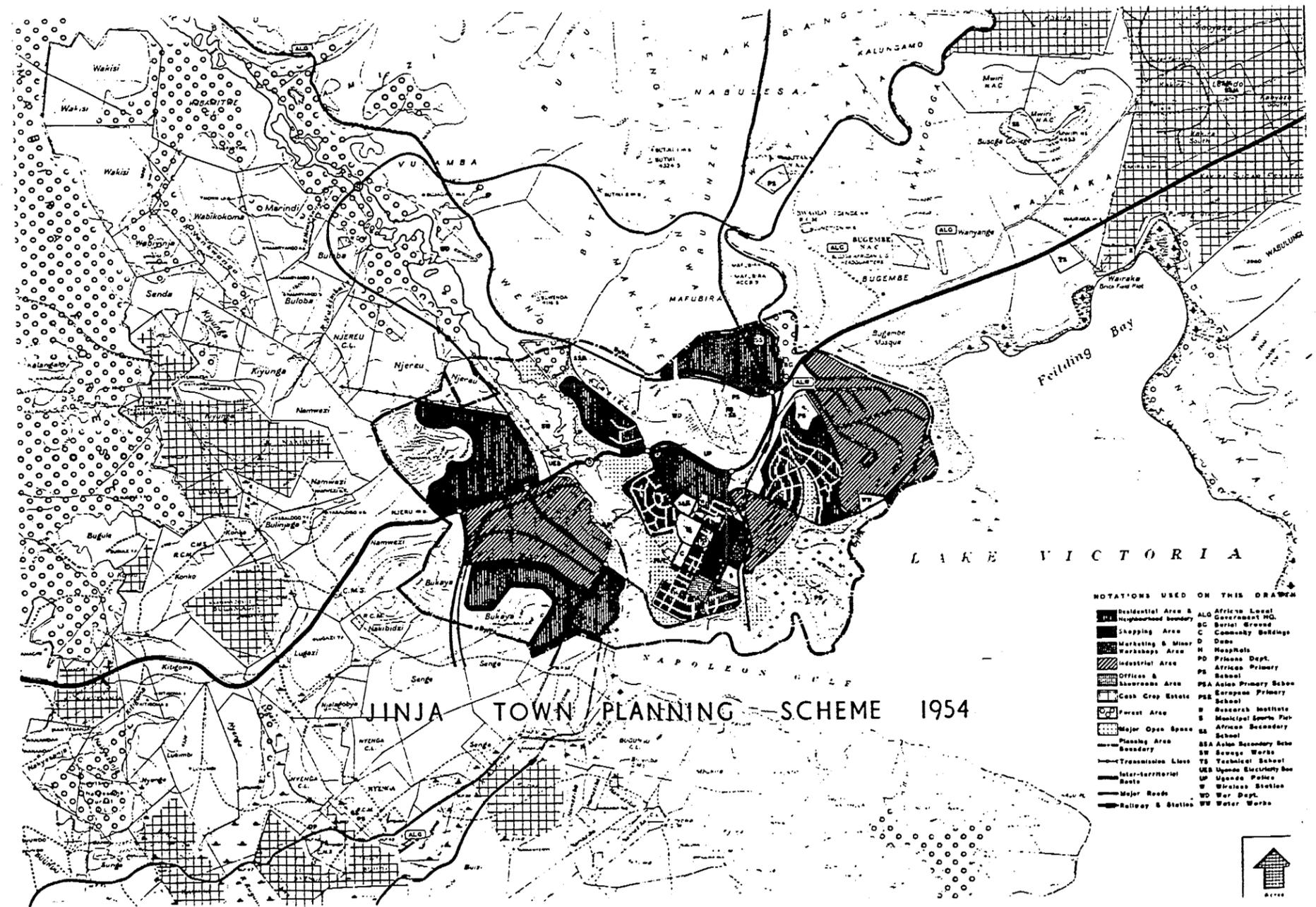
densities consistent with race structure and degrees of social development. (Kendall, 1955). As a matter of course, residential development was avoided in low-lying areas for health considerations. In addition, purely African neighbourhoods were to be built in close proximity to the industrial (employment) areas. Each residential area was to be provided with social services such as schools, playing fields, community buildings and clinics. [Refer to Figure 18].

A system of continuous open spaces was planned along the eastern bank of the Nile and northern shore of Lake Victoria which would extend into the residential areas. Linking the two banks across the Nile was a ring road which crossed the river in two places and encircled the central area of Jinja. The scheme which could accommodate an optimum population of 80,000 required revisions soon after its adoption similar to the case of Kampala's plan. These were completed in 1960.

### Entebbe

Given its close proximity to Kampala (20 miles), Entebbe was not expected to develop along the same commercial lines as its dominant neighbour. Instead by the early 1950's with no industrial development to speak of, it had emerged as Uganda's cultural and administrative centre. As the Protectorate's capital, it housed the seat of government and

FIGURE 18:



SOURCE: Kendall, Henry; Town Planning in Uganda. Entebbe: Government Printer, 1955.

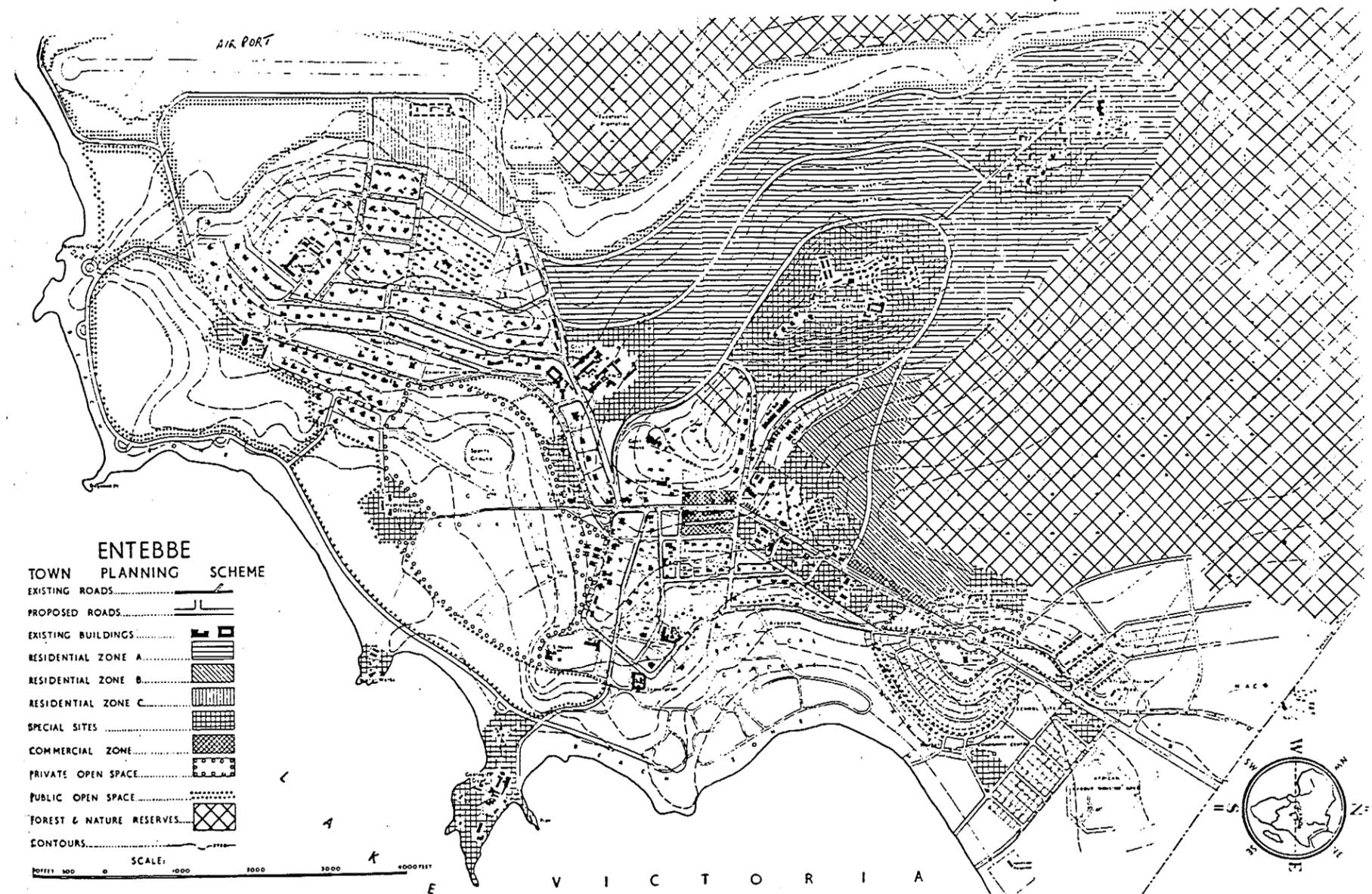
the headquarters of various departments. In fact, its citizens were predominantly civil servants. Located on a scenic peninsula on Lake Victoria and possessing an extensive well laid out botanical garden, it was referred to as the show window of the Protectorate. The completion of the international airport (one of the largest in the world at that time) at Entebbe in 1951 added greatly to its prestige.

The draft planning scheme for Entebbe was aimed at enhancing this image of the capital and addressing health considerations. Three separate residential zones were proposed for the dominant population groups as well as large open spaces and natural reserves. [Refer to Figure 19]. Provisions were also called for to remove dilapidated buildings in the designated commercial area which, when enforced would allow Entebbe to boast of being the only town in Uganda without slums of any kind. (Kendall, 1955).

#### Other Centres

Draft outline schemes for Mbale (third largest town) as well as for minor centres were undertaken throughout the 1950's. Standard features contained in the schemes were: the designation of separate residential areas, which were built on higher grounds; zones for commercial and industrial uses; as well as open or recreational areas. In addition, a

FIGURE 19:



SOURCE: Kendall, Henry; Town Planning in Uganda, Entebbe: Government Printer, 1955.

common pattern of development saw commercial and business zones often located astride the main road leading to Kampala. [For examples of draft planning schemes refer to Appendix III].

### Kibuga

As work progressed on the planning of Uganda's urban centres, authorities continued their efforts to establish some sense of physical order in the Buganda capital, the Kibuga. As was noted earlier, the uncontrolled development of the Kibuga posed a serious health threat to residents of both the Kibuga and adjacent Kampala. Government attempts to convince the Baganda landowners "of the benefit of overall planning" had not been fruitful up until the mid 1940's. (Gutkind, 1963, p. 161). Resistance on the part of the Baganda stemmed from their general distrust of the Protectorate Government and fears that the imposition of any land controls would result in the loss of their land due to diminished proprietorial rights and possible expropriation.

In 1947 however, the Bagandan Lukiko (Parliament) passed the Buganda Government Town Planning Law which: established a Town Planning Board for the Kibuga; created provisions for the removal of poor quality building stock; and the need to obtain permission before constructing any new building. The following year, the Protectorate Government appointed a town

planning advisor to the Board.

In short order the 1947 law was found to be inadequate and was replaced with the Buganda Town Planning and Building Law passed by the Lukiko in 1958. This law expanded the Kibuga's Town Planning Board and authorized it to draft planning schemes for the purpose of:

"... controlling the development of land ... of securing satisfactory conditions of health, sanitation, communications, safety, convenience and amenity in connection with the laying out and use of land ... and of protecting existing amenities with the minimum disturbance of existing rights". (Gutkind, 1963, p. 69).

The next year, work commenced on a development plan which was to contain a master plan, written report and provisions. In 1961, the development plan was formally adopted.

### Town Planning

As has been noted, the Protectorate Government responded to post-war urban conditions by introducing legislation, establishing administrative bodies such as housing authorities and planning boards as well as drafting outline schemes for many of its centres. In conjunction with these efforts came a recognition of both the importance and need for town planning. This resulted in the "formalizing" of

town planning in Uganda with both the hiring of the first "qualified town planner" and the establishment of the Department of Town Planning (1949) which was responsible for advising the Government on all matters relating to town planning and the drafting of urban development schemes.

The growing status of planning was also evidenced with the holding in Kampala in 1955 of the first ever East African Town Planning Conference. The significance of this event was marked by the fact that the issue of "Africans in towns" was extensively examined and a critical analysis of town planning efforts was undertaken by P. H. Stevens (Town Planning Officer of the British Colonial Office). In his assessment, he stressed two critical points, firstly that the "function of planning" was generally misunderstood and secondly, that imported planning methods were no longer suitable in addressing post-war urban conditions in Africa.

According to Stevens, the misunderstanding of the purpose of planning was largely due to it having "matured" or "evolved" in two basic ways. In the first case, it was pointed out that planning had been traditionally based on aesthetics and health considerations. This was not surprising given the fact that 19th century planning legislation was almost entirely inspired by medical criteria. Over time however, the influence of social and economic factors in town planning was acknowledged, necessitating a broadening of

planning's emphasis. This in turn required a redefining of town planning to reflect this change. The definition offered by Stevens was:

"the coordination of all economic activities associated with the development of land for the benefit of the whole community". (Stevens in Kendall, 1956, p. 15).

In the second case, misunderstanding arose from the lack of appreciation, especially on the part of the Government, for the growing complexity of the urban environment and the corresponding comprehensiveness of the planning process. In the 1940's it was no longer appropriate for planners to believe that urban problems could be addressed mainly through design and town layout. Rather it was acknowledged that planning was but one of three components along with "policy" and "development" that was required for effective land development. The lack of coordination of these three components led to foiled efforts which were often blamed on planners. In addition, Government offered "resistance, lack of cooperation or disinterest" when it came to town planning. As a result, planning staffs in general were wholly inadequately staffed to cope with their growing duties and responsibilities. (Stevens in Kendall, 1956).

Aside from the general misunderstanding of town planning was the admission that Government could no longer rely upon

imported town planning methods in post-war Africa. As was noted earlier, town planning was brought to Uganda from Britain and was undertaken by British planners and administrators in towns catering to European and Asian populations. The natural tendency was to develop them along the lines of small English country towns which were in this case isolated from the countryside. (The policy of treating towns as foreign isolated entities would prove to be problematic for the Ugandan Government in the future). Planning in this fashion was made possible and was based on the ability to keep at bay the surrounding sea of Africans. Once this was no longer possible, officials were forced to admit that:

"we cannot bring with us the tricks of the United Kingdom and apply them in tropical Africa". (Stevens in Kendall, 1956, p. 17).

Instead it was acknowledged that the entire planning process in Africa is new and:

"As the past is no guide to us, in planning for the future our thoughts must be bold and imaginative". (Oram in Kendall, 1956, p. 7).

The growing appreciation among planning officials for the complexities of the planning process (which was taking part around the world) and the calling for new planning approaches in "the African context" signified the extent to

which town planning was evolving in Uganda in the 1950's and early 1960's. The extent to which planning efforts were successful up to that period of time would be a subject of considerable debate and would depend upon the criteria employed. For instance, on the question of how well did town planning meet the needs of the various population groups it could be answered: very well for the Europeans, fairly well for the Asians and very poorly for the Africans. Or how well did it keep pace with changing urban conditions; fairly well perhaps prior to 1945 while somewhat overwhelmed and lagging behind in post-war years.

Some however were sharply critical and were prepared to dismiss colonial town planning efforts as superficial and ineffectual.

"The series of urban plans produced in the 1950's were very limited in their application to the total needs of urban populations and were usually the result of hasty 'through-the-windscreen' surveys and lacked any prior attempt to quantify the problem. No positive provisions were made in these plans for their implementation and to a considerable extent they were restrictive in nature and context". (Hather in Safier and Langlands, 1969, p. 34).

Although this criticism was quite valid, it should be remembered that such critics enjoyed the benefit of hindsight and that their harsh assessments could perhaps be attributed to their applying planning criteria of the late

1960's to planning efforts undertaken in the 1950's and earlier.

