

Uganda's Emerging Urban Policy Environment: Implications for Urban Food Security and Urban Migrants

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Abstract In recognition of the challenges posed by Uganda's rapid urbanization, the national government is in the process of developing a Uganda national urban policy (UNUP). The government is also preparing a "stringent" new national migration policy. Up to now, Uganda's policy environment has ignored the urban dimensions of poverty and the food insecurity that accompanies it. Migration, an important driver of both urban poverty and urban food insecurity, has been poorly understood, and only international migration has been addressed. This paper explores the urban policy environment and the multilevel governance policy process in Uganda, in order to understand not only how new policies are being shaped by the government's political priorities in the face of its weakening popular legitimacy and growing signs of urban discontent but also what potential entry points exist to influence policy making in Uganda in ways that might better support the needs of the nation's growing numbers of urban food insecure, among them are internally displaced Ugandans.

Keywords Uganda · Urban policy · Food security · Migration · Multilevel policy · Global governance

Introduction

Uganda, widely studied as a rural country, is urbanizing at a rapid rate. While its level of urbanization is still very low (12 %), by 2030, this figure is projected to reach 30 % with an urban population exceeding 20 million people (Cities Alliance 2010, p. 1). Uganda's total population today is 35 million. By 2060, it is projected to be more than 112 million. If current population growth and migration trends continue, Uganda's urban population in 2060 will account for 60 % of this population (Kiggundu 2008) or 67 million people. Several trends are contributing to this rapid urbanization (Lwasa 2011; Mukwaya et al. 2011). There is accelerating migration from drought stricken and/or insecure rural areas

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in northern and northeastern Uganda of temporary, cyclical, and permanent migrants seeking greater security and economic opportunities. While some of these migrants are best understood as economic migrants, many conform to United Nations' criteria of internally displaced persons (IDPs). Many Ugandans from across the country leave rural areas as a consequence of land tenure insecurity and the increasingly limited economic possibilities for sustainable agricultural livelihoods in the face of population pressures. Smaller numbers of migrants move into Uganda's urban areas, mainly Kampala, from other nations: for example, those fleeing conflict and insecurity in the Democratic Republic of Congo, South Sudan and Somalia. Still, other individuals leave rural areas to hide in the anonymity of an urban setting in order to escape the law. Further, Uganda's fertility rate, 6.69, is the highest in the region, and existing urban populations, particularly the poor, are growing in response. At the same time, historical patterns of older Ugandans returning to villages after retirement are declining, particularly among older women who often are responsible for the care of AIDS orphans (Nyanzi 2009, p. 469).

Although Uganda's urban population is considerably better off, measured by income, than the rural population and more than 90 % of Uganda's poor are in rural areas (Mukwaya et al. 2011, p. 13), urban poverty is widespread, increasing, and severe. Urban income distribution is highly unequal, and the majority of urban residents are impoverished. Poverty in an urban setting is a markedly different experience from that in rural areas. Although urban farming exists in Uganda, much of this is geared toward an export market in flowers, and urban agriculture is vulnerable to theft, and may be grown on lands with uncertain use rights and which may also be toxic (Nabulo 2004). Expectations that urban agriculture would provide a significant avenue averting widespread urban food insecurity have not been met. Urban food prices are high, and access to regular income is necessary to secure sufficient food. Further, nutritional well-being relies on an array of inputs such as clean water, access to medical services, and a diverse diet, all of which are challenged by insecure incomes and residency in informal housing settlements. While urban populations have greater proximity to health, education, and legal services than rural populations, accessing these is a challenge due to a variety of formal and informal barriers. Unemployment levels are high with Uganda's formal youth unemployment rate estimated at 83 % (World Bank 2007). Residents of high-density urban slums face further struggles connected to health, physical safety, and stigmatization (Swahn et al. 2012).

