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KIVULU

a report on a fieldwork carried out in Kampala, Uganda by André Almeida, Guro Vengen, Sicong Liu and Stykaar Hustveit

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PREFACE

This report is a description of the work done in the settlement of Kivulu in Kampala, Uganda by some of the students following the course Urban Ecological Planning at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU) autumn 2009.

In the report our work will be presented in a chronological way, starting with our initial, fumbling steps into a setting completely new to us. An assessment on which methods we used in order to explore this setting will be given. Following this, a part describing our growing understanding of Kivulu will come before we finally tell about how we went in there as an acting party.

The report will have no conclusion, as what we partaken in initiating is an ongoing process. Instead reflections on our work and experiences will be given.

As a general rule we have tried to tie the contents of this report as closely as possible to what we actually did back in Kivulu. Still, where we have found it necessary and favourable, suitable literature has been looked up.

Not all the effort we laid down in Kivulu will be presented, as it both back there and here in Norway looks superfluous or on the side of what we focused on. Among these things is a questionnaire mapping the state of the households in Kivulu which was introduced to us at a stage and in a way that made it difficult to include in the work.

Also, in this edition of the report, an executive summary has been left out that will be added in later editions.

We will use this opportunity to express our sincere gratitude to all the people we met in Kivulu giving our work a degree of reality not dreamed of; no names mentioned, no one forgotten.

Also we will mention all the good people in Kisenyi that made things possible. To Kasaija Peter, who was our field coordinator and became a friend, Associate Professor Hans Skotte who had the overall academic responsibility and kept our spirits high and fellow student Frederick Jay Mugisa we express our gratitude. UN-HABITAT should also be mentioned for giving money.

Last, but far from least, Catherine, Medi and Waiswa from ACTogether are thanked for their time, attitude and good advice.



INTRODUCTION

Kivulu is regarded an illegal settlement, and as Kampala City Centre is growing from a rapid increase in the urban population, the pressure on land increases. Due to a complex system of land tenure the citizens of Kivulu are left with weak rights facing the threat of evictions that naturally follows this development. We see that the way these issues are being dealt with from the government's side is not adequate. At the same time facing a poorly organized community, the prospects of dealing with the problems becomes even more meager. A new approach is needed.

The purpose of this fieldwork has been to explore the possibilities implicated in this need. By gaining knowledge to the all the aspects, be it social, organizational or physical of Kivulu, we would try to come up with proposals for physical and/or organizational interventions that could be implemented in order to bring about positive change.





THEORY AND FACTS



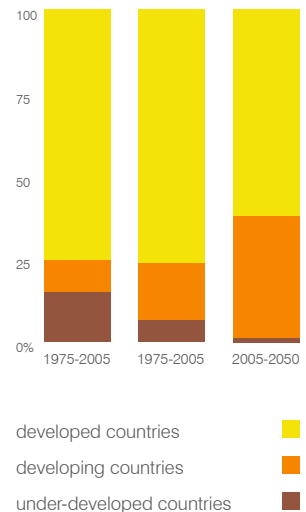
URBAN CHALLENGES IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH

There is no doubt that the urban growth in the foreseeable future will be a challenge to handle. The last 50 years, cities have been steadily growing. During this period of time, the pattern has gone from population increase being somewhat evenly distributed between urban and rural areas, to the cities consuming more and more of the development. (UN-Habitat, 2009)

“The urban population of the world is estimated to increase from 2.86 billion in 2000 to 4.98 billion by 2030 (...). By comparison, the size of the rural population in the world is expected to grow only very marginally, going from 3.19 billion in 2000 to 3.29 billion in 2030.” (Cohen, 2004: 27)

In other words, if these assumptions are correct, the population growth the next 20 years will as good as merely take place in cities. Most western countries have now already reached a high percentage of urban dwellers. Therefore, like shown in figure 1, the rapid urban growth will mainly take place in low and middle-income countries, in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

One might believe that this does not have to be a big problem. Developed countries have also gone through a period when rural-urban migration rate was similar to the one now predicted in developing countries, and the cities have more or less coped with it; with time the migration rate has flattened out. However, there are some important differences. In many developing countries, the population having this growth rate is big, this leading to an enormous number of urban dwellers. The situation is not at all comparable to other historical experiences (ibid.). The fact that many of these rural-urban migrants in big cities are young people makes the natural increase a significant factor for the urban growth. This was the case of Kampala; we saw mostly young adults and children. It is common among youth in the villages to come to Kampala for job opportunities, and they marry and get children while living in the city.



above: distribution percentage of world population growth, 1950-2030, United Nations (2004)

left: an inhabitant of Kivulu building an extension to his house. He owns the structure but not the land.



Another difference is how the growth in population is relating to the economical development.

“In the first half of the century, urbanization was predominantly confined to countries that enjoyed the highest levels of per capita income. In the more recent past (and indeed for the foreseeable future), the most visible changes in urbanization have occurred and will continue to occur in middle- and low-income countries.” (ibid: 33-34)

Especially in African countries, “urbanization appears to have become partially decoupled from economic development” (ibid: 27). When this happens, one can start to doubt if the city is functioning like it should. How cities develop, is influencing the future of people living far beyond its boundaries. One of the objectives of urban areas is to work as an engine for the whole region or country.

“National and regional income depends primarily on the buoyancy of the urban economy. Agriculture and other primary industries – mining, fishing, forestry – depend on urban areas to provide their markets and the range of goods and services upon which they rely – communication, technology, finance, banking, insurance – as well as linkages to the global economy.” (Hague et al, 2006: 3)

If the city is not able to be an economical, cultural, educational or social resource for itself, the region and the nation, it will not be able to attract international or national investors, and even local businesses will suffer under this, not being able to work optimally (ibid: 3).

Indeed, it seems like the governments in developing countries have a big challenge. Growing cities can come with great possibilities of development, but benefiting from this becomes difficult when many African cities are experiencing a growth “despite poor macroeconomic performance and without significant direct foreign investment making it next to impossible for urban authorities to provide low-income housing, high-quality urban services, or sufficient employment.” (Cohen, 2004: 46)

It can look as if authorities in many developing countries have come to a point where they have given up on some of their tasks. In an interview with Robert Ndiwalana, Division Planner at Kampala Central Division, he clearly says that the authorities as for today have no possibility to construct for instance low-cost housing. The only thing they can do is to provide the land needed, but they have no capacity to fully control the

above: arrival to Luanda (Angola);
the pictures show dense slum settlements barely infrastructured

kind of development taking place there. Natural forces, that is, economical interests, are deciding the construction activity, and widely spread corruption makes it difficult to control this. According to Ndiwalana, the Ugandan government's role today is only "to provide the necessary infrastructure, utilities and an environment conducive to enable individuals to construct." (Robert Ndiwalana, interview 15.10.09)

With the unclear role of the governments, the NGOs in many developing countries often take more and more the responsibilities that originally lay with the authorities. "Researches undertaken so far suggest that most governments in the south are not only backing away from the traditional responsibilities, but also have completely failed." (Kabanda URL)

There are some difficulties with relying to NGOs (Non-Governmental Organizations) for this kind of work. Firstly, it can make the authorities more passive when they are facing other, similar problems. Also, it is difficult for someone coming from the outside to get a complete picture of what is needed in a society. From working in Kampala, we got the impression that many NGOs are considering only a few problems at a time when doing their job; for instance they tend to work only with children, women or other defined groups. Of course in most cases this is good work, but it is rarely a part of a bigger strategy.

There is a tendency in many low and middle-income countries that the urban population is living in one big city. (Cohen, 2004) This was also the case in Uganda. At the same time, it is not unusual in these countries with "a deep ambivalence towards urbanity and the reluctance by many leaders and governments to recognize the realities of city life in shaping the identity and politics of their subjects" (Parnell et al., 2009) This shows itself in the fact that the urban planning in many developing countries is somewhat detached from the governance system, other line-function departments and even from the budgeting process. (UN-Habitat, 2009) All in all, the picture of developing countries today is very different from anything seen, now or earlier, in the developed world. Nevertheless, the problems of urban growth in the South are often treated the same way it was treated in the North. Many of the big cities in Africa didn't even exist before countries were colonized, and with the colonial rule came an urban system unfamiliar to people, and a planning practice adopted from early 20 century western planning. This master planning is focused on the ideal end-state carried out by trained experts using land-use zoning schemes. (UN-Habitat, 2009)

"The most obvious problem with master planning and urban modernism



above: dense slum settlements border new high income housing developments; the differences between occupation patterns are very clear.



above: dense slum settlement on the edge of a slope in Luanda; when the rain season starts, many houses fall down with the landslides.

right: satellite image of dense slum settlements bordering green spaces and high-income residential areas in Kampala, ©Digital Globe, Google Earth, 2009

is that they completely fail to accommodate the way of life of the majority of inhabitants in rapidly growing, largely poor and informal cities, and thus directly contribute to social and spatial marginalization. The possibility that people living in such circumstances could comply with zoning ordinances designed for relatively wealthy European towns is extremely unlikely." (ibid.)

This planning practice doesn't seem to change by itself in the near future. According to Parnell (2009), the planning education in Africa is "often poorly developed and outdated, with some planning programmes still based on curricula inherited from colonial days." A change in planning practice in the global south is definitely necessary.