And what of the consequences of town planning efforts over the colonial period for Uganda. The major consequence stemmed directly from colonial policy to establish and develop towns as individual entities, catering to foreign needs and interests. The result was the absence of an integrated urban hierarchy, deeply rooted in the countryside. Instead space was found to be polarized with the urban hierarchy virtually suspended in the air and functioning as one closed system, while the rural areas acted as another. (Bakwesegha, 1975). As such, the vast majority of Uganda's native population who resided in the countryside did not to a great degree relate to the urban centres. This in turn would put in question the future growth and well-being of Uganda's towns.

## Post Colonial Era

### National Planning Phase: Socio-Economic - Physical Planning

Independence for Uganda in 1962 ushered in an era of nationhood and transformation. Gone was the foreign dominated Protectorate Government whose primary concern was serving the interests of the "mother country". It was replaced by a Government, elected to serve Ugandans and charged with the responsibility of utilizing all resources at its disposal to build the new nation. Within this context resources and activities such as towns, urbanization and planning were to be evaluated.

Along with political changes came the opportunity to build a national Ugandan society in part through the Africanization of various sectors such as the civil service and numerous professions which were dominated in the past by expatriate Europeans. In many cases however such as in urban planning, the use of foreign experts was to continue for many years after independence. The reason for this was four-fold:

- (1) with limited resources and skilled manpower, Uganda found itself relying on foreign financial assistance and expatriate advisors to administer planning;
- (2) many Africans of the professional class were elevated

to become policy makers and politicians and were in turn replaced by expatriates;

(3) the new professionals turned politicians (many of whom were educated abroad) chose to ignore local planners and instead hired former classmates from foreign institutions; and

(4) in an effort to thwart the post-independent generation from replacing them, the new leaders filled vacant positions with expatriates. (Kanyehamba, 1973).

With urban planning remaining firmly rooted both in theory and practise in foreign hands, colonial style planning and its consequences were perpetuated. This condition however was tempered by a number of factors. Firstly, town planning in addition to other functions of government was now open to public scrutiny and influence. Within two years of independence the first of a number of reports and writings were published by Africans on the subject of town planning.

In one such report, a general observation was made that despite the experience, qualification and best efforts of foreign planning experts:

"it has been difficult - if not impossible-

- for them to fully appreciate the African point of view and to apply their knowledge and skills in a way that is wholly acceptable to African culture". (Nyabongo, 1964, p. 1).

At the same time, the report posited a number of town planning recommendations such as:

- the need to give serious consideration to the beautiful land, great lakes and the mountains;
- the need to consult public interests;
- the need to make urban living affordable to Africans;
- consideration for the siting of new towns; and
- decentralizing government resources in order to avoid over concentration in the centres of Kampala and Jinja.

Secondly, town planning was influenced by the realization on the part of Government officials and expatriate experts alike that in order to be effective, urban planning needed to be integrated with social and economic planning. (Ridley, Fergus, Taber in Safier and Langlands, 1969). Although calls for such action began in the 1950's, it took on greater importance after independence as the Government sought to maximize its efforts in nation building. This recognition of the complexity and inter-disciplinary nature of urban planning signified the extent to which it had evolved through necessity, not only in Uganda but throughout

the world. The timing for Uganda in this case perhaps could not have been more auspicious.

Related to the second influence was the recognition of the need to integrate town planning with newly initiated regional and national planning in Uganda. (Brasseur, Ridley and Funnell in Safier and Langlands, 1969). Urban centres were seen to be interrelated with their surrounding regions which in turn composed the national environment. The fact that urban centres represented concentrations of capital investment, human resources and other elements of modernization, necessitated that their planning be incorporated into regional and national planning. Within a few years of independence, urban land use planning became so closely connected with development planning (which was undertaken in 5 year plans) that the latter was seen to be a genus of which the former was a species. (Kanyeihamba, 1973).

### Planning Efforts

Upon independence, the newly elected national Government quickly began asserting itself by firstly upgrading the status of Kampala from "municipality" to "city" and establishing it as the capital of Uganda. At the same time, it raised the status of Mengo from "township" to "municipality". And within a few years, the status of

Jinja, Mbale and Masaka were elevated in the same fashion.

In 1962, the Government also established the Sebei district in eastern Uganda and added a town to its inventory with the establishment of Kapchorwa, the new district capital. As the district capital, housing the district administration, Kapchorwa was expected to evolve into a significant urban centre.

The early 1960's marked the beginning of efforts in Uganda to establish systematic and integrated planning at the urban, district and national levels. The initial step in the process was the launching of the first national five year development plan (1961-66). This represented the first effort to analyze the problems, needs and potentialities of the country's whole economy before the formulations of plans. (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 1962). As part of this "national stock-taking" and with the objective of integrating government activities, the Ministry of Regional Administrations undertook a review of physical planning. What resulted in 1964 was the transformation of the Department of Town Planning into the Department of Town and Regional Planning. This change involved increasing and diversifying the department's staff in order to undertake regional planning and to become more closely linked with the planning efforts of the Ministry of Planning and Economic Development.

Regional physical planning at the metropolitan level was initiated in 1962 when the Government was able to recruit a United Nations urban planning team to analyze the development problems of the Mengo Municipality and to produce a master plan. In short order however the mandate was expanded to include adjoining Kampala and the advisory team was designated the "Kampala Mengo Urban Planning Mission 1963/4. After undertaking a series of studies, many recommendations were made, the primary being that:

- (1) Kampala should base its plans for expansion upon commercial, institutional and residential uses of the land and not upon major industrial expansion;
- (2) Government should promote the development of towns throughout Uganda by capital expenditures within the boundaries of district centres, and thereby establish a pattern for urbanization that will avoid excessive flooding of the national capital; and
- (3) Long-range Master Plans for both water supply and sewerage should be prepared. (Hather in Safier and Langlands, 1969).

In addition, the report contained population projections to 1979 which emphasized the scope of problems anticipated with the growth of Kampala and Mengo.

What is of interest to note is that the report's recommendations acknowledged two basic issues. The first was that there was a need to ensure that basic services such as sewer and water be provided in accordance with Kampala's future growth. The second was the recognition of the potential danger for Kampala to become (if it had already not done so) a primate city. Such centres tended to dominate all others in size and growth rate due to their ability to attract disproportionate levels of human and other resources. This consequently resulted in them paralyzing the growth of other centres, placing a strain upon the resources of the country and accentuating real or imagined disparities in social and economic prosperity between the urban (rich) and rural (poor) areas. (Mlia in El-Shakhs, 1974).

In order to offset the "primacy feature" of Uganda's urbanization, the report similar to another published that same year (Nyabongo, 1964), advocated that the Government decentralize its urban capital expenditures and target major industries away from Kampala. Despite the Government's attempt to heed such advice, Kampala by 1969 for various reasons clearly became Uganda's primate city, accounting for nearly 60% of the population of the major urban centres. [Refer to Table 5].

The completion of the first planning mission was followed by a second which was designated the Kampala-Mengo Planning

Mission 1964/66. Jointly sponsored by the United Nations and the British Government it was commissioned to continue the work of the first mission and to initiate regional planning in Uganda. The Government had by 1964 decided to have undertaken a country-wide series of regional studies and plans. The Mission was attached to the Ministry of Regional Administrations and was placed under the general direction of the Department of Town and Regional Planning's Chief Planner. The terms of reference for the Mission among other things included:

- (1) a regional study of the Kampala-Mengo Region;
- (2) a study of low cost housing, housing layouts and physical design for urban centres;
- (3) provision of assistance to the Department of Town and Regional Planning on the revisions of the Master Plans for Kampala and Mengo; and
- (4) provision of advice on new planning legislation.  
(Lukwiya in Safier, 1970).

Having defined the Kampala and Mengo region as approximately an area 20 to 30 miles in radius from Kampala consisting of 2,500 square miles and one million people, the Mission undertook a series of regional studies. These were based on

population projections to the year 2000 and allowed them to illustrate prospective growth and physical development problems. No effort was made however to develop a physical development program that could have been coordinated with the second National Five Year Development Plan (1967-71) or to integrate physical regional planning and national economic planning.

The report upon its completion posited major recommendations in eleven areas ranging from planning organization, legislation, and housing to transportation, growth patterns and industrial locations. Of the many recommendations made, a number of the most prominent were:

- (1) the need for closer cooperation and coordination between economic and physical planning and also between physical planning authorities and other ministries and development agencies;
- (2) the need for a new planning law for all of Uganda to replace the two sets of planning laws for Uganda and Buganda;
- (3) the need to establish fiscal and legislative measures to control urban land values and to reserve land for future development;

- (4) the need to reach a workable balance between building development and traffic in town centres with maximum segregation of vehicular and pedestrian movements;
- (5) the need to set aside areas of viable size in various parts of the Kampala metropolitan area for industries while rural industries should be developed in small towns or villages;
- (6) the need to concentrate development in phased, planned units to maximize benefits of reduced construction costs;
- (7) the need to focus efforts on self-help building methods and inexpensive low-cost housing schemes in order to meet the projected demand for 40,000 urban dwelling units throughout Uganda of which 14,000 would be required for the Greater Kampala Area over the period of 1966-71;
- (8) the establishment of a single metropolitan local government authority for the Great Kampala Area; and
- (9) the need for a vigorous policy of training Ugandans as professional planners. (Litherland, 1968).

While taking into consideration all recommendations, the

Government chose to act quickly on one, when in 1968 the Greater Kampala Metropolitan Area was established and placed under the Kampala Metropolitan Authority, which would now be responsible for physical planning of the city. This action involved the expanding of Kampala's area from 8 square miles to 75 square miles resulting in the incorporation of Mengo Municipality and the township areas of Nakawa and Kawempe and their respective boards and councils.

Overall however, a comprehensive physical plan was not produced and the efforts undertaken by the Mission were criticized for lacking realistic and explicitly stated social, economic and physical goals which could possibly guide the decision-makers into taking effective actions. (Lukwiya in Safier, 1970).

Upon completion of its work the 1964/66 Mission was succeeded by another team which was designated the United Nations Regional Physical Planning Mission 1967/69. The terms of reference for this team were in keeping with the Government's desire to undertake regional plans for all areas of the country and called for: (1) producing a physical plan for both the Jinja and Mbale/Tororo Regions and (2) provide assistance for the implementing of the Kampala-Mengo Region physical plan.

Similar to its predecessor, the third planning mission began

its work with defining the urban region, in this case for Jinja. Utilizing natural and administrative boundaries, it identified an area predominantly rural in nature, that was 4,500 square miles and contained approximately one million people. With the realization that the metropolitan Jinja district could not be effectively planned in isolation of its surrounding areas, the Mission undertook to lay the groundwork for rural-urban planning. These efforts however proceeded no further. Instead, the Mission was called upon by the Government to undertake the more pressing work of preparing the background research for the prospective master plans for Kampala and Jinja.

This work which was completed in 1969 consisted of projections of population, employment and income as they related to the expected growth of the Ugandan economy and to the policies contained in the Government's 1966-71 Five Year Development Plan. The work also provided the Government with a quantitative basis for determining total land use requirements for urban residential areas and major employment centres. (Hather in Safier and Langlands, 1969).

One of the results of the three planning missions 1963/4; 1964/6 and 1967/9, was that further planning actions and studies were launched. For instance, the first mission spawned master plans for water supply and sewerage disposal for the greater Kampala and Jinja areas. Recognition of the

importance of these essential services also resulted in the hiring of consultants to prepare economic and technical studies for 74 towns. The second mission resulted in Kampala City Council employing consultants to produce a traffic plan to the year 2000 and a report on low cost housing. At the same time, the Jinja authority also recruited consultants to produce studies on transportation and the redevelopment of its central business district. The third mission, as was noted earlier formed the basis for master plans for Kampala and Jinja, the former of which was launched in 1970.

The planning missions and related efforts, represented the most significant actions in the area of urban planning in Uganda in the 1960's. Aside from this however, there were a number of other significant developments. In 1967, the Ugandans Government passed the Local Administration Act and Urban Authorities Act which enabled each town to be administered by an elected council and a number of permanent administrators. (Kanyeihamba, 1973).

In 1969, the Public Land Act was adopted which nationalized all land except that which was found in Buganda. This action officially placed control of all land use within the hands of the government.

Also of note was a series of seminars held in 1969-70 on the

subjects of urban planning in Uganda and the role of urban and regional planning in national development for East Africa. They represented gatherings of academics, professionals and government officials representing a number of countries and various fields such as geography, sociology, economics, engineering and town and regional planning departments.

The seminars were of prime importance to Uganda and were an indication of a number of facts. To begin with, the seminars were a testimony of the importance placed on planning by the Ugandan and other African Governments. This was further magnified in that they had been held at the time the Ugandan authorities were planning the launching of their third five year development plan (1972-77). The value of the seminars also stemmed from them serving to officially or formally acknowledge that urban planning was of a highly inter-disciplinary nature involving social, economic and political elements. It was also treated as an integral component of regional and national development planning with which it needed to be fully integrated. These messages were further reinforced by the diverse backgrounds of the seminar participants.

The urban planning seminars were of special importance in that they were the first held since the 1956 East African Town Planning Conference and represented the first oppor-

tunity for planning experts to comprehensively examine the subject in post-colonial times, and to identify major urban issues facing the country. These will be addressed in the following chapter.

In 1969, the Department of Town and Regional Planning supplied with background research from the 1967/9 Planning Mission, commenced work on a development plan for Kampala. The need for the plan arose from the rapid growth and expansion of Kampala that resulted in a population increase from 46,735 in 1959 to 330,700 in 1969. [Refer to Table 5]. In particular the massive boundary extension of 1968 resulted in problems related to water supply and sewerage disposal and the demarcation of residential and development areas. It also meant that 80% of the new Kampala Metropolitan Area was not subject to planning. Up until that time, the 1951 Kampala Outline Scheme was still in place. Over the years however, the Scheme had grown increasingly outdated, given that it was designed for an 11 square mile area, a maximum population of 100,000 and aimed at providing spacious residential areas for the non-African population.

Work on the new development plan began with the identification of seven basic objectives which were:

- (1) to allocate sufficient land for the expected growth

of Kampala over the next 15 to 20 years;

- (2) to produce a plan which was capable of modification and extension to meet the needs of the city into the 21st century;
- (3) to develop a pleasant and healthy city for all citizens, particularly the 80% who represent the low income sector:
- (4) to suggest realistically balanced policies for the development of the entire city in relation to available resources;
- (5) to reconcile the interests of the community at large and individual landowners;
- (6) to maximize convenience in the locating of social facilities, residential and work areas; and
- (7) to facilitate efficient travel throughout the city through public and private transport. (Department of Town and Regional Planning, 1972).

In addressing these aims, the Department produced seven separate reports, which along with the report of the 1967/9 Mission and Transportation Report undertaken by consultants,

constituted the basis of the Kampala Development Plan. The Department's reports covered such areas as planning for rapid growth, housing, central business district, standards for social facilities and land use and contained over 50 policy recommendations. These were posited under 8 general headings of: future structure, housing, industry, the city centre and local centres, social facilities, water supply and sewerage, transport, land policy and further planning.