With this dramatic rise in both overall population growth and urban growth, Uganda is facing new political and economic challenges. Currently, 60 % of Kampala's residents live in slums, on land earmarked as central to the nation's economic expansion and development plans. In the slums, informality and insecurity in housing overlap with informal and insecure sectors of employment, service provision, and legality. Uganda's infrastructure, income-generating opportunities, and food production and distribution systems are not equipped to respond to the needs of this growing population of poor urbanites. While the country is largely food sufficient and is a major regional food exporter, food prices in urban areas are high and increasing (staple food prices have risen between 50 and 150 % in Kampala since 2008), leaving rising numbers of food insecure urban residents without the means to adequately produce or purchase food.

Understanding and planning for accelerating urbanization in Uganda require attention to rural–urban linkages, population growth, land tenure, employment

opportunities, internal and international migration patterns, and appropriate mechanisms to provide services and opportunities and extend rights to the growing numbers of urban poor, themselves a diverse and stratified group. Policy able to adequately respond to urban poverty should ideally be what Wallace (2007) refers to as “whole systems,” drawing on the cooperation of different branches and levels of government as well as community groups and other nonstate actors at all stages of the policy process. In addition, global actors, and donors in particular, can play a role in facilitating this kind of cooperation, particularly in a context where the government has strong interests in resisting such policy or is more generally lacking in capacity and political will.

Urbanization is occurring in a political environment marked by rising political opposition to President Museveni's government. The past 2 years have seen a series of protests and riots in Kampala. Initially peaceful and focused on rising food and oil prices, protests were organized around the theme of “walk to work” (because of the unaffordability of petrol). In April 2011, the violent response from the police left five protesters dead (including a 2-year-old girl), hundreds injured, and over 700 jailed. The police response initially provoked riots and vandalism but has proved to be an effective deterrent against widespread participation. The tactic of scaring Ugandans “back to political detachment” (Gatsiounis 2011a) seems to be keeping protesters off the street. Museveni is increasingly out of touch with his former populist base. For example, he responded to concerns about rising food and oil prices with the comment “What I call on the public to do is to use fuel sparingly. Don't drive to bars” and dismissed rising urban food prices by saying they were good for farmers (Gatsiounis 2011b). The dismissal of public concerns and the violent response to dissent have been widely publicized and discussed, as have the government's strategies to maintain power through fraudulent elections and increased media restrictions. One commentator has even suggested that “Museveni speaks just one language—defeating, hunting and crushing ... instead of addressing the issues that concern real people” (Kavumba 2011).

Policy is also being used as a tool to protect the government's interests. While current urban policy responses are often interpreted as coercive, the goal of weakening existing and potential urban political opposition through more populist tactics of cooptation and distraction is present in the new urban and migration policies under development. Despite their potential to do so, neither of these policies adequately responds to internal migration or urban food insecurity, both pressing urban concerns which contribute to and reflect widespread and growing urban poverty.

The Ugandan government's responses to urbanization have not only been marked by repression and intimidation. Uganda has two constituencies, domestic and international, and an economic development agenda explicitly modeled after Asian successes. Although aid reliance is falling and investors in the oil sector are increasingly important, traditional donors are still crucial and their focus on good governance, poverty reduction, and participatory frameworks cannot be simply disregarded. The state has made substantial gains with economic development since Museveni came to power, and a development agenda continues. The involvement of donors in Uganda's two policy responses to urban challenges (the National Urban Policy and new Migration Policy) reveals an intricate strategy of combating urban opposition, an instrumental use of foreign aid, and pushing forward a development agenda centered on urban economic growth that is likely to increase urban inequality and worsen food security for the most vulnerable, including new migrants. The influence and pressure from below (the community-based

organizations working with the urban poor) and from above (donor governments and institutions) have the potential to influence new policies, although this influence may be limited and requires more pressure than is currently in evidence.