"While the forces impacting upon the growth and change of cities have changed dramatically, in many parts of the world planning systems have changed little and are now frequent contributors to urban problems rather than functioning as tools for human and environmental improvement." (UN-Habitat, 2009)





KIVULU

LOCATION

Kivulu is a slum area situated in Kampala, the capital of Uganda. Kampala consists of five divisions, further divided into parishes and zones. Kivulu lies in the Central Division, and forms three of the seven zones of Kagugube parish. It is located close to both the city centre and Makerere University. The location is a desirable one, both for investors and people seeking low-cost housing. The number of inhabitants is not accurate, but the population of Kagugube parish has been estimated to 7550. (Kampala Central Division, 2007)

Kivulu is divided into three zones; Kivulu I, Kivulu II and the Industrial Area. This is fully an administrative division; there is not much difference between Kivulu I and Kivulu II. The Industrial Area consists mainly of a car washing enterprise, hostels and other businesses.

HISTORY

In the 1960's there were only few and small buildings in Kivulu, the majority being bars. At that time, the East African Community started to build a railway through Uganda. The workers, coming both from Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania and other places started to hang out in Kivulu after their day of work was over, drinking beer and listening to music from jukeboxes. In fact, the word "kivulu" originally meant concert. When Idi Amin came to power in 1971, he chased away every foreign tribe in Uganda. At the same time, and in relation to this, the railway industry closed down. The remaining inhabitants now started doing business and put up shops instead. In those days, there were a lack of basic goods available, like for instance sugar. The people in Kivulu started doing so called "magen-dos", which is a word for making trips abroad for purchasing goods. These goods were taken back and sold at the shops in Kivulu. When Yoweri Museveni became president in 1986, he introduced a new



above: map of Africa highlighting Uganda in grey.
left: aerial view of Kivulu, part of the Kagugube parish;



above: small stall for selling food, standing next to the market; the big roof, where most of the food is sold.

right: external linkage scheme for Kivulu. Source: Kasaija et al. 2007; this scheme intends to illustrate through its linkages, how Kivulu, a low-income place represents a valuable resource to Kampala.

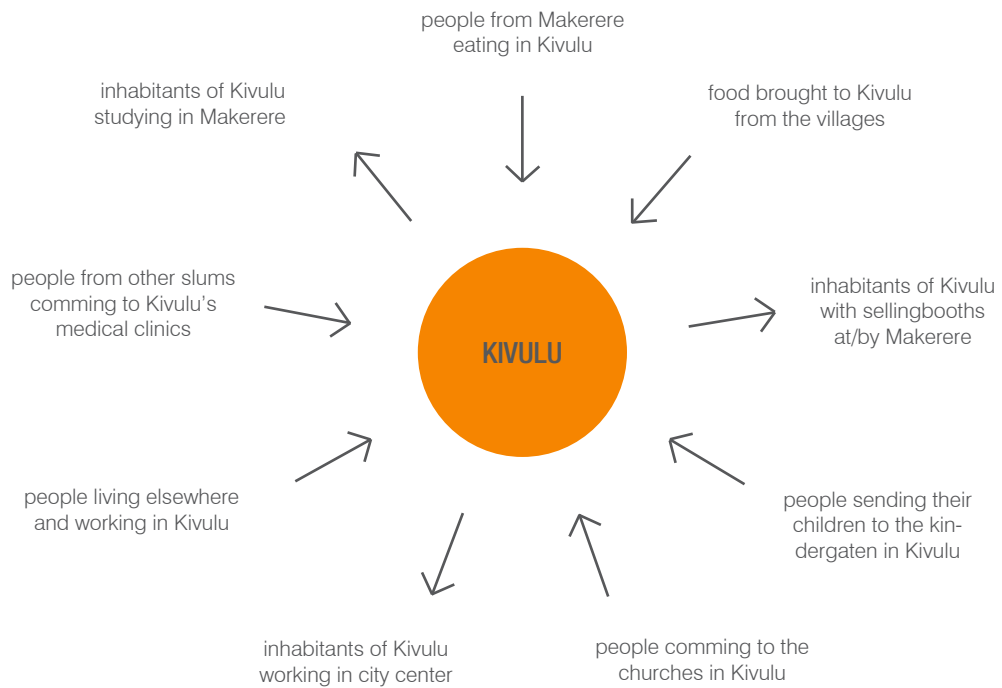
system of governance that led to the formal division of Kivulu into the three parts we have today; Kivulu I, Kivulu II and Industrial Area. However, with the frequent changes Kivulu experiences today, the zones are floating more and more together.

GOVERNANCE

There is a system of Local Counsellors, shortened to LCs, in each parish to ensure that decisions are made on a local level. Each zone has one LC, called LC I, who calls people together for monthly public meetings. Issues raised here are taken further to the LC II in a parish meeting. Here, each zone talk about the problems they experience, and they have the opportunity to make by-laws. These can not contradict with the constitution, and to ensure this, they will also have to pass through LC III.

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

Economic activities in Kivulu include a washing bay, student hostels, markets and small shops and production of different goods like small bakery and charcoal stoves. Most public facilities like clinics, churches and schools are located in Kivulu I. The washing bay is located in the Industrial Area, next to the channel in Kivulu. The washing bay has a committee leader, who collects money and pays the rent to the land lord. There are approximately 30 washers working here, each of them specialized in some kind of washing – tires, body, inside cleaning. Makerere Kivulu Market is situated in Kivulu II, somewhat hidden for people passing by. A road was supposed to go all the way through the area, but this is now blocked by random structures. The market consists of one part with permanent structures, and one with a more temporary character. Here, there are mostly small businesses, selling for instance fried and roasted food like cassava, or vegetables like tomatoes and eggplants. If you are to sell your goods here, you have to rent or buy a lock-up. This is the reason why the market is not working to its full capacity; it is both expensive and bureaucratically difficult to get one of these lock-ups, and in addition you have to pay for electricity. Many people therefore put up scattered small shops outside the market area, giving the market unwanted competition.







UNDERSTANDING KIVULU



THE FIELDWORK RESEARCH

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will deal with how we as students approached the case of Kivulu and the people living there. First of all a clarification will be given on what our objectives in this study were. From the field work program (AAR4525, AAR4816 & AAR4820 Autumn 2009) we read the following:

“This study is tailor-made to help students in taking the course to:

- 1) Understand the asset base and the dynamics of a territorially defined area, e.g. a neighbourhood, through interacting with its inhabitants, local authorities and other stakeholders.
- 2) Be able to propose physical or organizational intervention based on their newly acquired understanding of the dynamics of the community in question and do it in such a way that it will generate subsequent benefit.”

In order to gather information to reach the goals in point 1, we used the following methods: interviews; observation; meetings; accessing maps; photography.

The following part will look deeper into how each in the above list was carried out and an assessment will be made whether these methods proved to be successful or not. Also a description on how the information was processed will be given before an overview on our main findings will come.

Conducting fieldwork was a new experience for all of us. Also being in a slum like Kivulu was something we were not used to. We were strongly affected by the things we saw and heard. The idea of the field researcher being able to neutrally and unbiased receive and process information is, at least in this case, remote.

It is easy to for instance claim that an interviewee didn't want to open herself because she found the setting of being interviewed unfamiliar and awkward. The fact is that in most cases it was we as outsiders that were



above: a group of children by whom we used to pass by on our way to Kivulu.

left: 'the knife sharpener', he uses his bicycle for getting to his customers and as a tool to sharp knives.



most affected. In the beginning we believed that the field had to get used to us. As time passed we realized that it had to do with us getting used to the field.

However, one factor that did not come from us, but that still affected our work, and probably did so to a larger extent than we will be able to tell, is what we might call the “Muzungo Factor”. Muzungo is the word commonly used in Uganda for a white man. With this we mean that we as a group of predominantly white people were attracting a lot of attention; if a fieldwork researcher coming from Uganda would seem like an alien in Kivulu, so definitively would we.

Exactly how this attention showed itself varied of course from person to person, from unpleasant things being shouted at us the first time we visited Kivulu, to people acting overtly charming suspecting us to be highly solvent. In between we would obviously find people who did not distinct between us and a regular Ugandan. Also as we got closer to people, we would in many cases feel that we were judged more for what we were doing than whom we were thought to be.

Looking apart from this amplifying effect the *Muzungo Factor* had, just the fact that we came as outside “researchers” to a place put us in a certain position. We would in some cases be regarded as people looking into business that was none of our concern, in others as NGO people looking for an area in which to intervene. Both would lead to us being met with a certain type of attitude not being fruitful for our work. In addition; the latter would give us a strong feeling of something being expected from us.

Here as in most human relations, things take time. As we had spent some weeks in Kivulu, this giving both us and the ones we were dealing with the opportunity to get accustomed to each other, things would take on a more natural course.

THE INTERVIEWS

Quantitative information, like statistics, facts and figures, we would get from accessing maps, documents and reports. In order to get the qualitative information, to be able to gain access to life stories and portrays of life situations, we found out that making interviews would be a good approach. We wanted to find out how people were living in Kivulu, and why they were living the way they did. The discussions now became more directed towards what kind of questions to ask in order to get this information. The actual process of making interviews was also briefly

above: as foreigners, we attracted much attention, and a picture of children was a reason for joy, when showing the preview on the screen. right: picture taken during an informal conversation with Bob. Looking to the picture one can see the Bob's economical activities: he owns a Boda-Boda which rents afterwards, has a paid phone, sells water, and the dry-cleaning buisness, the main activity.





discussed, and a suggestion to use tape recorders in order to let the conversation flow without the interruption of anyone having to finish their notes was agreed upon.

After coming up with a rough list of questions, we met our contacts, or interpreters as they also would be, and headed out in the field.