Of the many recommendations those of particular note were:

- to transform Kampala's radial road system as established by the 1951 Road Network Scheme, into a grid system which could be expanded to ensure accessibility to all parts of the city;
- to prepare Action Area Plans with an open space policy for the sub-sectors of the city centre where rapid short term growth was forecast, and detailed development control policies for all other sectors;
- to direct Kampala's major activities to two primary commercial areas (Central Kampala and a future site at Kolo) and eight major industrial sites;
- to organize the Metropolitan Area into Zones, Districts and Sectors as a basis for planning the

transport network and distribution of land uses;

- that Government resources for housing be allocated proportionately among the low 80%, middle 10% and high 10% income groups in accordance with their size;
- to initiate site and service schemes, rent controls and other actions to facilitate the construction of affordable housing;
- to improve the existing peri-urban areas through the provision of services, with no wholesale slum clearance, which would only serve to exacerbate housing shortages;
- to firstly encourage the development of residential areas in closest proximity to employment nodes;
- to provide one health centre for every 40,000 people;
- to allocate sufficient lands to open areas, parks and recreation facilities;
- to support the proposals of the master plans for water supply and sewerage for Greater Kampala;
- to create provisions for City Council to acquire any

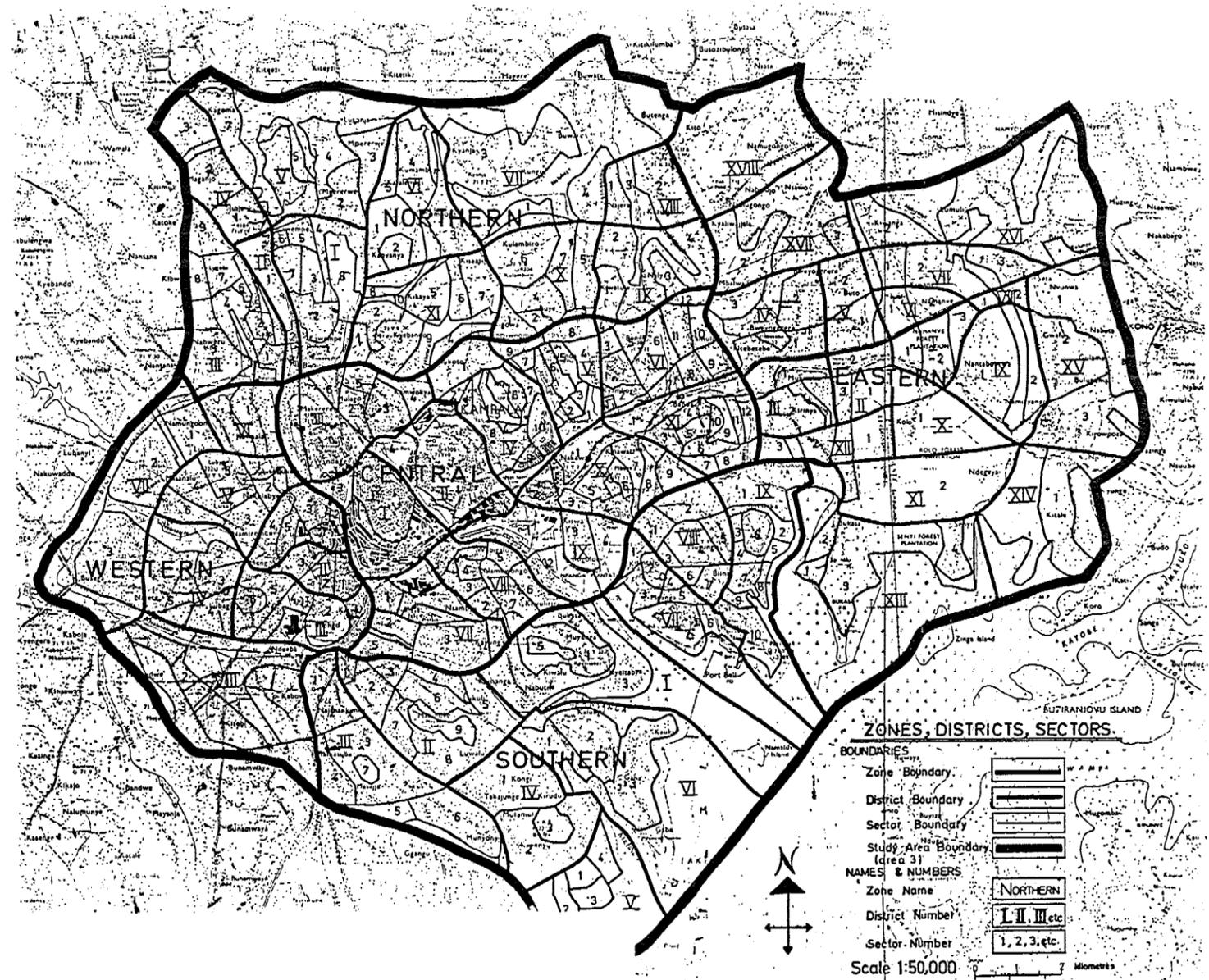
lands for planning purposes; and

- to ensure the long term effectiveness of the Structure Plan through the preparing of detailed plans, reviewing boundaries and making amendments as required.

The recommendations, objectives and various research reports of the Structure Plan indicated the comprehensive and systematic nature of the planning effort. This was perhaps best typified by a map produced of the Greater Kampala Area over which were super-imposed a system of zones, districts and sectors. [Refer to Figure 20]. This consisted of the delineation of 5 basic zones: Central which contained the heart of Kampala; surrounded by the Northern, Southern, Eastern and Western Zones. These in turn were subdivided into districts which were further subdivided into sectors. The demarcation of the entire Study Area in this fashion would now permit planning and development to take place in a highly monitored and detailed manner.

The Report's recommendations also provided an indication of the planners' understanding of various urban issues and their approach to them. It was clearly recognized that the vast majority of Kampala's population 80%, consisted of a low income, predominantly African group. In light of this it was advocated that housing resources be allocated accord-

FIGURE 20: Zones, Districts, Sectors, Kampala 1970



SOURCE: Uganda Department of Town and Regional Planning, Kampala Development Plan 1972, Entebbe: Government Printer, 1972.

ingly. The emphasis on housing policies was therefore being directed squarely toward meeting the needs of the urban Africans. The recommendation to address Kampala's peri-urban areas in a sensitive manner with undue hardships for their inhabitants further stressed the paramount importance the urban Africans were now commanding.

Advocating that residential areas be firstly constructed in close proximity to centres of employment indicated sound economic planning with respect to the issue of "journey to work" and avoidance of urban residential sprawl. And the call for legislative provisions to allow civic authorities to acquire necessary lands revealed an awareness on the part of the planners of a key ingredient to successful planning.

The Kampala Master Plan once completed in 1970, received formal approval by Kampala's City Council and the Town and Country Planning Board. In keeping with Government policies to encourage public participation in the planning process, the plan was deposited for public inspection and public representations were received by the Planning Board. Following this process, some changes were made and the Plan was submitted to the Minister of Public Services and Local Administrations who approved it in 1972. The plan which now largely controlled all aspects of planning and development in the Greater Kampala Area is assumed to be still in force today.

By the late 1960's and early 1970's, the move to formerly integrate urban planning with regional and national planning within the context of government policies was initiated. In preparation of Uganda's third Five Year National Development Plan (1972-77), a "new approach" was introduced which would relate physical planning with the national economic planning process in a manner that would allow sectoral planning to be translated into comprehensive regional planning. (Odongo in Safier, 1970).

It was proposed within the national development plan that each of the country's 18 districts would serve as a "planning unit" within which urban and rural planning would be integrated. Integration would involve greater coordination between the Ministry of Planning and Economic Development (which was responsible for translating national policies on a regional level); the Ministry of Regional Administration (which oversaw district town councils and boards and through the Department of Town and Regional Planning which was responsible for the physical planning of all urban centres); and District Planning Committees. The Committees which were advisory bodies, would perform the role of providing feedback to the ministries and propose projects which could be included in the national plans. It was intended that projects and resources would then be allocated to districts in accordance to their needs.

Since the early 1970's the Government decentralized planning to the district level and over the course of the next number of years undertook many rural-urban planning projects involving water supply, sewage systems, low-cost housing, urban mass transportation and urban employment creation. (Obudho, 1983).

Urban planning from 1962 to the early 1970's had undergone a significant transformation due in part to the evolution of planning on a global basis and due to changing conditions in Uganda. Greater appreciation of its complex nature, integral role beyond the local level and necessity to meet African needs, could not help but change the face of planning, regardless of who the planners were.

Beyond the early 1970's, the general planning trends that were set in motion at that time appeared to have continued at least until the early 1980's. The level of planning activity over that time and since is uncertain. However, in light of the serious unrest that has gripped Uganda since the early 1970's, it could be assumed that urban planning like so many other government functions, was greatly curtailed and in some instances may have ceased altogether over periods of time.

CHAPTER V. PLANNING CHALLENGES

Uganda similar to other African countries upon independence had the opportunity to make a "fresh start". This involved assessing all its resources, critically examining how the country had been administered to that point, and charting new courses for its future development.

A brief assessment of its urban resources would have revealed some 20 centres of significance, mainly district capitals of European origin. Largely alien in nature to indigenous African life, they were isolated features upon the vastly rural Ugandan landscape. Forming a loosely knit but closed system, they were dominated by the primate city Kampala and the larger centres of the more urbanized southern region.

Urbanization would have been found to be occurring rapidly, especially in Kampala and other southern towns. Caused mainly by rural-urban migration as opposed to industrialization as in developed countries, the condition of over urbanization would have begun to prevail. This was occurring at the expense of the rural areas and acted as a drain on the national economy in the face of Government attempts to cope with mounting urban problems. These problems among others included: overcrowding, housing shortages, street congestion, inadequate services, poor

health conditions and high unemployment.

Urban planning would have been found to be somewhat outdated and still firmly rooted in European tradition and with towns still being perceived as individual entities. Some recent attempts would have been made to address the issue of adequately housing urban Africans but the focus remained predominantly on catering to non-African interests.

From this initial assessment, a number of major planning issues could be identified, the most pressing being: the rapid rate of urbanization; the over urbanized state of larger towns; and outdated planning approaches. While acknowledging these issues, it would have been essential to examine them with respect to National Government development objectives. This would require identifying the role of urban centres, urbanization and planning as they related to national unification, modernization and the development of a national economy.

#### Role of Urban Centres

In spite of the serious problems posed by Uganda's larger towns, urban centres in Africa generally were viewed by many as playing a major part in nation building. They did so by:

- a) enhancing the efficiency of production;

- b) maintaining African social values;
- c) equalizing access to services and facilities among different ethnic groups;
- d) promoting social integration and political awareness;
- e) diffusing modernization;
- f) fostering national integration and unification; and
- g) increasing the pace of transformation and the intensity of active participation at the grass roots level. (El-Shakhs, 1974, p. 9).

In determining the extent to which it would commit itself to the urban sector with its limited resources, the Government was required to weigh the above noted factors and the significant investment the centres represented versus the problems associated with urban growth and the fact that only a small percentage of the country's population resided in urban areas, 5.3% in 1960 and 8% in 1970. [Refer to Table 7]. The Government's decision to embrace the urban sector would also mean that it was willing to assume direct responsibility for the administering and development of urban centres and all of the planning issues inherent with this. These included the maintenance and provision of costly infrastructure and services, the accommodation of growth and the addressing of a myriad of urban ills.

Beyond the provision of basic services, the issue of how to feasibly integrate the African population into towns was

perhaps the most critical. This was an issue that had perplexed colonial administrators in the late 1940's and 1950's and with an African Government in place since 1962, the expectations of resolving the issue were heightened. Although this was the case, little in the way of action was taken on this matter. However, housing provisions in Kampala's 1972 Development Plan were directly aimed at providing Africans with the prospect of affordable urban housing through proposed site and service schemes and other measures. This would appear to have marked only a beginning of what would be necessary to fully meet this challenge.

A second major issue arose from the relatively isolated nature of Uganda's major towns. Planned and developed as separate entities, they appeared to be polarized nodes of people, services and functions which according to some, did not form any defined system or hierarchy and were perhaps little more than agglomerations of people. (Witthuhn in Safier, 1970).

If this were indeed the case, then the absence of an urban hierarchy would prevent the Ugandan Government from making traditional use of urban centres to effectively disseminate ideas, institutions and innovations. In order to do so and reap an important benefit from its urban sector investment, the Government would need to enhance the existing linkages between its urban centres.

In the same vein, the challenge of integrating urban and rural areas would need to be addressed. In order to utilize towns as vehicles for modernization, development and other Government objectives, greater linkages between urban centres and their hinterlands were essential. As was noted in the previous chapter, the Government in the 1960's took a number of first steps in this direction.

### Urbanization

In assessing urbanization in the context of national development, two divergent opinions arise. With respect to rapid urbanization which Uganda was experiencing since the Second World War, it was felt by some that it, along with its related problems were a drain on the national economy. On the other hand, others simply considered rapid urbanization as merely necessary "growing pains". (Mlia in Safier, 1970). In the case of Uganda however with urbanization taking place largely due to rural-urban migration and without corresponding industrialization, the economic basis for urban growth was sorely lacking, thus requiring the Government to heavily subsidize its towns.

In weighing the pros and cons of urbanization and urban centres, the questions that the Government would have had to address were:

- (1) Is the rapid rate of urbanization economically, socially or politically desirable?
- (2) Should the rate of urbanization be accelerated, arrested or maintained? and
- (3) Should steps be taken to offset primary urban development?

It could be assumed that although the Government did commit itself to the urban sector, it would not have viewed continued rapid urbanization in a positive light given its limited ability to cope with its consequences.

The Government's capacity to affect the rate of urbanization or to redirect it to the smaller centres would have appeared to have been tenuous as the growth of the larger centres of Kampala, Jinja and Mbale continued to outpace the smaller towns. In preparation of the Third National Development Plan (1972-77), the prospect of shifting the Government's emphasis to some extent from "urban" to "rural" was entertained. Greater stress upon rural and regional development was believed in part to be a means of diminishing rural-urban migration. The consequences of such action would create new challenges for the Government.

### Urban Planning

In assessing urban planning in the context of national development, it was evident, as noted in the previous chapter that efforts were initiated in the 1960's to radically transform it to meet emerging needs. This included its integration with social, economic, regional and national planning. The challenge for the authorities based on the developing trends of the 1960's and early 1970's was to ensure the integration of urban planning continued and adapted to meet changing needs of the country. The second challenge was to ensure, as resources permitted, that the problems of underfunding and understaffing which had plagued the planning department since its inception, would be addressed.

Finally there was the challenge of Africanizing the planning department. As was noted earlier, this effort was ironically, adversely affected by independence as African professionals graduated to positions of policy makers and politicians, only to be replaced by European expatriates. In time it would be expected that the African presence among the ranks of the urban planners would be firmly established and that their influences and philosophies would contribute to a truly African approach to urban planning in Uganda.

The major issues associated with urban centres, urbanization and planning that Uganda faced in the years preceding independence were in many ways similar to those faced by other emerging African nations. Inheriting a recent foreign dominated past, Governments committed themselves to continue colonial urban traditions in the short run, while working to establish new urban policies in keeping with emerging national goals and objectives. How successful Uganda would have been in addressing the urban issues it faced beyond the early 1970's, had conditions within the country permitted is difficult to say. This is a question that warrants further study.

CHAPTER VI. CONCLUSION

Having traced the evolution of urbanization and town planning in Uganda from inception to the early 1970's, there are a number of outstanding issues of note. To begin with, although much archeological work remains to be undertaken, the evidence uncovered to date would seem to clearly support the view that urbanization in Uganda has existed for many centuries. This fact was reflected by remnants of African settlements which date back to at least 1000 A.D. and later by the royal capitals of a number of kingdoms which occupied south and west Uganda. The best and most prominent of these centres was Mengo, the capital of the Buganda Kingdom which now constitutes a part of the Kampala Metropolitan Area.

Although being a prime example of African styled urbanization, Mengo also represents a unique exception to modern day urbanization which owes its genesis to British established colonial district towns. These towns have grown to become Uganda's major urban centres of today. Designed and dominated by non-Africans to serve the needs of the colonial authorities, these centres were imposed and developed in exclusion of the indigenous African population.

The establishment of colonial towns was soon followed by the introduction of urban planning efforts which were aimed at facilitating development along healthy and aesthetic lines

which initially entailed segregating European, Asian and African urban dwellers. Despite the exclusionary tendencies of the authorities towards the indigenous population, it was merely a matter of time before the colonial towns began to be inundated by a human flood from the African sea which surrounded them. This overwhelmed the capacity of the centres to accommodate large numbers of migrants who came ill prepared for the urban living experience. What resulted was the birth of overcrowded disease ridden shanty towns which ringed the periphery of the larger centres, urban unemployment, congestion, and various other problems which posed major challenges for planners and government officials.