Uganda's National Urban Policy (UNUP): Competing Agendas

In recognition of the new challenges posed by growing urbanization in Uganda, the Ministry of Lands, Housing, and Urban Development is engaged in a process of developing a national urban policy for Uganda (UNUP) supported by the World Bank and Cities Alliance and in partnership with local stakeholders. The UNUP is scheduled for parliamentary approval in 2014. The aspirations of this policy are broad; different stakeholders emphasize competing priorities which include rationalizing responsibilities among different governance bodies, promoting and supporting economic growth in urban areas, managing housing and urban services in newly urbanizing cities, and proactively addressing poverty needs in slums. The agenda thus ranges from management and efficiency goals linked to economic development (the goal that motivated this policy) to a poverty reduction response (first added on by the UNDP and then made a condition for donor support by the World Bank).

The initial impetus for this policy, a concern with management and efficiency, echoes the goals identified in Uganda's National Development Plan (NDP) (Republic of Uganda 2010a). The NDP is the successor to Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers in Uganda and serves as the nation's "master policy". All other policies are supposed to align with and support the NDP agenda. The NDP and the UNUP share a concern with the management, administration, and economic growth of urban areas, where slums, and by extension slum dwellers, are seen as a problem in need of a solution. This is consistent with recent interventions in Kampala. The Kampala Capital City Authority (KCCA), for example, has plans to destroy houses in nine Kampala slums, compensating residents of legal structures only. The KCCA, unlike municipal governments in other Ugandan cities, has a mayor who is not elected but rather directly appointed by the president and thus represents a more national than local level of government.

The UNUP is being prepared in tandem with and as a part of a wider Uganda Urban Campaign, launched in 2010, to raise the profile of the government's attention to urban planning. The Urban Campaign, under the direction of the Ministry for Lands, Housing, and Urban Development has four components in addition to formulating the UNUP.

1. The Uganda National Urban Forum (UNUF) was created as a permanent body to represent and draw on the voices of a variety of stakeholders such as NGOs, CBOs, the academic community, the private sector and different levels of government. This forum is not operating optimally, meetings are not well attended by all stakeholders, and there are no mechanisms for it to have any direct bearing on the final policy document as it is purely consultative.
2. Transforming the Settlements for the Urban Poor in Uganda (TSUPU) is a program "to align urban development efforts at the national government, local government and community levels and include the urban poor into the planning and decision-making processes" (Republic of Uganda 2010b). It has most relevance for emerging cities, rather than Kampala, which has a different governance structure. TSUPU

has pilots in five towns (Arua, Jinja, Kabale, Mbale, and Mbarara) with the plan of expanding into eight additional areas identified as rapidly growing. This focus is a proactive attempt to manage growth while this is still possible. Partners involved include the Urban Authorities Association, municipal governments, Shack/Slum Dwellers International (SDI), ACTogether, the National Slum Dwellers Federation of Uganda, and students from Makerere University. The program is managed by Cities Alliance, SDI, and ACTogether, and its insights are brought to bear on the UNUP only through participation in the forum (UNUF).

ACTogether is the only Ugandan NGO involved in this process and has only been in existence since 2006 with limited outreach. The myriad of NGOs and CBOs operating in Uganda's urban communities, with established trust and experience, is not involved. The central goals of TSUPU involve local urban management capacity building, initial planning for slum upgrading, and supporting dialogue among stakeholders within these emerging cities. Strategies being used include microcredit, the Urban Sector Profiling Study (USPS) mapping and enumeration of slums (households and businesses), and assisting community groups in applying for upgrade grants and managing them.

For secondary cities, this may have some positive outcomes for the urban poor, although the attention to "profiling" may not be welcomed by some groups, particularly international migrants and domestic groups who may fear the police and the government from past experience—such as being forcibly relocated into "protection camps" or being labeled as rebels in northern Uganda. Nonetheless, it is in emerging urban centers where the potential impact of the UNUP is most promising, given the different governance structure and a stronger focus on planning for urbanization rather than dealing with preexisting problems. This is the area where the poverty focus of policy development, most strongly promoted by international donors, is evident. This is also the site where the greatest participation from urban poor communities has been facilitated.