We separated into two groups à three persons. With the help of the interpreters possible interviewees were identified and the interviews could start. What was expected to be an informative talk about personal background, aspirations and own view on the settlement proved to be a stumbling, haphazard and not the least embarrassing (for everyone) episode with little usable outcome.

Why did this happen? Some obvious flaws can be pointed out:

Number of participants: The interviews probably had too many participants from our side. This does not have to be a problem in itself, but the fact that we were so many interviewers might have seemed intrusive and somewhat frightening on the interviewee.

Also, when it comes to the purely technical aspect of asking the questions, having so many people doing this led to interruptions. In turn this led to important follow-up questions not being asked.

This could have been avoided if the roles of the interviewers had been clearly pointed out on beforehand.

Another result of this apparent lack of coordination is that we as interviewers might have appeared unstructured and somewhat unserious to the interviewee. This in turn could have led to a feeling of not being properly listened to, with a following reluctance in answering openly. Even though many of the above mentioned problems might have been avoided if we had been properly coordinated, it should be pointed out that the best solution probably was to cut down on the number of participants; we would discover that interviews like this did not need more than one person actually conducting it, although having one person taking notes proved to be helpful.

Prepared questions: We had prepared questions on beforehand. This was in itself a good thing as it led to discussion in the group on our objectives with the interviews. The questions could also work as a reminder, or a check list, when working in the field on whether we had gotten the information we sought or not. However, the way the questions were put to work they proved to be more of a burden than a help. During the interviews they were followed too servile, imposing an unnatural structure to the conversation and not allowing it to take its own course. This happen-

above: interviewing Victor, a wheel-chart carrier (the interview is available on the appendix)

ing, the information we were seeking did not come out: as an interview could be headed somewhere interesting by following it up asking the right questions, instead a question regarding something different (but from the list of prepared questions) was raised.

Due partly to the artificial structure the conversations got, and partly to the fact that the situation was new and unfamiliar for all parties, there was not given enough time during the interviews to let either the interviewee or our selves become confident with each other. This proved to be a problem in the way that the interviewee would be reluctant to give in-depth answers or elaborating on already given answers. Also it was difficult to get answers to questions of a more personal character.

Trying to solve these problems we decided to approach possible interview objectives in a more informal way. Not having so much the objective of making an interview and trying more to have ordinary conversations about daily matters proved to be a much better way to gain people's confidence. Also during these conversations much of the information we actually were seeking surfaced. We realized much more than we thought before that each interviewee has his own story and his own particular contribution to our understanding. It became evident that a list of prepared questions would be too rigid facing this reality.

Also, if the conversations didn't prove fruitful to our research, at least we had gained another contact point in the settlement, and appointments for more serious interviews could be scheduled.

Interpreters: We had to use interpreters. Even though most Ugandans speak English this is not their mother tongue, and many people in Kivulu were more comfortable using Luganda. Others again spoke only a few phrases of English, and interpreters had to be used in order to communicate at all. We used our field contacts for this purpose. These were people with no significant experience, but they spoke both English and Luganda.

Putting aside the mere fact that neither we, nor the interpreters or the interviewee were familiar with the interpretation of conversations, some difficulties arose: The interpreters had a tendency of not translating directly what was being said. Instead the interviewee's answers were given in the form of references: "he/she is saying..."

As a consequence of this it was difficult to get an impression on what tone or atmosphere the answers were given in, and clarifications of the kind: "what do you believe she means by that" were requested by us.

This in turn encouraged the interpreters to start translating in the form of explanations; "he/she is saying... probably because..."



above: Anthony and Tony, who worked with us as interpreters.



Difficulties also came up when we raised questions the interpreters felt they could answer just as well as the interviewee. In those cases the question was not passed through and the interpreters gave their answers. These answers could of course in many cases be equally valid, but the fact that the person meant to be in focus of the conversation got excluded was unfortunate. Also, in cases where questions were raised in a certain manner in order to reach to a specific point, these kinds of interruptions were fatal.

We tried dealing with these issues as soon as we saw them rising. As little significant change occurred, we to a large extent had to accept them and continue the work under these pre-conditions.

In gaining access to people in the field, the interpreters however played a vital role. They were able to identify possible interview objects, who they introduced us properly to. This was helpful in the beginning. As time passed and we got more familiar with the area, it was desirable to by ourselves be able to decide who to interview. We could then seek persons in specific areas or positions based on what we felt were relevant to our work. Continuing having the field contacts doing the selection could also lead to a bias in who was elected as they themselves were inhabitants of the area.

Tape recorders: As mentioned we wanted to document the interviews using tape recorders. In the field this could have been a good aid as it would allow us to conduct interviews without any kind of interruptions from notes having to be finished. Tape recorders would also provide a very accurate rendition of the interviews. The recorders, however, proved to be of poor quality and to be of any use, they had to be held very close to the interviewee. This gave an awkward and too formal atmosphere. Also due to the time and effort we had to use for transcription the technique was soon abandoned. Another argument for not having to use the recorders was that as we seldom moved alone; at least one person could be responsible for taking thorough notes as back up for the interviewers own notes.

above: meeting with Local Chairperson from Kivulu II, in his place.
right: from the left to the right (standing on their backs): Zainabu, Hassan and Bob; this meeting occurred to speak about issues concerning the savings scheme and to first discuss about the Community Center; general guidelines from the community to the design were gotten in this meeting.

MEETINGS

The interviews got, as time passed, a casual character. In other cases the settings got more formal. This could for instance be when we met with representatives from Kampala City Council, the Central Division offices or with NGOs working in the area.

Considering the experiences from the interviews, however, it was clear





above: meeting in Kampala Central Division with the Division Engineers responsible for the Community Center for the Kagugube Parish; the picture shows our group experiencing the so called 'African Time', waiting for the meeting to start.

that informal settings made the conversations float easier and information thought to be difficult to get often came forth. We strived towards keeping a relaxed atmosphere where we deemed it possible, but in dealing with official authorities and bureaucracy this, however, did not prove to be the biggest challenge: Late coming.

"African time" is an expression often heard. It builds on the assumption that keeping time is not considered an equally important virtue in Africa as in for instance Norway. Whether or not to adopt this as a scientific truth we will leave to the reader to decide. However, after scheduling appointments, we often ended up having to wait. In the beginning this was a problem. It led to frustration and a feeling of not being taken seriously. However, as some time passed we realized that this had more to do with customs than attitude. Here, as in other cases, adapting to the situation gave the best solution, and after some time we knew that nothing necessarily was wrong if we had to wait. At the very end of our stay we would even allow ourselves to be late.

We became troubled when our expectations on how people would behave weren't met. If we look more into this fact, an interesting picture on our role as researchers appears. As mentioned, the idea of a neutral and unbiased observer seems far away when looking back on our fieldwork. We brought with us a set of norms and customs, which normally help us navigate in the daily life. When this background met with another set of habits, it would seemingly become more of a burden than a help as it lead to misinterpretations of situations.

Still, to leave ones background behind is neither possible nor desirable. Then how to deal with it? Looking at the example above, one can say that we went through three phases: first confusion, secondly; apprehension and thirdly we tried adapting to the situation. Making the time to get from one to three short becomes paramount. As time passed we grew more accustomed to this. Dealing with people showing up late for appointments became a mere question of being able to adjust to the situation. People not showing up at all proved to be a bigger challenge: Even though appointments were made, agreed upon and confirmed, we in many cases had to wait in vain. Why did this happen? Some factors can be mentioned: As time passed we got a picture of the Ugandan society being a hierarchical one. We as students would be placed at a low level compared to authorities like local leaders or representatives from the city government. This might have played a role when such people made their daily schedules.

Another factor can, to some extent, be a form of politeness. It took us

long time before we realized that this actually could be a reason, but it seemed as if some people had a natural reluctance towards saying no, as if this would be rude. Being able to tell whether or not the actual answer was “yes” or “no” would demand a fair deal of contextual considerations and even understanding of personality. We were never able to fully master this.

OBSERVATION

An activity easily combinable with making interviews was observation. Spending time in different areas with no other goal than looking and listening proved to be a fruitful way of increasing our understanding of Kivulu. The observations were made both in random and more targeted ways. The observations could be carried out in a number of occasions, for instance when waiting or taking breaks. Also it proved helpful to set aside specific time as these exercises often gained from having ample time.

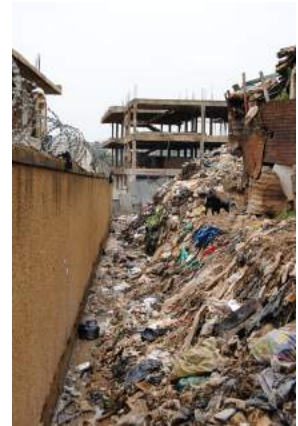
Problems with observations can be with the coverage. As we were few people, and as the activity was time consuming, only some areas would be looked into.

PHOTOGRAPHS

Closely knit to observation is photography. Images can give accurate renditions. However, as the photo freezes a situation, observations happen in real time. This gives the observation an advantage, as it provides contextual understanding. Also, a picture captures everything, visually speaking, while during observation a selection of the important information will be made. This can help to clarify a situation, but it can also lead to bias as it will be the observers own understanding on what is important that controls the selection.

An issue we faced on the ground while taking photographs was that it, depending on the situation, could be looked upon as a rude thing to do. Our approach on this was to leave the cameras behind until we had visited Kivulu several times. As people would recognize us as being something different from random by-passers or tourists, we believed they to a larger extent would be comfortable with us taking pictures. This proved to be true.