The emergence of these urban conditions prompted a critical analysis of colonial town planning in the mid-1950's. What was discovered was that urban problems were complex and could no longer be addressed mainly through design and layout. Instead social, economic, development and policy factors needed to be taken into consideration and become integrated components of town planning. At the same time European planning methods were found to be inappropriate in the African context and new planning approaches were needed especially in addressing the urban African issue.

It is particularly this final point which best underscored the major flaw in the British Colonial approach to urban

centres. Reluctance on the part of the authorities to pursue policies that would invite, equip and accommodate Africans to work and reside in towns greatly contributed to many of the problems that in time came to beset urban centres. The need to undertake urban development and planning with and for Africans was perhaps the most important lesson learned by planners from the colonial era.

Although planning continued to cater to the needs of the non-African urban population a decade after independence in 1962, planning had begun to undergo a significant transformation by the mid-1950's. This involved a shifting of its emphasis to meet the growing urban challenges particularly the issue of effectively integrating Africans into the major centres. Independence provided a major impetus for the ongoing transformation of urban planning for it not only paved the way for greater emphasis to be placed on addressing the needs of urban Africans but also led to the establishment of a national context within which planning was to function. This involved calls for planning to become interrelated with social, economic, regional and national planning in order to achieve national goals of building regional unity, modernization and economic development. Linking urban planning to national development planning expanded its scope and created new challenges.

For instance, in order to effectively utilize the country's urban centres as vehicles of modernization and communication, their isolated nature would need to be overcome by strengthening inter-urban and urban-rural linkages. The issue of urban primacy and role of urbanization in the country's development also needed to be addressed. Thus as urban planning was growing more comprehensive in nature its horizons continued to expand up to the early 1970's. What has taken place in Uganda in terms of urbanization and planning since that time, is a subject that has yet to be thoroughly examined. One can only hope that as Uganda rises from the devastating turmoil that has beset her for nearly the past two decades that scholars and professionals will be able to resume their work in studying town planning and urbanization over this most recent period of history.

APPENDIX I

Explanatory Notes on the Plans of the Royal  
Enclosure and the Capital: Plan

## EXPLANATORY NOTES ON THE PLANS OF THE ROYAL ENCLOSURE AND THE CAPITAL

THE accompanying plans represent the Royal Enclosure (Lubiri) and the Capital (Kibuga) as they were known during the reign of King Suna and in the early years of King Mutesa's reign. The plans have been drawn by the *Katikiro*, Sir Apolo Kagwa, who was aided by the most intelligent of the old men who knew the place, and who had lived either in the Royal Enclosure or in the Capital during King Suna's life-time. In the Plan of the Capital the enclosures of the principal Chiefs have been noted by a sketch of a native house. Adjoining each District-chief's residence the sites of the Sub-chiefs of the district are marked. The custom followed when laying out the Capital was to give sites to the Chiefs of each district in such localities that they should be on the side of the Capital nearest their own districts; they would thus avoid passing through the districts or by the residences of other important Chiefs on their way to their country houses. When choosing a locality for a new Capital the King would try to find a place for the Royal Enclosure that would be a key to the districts by commanding the roads leading to them. The rivers are clearly marked, showing where they rise and the course they take. No attempt has been made to draw the plans to scale, they are sent forth as they were received from the *Katikiro*. For many generations the same plan of laying out the Capital and the Royal Enclosure has been followed.

### Plan of the Capital.

1. The *Lubiri*. The Royal Enclosure (see Plan 2).
2. *Mbuga*. The open space before the Royal Enclosure, in which stood the temples to the principal Gods, the sacred fire (Gombololo), and the Court house in which the *Katikiro* held his court to try cases of appeal.
3. Enclosure in which were two or three temples to the principal gods.
4. The residence of the Queen (*Lubuga*).
5. Enclosure of *Kabeja*, one of the King's wives who lived outside the Royal Enclosure.
6. The *Katikiro's* residence.

## EXPLANATORY NOTES

7. The *Kimbugwe's* residence with the temple of the Royal Fetiches and the Umbilical cord.
  8. Enclosure of *Nanzigu*, one of the King's wives.
  9. Residence of the *Kago*, the District-chief of Kyadondo.
  10. Residence of *Mukwenda*, the District-chief of Singo.
  11. Residence of *Sekibobo*, the District-chief of Kyagwe.
  12. Residence of *Kangawo*, the District-chief of Bulemezi.
  13. Residence of *Mugema*, the *Katikiro* of the dead, and District-chief of Busiro.
  14. Residence of *Kaima*, the District-chief of Mawokota.
  15. Residence of *Kitunzi*, the District-chief of Gomba.
  16. Residence of *Pokino*, the District-chief of Budu.
  17. Residence of *Kasuju*, the District-chief of Busuju, and also guardian of the Princes.
  18. Residence of *Katambala*, the District-chief of Butambala.
  19. The residence of *Nabikande*, the King's aunt, who was midwife to all the King's wives.
  20. The residence of the *Mombowa*, the Chief of the Police.
  21. King Suna's temple.
  22. Shrine and burial-place of King Mutesa's mother.
- Plan 2.—The Royal Enclosure.

1. *Gombolola*. The hut in which the sacred fire was kept during the day and in which the guards sheltered.
2. Gatekeepers' house.
3. House in which the Royal chair (*Namulondo*) was kept, and in which the men who guarded it lived.
4. House of *Kadulubare*, the King's chief wife.
5. House of *Nasaza*, the second wife of the King.
6. House of *Luiga*, one of the King's wives.
7. House of *Kikoma*, one of the King's wives.
8. The house where the King did smithing. The house was under the care of *Kikoma*.
9. House of *Nakalu*, one of the King's wives.
10. House of *Baita*, one of the King's wives.
11. House of *Sabadu*, one of the King's wives.
12. The house where the King made barkcloth.
- 13, 14, and 15. Waiting-rooms for visitors wishing to see the King.
16. House of one of the King's wives, used as a mosque in Mutesa's reign.
17. Waiting-room for the *Katikiro* and *Kimbugwe* when they visited the King.
18. House of *Kadulubare*, in which she entertained Princes and Princesses when they visited her.
20. House for sheep and goats belonging to the King.
- 21, 22, and 23. Royal store-houses with accommodation for the guards who guarded them.

## EXPLANATORY NOTES

24. The Royal kitchen.
25. Waiting-room for the King's wives who wished to see him.
26. Gate-keepers' house.
- 27, and 28. Houses of *Katikamu*, one of the King's wives.
29. House inhabited by Basoga women who had been given to the King to wife.
- 30, and 31. Court houses in which the King tried causes of appeal.
32. House in which the King's bath water was kept.
33. Court-house.
34. House in which the Royal drums were kept.
35. Waiting-room for chiefs wishing to see the King.
36. House to which Princes and Princesses were brought from *Nabikande* to see the King before they were sent to *Kasuju*, the chief who had charge of the Princes.
37. House of *Munyuwa*, one of the King's wives.
38. A general waiting room.
39. Ivory Court. A house in which the King sat with his feet resting upon a tusk of ivory while he heard cases and discussed matters of state, and in which he also met his favourite chiefs privately by night.
40. Women's court-house, in which the King met his principal wives and heard any cases of misconduct among his wives.
- 41 and 43. Waiting-room in which the King's wives resided when expecting to be called to the King's couch.
42. House of *Kabeja*, one of the King's important wives.
- 44, 45, 47, and 48. The King's private houses.
- 46 and 50. Where the King received Princes and Princesses.
49. House of *Mukolera*, one of the King's wives.

These fifty houses were the most important in the Royal Enclosure. There were many houses for the slaves of the King's wives and also for their maids. No men were permitted to visit these houses without special permission from the King, who gave the visitor a person to conduct him to the woman relative he wished to visit.

SOURCE: Roscoe, John: The Baganda: An Account of Their Native Customs and Beliefs, London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1965.



APPENDIX II

Kampala Outline Scheme, 1951

# THE KAMPALA OUTLINE SCHEME, 1951

**WHEREAS** by virtue of section 6 of the Town and Country Planning Ordinance, 1948 (hereinafter referred to as the Ordinance) the Governor in Council declared the area set out in the First Schedule hereto to be a Planning Area (hereinafter referred to as the Planning Area):

**AND WHEREAS** by virtue of section 12 of the Ordinance the Town and Country Planning Board (hereinafter referred to as the Planning Board) framed a scheme for the Planning Area:

**AND WHEREAS** pursuant to section 16 of the Ordinance the Planning Board on the 5th day of October, 1950, deposited the Scheme:

**AND WHEREAS** persons after such deposit made representations respecting the Scheme:

**AND WHEREAS** the Planning Board has submitted the Scheme together with such representations to the Governor:

**NOW, THEREFORE**, by virtue of section 17 of the Ordinance the Governor having modified the Scheme has been pleased to approve the Scheme in the following form.

## PART I.—GENERAL

### 1. CITATION AND APPLICATION

This Scheme may be cited as the Kampala Outline Scheme, 1951 (hereinafter referred to as the Scheme), and shall apply to the area set out in the First Schedule hereto.

### 2. PLAN OF THE SCHEME

The Plan of the Scheme (hereinafter referred to as the Plan) is Plan No. K.40.51 attached hereto. The Plan shall form an integral part of the Scheme.

### 3. RELATION OF THE SCHEME TO THE LAWS FOR THE TIME BEING IN FORCE

Nothing in the Scheme shall be deemed to affect the operation in the Planning Area of any laws for the time being in force save in so far as such laws relate to the control of density, zoning and planning and in particular paragraphs 14 to 51 shall have

effect notwithstanding any provision of the law to the contrary:

Provided that should any doubt arise as to whether the law or the Scheme shall have effect, the Scheme shall be deemed to have effect.

### 4. OBJECTS OF THE SCHEME

The general objects of this Scheme are to control the development of the land comprised within the Planning Area, to secure proper conditions of health and sanitation, communication, amenity and convenience in connection with the laying-out and use of land; to preserve existing buildings or other objects of architectural or historic interest; to protect existing amenities and places of natural interest or beauty.

### 5. INTERPRETATION

(a) Unless the context otherwise requires, all expressions and terms shall have the meaning assigned to them in the Public Health Ordinance and any rules made thereunder and such meaning shall be changed or modified in the same manner as they are changed and modified in such Ordinance and rules by any replacement or amendment of the Ordinance and rules.

(b) The following terms and expressions not defined in the Public Health Ordinance or any rules made thereunder shall unless the context otherwise requires have the following meanings:

“approved finished level” means the finished level of the ground as shown on the building plan.

“curtilage” means the area of land within the boundary of a plot and includes the area of land under any buildings thereon.

“decoration” includes painting, distempering, whitewashing and creosoting.

“first floor” in relation to a building means that floor which is immediately above the ground floor.

“ground floor” unless decided otherwise in special circumstances by the Planning Committee in relation to a building means that floor which is not more than five feet above the approved finished

level of the ground immediately surrounding the building.

"guest house" means a building for human habitation, but restricted as to overall size and use of rooms as provided for in this Scheme.

"habitation" means the continuous or intermittent use of a building or land or any part thereof as a place of abode.

"height of building" means the height measured from the approved finished level of the ground to the top of the parapet on the flat roof or to the eaves of the roof.

"lower ground floor" in relation to a building means that floor which is immediately below the ground floor.

"main building" means the structure built on the percentage of the plot referred to in column (3) of the Zoning Table.

"Ordinance" means the Town and Country Planning Ordinance, 1948, or any ordinance amending this Ordinance or substituted therefor.

"outbuilding" includes servants' quarters and private garages erected on a plot in addition to the main building in accordance with the provisions of this Scheme and the Zoning Table.

"permissible area" means, in relation to a building, the maximum area upon which the building may be constructed in respect of the plot and in accordance with the provisions of this Scheme.

"Planning Committee" means the Kampala Planning Committee constituted under section 10 of the Ordinance.

"residence" means a building or part thereof built for and used solely for the purpose of habitation.

"road line" means the line defining the side limits of a road reserve.

"rules" mean any rule or rules made under the Ordinance.

"service rooms" mean a kitchen, larder, pantry, scullery, bathroom, lavatory, water-closet, store room, laundry room, box-room, ironing room, or a room wherein is installed plant for cooling, heating or air conditioning, or machinery for working a lift.

"set back" means the distance from any building to the boundary of the plot upon which the building is erected, or to the road line of the road on which the plot abuts.

"shop" means a building where goods are exposed or offered for sale whether by retail or wholesale.

"width of road" means the distance between the load lines measured perpendicularly to the centre one of the road.

"zone" means an area of land shown on the plan by distinct colouring, hatching, or edging or a combination thereof for the purpose of indicating the use to which lands and buildings in such areas may be put and the regulations prescribed therefor under this Scheme.

## 6. NOTATION ON THE PLAN

The following notations employed on the Plan have the meanings hereunder assigned to them:—

### Boundaries

Boundary of area to which the Scheme applies	-	Blue line.
Municipal boundaries	-	Black dot and dash line.

### Roads

Existing roads	-	Brown.
Proposed roads and road widenings	-	Red.
Roads to be stopped up	-	Hatched red.

### Zones

Residential Zone "A"	-	Orange.
Residential Zone "A.1"	-	Orange edged dark orange.
Residential Zone "B"	-	Blue edged purple.
Residential Zone "C"	-	Blue edged dark blue.
Residential Zone "D"	-	Blue.
Residential Zone "E"	-	Yellow.
Commercial Zone	-	Grey edged dark grey.
Business and Office Zone	-	Grey edged yellow.
Light Industrial Zone	-	Purple hatched dark purple.
Heavy Industrial Zone	-	Purple cross hatched dark purple.
Noxious Industrial Zone	-	Purple edged and cross hatched dark purple.

### Lands reserved under the Scheme for

Existing Public Open Spaces	-	Dark green.
Proposed Public Open Spaces	-	Light green hatched dark green.
Existing Private Open Spaces	-	Light green edged dark green.
Proposed Private Open Spaces	-	Light green edged orange.
Existing Burial Grounds	-	Yellow edged dark green.
Proposed Burial Grounds	-	Yellow edged and hatched dark green.
Nature and Forest Reserves	-	White cross hatched dark green.
Railway Reserves	-	Purple.

### Special Sites

Sites for Public Buildings	-	Pink edged orange.
Churches, mosques, temples and other places of worship	-	Orange edged and cross hatched dark brown.
Existing buildings	-	Black.

**PART II.—ROADS**

7. Road under this Part of the Scheme means a road the site of which is shown on the Plan or any additional road provided for in a detailed scheme.

**8. SITE AND WIDTH OF ROADS**

The sites and widths of roads and road reserves shall be as shown on the Plan, provided that additional sites for roads and road reserves may be set aside and alignments amended in any detailed Scheme approved by the Planning Committee from time to time.

**9. PROHIBITION OF BUILDING ON ROADS**

No building may be erected on any land forming the site of a road or road reserve.

**10. CONSTRUCTION OF ROADS**

The local authority or any other authority approved by the Board shall be competent to widen or construct any road included in the Plan and to carry out any works on adjoining land in connection therewith.

**11. DELEGATION OF POWERS TO CONSTRUCT ROADS**

The local authority may delegate their powers by permit, to any persons who are desirous of constructing or widening roads, provided that such person or persons take over all liability or responsibility which would fall by law on the local authority were they responsible for such construction or widening. In delegating such powers, the local authority may impose such conditions as they deem fit in order to ensure the proper execution of the works.

**12. ENTRY ON LANDS FORMING SITES OF ROADS**

Subject to the provisions of Part VI of the Ordinance, the local authority shall have power at any time after this Scheme has come into force and after giving three months' notice to the owner to enter on and take possession of any lands forming the sites of roads, or widening of existing roads, for the purpose of their construction.

**13. SANITARY LANES**

The Committee may close, widen or divert sanitary lanes, such closure, widening or diversion to be indicated on detailed schemes from time to time.