3. The Urban Sector Profiling Study (USPS) will function as a housing sector assessment tool to determine housing and service needs. The study is part of TSUPU's activities and is underway in the initial five cities. Like TSUPU, this study does not involve Kampala. Groups of the urban poor, part of the Slum Dwellers Federation, organized with the assistance of SDI and ACTogether, gather the data and conduct the enumeration, which is then verified by local governments.
4. The Strategic Urban Development Plan (SUDP) will outline the specific courses of action to be taken over a 15-year period. This plan will comprise the concrete strategies to implement the UNUP and can be understood as part of the UNUP.

Funding is disbursed and donor oversight is managed by Cities Alliance, a global partnership based in Brussels, with a mandate of meeting the challenges of propoor policies and prosperous cities without slums. Cities Alliance has particular interest and expertise with participatory upgrade programs. Cities Alliance has no permanent presence in Uganda but works through the South African-based network of urban poor federations, SDI, who in turn work closely with the Ugandan-based NGO, ACTogether. SDI has organized many residents in secondary cities into the National Slum Dwellers Federation of Uganda. SDI and ACTogether are both represented on the Urban Forum executive and are the lead partners in TSUPU.

Each of these components—the policy (UNUP), forum (UNUF), program (TSUPU), study (USPS), and plan (SUDP)—is intended to support and complement one another, utilize participatory frameworks, and align with Uganda's NDP and commitment to the millennium development goals (MDGs). Behind the scenes, private consultants are also involved in policy development, working directly with the Ministry and not as part of the broader participatory components.

The central focal points of the UNUP are twofold. First, it seeks to reform the overlapping bureaucracies at different levels of government currently involved in urban administration in order to make urban governance more efficient and effective, both in terms of cost and performance. In the light of growing concerns with urban sprawl, in particular of slum settlements, and the difficulties in managing land rights, service provision, and security concerns, this was the initial impetus to develop the UNUP and is consistent with the NDP's rationale for developing the policy. This focus is also part of a larger government agenda of increasing urban manufacturing and industrialization in an organized and efficient manner. Urbanization is being promoted and embraced as part of Uganda's development, and in Kampala, in particular, extensive construction for industry is underway. Land without clear tenure and construction that does not meet code is being targeted for clearance to make way for economic development projects and housing for the middle and upper class.

Second, in line with the priorities of the MDGs, the international partners (the UNDP, the World Bank, Cities Alliance, and SDI) are promoting a policy focus that is pro-poor. While these two areas of focus are not necessarily incompatible, it is important to note that the first administrative emphasis is best understood as one of control and management, reflecting challenges from the perspective of local and national governments, whereas this second focus is part of the wider global attention to poverty and the needs of marginalized citizens. There is little evidence that this second focus is embraced as part of the urban strategy in Kampala, although it is shared by the overlapping patchwork of local and internationally affiliated NGOs and CBOs working with Kampala's urban poor. These groups have direct and longstanding connections and trust with slum residents and have been clearly articulating the interconnectivity between urban poverty and food insecurity for years. Unfortunately, this important resource is not a part of the policy process. An indication of what this policy is likely to look like in practice can be found by examining recent trends in Uganda's governance, actual responses to urban challenges, and the longstanding practice of instrumentalism in dealing with both donors and domestic constituencies. An additional avenue to exploring how urban policy is developing is through examining the government's response to two large urban trends with political and economic significance: urban food security and urban migration.

Urban Food Security

The urban poor spend a large portion of their income on food; urban poverty rapidly translates into food insecurity (Maxwell 1999). Inadequate nutrition directly contributes

to multiple health problems and reduced capabilities to move out of poverty. Numerous well-established NGOs, local and international, work in Uganda's urban slums and identify food security as the primary challenge facing the poor. Food security is not addressed in the draft UNUP nor was it independently raised by any of the key participants in the policy design that were interviewed for this research.