Another thing making it easier for us to take pictures was the fact that we mainly used digital cameras. This made us able to show the pictures we



above: a Hotel located in the washing bay; by walking around this Hotel in Kivulu, and observing, it was clear for us how this particular economical activity didn't want to relate to its surroundings. The first picture shows how it is denied a relation to the site through its tall walls protected with barbed wire. As a result, this rear side is used for dumping garbage, blocking the water drainage and bringing bad odor to the hotel.



«We realized these incoherencies only when the interview was over and we started processing the collected information. While looking ambitious, in our opinion he actually feels comfortable where he is now, being a target-worker.» Excerpt from an interview to Victor. After this interview, when processing the information we gathered, we realized the major methodological importance of triangulating information, allowing us to put everything in relation to something else, as different people would give us different information about the same matters.

above: interviewing Victor, a wheel-cart carrier.
right: big open site belonging to the church.

had just taken to the ones concerned. This actually raised enthusiasm and curiosity about what was going on, and often led to more people wanting to be taken pictures of.

MAPS

In order to get maps we contacted the GIS-unit at Kampala City Council. The maps were old, but in combination with more recent aerial and satellite photos, we were able to update them.

PROCESSING OF THE INFORMATION GATHERED

After each day the notes from the field were processed. This work contained mainly of reading through what had been written and writing it again in a more structured way. Missing information or contradictions would now also be discovered. This could in turn be taken back to the respective interviewees for clarification.

However, not all contradictions would be possible to clear out, as they were not the result of errors or misinformation from any level. These were actual contradictions showing us that some things are simply perceived and understood in different ways by different people. Such cases would add to our understanding of each informant having her own unique story to tell, which would contribute to the faceted picture we saw appearing of Kivulu.

We were also able to conduct triangulations on the gathered information. By doing this we could not only determine the validity and accuracy of information, we also got the opportunity see the information in different contexts leading to a more complete picture.

The interviews played a key role when it came to gathering information about Kivulu. In turn this led to a better understanding of the place, and which areas we had to research more deeply into became apparent; the interviews led us to the key stake holders in the area.





ASSESSING FINDINGS AND A GROWING UNDERSTANDING OF KIVULU

INTRODUCTION

It is easy to point out challenges that should be dealt with as walking through a slum like Kivulu. Speaking only of what meets the eye, the list can still seem overwhelming: clogged drains, accumulation of garbage, sub-standard housing, poor roads and so on. However, these problems and issues of its like are in our opinion merely superficial. Saying so should not in any way be considered a devaluation of the impact these problems have on people's lives. What we mean is that such issues are to be viewed as signs on structural weaknesses within the community or the governance of it.

As an example from Kivulu, we can mention the case of the drainage system. Recently, there had been dug new dikes. The project was funded by so-called LGDP-funding (Local Government Development Programme), which is an annual amount of money provided from the Central Government to assist the Local Government on specific projects. As we understand, this was an official initiative. Also the actual implementation of the project was made by the government hiring contractors to do the job. As much as new drains might have been needed, the way it was put into reality made the intervention unable to work properly. To explain: the initiative was implemented physically, but not socially. This means, people did never get the chance to get any form of ownership or feeling of responsibility to project, leading to the situation we see today with the drains to a large extent being ignored and filled up with garbage. What we are trying to make a point out of here is that a society with structural weaknesses will with necessity demand a different form of approach from anyone intervening in it compared to an institutionally sound one. A number of considerations have to be made when working in such societies, regarding processes that might run automatically in a more formal one. Examples on this can be if all involved parties have been duly informed, if they have been given the opportunity to express



above: a 'mobile store' in a bicycle.
left: by coincidence, this picture was taken in the exact moment when a child from Kivulu was throwing garbage to the drains just next to his home; it was clear the lack of understanding of purpose and benefits, as well as 'ownership' of this infrastructure.



above: both pictures show large open areas used for garbage disposal; these sites were cleared out after the owners evicted the former tenants and had their structures demolished.
right: new housing in Kivulu.

their meanings and so on. Considering the weakly working governmental apparatus in many places, and the conditions people might live under, this being as illegal settlers, in illiteracy or with general little knowledge to the legal framework within interventions are made, community processes to raise awareness and understanding can be needed.

In Kivulu, we did not see this happen; the initiatives coming from Kampala Central Division were implemented as if all the necessary formal ways of securing people's rights and giving information were present. After talking to different city council officials, this impression was strengthened; the way both decision making processes and implementation of physical projects was made sounded like a very healthy one when ignoring the context it had to work in. With other words: the frames might have functioned perfectly well in a formalized society. Facing the reality of for instance Kivulu, with all its informality, they collapsed.

Summing up all challenges in Kivulu in this report is neither our intentions nor necessary. However, after looking at the place, we arrived at two fundamental problems that we believe to be crucial: The issue of land and urban development and the diffuse community structure we found. The latter one we consider being the most vital, as this has its basis in human relations.

THE ISSUE OF LAND AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

The land tenure in Kivulu is a complex one. As the settlement originally came to be when encroachers settled on idle land, many of these no longer live there. However, a number of the structures put up by these people still exist, and are in many cases being rented by current residents of Kivulu. This leaves us with three parties having interest in the same physical entity; the original owner of the land, the owner of the structure and the person living there. In addition one may find several ghost land owners; people claiming to own the land without legal right. This complexity puts every party in a vulnerable situation, with the tenants as the weakest one. If we add to this picture the fact that Kivulu is close to the city centre of Kampala, the issue of land gets even more precarious. The land price is high in Kampala, and as the city is growing the pressure on idle land in the fringes increases. Kivulu, being a slum and situated where it is, is then regarded prime land for real estate developers. As land owners realize this, they might consider their land not paying off equal to its real value and they wish to develop the land, for instance by putting up apartment houses. This in turn, leads to the current tenants





«She has no relation of any kind with the people living around her hostels – “I don’t know my neighbors and I don’t believe they know me”.

The people employed on the hostel are not from Kivulu. It was a decision Josephine made based on the experience she had with people she formerly employed from Kivulu. As they were from around, they couldn’t settle down working, there was always someone familiar passing by, and they would constantly interrupt their work to do personal things.

“People from inside are not serious. It’s better to have someone from the outside who doesn’t know anybody and she knows she comes here to work.»

Excerpt from the interview to Josephine, a girls Hostel Owner.

above: the first picture shows a recently built office buildings bordering Kivulu, facing Bombo road; the second picture shows a large open area used for garbage disposal; this site was cleared out after the owners evicted the former tenants and had their structures demolished.

having to move, willingly or forced.

As we walked around in Kivulu we saw several cases of this having happened; in the middle of the normally highly condensed settlement we would see large open spaces having been cleared with this in mind. During our stay, we also witnessed fences being put up around existing shacks with the intention to mark out the land owner’s property. The forces at play are strong, and a single shack dweller has not much to say when the land she is residing gets pulled away under her feet. Still, it is customary that the land owner gives notice about what she intends to do with her land. The trouble, however, comes when the notice is not passed on in due time. Also the land owner is meant to compensate accordingly to any development that has happened on her land before throwing people away, but these money will only reach the one who actually owns the structures, not necessarily the one currently residing there. Putting aside the mere fact that people loose their physical place to stay, the practice of eviction leads to a feeling of insecurity. People are not able to plan for the future, and making long term commitments or investments makes no sense.

We were puzzled by the passive attitude the Kampala City Centre showed towards these issues. In conversation with officials from the Local Government, it was said that they had no mandate to provide housing for people. Also our choice of study object for the field work was questioned as Kivulu in their opinion was going to disappear anyways. Our assertion that if the City government was not able to provide sufficient housing for poor people it would need places like Kivulu was met with little understanding.

UNCLEAR COMMUNITY

The problems discussed in the above were very evident and serious issues. Another challenge, and a more basic one we dare to add as this one is about human relations, is the issue of the unclear community we faced.

Even though the physical borders of Kivulu were well defined, this clarity was not found in any organizational structure in the community. To our questions on whether or not any kind of community organizations existed, the replies were in most cases negative. Other times it was pointed out that there had been attempts to establish such organizations, but due to poor leadership, they had failed.

To find out about the more formal organizational structures in Kivulu we

spoke to the LC I's. They claimed to normally arrange public meetings once every month, or as often as required. However, they were pointing out the fact that little people were attending these meetings. From the LC I Kivulu II we heard the following: "Even at elections few show up, and people think meetings are only politics. They don't believe real issues are being brought up."

Based on our conversations with the people we met, this statement got reflected. We got the general impression that the leaders had a weak presence in the community and that there would be little awareness of how the local leadership worked and how to present issues to it.

Even though we saw a relatively organized market with its own committee, our main impression was that most of the economical initiatives we saw coming from within Kivulu, which were many, were fragmented and unsynchronized. There was little cooperation and no overall motivation providing directions.

This would also apply for many of the initiatives we saw coming from the outside, such as the schools, the clinics and the churches. They were all working independently of each other and there were little cooperation with the community. Even though one can say that they provided valuable services, thus maybe fulfilling their intentions, they had not become an integrated part of the community. People felt no attachment or ownership for them. This tells both about the way these initiatives were carried out, and about how they were responded to by the people living in Kivulu.