**PART III.—ZONING AND BUILDING**

**14. USE OF LAND AND BUILDINGS**

No land or building situated in any zone shown on the Plan shall be put to any other use than a use

set out in the Schedule of Uses in respect of the zone in which it is situated provided that :—

- (a) where, at the coming into force of this Scheme, any such land or building is being put to any use other than a use set out in the Schedule of Uses in respect of the zone in which it is situated, in conformity with any law or agreement in force prior to the coming into force of the Scheme, may continue to be put to such use until in the case of freehold land the land is sold or in the case of leasehold land or land held under a tenancy agreement or licence until the lease, agreement or licence expires or is terminated ;
- (b) it shall be competent for the Board, with the consent of the Land Officer, to authorise the putting of such land or building to any use not set out in the Schedule of Uses and subject to such conditions as they may deem appropriate having regard to the character of the neighbourhood in which such land or building is situated and provided for in this Scheme ;
- (c) the Planning Committee may make provision for any land in any residential zone to be set aside for roads and road reserves, public and private open spaces and recreation grounds.

**15. BUILDING SITES**

No building may be erected on any site other than a plot.

**16. NUMBER OF BUILDINGS ON A PLOT**

One main building for habitation and/or commerce only may be erected on any plot, provided that :—

- (a) permission may be given for the erection of a guest house built in Residential Zones " A " and " A.1 " in addition to the main buildings ; and
- (b) the servants' quarters, garage, etc., may be constructed to the maximum size permitted as shown in the Zoning Table ;
- (c) in the industrial zones, two or more buildings may be permitted.

**17. FLATS OR APARTMENT HOUSES**

(A) The Planning Committee may authorise the erection of flats in the residential zones on one or more plots : provided the total built-up area of such flats shall not exceed that permitted in the Zoning Table as if the plot or plots had been developed for detached residences : and further provided that the design of such flats is approved by the Planning Committee and that the building conforms to all other requirements regarding height and set-backs of the zone in which it is to be erected.

(B) No blocks of flats or any part thereof shall be used for any purposes other than habitation save that flats shall contain service rooms and may contain garages for the exclusive use of the residents of the flats.

(C) In the case where flats are erected adjoining a public open space not less than three hundred feet in width, an increase in the density of the flats may be permitted with the approval of the Planning Committee.

(D) Flats may be erected in the commercial and business zones under such conditions as may be approved by the Planning Committee from time to time.

#### 18. GUEST HOUSES

A guest house may be permitted in Residential Zones "A" and "A.1" provided that the Planning Committee consider the plot suitable for such purpose: and further provided that the building shall consist of the bedroom, one verandah, a W.C. and bathroom; or two bedrooms, a W.C. and bathroom. In neither case shall a kitchen be permitted and the total floor area to be covered by all rooms shall not exceed six hundred square feet.

#### 19. HOUSING SCHEMES

(A) A housing scheme providing for the erection of flats, detached or semi-detached houses, or terrace houses or any combination thereof may, with the approval of the Planning Committee, be carried out subject to the following conditions:—

- (i) the land to be utilised falls within Residential Zones "A", "B", "C", "D", or "E";
- (ii) the situation, configuration, size and shape of the land to which the scheme applies is, in the opinion of the Planning Committee, suitable for a housing scheme;
- (iii) the scheme provides for not less than 24 flats or 15 houses on individual plots;
- (iv) the design of the buildings and the layout of the area are approved by the Planning Committee;
- (v) the scheme is promoted and carried out by the local authority, a building or housing association, society or company approved by the Board.

(B) In approving a housing scheme, the Planning Committee may impose special conditions in regard to density, set-backs, height of buildings, number of flats, quality of materials, adequate drainage, layout and upkeep of vacant space, the planting of trees

and shrubs, and any other matter connected with the scheme for which, in their opinion, provision should be made.

#### 20. RESIDENCES IN COMMERCIAL ZONES

No residence or habitation shall be permitted on the ground floor of any building in the commercial zone save with the approval of the Planning Committee.

#### 21. RESIDENCES IN LIGHT INDUSTRIAL ZONE

In the light industrial zone, one flat for the exclusive use of the owner or caretaker of the factory may be permitted with the approval of the Planning Committee; provided that the flat is not on the ground floor of any building and further provided that the total floor area does not exceed 400 sq. ft.

#### 22. SHOPS, WORKSHOPS, TRADES AND INDUSTRIES

(A) No shop or workshop may be operated and no trade or industry may be carried on save on a site which has been approved for such purpose by the Planning Committee, or has been approved for such purpose in a town planning scheme.

(B) Shops, workshops, trade and industry where permitted shall be situated or carried on only in buildings especially constructed for such purpose, or otherwise suitably adapted to the satisfaction of the local authority.

(C) Changes of use in shops or workshops may be permitted provided they are included in the Schedule of Uses of this Scheme.

#### 23. POWER-DRIVEN MACHINERY

(A) Power-driven machinery shall not be permitted in residential zones, save where shops are allowed in detailed schemes, and then only in such shops, and only of such a nature as not to be likely to be a nuisance or annoyance to the residents in the neighbourhood.

(B) Power-driven machinery of such horse-power which may be necessary for any one business, trade or industry may be approved by the Planning Committee in commercial and business zones.

(C) No limitation shall be imposed on the horse-power of power-driven machinery in any industrial zone.

#### 24. PLOTS FALLING WITHIN SEVERAL ZONES

Plots situated in more than one zone shall be considered as being situated in the zone which has the least restrictions, save as regards front set-back:

which shall be as prescribed for each of the several zones in which the plot is situated.

#### 25. CORRUGATED IRON

The use of corrugated iron sheets, aluminium sheets and similar materials shall be prohibited in the residential and commercial zones in any building which, in the opinion of the Planning Committee, is of a permanent nature.

#### 26. WATER TANKS

Where the roof of a building is constructed of reinforced concrete and is flat, the water tank, if erected on it, shall be suitably enclosed in such a manner as the Planning Committee may prescribe.

#### 27. OUTBUILDINGS

(A) If the slope of the ground renders it practicable, the garage and store rooms shall be located in the lower ground floor of the building.

(B) All outbuildings, including servants' quarters, shall be suitably screened to the satisfaction of the Planning Committee.

#### 28. BUILDING LINES AND SET-BACKS

No building shall be erected in any of the several zones set out in the first column of the Zoning Table save in accordance with the set-back set out in the ninth column opposite the respective zone, provided that where the Planning Committee is of the opinion that the size and shape of any plots are such as to justify a relaxation of the front set-back of a building on any plot, the Planning Committee may grant such relaxation.

#### 29. IRREGULARLY-SHAPED PLOTS

On irregularly-shaped plots the minimum side and rear set-backs set out in the ninth column of the Zoning Table may, at the discretion of the Planning Committee, be reduced.

#### 30. BOUNDARY WALLS AT JUNCTION OF ROADS

No boundary wall, fence or hedge at the junction of two roads shall project beyond the arc of a circle tangential to the road lines, having tangent points not less than twenty-five feet from the intersection of the two road lines, and such arc shall form the road line.

#### 31. HEIGHTS OF BUILDINGS

No building shall be erected in any of the several zones set out in the first column of the Zoning Table to a greater height than the maximum height set out in the eighth column of the Zoning Table

opposite the respective zone, provided that the Planning Committee may permit the erection of a building to a greater height than the said maximum in order that it may accord with the height of any neighbouring building which exceeds the said maximum height, and further provided that on sites indicated in the plan as sites for special buildings, the heights of all such buildings shall be subject to the approval of the Planning Committee.

#### 32. BUILDINGS IN INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL ZONES ON NARROW ROADS

Along roads less than 50 feet in width in commercial and industrial zones, the height of any part of the rear of a building which is more than forty feet away from the building line shall not exceed two-and-a-half times the distance of that part of the building from the rear boundary of the plot.

#### 33. DESIGN AND EXTERNAL APPEARANCE OF BUILDINGS

It shall be competent for the Planning Committee, on behalf of the Board, to exercise full control over the design of any proposed building in any zone in all matters pertaining to appearance, choice of materials or manner of construction as set out in Part II of the Schedule to the Ordinance.

#### 34. INCOMPLETE BUILDINGS

Any building, whether or not it is built to the full limits permitted by this Scheme, shall be constructed and finished in such a manner as to give it the appearance of a complete building.

#### 35. BUILDINGS IN THE CIVIC CENTRE

All buildings to be constructed in the Civic Centre, outlined in red on the Plan of the Scheme, shall conform to the regulations set out in Schedule III to this Scheme.

#### 36. APPEARANCE OF BUILDINGS

The local authority may require the owner of any building which, in their opinion, is in a dilapidated or unsatisfactory condition and which has not been decorated for three years prior to the coming into force of the Scheme, to put the building into reasonable condition and appearance.

#### 37. EXTERNAL STAIRCASE

External staircases to any building in any residential zone may be erected if they are wholly attached to the building and the area occupied by such staircase together with the area occupied by the building does not exceed the maximum permissible built-up area of the building.

### 38. PAVING OF COURTYARDS

All courtyards and backyards of premises in the industrial and commercial zones as well as enclosed courtyards in residences, shall be paved, asphalted, or otherwise treated to the satisfaction of the local authority.

### 39. ADVERTISEMENTS

No external advertisements shall be erected, constructed or painted in residential zones or any building constructed as a dwelling. In the commercial and industrial zones, the local authority may require the owner or occupiers to submit applications for lettering, signs, etc., which are to be placed on the outside of the building. The painting of any advertisements, including names of shops, firms and companies, etc., direct on the side walls of a building or on walls above the canopy, shall be prohibited.

Applications for advertisements on such parts of the building below the canopy or in other parts, shall be approved by the local authority. In a similar way illuminated signs must also receive the prior sanction of the local authority.

### 40. BUILDING PLOTS, BUILDINGS AND OUTBUILDINGS

(A) *Minimum Curtilage.*—No building shall be erected in any of the several zones set out in the first column of the Zoning Table opposite the respective zone, unless it is on a plot of the prescribed minimum curtilage; provided that if at the coming into operation of the Scheme a smaller plot was in existence, permission may be granted by the Planning Committee for a building to be erected if the building in question conforms to the maximum percentage in relation to the size of the plot.

(B) *Maximum percentage of Building.*—No building shall be erected in any of the several zones set out in the first column of the Zoning Table save to such maximum percentage as is set out in the third column of the Zoning Table opposite the respective zone. If an extension of an existing building is required, then the total area of the new plus the old building must not exceed the maximum percentage laid down.

(C) *Lower Ground Floors.*—If the slope of a site renders the provision of a lower ground floor possible, such a floor may be built to the maximum area set out in the fourth column of the Zoning Table opposite the respective zones. Rooms forming part of the lower ground floor may be used for habitation if the special permission of the local authority has been obtained, but not otherwise.

(D) *Cellars.*—Cellars for storage, lift machinery or for the accommodation of air conditioning, cooling and heating appliances may be built under any part of a building. No cellar or part thereof may be used for habitation.

### 41. SERVICE PIPES AND DOWN SPOUTS

The Planning Committee may require that any building shall be so designed that all service pipes and down spouts are grouped together and placed in external chases and covered by a grille in such manner as the Planning Committee may approve.

### 42. BALCONIES

Balconies may be erected as approved by the Planning Committee. In the commercial area the Planning Committee may require that all balconies be recessed in order to maintain the tidy appearance of the neighbourhood.

### 43. CANOPIES OR OTHER PROJECTIONS

In the commercial zone a canopy cantilevered from the main structure shall be obligatory, and of such dimensions as may be approved by the local authority.

### 44. PAVEMENTS IN COMMERCIAL AREAS

The local authority may require the construction by the owner of the full width of footway (i.e. from the curb to the plot boundary) in such materials and to such design as may be approved from time to time.

### 45. PARAPETS ON FLAT ROOFS

Every flat roof which is accessible by any means shall be surrounded by a continuous parapet or railing of not less than three feet six inches in height.

### 46. MINIMUM WIDTH OF SHOPS IN THE COMMERCIAL ZONE

The minimum width of individual shops in the commercial zone shall be twelve feet provided that along roads indicated in Schedule IV to this Scheme that width may be increased to 20 feet if, in the opinion of the Committee, the type of business necessitates it.

### 47. DOUBLE USE ON SAME PLOT

Two distinct industrial uses on any one plot shall be prohibited. The Board shall be the authority to decide whether such uses are distinct and separate. Two industries using the same raw materials, however, may be permitted on the same plot.

KAMPALA OUTLINE SCHEME, 1951

48. PARKING FACILITIES

The Planning Committee may, if it thinks it desirable, require any person erecting a block of

offices or flats to provide parking facilities for the use of persons using, living in or visiting such block of offices or flats.

ZONING TABLE

(1) Zone as shown on Plan	(2) Minimum coverage in square feet of plot	(3) Maximum percentage of plot which may be built on	(4) Permissible area of lower ground floor	(5) Outbuildings (including servants' quarters and garage) Maximum area	(6) Gross built	(7) Maximum number of flats	(8) Maximum height of building	(9) Minimum setbacks in feet of main building		
								Front	Side	Rear
Residential Zone "A"	40,000 sq. ft. or as existing	12½%	50% of area of ground floor	900 sq. ft.	600 sq. ft. (on ground floor only)	1 family residence or 4 flats on sites approved by Planning Committee	Not exceeding 3 stories or 30 ft.	Feet 30	Feet 20	Feet 30
Residential Zone "A.1"	20,000 sq. ft. or as existing	12½%	50% of area of ground floor	900 sq. ft.	600 sq. ft.	6 flats or 1 family residence	Not exceeding 4 stories	20	20	20
Residential Zone "B" (Old Kampala Area)	10,000 sq. ft. or as existing	30% or 3,000 sq. ft. whichever is the less	50% of area of ground floor	600 sq. ft.	Nil	6	Not exceeding 3 stories	10	5	10
Residential Zone "C"	5,000 sq. ft. or as existing	30% or 2,500 sq. ft. whichever is the less	50% of area of ground floor	450 sq. ft.	Nil	2	Not exceeding 2 stories	20	5*	20
Residential Zone "D"	10,000 sq. ft. or as existing	30% or 3,000 sq. ft. whichever is the less	50% of area of ground floor	450 sq. ft.	Nil	2	Not exceeding 2 stories	20	5*	20
Residential Zone "E"	5,000 sq. feet or as existing	As approved from time to time by the Kampala Planning Committee					Not exceeding 2 stories	20	5*	20
Commercial Zone	2,500 sq. ft. or as existing with minimum frontage of 25 ft.	70%	50% of area of ground floor †	10% of area of plot §	Nil	As approved by Planning Committee	Not exceeding 5 stories (excluding lower ground floor)	Nil	Nil	20
Business and Office	5,000 sq. ft. or as existing	50%	50% of area of ground floor †	10% of area of plot §	Nil	As approved by Planning Committee	Not exceeding 4 stories (excluding lower ground floor)	Nil	10	Nil
Light Industrial Zone	5,000 sq. ft. or as existing	70% §	unrestricted	unrestricted	Nil	1 ‡	unrestricted	Nil	Nil	Nil
Heavy Industrial Zone	20,000 sq. ft. or as existing	As approved from time to time by the Kampala Planning Committee								
Noxious Zone	20,000 sq. ft. or as existing	As approved from time to time by the Kampala Planning Committee								
Special Sites	As approved from time to time by the Kampala Planning Committee in consultation with the Town and Country Planning Board									

\* Nil if semi-detached.

† Provided that where the slope in the ground permits, this area may be increased to 100% of the ground floor area.

‡ Provided that the flat is on the first or upper floors of a building on the plot, is used by the owner or caretaker of the factory and does not exceed 400 sq. ft. in area.

§ This figure shall include the total floor area of buildings on the plot.

|| This set-back applies to the main building only. Stores and outbuildings may be erected on the line of the sanitary lane.

¶ In this zone, the outbuildings may be stores and godowns.