Like other African nations, the Ugandan policy environment treats food security as an exclusively rural concern, linked with agricultural production. There is no attention to the urban sector in either Uganda's National Food and Nutrition Policy (UNFP) (Republic of Uganda 2003) or the Uganda Food and Nutrition Strategy and Investment Plan (Republic of Uganda 2005), the UNFP's 10-year strategy. This policy was developed and is under the administration of the Ministry for Agriculture and the Ministry of Health. It aligns its goals and strategies to support existing policies, in particular the PRSP, and contributes a Plan for the Modernisation of Agriculture (PMA), targeted at rural Ugandans. Uganda's agricultural sector is central for national food security and for rural and urban populations, but this is a very limited focus and misses many of the drivers of urban food insecurity.

Access to locally produced food is an important component of urban food security, and urban agriculture is a significant contributor to the welfare of some poor urban residents (Maxwell 1995). In Kampala's urban zones, it is estimated that the proportion of households engaged in urban agriculture is 26 % (Lee-Smith 2010, p. 483). Kampala's city council has a department of agriculture, which is unusual in African cities, and it is in support of regulating and even expanding this sector, for example, by reclassifying some zones to allow for farming. However, this department is poorly funded and has been unable to reach its preliminary objectives of conducting a citywide census on agriculture (Lee-Smith 2010, p. 485). New agricultural ordinances were introduced in 2006 to allow for regulation, but limitations on wetlands may have a negative impact on poorer agriculturalists (David et al. 2010, p. 98). Recent research on Uganda's urban agriculture policy environment points to the urgent need for a policy and program support related to marketing and food security safety net planning (David et al. 2010, p. 98). As important as urban agriculture is, it will never be a complete answer for the food insecurity in urban areas, particularly as the emerging trend is for a concentration of ownership in urban agricultural enterprises, benefitting middle class landowners who draw on the pool of cheap urban casual labor. A more complete response will need to address the wider contexts of urban poverty and include social policy, at a minimum to help the most vulnerable populations, recognizing that food is a right.

Uganda is running a pilot project of conditional cash transfers, but again this project, initiated by donors, has been centered in rural areas where poverty is severe and particularly unresponsive to the propoor growth tools in the PRSPs. In Latin America, conditional cash transfers have been shown to be most effective in urban areas, but urban pilots have not yet been considered in Uganda. Effective conditional cash transfer programs rely on fairly developed services in education and health, which would need to be strengthened in Uganda for them to work well. Potentially, as investments are made to strengthen these services, cash transfer programs would help stimulate and support the urban poor. This would require a significant policy commitment toward developing social provisions in Uganda that does not exist at present and actually seem to be declining rather than increasing.

Policies addressing urban poverty and housing implemented in the past (for example, the 1986 National Human Settlement Policy, the 1992 National Shelter Strategy, and the 2005 National Housing Policy) have suffered from having low priority after their development and subsequent weak implementation; a slow approval processes and dependency on external support have only benefitted a small proportion of urban slum-dwellers (Republic of Uganda 2008, pp. 26–32). These problems are typical of similar programs internationally, where the poorest are priced out of improved or new services and housing or else they are moved to areas far from employment opportunities and, as a consequence, return to slums. It is critical that the new UNUP identifies the problems with earlier approaches in order to avoid them. There is a stated commitment to slum upgrading, rather than the construction of new low-income housing, but it is not clear how this will play out in practice given the uncertain tenure status of those in informal housing areas and the increased demand for land in urban centers for “development.” Partners in the policy process, notably Cities Alliance, have considerable experience with upgrading strategies and are likely to offer sound advice in this regard. However, whether their expertise is brought to bear in Kampala is uncertain as Cities Alliance’s participation is largely being directed toward newly urbanizing areas, where slums are emergent rather than established.

Poverty, while frequently described in policy documents as multidimensional, is most often measured by income, and as such, some groups within the poor population are excluded from existing “propoor” strategies (most often, women and migrants). While there has been a steady decrease in income poverty in Uganda, there is a lack of targeted attention to the fact that levels of malnutrition and caloric intake have not responded to the same degree, particularly in urban areas. The recommended daily caloric intake is 2,300 per adult per day. Calorie-deficient households are more prevalent in urban areas, with 73 % calorie deficient households as compared with 60 % of rural households (Mukwaya et al. 2011, 15). In Uganda, “malnutrition is higher in urban areas, though the incidence of income poverty is generally higher in rural areas” (Republic of Uganda 2010c, p. 29).