What might be the reason for this impression we got of an unclear community? We would like to point out at least one important factor: in Kivulu we found a heterogeneous mix of people. Kampala is viewed as a place of opportunity. Kivulu, with its proximity to the city centre becomes a natural entry point to the city. Here people from all over Uganda, of different tribes, and of different religion will meet as neighbours. Some are newcomers; others have lived there for a long time. Such a mix of people does not necessarily have to lead to the issues listed above. However, when the differences overshadow the feeling of community, cooperation is not likely to happen.

Of course, one can discuss to what extent it is important for a community to have such a feeling of togetherness. Many of the inhabitants in Kivulu were there only temporarily; they were using Kivulu as a stepping stone to get from one place to another. In those cases, long term commitment to a place or a group of people might seem unnecessary.

Perhaps places like this are needed. Kivulu is in many ways the entrance



above: an apathetic population watches the fire without helping the owners of the neighbour structures to the burning one (fellow inhabitants of Kivulu); the second picture shows the same site in another circumstance.

right: picture taken during a fire in Kivulu. This man watches helplessly the fire consuming his bar. The population around watches it without organizing themselves for helping the owner of the burning structure.

point to Kampala for those with little money. After living there for some time, this giving access to the jobs found in Kampala, they might afford moving.

However, facing the way the Local Government was regarding Kivulu, and the way this government would be likely to intervene in this kind of context, a united, strong community would be highly desirable as this would lower their vulnerability and increase their possibility of influencing processes affecting their daily lives.







ACTING IN KIVULU



ACTING IN KIVULU

THE REALITY CLASH

We wanted to link people in Kivulu to people with similar realities (for instance with the insecure tenure) in order to give them the possibility to learn from someone that might have dealt successfully with the same challenges and problems. It was all about establishing a network of help. We had at an early stage in our stay been introduced to Slum Dwellers International (SDI), and this organization we saw as an interesting one for this purpose.

We wanted to present SDI to the LCs and other representative people from Kivulu. Therefore a meeting was arranged one Saturday morning. However, people invited weren't coming, and the one and only person on time was a lady that after getting a negative answer to her question regarding compensation, decided to leave saying:

"If I am getting no compensation, what am I doing here?!".

This reaction was to us a clear demonstration on the disbelief or scepticism in community meetings with the leaders involved.

The leaders themselves didn't show up. We questioned their commitment and if they at all were taking us seriously. Still, we started the meeting and after three hours they came, this making them the last ones to show up.

First we did a brief presentation on our understanding of Kivulu, both for people from Kivulu and SDI, then SDI presented their work and real achievements in other slums (the reason we went to them). We had a background role in the meeting, almost as moderators only making sure that everyone got a chance to speak. Both the LCs and SDI were very engaged in the conversation and the issues being discussed. The meeting had the outcome we wished: In the end the LCs committed themselves to mobilize the community and to create awareness about the importance and possibility of becoming a part of SDI. Butanaziba, an active member of the Federation expressed his contentment in the



above: meeting with representative people from Kivulu where Slum Dwellers international where presented; this was the first contact between this organization and Kivulu;

left: meeting with members of the savings scheme from Kivulu, presenting final project for the Community Center.



following words:

“We’ve broken the wall and gotten through!”

The LCs committed to start working with SDI in the following week. We were away on a break that week and assumed everything was well underway. The contact between SDI and Kivulu had been established, and now the link had to be consolidated. We thought we now would have an entry point to work in and with Kivulu.

Now we started thinking about proposals for possible interventions in Kivulu. The unanimous thought was that a meeting point was missing; a physical place to let the community’s activities take place. This would be a place to facilitate the mobilization and the participation of the community in every matter concerning them. Such a building would also be a symbolic structure that would represent Kivulu as a community. This symbolic dimension, together with the actual material object would be a force of change. It would be a place where people would get together and where bonds would be established around their shared identity. A community building would help ‘institutionalize’ and formalize the community and stand as a symbol of their aspirations and capacities.

Our relation with the LCs and other pro-active key-people from Kivulu was very formal. Our experiences with informal settings from the interviews made us invite them to meet with us in an informal context; a dinner where we would get to know them and get the opportunity to follow up on the SDI linkage. This approach revealed to be quite fruitful not only to our work, but also in the way that we made friends. However, some important information came forth, among it especially two points that would have direct consequence for our work:

First: To our surprise the SDI initiative had not been followed up by the LCs. Secondly, by coincidence, we found out that there was an ongoing initiative to build a community hall already. From LGDP-money, the project would get its funding to be implemented. Our enthusiasm with this rose as the LC from Kivulu I showed interest in having us involved in the process. We saw it as a big opportunity for us to contribute with our skills in architecture to design a building which at the same time would have a big social relevance and dimension.

But how far had this project gone?

By speaking with the LC III responsible for Kivulu we got the answer; the design was done already. We also learned more about the process and how the LGDP-money was supposed to work. When we overlaid this information to how the process actually had been carried out, there was no match. Not only wasn’t the community involved, or even informed; also a

above: a taxi , the most common means of transportation in Kampala, along with boda-bodas.

lot of the information was not properly passed on to the LC I's.

The decision for building a community hall came from the need for a physical structure to accommodate community meetings and LC offices. Still, the decision was made solely by the LC's and dealt with high in the hierarchy. Involvement of the community was apparently not a requirement. The decision had been taken to the Kampala Central Division, where plans and designs were made in order to apply for the LGD funding, which was granted, it all happening without the community's participation.

For our part, we realized that the process had gone too far, as the design already had been made. Our enthusiasm was down now.

After finding out how this process had been working, it became clear to us that we were dealing with a leadership both fragmented within and detached from the community. The information hadn't gone through to people, not even to the LC I's.

Implementing within this template will fail, mainly because the entire process is managed and monitored by the leaders alone. This means that the community's participation is not a part of it. Also when leaders are solely responsible for the projects, the processes risk getting politicized; to be used as a political flag of work being done. The purpose of the project is not only to serve the community's needs, but to be an evidence of a job well done.

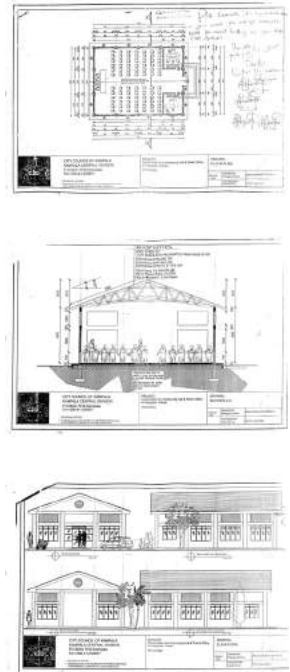
We felt frustrated with all the differing information we had gotten about the community center. We also felt we were being played with. Also we realized that our approach so far had been a mistake; we could not work in Kivulu only through the leaders.

The community's involvement is needed if the outcome of any implementation is to be sustainable in a case like Kivulu. Our assessment on the way things had been conducted so far was transmitted to the leaders, who agreed with us and promised to be more supportive. They even provided us with an entrance point in the process, if we could make a cheaper design they would be interested. We were excited again.

SHIFT OF FOCUS – THE COMMUNITY CENTRE AS A PROCESS

As we saw, resources are in fact available to Kivulu, and getting access to funding in order to improve the living conditions is possible. However, with the structure of governance we found, these resources fail to be used in a way that benefits the community properly.

The social aspect is not a part of the strategy.



above: plan, cross-section and elevations of the Community Centre designed by the Kampala Central Division for the Kagugube Parish.



above: meeting of Kivulu with the savings Scheme of Kisenyi in Kisenyi.

right: meeting of the Savings Scheme from Kivulu in front of Hassan's barbershop.

We have earlier in the report mentioned how the new drainage dikes had been implemented in Kivulu. The Community Centre process was so far similar, but here, in addition, also the design was inappropriate. The proposed building did not provide any form of multi function use or flexibility and would fail to fully utilize the potential such a structure has to benefit a community.

Considering the process up to this, the outcome would be the same as with the drains: no sense of ownership leading to no feeling of responsibility to take care of it. The sense of ownership and belonging happens over time. This is not something that will suddenly come, which this kind of processes set up to. It will instead lead to a division between "the leaders" who are meant to represent the community and struggle for their interests in the formal structures, and on the other side "the community" that will have to accept projects as "donations" and accept them as their own.

This process fails to explore the social factors that drive change.

The indication of success for this way of intervening will not be the impact it makes in a community. It will instead be measured by the built structure in itself, this standing as an image for "development", spread in poor settlements and the corridors of the government to benefit a political agenda.

There was no point for us to intervene under these preconditions. It would only be a part of the same approach that had failed, and even though we managed to give a more appropriate design, the potential to make a social contribution, to drive social change would not be utilized. After settling down, and putting our disappointments apart, this just proved to be an even bigger opportunity. We shifted our focus to the process of implementing. Our objective now became to reform the process interventions are made in Kivulu, and the community center would work as a trigger.

We started focusing on the whole process of physical interventions.

We needed a new process, and a catalytic action to trigger it and put it into practice and demonstrates the importance of it. This would work both ways: the design of a building as a trigger for a new process of implementation, and a new process as a mean to design and implement a building. How can there be cooperation and participation in the decision making? Why is the attendance to the community's meetings so low?

Aren't the leader's interests and the community's interests the same?

How to make the community active in this process? Since the community isn't at all conscious there is an ongoing project to build a community





above: Bob and Hassan, Chairpersons of the Savings's Scheme Committee.

center, the first thing we needed was to create awareness.

THE CREATION OF AN ENTRY POINT AND ACTOGETHER

A revision of our strategy was made with the advice of ACTogether. ACTogether is in a way the secretariat of Slum Dwellers International in Uganda and has lots of experience when it comes to working with communities.