## PART IV.—SPECIAL POWERS

### 49. RELAXATIONS

The Planning Committee shall have power to grant a relaxation of any restriction imposed by this Scheme on the use of any land or building or any other restriction contained in this Scheme after considering the effects of such relaxations on the adjoining properties. Every such relaxation shall be reported to the Board.

### 50. PREPARATION OF DETAILED SCHEMES

The Board may prepare detailed plans or schemes for any areas which are in conformity generally with the provisions of this Scheme.

### 51. REFERENCE TO BOARD

Any person aggrieved by the refusal of the Planning Committee to grant approval to a building application or who has grounds for disagreeing with a decision of the Planning Committee on a planning matter, may require that his petition be referred to the Board within two months of the date the decision was taken, without prejudice to any other form of an appeal that may be open to him.

### 52. PREVENTION OF NUISANCE

The Planning Committee shall have power to impose such conditions as it may consider necessary to prevent any nuisance arising from noise, vibration, faulty lighting, sun glare or reflection.

## SCHEDULE I.—KAMPALA PLANNING AREA

The area comprised within the boundary of the Municipality of Kampala as set out in the Schedule to Legal Notice No. 250 of 1948, and the areas of Naguru, Nakawa, Mbuya and Bugolobi in the Mengo District, more particularly delineated in red on Plan No. P.A.1 deposited in the Office of the Survey, Land and Mines Department, Entebbe.

## SCHEDULE II.—SCHEDULE OF USES

### RESIDENTIAL ZONE "A"

1. Buildings for public worship.
2. Educational buildings including museums and art galleries.
3. Flats, provided they do not exceed a density of four to the acre and have the special approval of the Planning Committee.
4. Garage for private cars.
5. Gardens and nursery gardens.
6. Hotels and pensions.

7. Houses erected in accordance with a housing scheme approved under Part VI of this Scheme.

8. Petrol filling stations with the special approval of the Planning Committee.

9. Private clubs, social clubs and recreation clubs and swimming pools.

10. Private open spaces, recreation grounds and, with the approval of the Planning Committee, buildings on such ground which add to the amenities thereon.

11. Sanatoria, other than sanatoria for insane or feeble-minded persons.

12. Single family dwelling house.

13. Servants' quarters.

14. Shops, provided that their use is a use set out in the appendix under the heading "Residential Zone 'A'".

### II. RESIDENTIAL ZONE "A.1"

1. All the uses allowed in Residential Zone "A".

2. Flats to the density of 12 to the acre.

3. Shops, provided that their use is a use set out in the appendix under the heading "Residential Zone 'A'".

### III. RESIDENTIAL ZONE "B"

1. All the uses allowed in Residential Zone "A".

2. One dwelling house containing a maximum of six flats arranged as approved by the Planning Committee.

3. Shops, provided that their use is a use set out in the appendix hereto under the heading "Residential Zone 'B'".

### IV. RESIDENTIAL ZONE "C"

1. All the uses allowed in Residential Zone "A.1".

2. One dwelling house containing a maximum of two flats, provided the plot on which the building is constructed is approved by the Planning Committee.

3. Shops, provided that their use is as set out in the appendix hereto under the heading "Residential Zone 'C'".

### V. RESIDENTIAL ZONE "D"

1. All the uses allowed in Residential Zone "C".

2. Shops, provided that their use is as set out in the appendix hereto under the heading "Residential Zone 'D'".

9. Balconies, preferably of wrought iron, may be introduced if desired by the architect.

10. Shops may be constructed on the southern end of Coryndon Road opposite Plot No. 6, in which case the building may have canopies.

11. Restaurants may be allowed in the Civic Centre provided the buildings conform to the provisions of this Schedule.

12. It is desirable that a unified design be adopted where feasible on adjoining plots.

13. Plots not completely built up should be adequately fenced by the planting of suitable hedges.

14. Adequate provision for car parking must be made. In this connection part of the twenty-five feet building line on the south of Grant Street may be utilised for parking with trees on the road line for shade.

15. Rear elevation of all buildings to be carefully designed in view of the sloping character of the ground.

16. All advertisements, especially on the fronts of buildings, to be carefully controlled as to size and type.

17. All tree planting in the whole of the Civic Centre area to follow a detailed scheme; flowering trees to form avenues on all the more important roads.

18. All roofs in the whole of this area to be either pitch roofs covered with clay tiles or flat roofs.

19. All down pipes to be grouped together preferably in the internal angles of the building and chased. Square section pipes for rain water are preferred.

#### SCHEDULE IV

Roads along which the widths of shops must not be less than 20 feet :

1. Jinja Road.
2. Kampala Road.
3. Bombo Road (as far as its junction with Makerere Hill Road).

#### APPENDIX

##### SHOPS, ETC. (USES)

###### I. RESIDENTIAL ZONE " A "

1. Barbers and Hairdressers.
2. Boot repair shops.
3. Cafes, restaurants and tea rooms.
4. Flower shops.
5. Pharmacist and druggist.

6. Shops for dairy produce, vegetables, fruit, bread, meat, groceries, fish, confectionery or other articles for human consumption.

7. Stationers, booksellers, libraries and reading rooms.

8. Any other use approved by the Planning Committee.

###### II. RESIDENTIAL ZONE " A.1 "

1. All as Residential Zone " A ".

###### III. RESIDENTIAL ZONE " B "

1. All as in Residential Zone " A ".
2. Boot repair shops.
3. Cycle shops and cycle repairing shops.
4. Receiving depots for laundry, dry cleaning and dyeing.

###### IV. RESIDENTIAL ZONE " C "

1. All as in Residential Zone " B ".

###### V. RESIDENTIAL ZONE " D "

1. All as in Residential Zone " C ".

###### VI. RESIDENTIAL ZONE " E "

1. All as in Residential Zone " D ".

###### VII. COMMERCIAL ZONE

1. All as in Residential Zone " E ".
2. Aerated water and non-alcoholic beverage shops.
3. Bakeries.
4. Basket-making and brush-making shops.
5. Boot-maker shops.
6. Buffets and Bars.
7. Butcher shops.
8. Carpenters' and cabinet-making workshops.
9. Carpet shops.
10. Confectionery and sweet-meat manufacturers.
11. Departmental stores.
12. Drapers, dressmakers and outfitters.
13. Electric appliances shops.
14. Fancy goods shops.
15. Fishmongers.
16. Furniture and furnishing shops.
17. Glaziers and picture frame shops.
18. Goldsmiths, silversmiths and jewellery workshops.
19. Ironmongers, building materials shop, but not including timber stores, timber yards or shed, or car and bus building workshops.

KAMPALA OUTLINE SCHEME, 1951

20. Ironmonger and hardware shops.
21. Laundries, dry cleaners and dyers.
22. Lodging houses.
23. Machinery and accessories shops.
24. Mattress and furnishing shops.
25. Metal engravers.
26. Motor-car showrooms.
27. Motor engineering and general repair shops.
28. Native Art-ware shops.
29. Offices.
30. Office equipment shops.
31. Opticians.
32. Paint and varnish shops.
33. Pawnbrokers.
34. Photographic studios.
35. Photographers and photographic dealers.
36. Porcelain, stoneware, earthenware and glassware shops.
37. Printing, book-binders and stationery shops.
38. Public garages.
39. Radio and musical instrument shops.
40. Second-hand household and personal effects shops.
41. Sports goods shops.
42. Tailors.
43. Tinsmith shops.
44. Tea shops.
45. Tourist and travel agencies.
46. Toy shops.
47. Watchmakers.
48. Any other use approved by the Planning Committee.

VIII. LIGHT INDUSTRIAL ZONE

1. Bakeries.
2. Boot and shoe manufacturers.
3. Button factories.
4. Cardboard box factories.
5. Cement factories.
6. China, porcelain, earthenware and glassware factories.
7. Cloth weaving and textile factories.
8. Coachbuilders, finishers and painting workshops.
9. Cold storage establishments.
10. Cooper workshops.
11. Empty bottles, salvage and sorting depôts.
12. Electrical appliances factories.
13. Electricity generating stations.
14. Electro-plating workshops.
15. Engineering (general, constructional, electrical, hydraulic, ventilating).

16. Factories for canning, curing or preserving meat or fish.
17. Factories for canning and preserving vegetables and fruits.
18. Factories for the preparation and manufacture of patent foods.
19. Factories for the preparation of dried or condensed milk.
20. Factories for the preparation or manufacture of edible oils and fats.
21. Factories for the preparation of mineral and aerated waters.
22. Factories for the preparation of tea, coffee and cocoa.
23. Flour, corn, grain and cereal mills.
24. Food and fruit packers.
25. Ginneries.
26. Hardware factories.
27. Haulage contractors' depôts.
28. Ice storage and distribution.
29. Jam factories.
30. Letterpress and lithographic printing and book-binding.
31. Manufacturers and packers of chemical and medical products.
32. Match factories and warehouses.
33. Metal furniture workshops.
34. Mineral grinding factories and workshops.
35. Motor engineering and general repair workshops.
36. Oil mills and warehouses other than for mineral oils.
37. Paper factories.
38. Polish factories.
39. Pottery.
40. Restaurants and eating-houses.
41. Rope and canvas factories.
42. Rubber trades.
43. Rug factories.
44. Tallow and candle factories.
45. Timber yards, stores and sheds.
46. Tinning and enamelling factories.
47. Tinsmith workshops.
48. Tobacco and cigarette warehouses and factories.
49. Tobacco manufacture, sorting and blending.
50. Tube making and wire drawing.
51. Varnish, paint and lacquer factories.
52. Warehouses for any of the uses in this zone.
53. Any other use approved by the Planning Committee.

IX. HEAVY INDUSTRIAL ZONE

1. Asphalt and bitumen works.
2. Breweries and factories for alcohol, vinegar or any fermented or spirituous liquor.
3. Boiler maker workshops.
4. Brick, tile and cement products works.
5. Cement factories.
6. Dyeworks.
7. Founders and casters.
8. Glass factories.
9. Jute factories.
10. Petroleum, paraffin and mineral oil depôts and bulk installations.
11. Saw mills.
12. Sugar factories.

X. NOXIOUS INDUSTRIAL ZONE

1. Fellmongers.
2. Knackers.
3. Manufacture and storage of liquid or gas under pressure.
4. Slaughter houses.

XI. SPECIAL SITES

1. Blocks of private garages.
2. Cinemas, theatres, concert halls and dance halls (together with adequate car-parking facilities).
3. Farms.
4. Hospitals and universities.
5. Hotels.
6. Museums.
7. Public buildings (together with adequate car-parking facilities).
8. Zoological gardens.

F. E. TAVENER,  
*Chairman, Town and Country Planning Board.*  
20TH MARCH, 1951.

APPROVED.

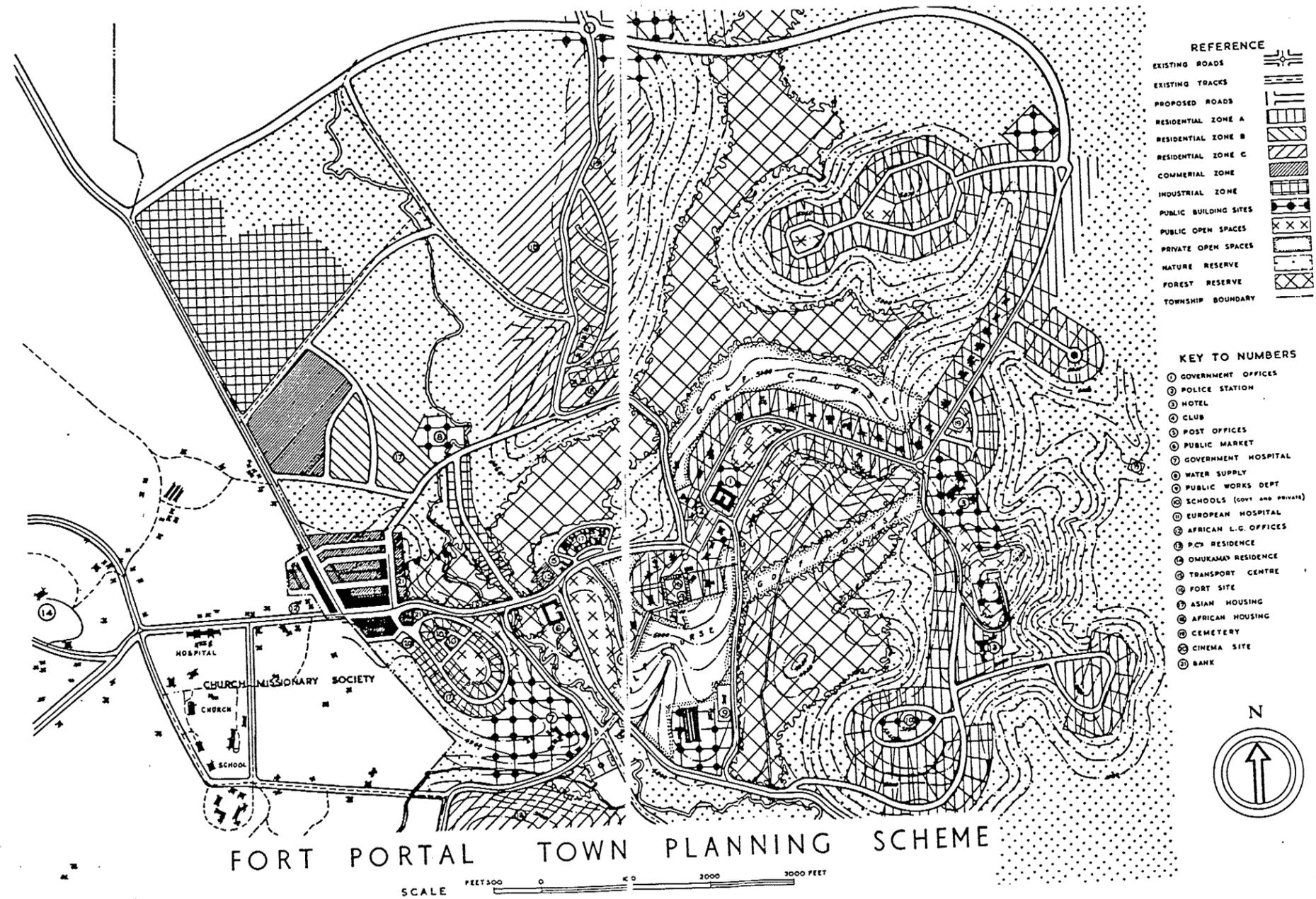
J. HATHORN HALL,  
*Governor.*  
29TH MARCH, 1951.

SOURCE: Kendall, Henry: Town Planning in Uganda, Entebbe: Government Printer, 1955.