Migration: Policy Environment and New Developments

At the same time as the Urban Policy is being developed, a less ambitious National Migration Policy (NMP) is also in the works. Whereas the UNUP is being developed over several years, supported with USD 450,000 from the World Bank and Gates Foundation, the NMP’s development was announced with far less fanfare during the run-up to the last election. The Ministry of Internal Affairs is developing this policy alone, and while its objectives have been made public, it will not involve community participation. This policy will replace the existing Uganda Citizenship and Immigration Control Act and is being funded by the USA. Unsurprisingly, a big component of this policy addresses terrorist threats.

Refugees are not officially allowed to live in Uganda’s cities and so have no access to social services or receive humanitarian interventions (Clark-Kazak 2011, p. 59). The new policy does not recognize this as a problem but instead will further stigmatize international migrants, particularly those labeled as “illegals”, and intensify existing xenophobia. Press releases announcing the development of this policy were made

during the election campaign and framed immigration as a problem, presenting migrants as threats to employment and security and as fraudulent investors. James Baba, Internal Affairs State Minister, summarized the government's policy goals: "The policy should enhance national and international security by keeping criminals, fake products, wrong persons and influences, such as homosexuality, out of Uganda" (Bekunda 2011).

Nor will this policy address IDPs from northern or northeastern Uganda, both areas where large numbers of displaced migrants seek refuge in cities, in a large part because of government actions in these regions. As with refugees, individuals are not recognized as IDPs unless they are in a camp, despite far greater opportunities for employment in cities. The illegal status of international refugees prohibits these populations from accessing health and education services for themselves and their families. Internal migrants who move to urban areas are viewed as economic migrants only and have no access to the variety of nationally and internationally provided services available to IDPs in camps (Refstie and Brun 2011). Between 300,000 and 600,000 migrants have moved to urban areas as a consequence of the war in the North. There has been less attention in the world media to IDPs from Karamoja in Uganda's northeast. In 2006, roughly 2,000 Karamajong, mostly women and children, fled to Kampala (Sundal 2010). This area of the country has suffered from recurrent droughts, floods, and conflict between pastoralists and herders. Government disarmament was badly and unevenly implemented and left some groups even more vulnerable to attacks and raids. The women and children who fled to Kampala came from the Bokora group and meet the UN criterion for IDP status. Most of these migrants had no means to survive except to beg in the streets. In 2007, shortly before a visit from Queen Elizabeth, the Kampala City Council forcibly collected Karamajong migrants off the streets and trucked them back to Karamoja.

Research on both these groups shows that the distance of migration, combined with the insecurity in the destination region, ethnic discrimination in Kampala, and language barriers, makes these groups more food insecure than other migrants and economically worse off than before they migrated (Refstie et al. 2010; Sundal 2010). While male households are more likely to move as economic migrants, in areas of conflict, inside and outside Uganda, female household heads are more likely to move, contributing further to migrant populations' vulnerabilities and needs (Herrin et al. 2009). A National Migration Policy is a needed and welcome initiative in Uganda and its urban focus is warranted. However, this policy is unlikely to fill gaps in existing internal and international migration policy and is likely to be limited to addressing security concerns and serving political goals of fomenting division among the urban poor, targeting those who are most vulnerable and food insecure.

Policy as an Instrumental Strategy

Uganda is an important case to study policy innovations for two reasons. First, they have a proven track record of policy capacity, most widely recognized with their effective response to HIV/AIDS in President Museveni's early years in office. Although sustaining this early effectiveness over time has been challenging, it does demonstrate "whole systems" policy capacity, where strong political will at the center leads to widespread inclusion of international and domestic, public, and private actors working together: i.e., the seldom realized ideal of multilevel governance. Uganda has

shown that where there is political will at the center, donor backing and inclusive participation among stakeholders, strong policy capacity exists.