Besides the review of our approach, the outcome was that ACTogether decided to start working in Kivulu.

Learning from ACTogether, a new understanding of how to approach the leaders was created. We would deal with them vertically and accept the hierarchy, since this was a thing very difficult to change. Instead we would keep them informed on the progress and work closely together with the community. From Medi, our initial contact in ACTogether we have the following quotation:

"When we work with communities, we don't go to the leaders, we mobilize the community and then we get them involved as a part of it. We don't bring politics to this process; we go straight to the poorest of the poor"

Their own approach is based on a saving scheme. This is the foundation and entry point for any work they do in a community. With that entry point created, also we would be able to use it to communicate our general assessment on the process of implementing to the community, and present our findings around the community centre.

We would come to the members of the savings scheme to present it, but it would be taken further only on their initiative.

Our role was now that of a facilitator. Even though we knew where we wanted end up, we were unsure of the path we were moving on. We were making things possible by smoothening the course of actions; we were able to give the first push that puts things in motion. Though we would realize that the motion we wanted things to have, perhaps was a different one from what it sometimes would get. Associate Professor Hans Skotte early in our work said:

"You need to find out what makes this community tick!"

Whether or not we managed this will stand undisputed, but we can ascertain that it was ticking with its own, highly particular pace. Communities have their own dynamics, and time is one of them.

In order to inspire people from Kivulu to actually start a savings group of their own, an exchange to Kisenyi, another slum in Kampala where SDI

is well established, was planned for. SDI has a principle that people learn best from each other, so when one savings group has conducted a successful project, has re-planned a settlement, or has built new houses SDI enables other groups to come and learn from these achievements. In this way a network of learning gets built.

In order to conduct this trip a group of people from Kivulu that had proved to be pro-active and shown interest at the first SDI-meeting were mobilized. We facilitated the transportation to Kisenyi. There, they were received very well at and got all the necessary attention to clear out any doubts or questions.

Through the exchange, the group from Kivulu gained access to the knowledge generated as a collective asset of the network of SDI groups. The representatives from Kivulu got to experience the dynamics of the group in Kisenyi, and through their similar backgrounds they achieved good contact and made bonds.

After the meeting we had lunch together. It was unanimous that the savings scheme could have an impact on alleviating poverty. All the necessary arrangements would be done to start it in Kivulu. Once again: it is not about bringing a project, it is about bringing a process and with time, the capacity to manage and act is built up. This process had started.

In parallel we were working on the community center. Information was collected and we got to know more about a possible building material, a so called Interlocking Stabilized Soil Brick (ISSB). We also established a linkage with the people at Makerere University that had participated in the development of these bricks. For them this project was interesting as the community center could be used as a demonstration project of the technology. Also we maintained the contact with Central Division in order to be able to utilize the entry point they had provided us with.

The next step was to arrange a meeting in Kivulu with representatives from SDI where the savings scheme would be properly presented.

THE SAVINGS SCHEME AND STEPPING OFF

It might be in place to explain a bit more about the how the savings scheme works:

Daily, the collectors walk door-to-door to collect from the members. After this they will go to the treasurer to deposit the money. Both the saver, the collector and the treasurer has their own books and all information will be double checked as the saver signs in the collector's book, vice-versa, and so on.



"All Federations in the SDI network are collectives of slumdweller-ers whose central activity is the operation of savings and credit schemes. As the basic unit of collective action, each savings and credit scheme is comprised of slumdweller-ers living on the same street. Leaders walk door-to-door gathering small change from neighbors, and conducting daily community needs assessments. The entire process is designed to maximize the contact that people have with each other, enabling strong bonds to form around their shared identity as poor people. When people interact with each other every day - whether it be over savings and loans or the threat of eviction - their sense of being a community intensifies." Excerpt from the text about Savings from SDI available in the appendix.

above: during the 'massive mobilization', the first day of the savings scheme in Kivulu.



above: Hassan collecting savings for the common fund; in the end of the day he was chosen as person in charge of keeping the money, revealing how trustworthy he is among the inhabitants of Kivulu.
right: singing during the day of the 'massive mobilization', the beginning of the savings scheme in Kivulu.

From Medi from ACTogether we hear the following:

"The entire process is designed to maximize the contact that people have with each other, enabling strong bonds to form around their shared identity as poor people. When people interact with each other every day - whether it be over savings and loans or the threat of eviction - their sense of being a community intensifies."

"The savings scheme is not about collecting money, is about gathering people."

"The speed of getting a house gets reduced when one joins the savings scheme."

The savings scheme is important because poor people are excluded of the formal financial market - by itself the cost to open a new bank account is unaffordable, and the interests even more. Also, there is no possibility of meeting the demands for collateral. Through the savings scheme the members can have access to loans with affordable interests. Through this scheme, the community gets mobilized and is able to start to organize itself, together with the creation of a network of relationships and information sharing.

Now it is possible for the members to both deal with a crisis, and to invest in their own income generating activity.

In the description of the Savings Scheme (available in the appendix), in the SDI's website one can read: "From a developmental perspective, however, the basic equity inherent in savings is the cohesion, understanding, trust and confidence generated. The trust built thorough savings is not only essential to the formation of a strong and active Federation, but also critical to take pro-poor development initiatives to scale." What does this mean on the ground? It all began with a "massive mobilization". A big number of so called "mobilizers", members of SDI from other settlements that already know how to do it came to Kivulu. Together with the more recent members from Kivulu, they went around Kivulu in order to create aware-ness about the savings scheme, get new members and elect collectors and treasurers.

The result of this day was incredible: All the savings books were distributed till there was more left (400 copies). It overwhelmed everyone. Butanaziba, a strongly active member of SDI expressed his excitement by the following words:

"We have broken through! The background... we have smashed it!"

Among the community, an interim committee was formed that would administrate the work until one could be elected.

We went to Kivulu in the end of the day, and the emotions where visible.





As the collected money was being held by Hassan, the secretary of the Market Committee, we went to hear his reactions:

"Through the savings scheme I believe we are getting the people together! People were fed up with trust. When we are together we are strong and solid enough, and we can fight for our land. Togetherness is what? Power!"

Now the mobilized group inside the community was starting to grow, and it was time to introduce the issue of the community center.

OUR ROLE AND A DRUM

We felt things should have its natural motion. As we were leaving soon, having us affecting the process too much would be unfortunate. We wanted to make sure that there was no dependency on us.

However, our involvement could make the communication between Kivulu and SDI reliant on us. We saw examples of members of the coming to us to discuss the way forward instead of going straight to ACTogether or SDI. At the end of the day, we were outsiders to Kivulu. By now it was time for us to start stepping off. We did it slowly.

As explained, we tried not to come with a project, but with a process that we supported by facilitating and trying to keep people involved. We saw that as the awareness of what was going on increased in the community, the level of engagement also rose.

It all had a symbolic meaning. For instance, when speaking with one of the LC1's about ways to mobilize people, he mentioned that some time ago, the way to do it was by using drums, and people would naturally come. We asked:

"If we give you a drum, will you use it?"

He answered: "Of course!"

So we gave him a drum. It ended up in a friendly discussion between him and Hassan from the Market committee, who both wanted to use it. As Hassan said: "I am the mobilizer", the LC fought back saying "I am the LC, I decide! You are the drummer! I am the mobilizer"

With the drum, we introduced a simple means of making announcements, which also happened to be a part of their common cultural heritage leading to a high degree of recognition, which could be fully utilized by the community alone.

By facilitating (the drum) we were giving means to act (mobilize). This shows that by preparing and organizing people, they are enabled to do things by themselves. We showed them a possibility, and this symbolic

above: after mobilizing people with the drum, people gathered to this meeting, where Badru, LC1 from Kivulu I, expressed his support to having Kivulu joining SDI.

right: Badru and Hassan, after 'discussing' who was the drummer and who would be the mobilizer.





dimension, together with the drum as a physical object, was a force of change.

In relation to this it is also appropriate to mention that we at an early stage in our work had been informed that we would be provided with some money from UN-HABITAT. The money we could use for any intervention we deemed worthy. This information led to two things; our work got a higher degree of reality, which in turn led to an increased feeling of responsibility. Still, we saw that the money also could have negative effects as it could lead to dependency on us. We therefore decided to use it only if an appropriate occasion would arise.

Process would still need some form of support, and as we were stepping off, what we had been doing so far now had to be done by someone else. With the involvement of ACTogether, this could happen – they slowly took over our role.

More importantly; the savings scheme in Kivulu had its autonomy. The main task was now to build the self confidence of people, to create awareness of what they actually did themselves.

INTRODUCTION OF THE COMMUNITY CENTER TO THE SAVING SCHEME

The community center had already been spoken about in the savings scheme meetings. Later, we would also use the apparatus of mobilizing people created through the savings scheme as a tool to gather people to speak solely about the community centre. Our goal was to raise public awareness about the already ongoing project and how it had been handled. The design made by Kampala Central Division was shown and explained to the community by us. Also, we gave our assessment both on how the process had been handled by the leadership and on the quality of the design. Furthermore, we stressed the need of a new process, and a new design.

As people now were aware of the facts on how the process had been put into practice and the results of it, they became interested in being a part of it.

A committee for the community center was then formed very naturally. The discussion now started to centre on how to build the new process and what roles the different parties should have in it. We, as architecture students, would try to make a new design in a way that would make it responsive to local wishes and needs. We would also link the committee up to whoever we considered being strategically important. By assisting

above: sketching and designing a new community centre, based on our understanding of how it should be integrating the ideas from the people to whom it is to be built.

in creating such a network, we were building the capacity of the community to manage the process themselves.