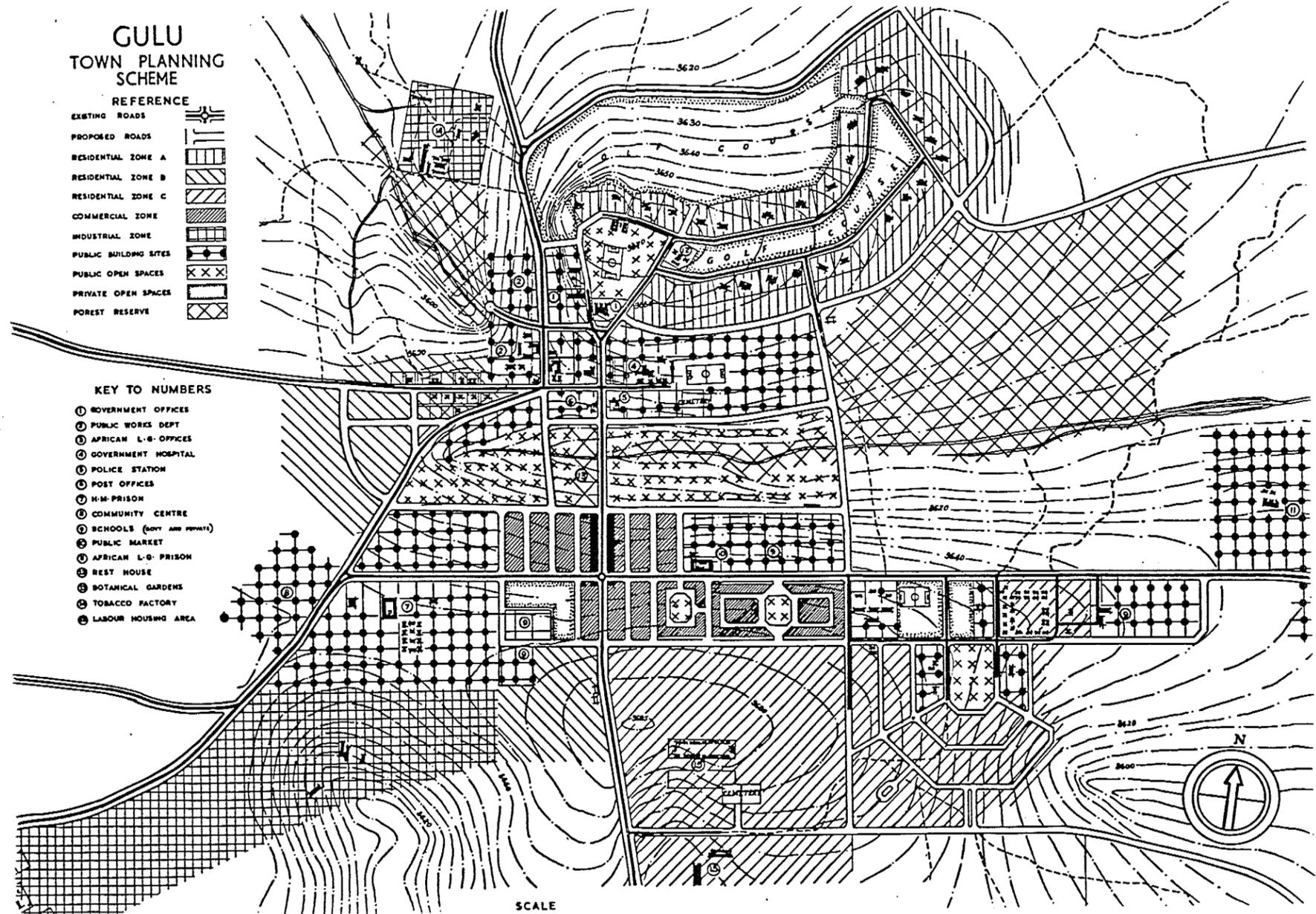
APPENDIX III

Draft Planning Schemes for:

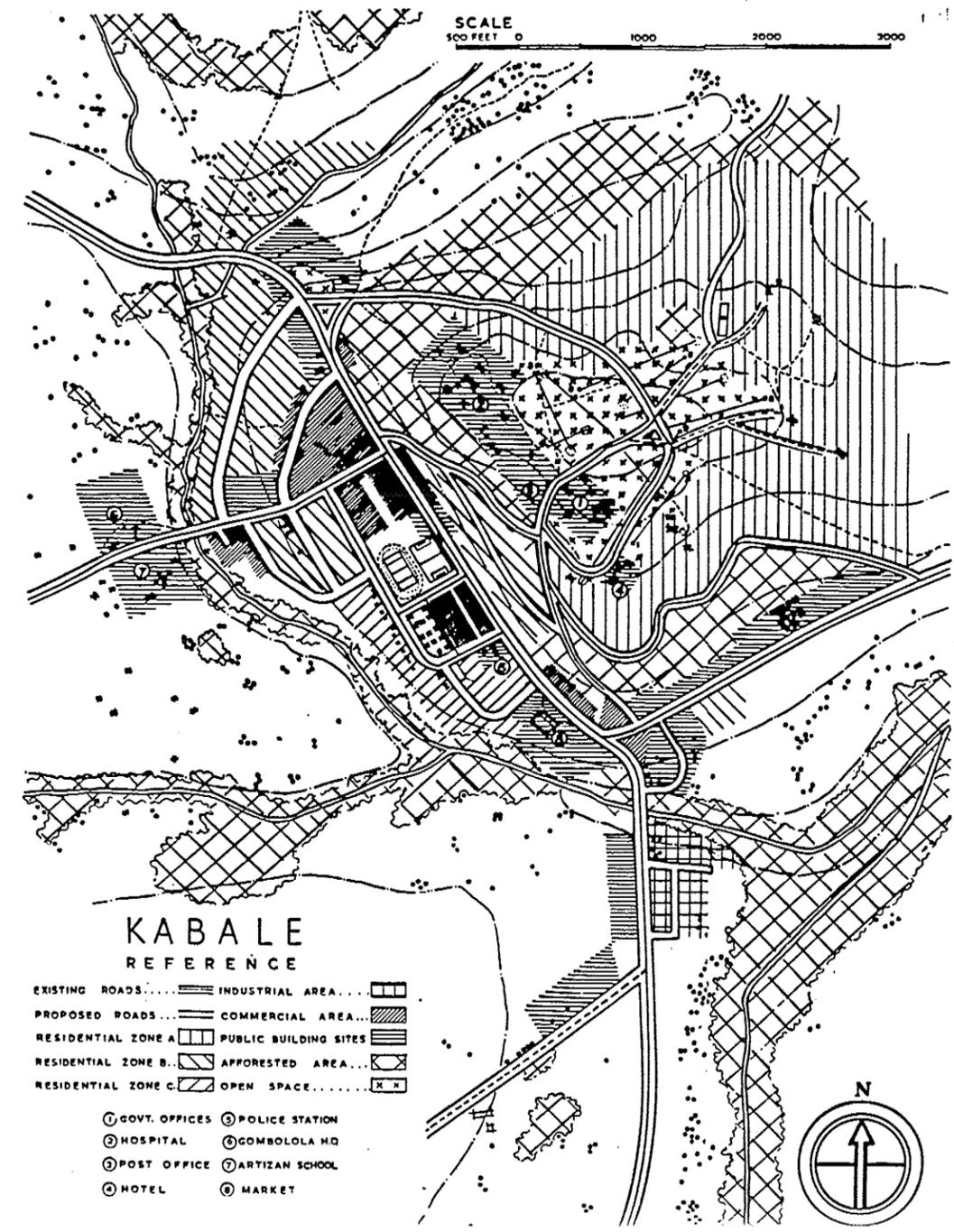
Fort Portal  
Gulu  
Kabale  
Masaka  
Mbale  
Tororo



SOURCE: Kendall, Henry: Town Planning in Uganda, Entebbe: Government Printer, 1955.



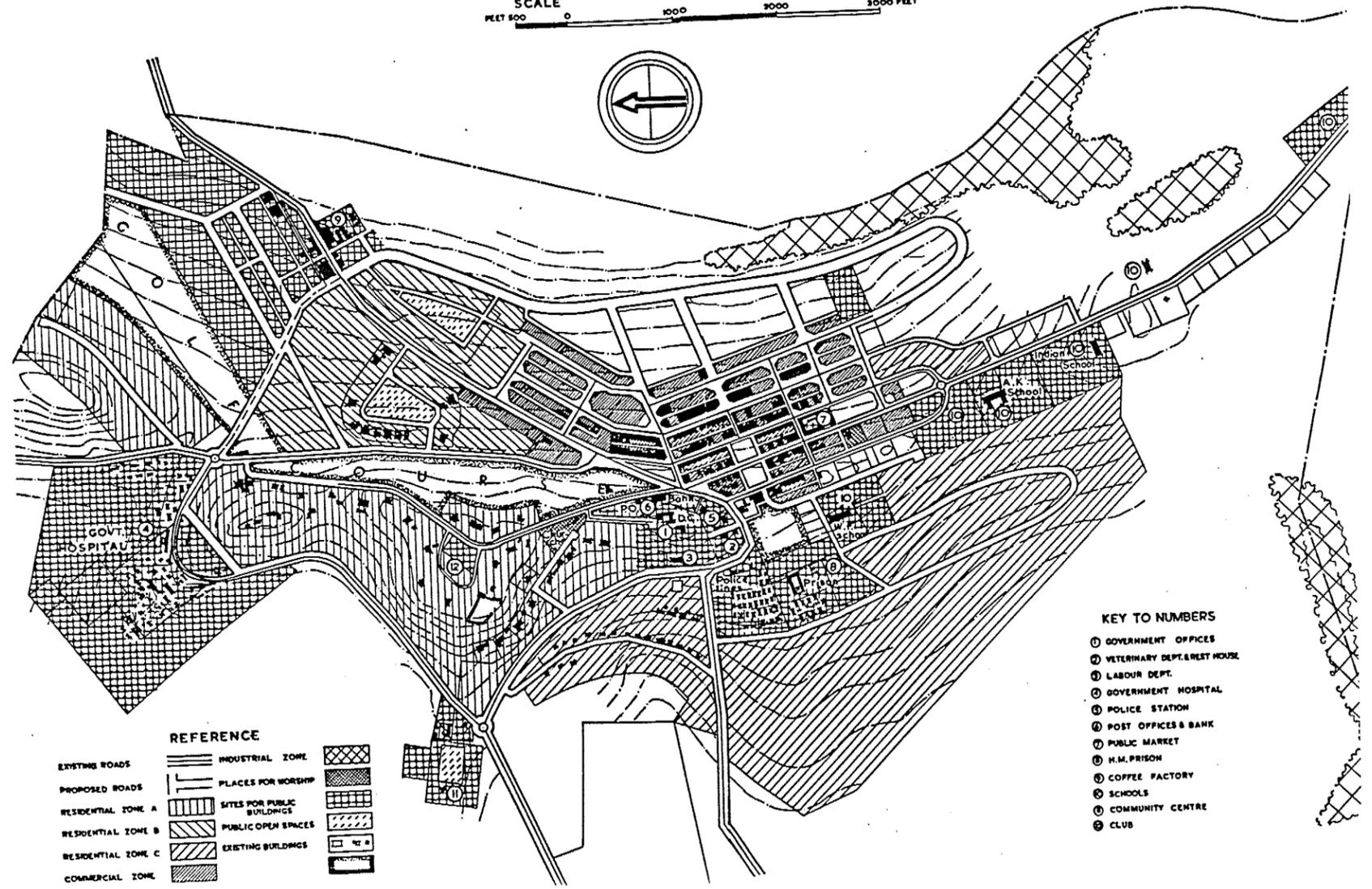
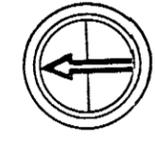
SOURCE: Kendall, Henry: Town Planning in Uganda. Entebbe: Government Printer, 1955.



SOURCE: Kendall, Henry: Town Planning in Uganda, Entebbe: Government Printer, 1955.

# MASAKA TOWN PLANNING SCHEME

SCALE  
FEET 500 1000 2000 3000



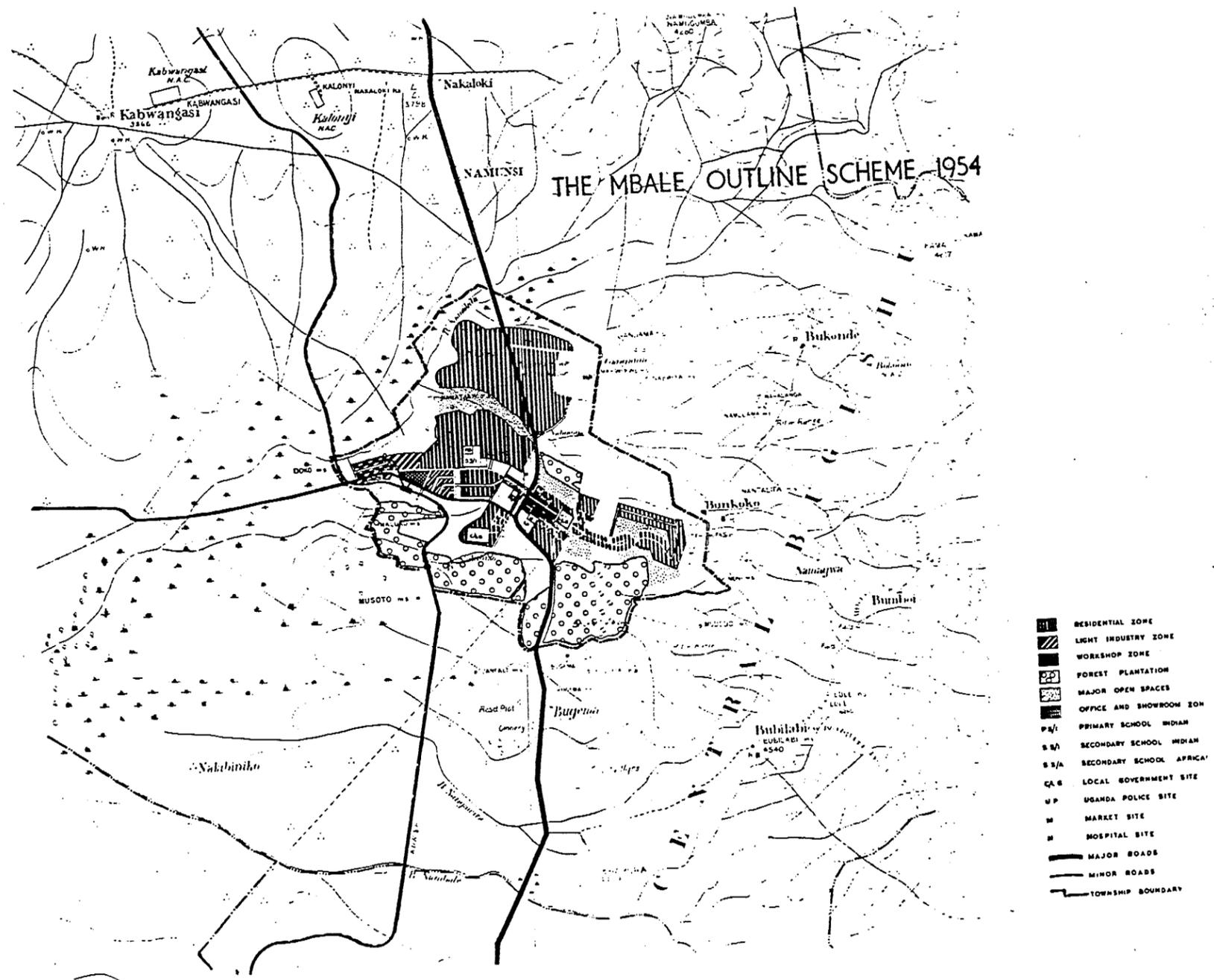
**REFERENCE**

EXISTING ROADS	INDUSTRIAL ZONE	
PROPOSED ROADS	PLACES FOR WORSHIP	
RESIDENTIAL ZONE A	SITES FOR PUBLIC BUILDINGS	
RESIDENTIAL ZONE B	PUBLIC OPEN SPACES	
RESIDENTIAL ZONE C	EXISTING BUILDINGS	
COMMERCIAL ZONE		