Second, the Ugandan policy often serves as a model for other countries. This is again most evident with the HIV/AIDS response but also with affirmative action and universal primary education policies. Uganda was the first nation to create a Poverty Reduction Strategy Plan and was a leader in adopting affirmative action for women in parliament. Perhaps the late development of a national urban strategy is due to its relatively late urbanization, but now that this has been identified as a priority, as well as attracting donor support in its development, it is likely to be influential beyond Uganda's borders. Uganda's National Migration Policy will also have implications in urban sectors and could potentially serve as a model elsewhere, particularly where there is a perceived terrorist threat.

But, concerns exist regarding Uganda's capacity for implementing a policy in need of extensive multilevel cooperation and skill. Public policy in Uganda is comparatively more effective than in most other sub-Saharan African nations, but its effectiveness has been overstated. Most observers now offer a more cautious and tempered assessment than a decade ago (Mwenda 2007; Robinson 2007; Tabaire 2007; Tripp 2010; Manyak and Katono 2011.). The experience, institutions, skills, and resources necessary for an effective policy are weak in nations like Uganda whose political past has been marked by conflict, authoritarianism, and single-party rule. There are additional external sources of weak policy capacity: for example, the involvement of the donor community in formulating policy may weaken mechanisms for ensuring accountability (Okuonzi and Macrae 1996). While recent emphasis on "ownership" and participatory processes are important for addressing this problem, the coordination between donors and governments in establishing goals is far from clear.

Further, Uganda faces serious governance limitations which have become increasingly pronounced in the past decade. The last three rounds of national elections were marred by violence and intimidation. There is also widespread patronage-based corruption which has combined with an increasing use of state power to keep the ruling elite in place. The media is also subject to intimidation and harassment (Tabaire 2007). Political corruption is a serious concern with "widespread venality at all levels of government and administration" (Kannyo 2004, p. 136). As the state becomes increasingly centralized and prepares itself for new oil-related revenues, higher levels of corruption are likely.

In Uganda, there is a clear pattern where governance reforms and policies have an immediate degree of success, followed by a subsequent downturn or unraveling (Robinson 2007, p. 452). This has been the case with policies addressing HIV/AIDS, education, civil service reform, anticorruption measures, and of course poverty alleviation. There are explanations specific to each policy or reform area for why they lost momentum or failed, but common to all are competition between agencies and ministries, pervasive neopatrimonial politics, and a lack of accountability and follow-up after the initial funding has been secured and the process initiated (Robinson 2007). In this instrumentalist context, social policy has little priority as these investments, particularly around chronic hunger, will not contribute to short-term political gain for President Museveni and the National Resistance Movement (NRM).

Conclusions

Uganda's shift from poverty eradication (with the 1997 Poverty Eradication Action Plan) to poverty reduction (through the PRSP process) to national development is a clear signal of what the government prioritizes and where it believes it can succeed. The NDP sees poverty reduction as a fairly straightforward by-product of economic development which will be led by a combination of rural agriculture, urban development, and, of course, oil. But as inequality widens, corruption increases and legitimacy wanes, the urban also poses a threat to Museveni's power. In emerging urban areas, donor-financed planning may lead to better housing and better communication between urban residents and the local government. TUPSU is also working toward establishing practices of self-help and entrepreneurialism among the urban poor. Growing urban malnutrition is not on the political radar, however, excepting its political threat to the president.

The UNUP does not respond to food security or indeed poverty in any meaningful way. Despite a veneer of public consultation and participation, this policy will allow the government to better track who lives in urban areas. Those who do not live in homes up to the code (that is, most of Kampala) will continue to face the same vulnerabilities and threat of bulldozers. The Migration Policy will leave internally displaced populations insecure and open to the same kind of evictions and forced resettlements that have been ongoing. This policy is also part of a wider discourse targeting international migrants, many of them refugees, as terrorists, fraudulent investors, and scapegoats for high unemployment. Pressure from donors and community stakeholders may nudge urban policy in a more progressive direction, but the current trend indicates these pressures are minimal.

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