This building committee would be the advocate for the project. Also it was made responsible for all the preliminary work, like the creation of a labor association, as this building hopefully will have a community based construction.

Along the process and construction, they will have the role of managers and supervisors, as they will be in charge of the money. It is therefore important to create awareness among the community about how this process is being conducted, as the community has ownership, they will not allow mismanagement. Through being supported by ACTogether, they will also have the possibility of exchange to other slums community building projects has happened successfully.

From the SDI website we can read the following:

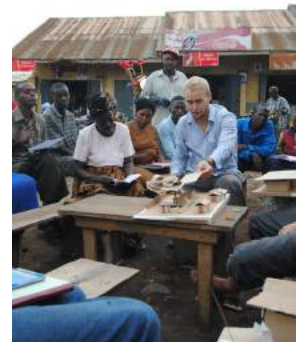
“Even the most participatory approaches generally seek to ensure the acquiescence of the group to the ideas suggested by the “experts.” As a result, communities are unable to advance their own strategies to address their own problems, and very often professionals provide solutions that are just too expensive and inappropriate to the needs on the ground.”

Being slum dwellers, the people in Kivulu have always been their own planners and architects. As our intervention came to be architectural, this triggered reflections and different opinions about the social role of the architect.

How should the actual design process be conducted? How far should the community participation go? To what extent could we actually design a building together with the community? We had seen that the ability a community has to sustain a project by itself is largely influenced by their level of participation in the decision making process. Still, we had some specific skills in this field which people in Kivulu did not have.

Our approach then became to make people aware of the possibilities they actually had in this situation. We would have to stand for the actual design, but it would be based on the community's direct input. The way we made this happen was by arranging workshops and brainstorming sessions.

So, on one side we were discussing the technical requirements of the building, on the other we had the community coming up with ideas in a model building workshop. These ideas were integrated as far as we saw it possible and practical, and then brought back to the community for revision.



above: pictures taken during the Model Workshop; the outcome was a greater interest and enthusiasm with the whole process of the community centre.



As mentioned, people in Kivulu have never needed architects to put up their structures. This was more about laying the foundation for a new process of intervention, and this new process would need architecture as a strategic means in order to happen. At the same time, this new process would end up with a piece of architecture.

THE DESIGN AND THE ISSB

In this part a description on the actual design we ended up with will be given.

The project was based on four principles:

- Climatic comfort;
- Low cost construction;
- Flexibility;
- Disclosure of the ISSB technology among the community.

Two rooms, the multi-purpose room and an archive/meeting room, are arranged along a platform separated by covered outdoor areas that can be used as an expansion of the big room or for play and other activities. All the spaces were designed to be multi-purpose and to have the maximum flex-ibility/capacity of usage.

The roof is overhanging, shading the facades, and it is detached from the ceiling, on a truss made of steel bars, allowing cooling air to flow freely between assuring climatic comfort by moderating the inside temperature. For the same reason windows are placed in opposite walls, allowing cross-section ventilation. The detachment of the roof is also for acoustic comfort - i.e. if it is raining, the noise has to go through the ceiling.

The roof's technical solution was dictated by the flexibility principle - the building has the capacity to grow. This roof can be disassembled, a new storey can be built, and it can be re-assembled afterwards without wasting building material.

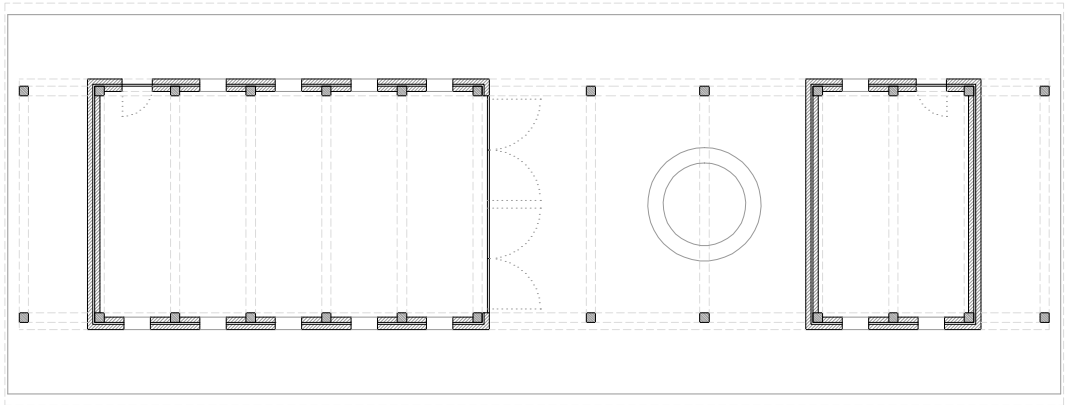
Columns and beams shape the building's structure so there are no load-bearing walls. The ISSB fill up the space between the columns. The beams have a small overhang over the exterior brick wall, to be able to bear new ISSB walls over it.

The roof is built by placing ISSB's over the mesh spanning between the beams. These bricks can be used afterwards to build new walls in case a new storey is built.

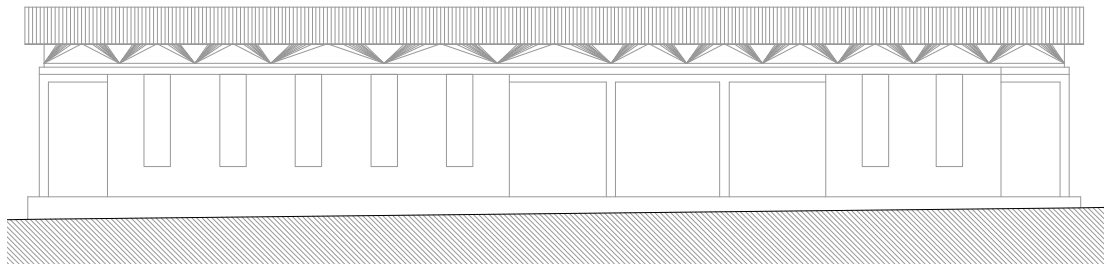
The Interlocking Stabilized Soil Brick is an affordable technology that still meets rigorous building standards. This technology allowed us to lower

above: pictures from the site for the Community Centre; views from the model.

right: plan and south elevation of the Community Centre, scale 1/200



Plan - scale 1/200



South elevation - scale 1/200





right: a model used for the final presentation of the Community Center to Kivulu.

the cost of the construction – it allows builders to save concrete, which is very expensive. The machine to make the bricks is manually operated and easy to use.

This technique contributes to local development as it creates livelihoods opportunities, that is learning new skills. In relation to this it proves to be capable of stimulating sustainable physical development/improvements in a settlement, an aspect of importance for us.

This community centre also stands for a construction of ISSB demonstration building as a resource center. With the machine available, general awareness of the ISSB technology benefits people as the skills learned will be applied in future initiatives, in Kivulu or elsewhere.

Hopefully the authorities will recognize the project's worth: they have to allow that all the people involved in the project management are inhabitants from Kivulu – this way to intervene is a way to change the organizational culture and capacities.





SECURING IMPLEMENTATION AND A DESCRIPTION ON THE STATUS NOW

ACTogether will continue their cooperation with the saving scheme groups. Also an enumeration is planned to take place in the near future. This is a process where the community will be gone through by a team, consisting both of people from the community and external SDI-members, mapping property limits, conveying household surveys and informing about the Federation's work and the saving scheme. The result of this will be data on both the physical and social conditions in the community, as well as a community properly informed and, to use the Federation's own words, mobilized. The latest information we have on the enumeration is that people from Makerere University will participate with competence in GIS. In this way the community mapping will be accurate enough to give proper documentation on property boundaries, which in turn can be used in order to give people in Kivulu an address. The idea of having the community conducting this work themselves is that they then will have access to information about themselves and their own conditions, leaving them better suited to actually plan for their own future. Properly informed, they will also stand as a stronger part in negotiations with for instance the Local Government.

We considered it being an appropriate thing to provide some incentives to make the community centre project going. We established a network between the contact at Makerere University, who had experience with the ISS-bricks, ACTogether, who knew how to work in communities and also had experience in community participation in building and the building committee in Kivulu. In addition we decided to use of the money from UN-HABITAT to finance an ISS-brick making machine for ACTogether. This money is now in the process of being transferred. With this machine they would not only be able to use in Kivulu but also in other communities and on other building projects.