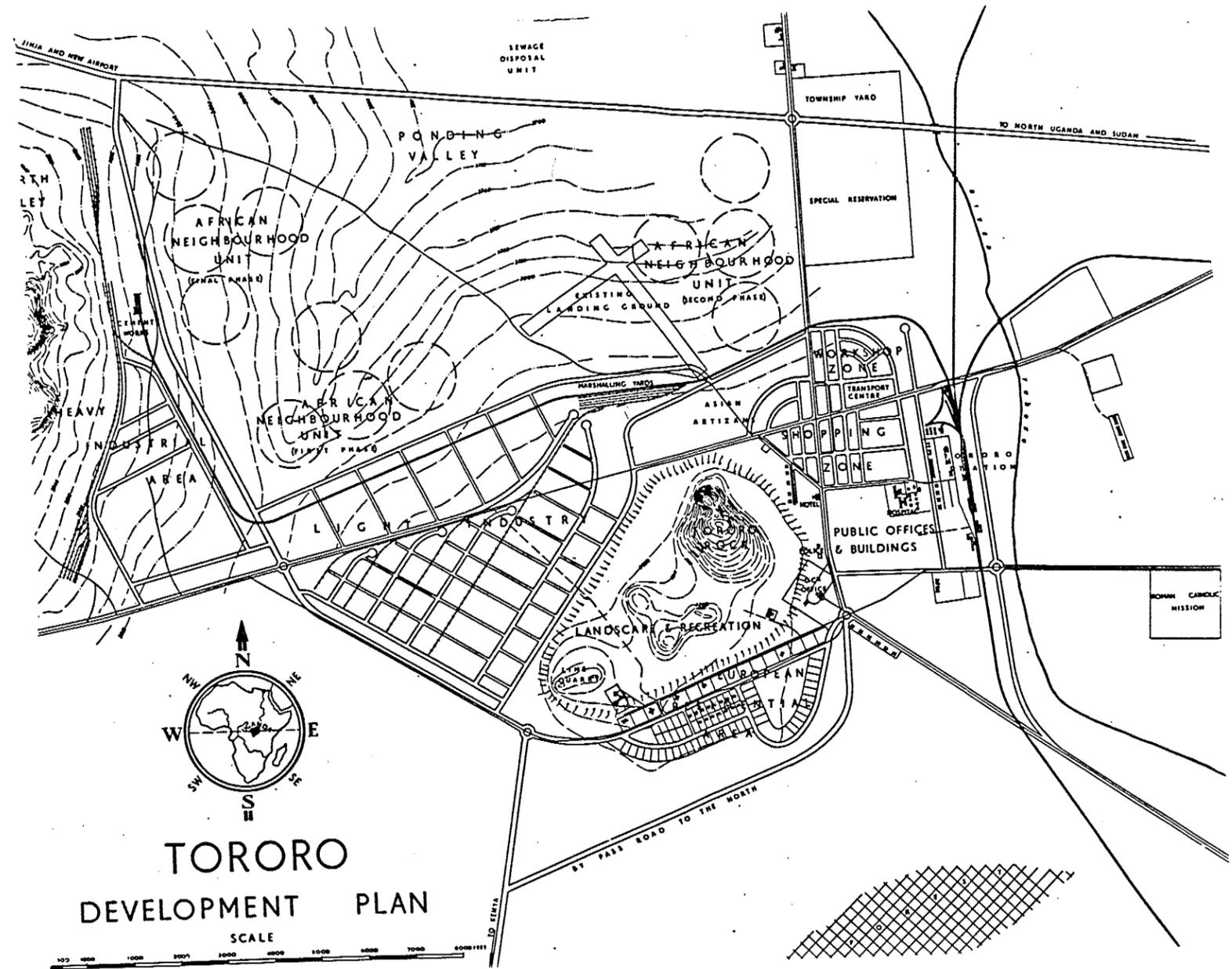
**KEY TO NUMBERS**

①	GOVERNMENT OFFICES
②	VETERINARY DEPT. & REST HOUSE
③	LABOUR DEPT.
④	GOVERNMENT HOSPITAL
⑤	POLICE STATION
⑥	POST OFFICES & BANK
⑦	PUBLIC MARKET
⑧	H.M. PRISON
⑨	COFFEE FACTORY
⑩	SCHOOLS
⑪	COMMUNITY CENTRE
⑫	CLUB

SOURCE: Kendall, Henry: Town Planning in Uganda, Entebbe: Government Printer, 1955.



SOURCE: Kendall, Henry: Town Planning in Uganda, Entebbe: Government Printer, 1955.



SOURCE: Kendall, Henry: Town Planning in Uganda, Entebbe: Government Printer, 1955.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Books

Ajayi, J. F. and Michael Crowder (eds); Historical Atlas of Africa, London: Logman, 1985.

Barber, James; Imperial Frontier: A Study of Relations Between the British and the Pastoral Tribes of North East Uganda, Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1968.

Beckinsale, R. P. and J. M. Houston (eds); Urbanization and its Problems: Essays in Honour of E. W. Gilbert, New York: Barnes and Noble, 1968.

Brandt, H. et al; The Industrial Town as a Factor of Economic and Social Development: The Example of Jinja, Uganda, Munich: Weltforum Verlag, 1972.

Brunn, S.; Urbanization in Developing Countries: an International Bibliography, East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1971.

Bwengye, Francis; The Agony of Uganda: From Idi Amin to Oboto, London: Regency Press, 1985.

Chandler, T. and G. Fox; 3,000 Years of Urban History, New York: Academic Press, 1974.

Cohen, David W.; The Historical Tradition of Busoga: Mukama and Kintu, London: Oxford University Press, 1972.

Cook, G. P.; Development in Africa South of the Sahara 1970-1980: an Annotated Bibliography, Cape Town: University of Cape Town Libraries, 1984.

Dak, O.; A Geographical Analysis of the Distribution of Migrants in Uganda, Kampala: Makerere University, 1968.

Department of Lands and Surveys; Atlas of Uganda: Second Edition, Entebbe: Government Printer, 1967.

Diamond, Stanley and G. Burke (eds); The Transformation of East Africa: Studies in Political Anthropology, London: Basic Books Inc., 1966.

Dunbar, A. R.; History of Bunyoro - Kitara, Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1968.

El-Shakhs, S. and R. A. Obudho (eds); Urbanization, National Development and Regional Planning in Africa, New York: Praeger, 1974.

Furley, Oliver; Uganda's Retreat From Turmoil, London: Eastern Press Limited, 1987.

Gray, B. A.; Uganda - Subject Guide to Official Publications, Washington: Library of Congress, 1977.

Gukiina, Peter; Uganda: A Case Study in African Political Development, Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame Press, 1972.

Gutkind, Peter; The African Administration of the Kibuga of Buganda, The Hague, Mouton & Co., 1963.

Gutkind, Peter; The Royal Capital of Baganda: A Study of Internal Conflict and External Ambiguity, The Hague, Mouton & Co., 1963.

Hansen, Holger and Michael Twaddle (eds); Uganda Now: Between Decay and Development, London: James Currey Ltd., 1988.

Harlow, Vincent et al (eds); History of East Africa: Volume II, London: Oxford University Press, 1965.

Herrick, Allison et al; Area Handbook For Uganda, Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1969.

- Hibbert, Christopher; Africa Explored: Europeans in the Dark Continent, 1769-1889, New York: Penguin Book Ltd., 1984.
- Hull, Richard; African Cities and Towns Before the European Conquest, New York: W. W. Norton & Company Inc., 1976.
- Ingham, Kenneth; The Kingdom of Toro in Uganda, London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1975.
- Jacobson, David; Itinerant Townsmen: Friendship and Social Order in Urban Uganda, Menlo Park: Cummings Publishing Company, 1973.
- Jorgensen, Jan J.; Uganda: A Modern History, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981.
- July, Robert W.; A History of the African People: Third Edition, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1980.
- Kanyeihamba, George W.; Urban Planning Law in East Africa with Special Reference to Uganda, Oxford, New York: Pergamon Press, 1973.
- Karugire, Samwiri R.; A Political History of Uganda, London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1980.
- Kendall, Henry; Town Planning in Uganda, Entebbe, Government Printer, 1955.
- Kendall, Henry (ed); East African Town Planning Conference, Entebbe, Government Printer, 1956.
- Lawrence, J. C.; The Iteso: Fifty Years of Change in a Nilo-Hamitic Tribe of Uganda, London: Oxford University Press, 1957.
- McGee, T.; The Urbanization Process in the Third World, London: G. Bell and Sons Ltd., 1971.
- Miner, Horace (ed); The City in Modern Africa, New York: Praeger, 1967.

- Mulumba, S.; Urbanization in Developing Countries: A Case Study -Kampala, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1974.
- O'Conner, A.; Urbanization in Tropical Africa: An Annotated Bibliography, Boston: G. K. Hall and Co., 1981.
- Oliver, Roland and Mathew Gervase (eds); History of East Africa: Volume I, London: Oxford University Press, 1963.
- Ramchandani, R. R.; Uganda Asians: The End of An Enterprise, Bombay: United Asia Publications, 1976.
- Richards, Audrey; The Changing Structure of a Ganda Village: Kisozi: 1872-1952, Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1966.
- Roscoe, John; The Baganda: An Account of Their Native Customs and Beliefs, London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1965.
- Safier, M. (ed); The Role of Urban and Regional Planning in National Development for East Africa, Kampala: Milton Obote Foundation, 1970.
- Safier, M. and B. Langlands (eds); Perspectives on Urban Planning for Uganda, Kampala: Makerere University, 1969.
- Steinhart, Edward; Conflict and Collaboration: The Kingdoms of Western Uganda, 1890-1907, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1977.
- Thomas, H. and Robert Scott; Uganda, London: Oxford University Press, 1935.
- Turner, V.; Colonialism In Africa: Volume III. Profiles of Change, Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1971.
- Uganda Department of Town and Regional Planning; Kampala Development Plan 1972, Entebbe: Government Printer, 1972.

- Ungar, Sanford; Africa: The People and Politics of an Emerging Continent, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1985.
- United Nations; 1986 Demographic Yearbook: 38th Edition, New York: United Nations, 1986.
- United States Department of Commerce; World Population 1979. Recent Demographic Estimates for the Countries and Regions of the World, Washington: Department of Commerce, 1980.
- United States Office of Geography; Uganda: Official Standard Names Approved by the United States Board on Geographic Names, Washington: U.S. Office of Geography, 1964.
- Van Chi-Bonnadrel, Regine (director); The Atlas of Africa, Paris: Jeune Afrique, 1973.
- Van Zwanenberg, R. and Anne King; An Economic History of Kenya and Uganda 1800-1970, London: The MacMillan Press Ltd., 1975.
- Walker, A. A. (compiler); Official Publications of British East Africa Part IV Uganda, Washington: Library of Congress, 1963.
- Wattenberg, Ben and Ralph Lee Smith; The New Nations of Africa, New York: Hart Publishing Company, 1963.
- Woolf, Henry B. (Editor in Chief); Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary, Springfield: G & C Merriam Company, 1976.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Periodical/Publications/Abstracts

Africa South of the Sahara 1988 17th Edition; London:  
Europa Publications Ltd., 1987.

Baker, Kenneth; "Buganda: A Geographic Appraisal",  
reprinted from Transactions and Papers, Publication No.  
22, Kampala: Makerere College, 1956.

Bakwesegha, C. J.; "Towards a Modelling Strategy of Spatial  
Development for Uganda", Pan-African Journal, Vol. 8,  
1975 pp. 297-318.

Buchanan, L. M.; Report on Urban Local Government in Uganda,  
Entebbe: Government Printer, 1956.

Caputo, Robert; "Uganda: Land Beyond Sorrow", National  
Geographic, Volume 173, No. 4, April 1988, pp. 468-491.

Chadwyck-Healey Ltd.; Uganda Statistical Abstract,  
Cambridge: 1959, 1969, 1973.

Colonial Office, Report on Uganda for the Year 1949, London:  
His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1950.

Colonial Office, Report on Uganda for the Year 1951, London:  
Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1952.

Colonial Office, Report on Uganda for the Year 1953, London:  
Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1954.

Colonial Office, Report on Uganda for the Year 1954, London:  
Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1955.

Colonial Office, Report on Uganda for the Year 1955, London:  
Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1956.

Colonial Office, Report on Uganda for the Year 1957, London:  
Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1958.

Colonial Office, Report on Uganda for the Year 1959, London:  
Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1960.

Colonial Office, Report on Uganda for the Year 1960, London:  
Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1961.

Colonial Office, Report on Uganda for the Year 1961, London:  
Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1962.

Dow, Hugh, Sir; East Africa Royal Commission 1953-55 Report,  
London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1955.

Dunbar, A. R.; "European Travellers in Bunyoro - Kitara,  
1862-77", Uganda Journal, Volume 2, No. 2, 1959, pp.  
101-117.

Dunbar, A. R.; "The British and Bunyoro - Kitara, 1891-  
1899", Uganda Journal, Volume 24, No. 2, March 1960,  
pp. 229-241.

Europa Publications Ltd.; Africa South of the Sahara  
1989, 18th Edition, London: Europa Publications  
Ltd., 1988.

Gappert, G.; "Preliminary Outline for Investigating the  
Function, Structure and Growth of Small Towns in  
Uganda", African Urban Notes, Volume 3, No. 1, 1968,  
pp. 32-38.

Gray, Sir John Milner; "Toro in 1897", Uganda Journal,  
Volume 17, No. 1, March 1953, pp. 14-27.

Gutkind, P. C. W.; "Town Life in Buganda", Uganda Journal,  
Volume 20, 1956, pp. 37-46.

Gutkind, P. C. W.; "Notes on the Kibuga of Buganda", Uganda  
Journal, Volume 24, No. 1, March 1960, pp. 29-43.

Howard, Allen; "Pre-Colonial Centres and Regional Systems in Africa", Pan-African Journal, Volume 8, No. 3, 1975.

Hull, Richard; "Urban Design and Architecture in Pre-Colonial Africa", Journal of Urban History, Volume 2, No. 4, August 1976.

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development; The Economic Development of Uganda, Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1962.

Kambites, Jerry and Sarah; "Return to Uganda", National Geographic, Volume 8, No. 1, July 1980, pp. 72-89.

La Fay, Howard; "Uganda: Africa's Uneasy Heartland", National Geographic, Volume 140, No. 5, November 1971, pp. 708-735.

Lanning, E. C.; "Ancient Earthworks in Western Uganda", Uganda Journal, Volume 17, No. 1, March 1953, pp. 51-59.

Lanning, E. C.; "The Earthworks at Kibengo, Mubende District", Uganda Journal, Volume 24, No. 2, March 1960, pp. 183-196.

Lawrence, J. C. D.; "A History of Teso to 1937", Uganda Journal, Volume 19, No. 1, March 1955, pp. 7-39.

Litherland, S.; Kampala - Mengo Regional Planning Studies, Kampala: Department of Town and Regional Planning, 1968.

Mirams, A. E.; Kampala. Report on the Town Planning and Department of, Entebbe: Government Printer, 1930.

Morris, H. F.; "Historic Sites in Ankole", Uganda Journal, Volume 20, No. 2, 1956, pp. 177-181.

Morris, H. F.; "The Making of Ankole", Uganda Journal, Volume 21, No. 1, March 1957, pp. 1-15.

- Obudho, R. A.; "National Urban Policy in East Africa: Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania", Regional Development Dialogue, Volume 4, Autumn 1983, pp. 87-117.
- Oliver, Richard; "Ancient Capital Sites of Ankole", Uganda Journal, Volume 23, No. 1, 1959, pp. 51-63.
- Oram, N. D.; "The Urban Problem in Uganda", East African Medical Journal, Volume 31, No. 6, 1954, pp. 255-261.
- Posnansky, Merrick; "The Excavation of an Ankole Capital Site at Bweyorere", Uganda Journal, Volume 32, No. 2, 1968, pp. 165-182.
- Scaff, A. H.; "Urbanization and Development in Uganda: Growth, Structure and Change", Sociological Quarterly, Volume 8, No. 1, 1967, pp. 111-121.
- Shinnie, P. L.; "Excavation at Bigo, 1957", Uganda Journal, Volume 24, No. 1, March 1960, pp. 16-28.
- Sofer, Cyril and Rhona; "Recent Population Growth in Jinja", Uganda Journal, Volume 17, No. 1, March 1953, pp. 38-50.
- Twaddle, Michael; "The Founding of Mbale", Uganda Journal, Volume 30, 1966, pp. 25-38.
- Uganda Economic Study Team; Economic Adjustment and Long-Term Development in Uganda, Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 1987.
- United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, Global Report on Human Settlements, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987.
- Weekes, D.; "John Macallister and the Town of Mbarara, 1898-1900", Uganda Journal, Volume 37, 1973, pp. 29-54.
- Weekes, D.; "The Journey of Cunningham Through Ankole in 1894", Uganda Journal, Volume 37, 1973, pp. 55-62.