To our big satisfaction, one of the local students who had been a part of our group in Kampala got an internship at ACTogether. Besides the con-

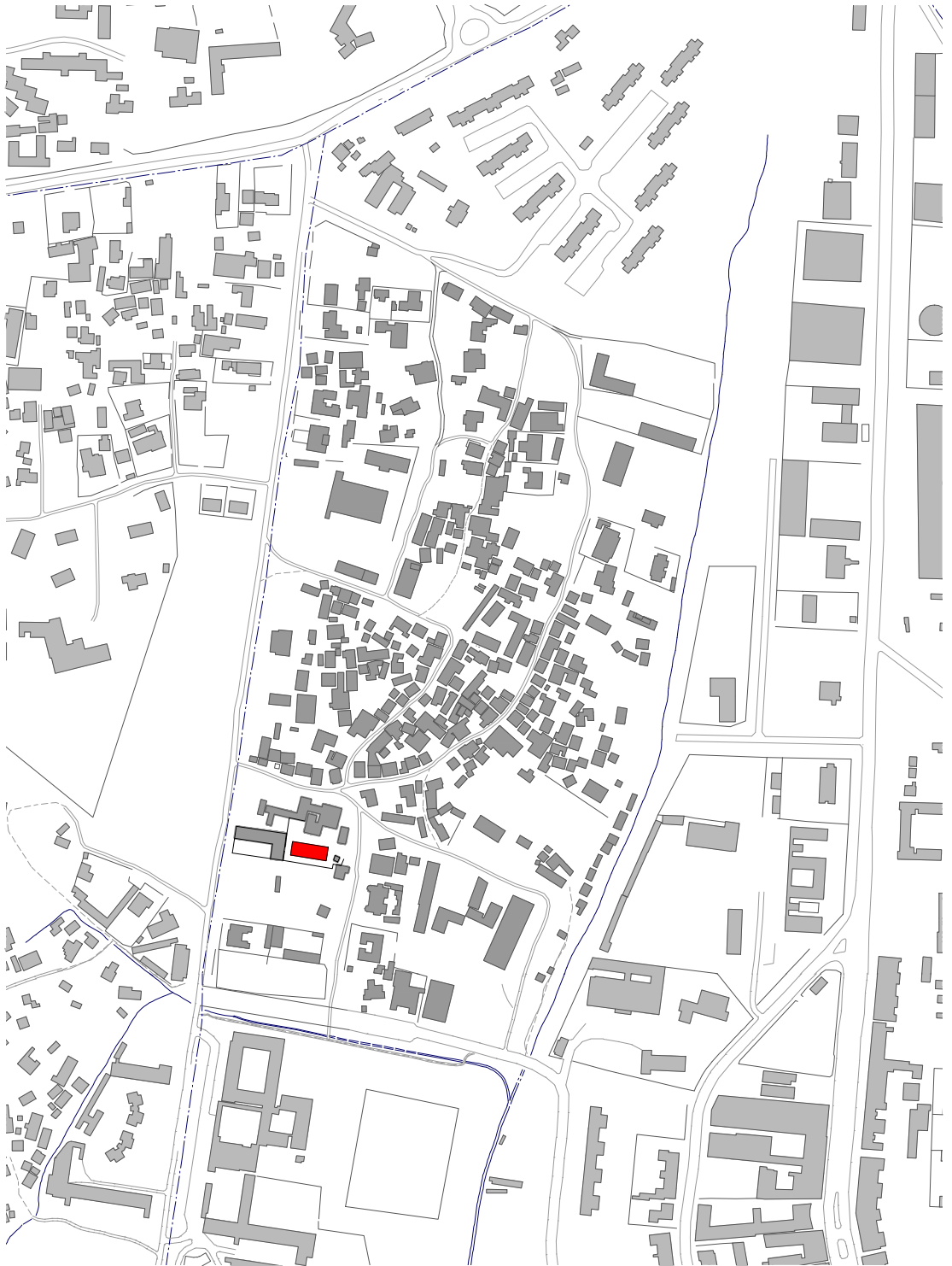


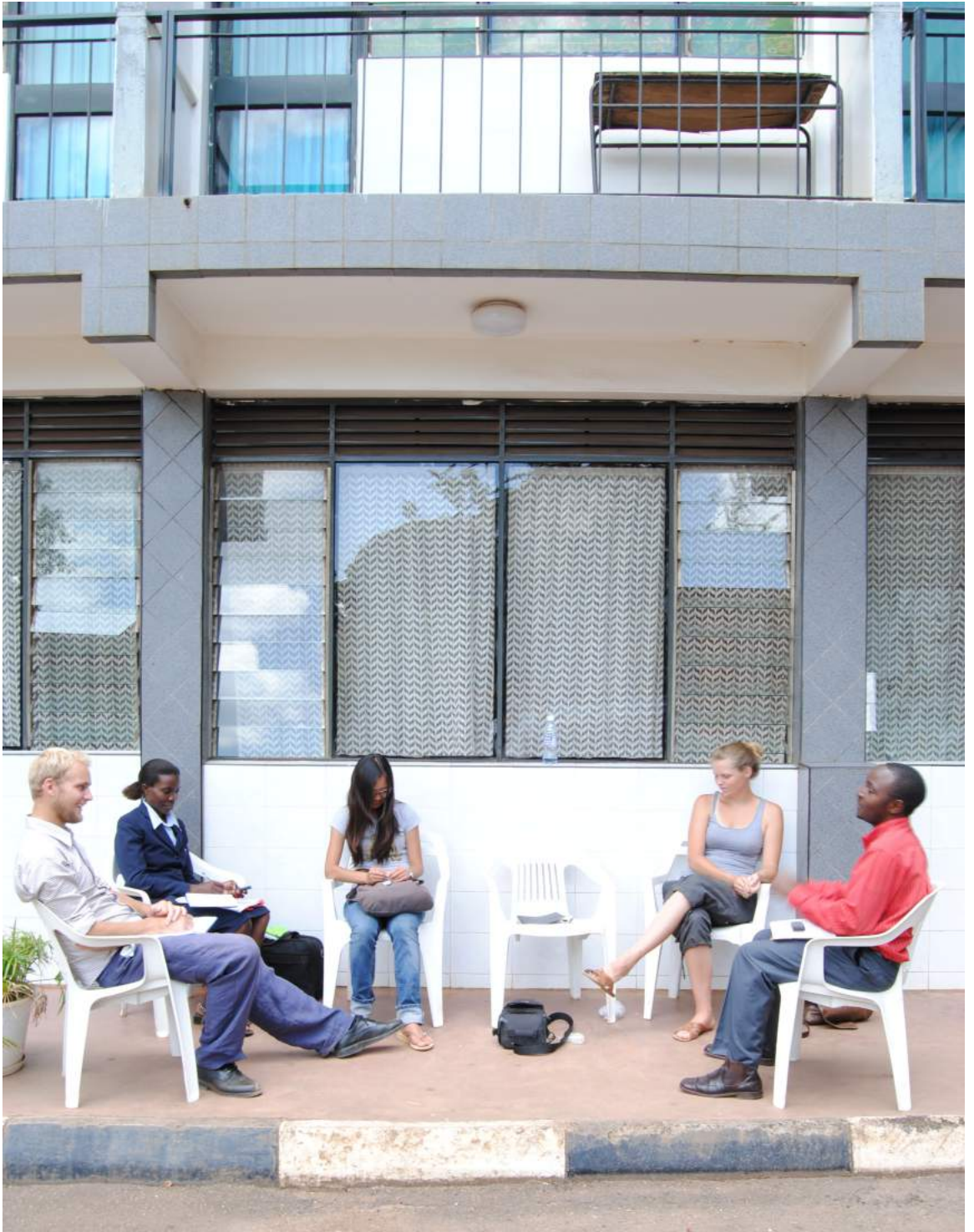
above: Frederick Mugisa, now working in ACTogether.

left: a member of the construction committee for the Community Center holds the model after the final presentations.

right: plan from Kivulu updated using Google Earth and direct observation; dimensions are not precise, this is an approximation to reality.

tacts already established within ACTogether, we now have a person with very good knowledge of Kivulu in a key position able to follow it up. Before we left, plans were made together with the building committee and people from ACTogether to take the initiative for a meeting with Kampala Central Division about the community centre. This meeting happening, and having it happening under the initiative from the community, we consider important: As said, the community centre process was already ongoing, so making Central Division acknowledge the new process that has started in Kivulu will be paramount for changing the course. Besides having this instrumental function, the meeting will hopefully also open up a dialogue between Central Division and Kivulu that can continue. Letting the meeting happen under the initiative from the building committee in Kivulu we deem important as it adds credibility to the new process.





REFLECTIONS

Reviewing our experience in Kivulu from the two months of fieldwork, we now try to express some of the thoughts we got there and some of the thoughts we get looking back. This part is not meant to be conclusive, or to point out a way forward.

Our stay in Kampala and the work in Kivulu challenged us in ways different from any other academic experience we have had. It triggered reflections on the social role of architecture that we had not made before.

Our first contact with Kivulu seems very far away. We experienced an intense atmosphere that made us feel things in a different way; it was a completely new context.

In the beginning we had a feeling that people were expecting something from us. Paired with our prejudices about “the poor” as someone incapable of addressing their own problems, we might have felt the weight of a burden. We might have felt that we should help.

As we soon would get more directly involved with people, we believe we overcame this way to comprehend things in good time. Instead we became conscious on creating real relations with the people we saw around us; they were not “slum dwellers”, they were people to talk to. This understanding would dictate the way we would act.

New architecture is heavily advertised and promoted, and normally it carries the symbolic dimension of high performance, refinement in style, technical achievements or the quality of spaces created. In Uganda we got to know a dimension which tends to be put apart: the social function.

Associate professor Hans Skotte says:

“Housing affect our perceptions of ourselves”.

We feel this expression somehow underlines the point we are trying to make throughout the report: in the case the community center in Kivulu, it is about making a building that can, mainly through the process of making it, change the way people look at themselves.

As we were participators in this, our attitudes were no longer abstract



left: from left to right, Styrkaar Hus-tveit, Luck Nakasero (from Makerere University), Sicong Liu, André Almeida (empty chair, taking the photo), Guro Vengen and Frederick Mugisa (from Makerere University).

ideas. They had to relate to real things and real people. We were a part of this reality found in Kivulu, a reality we had considered something outside of ourselves so far in our academic route. In practice this meant that our actions had consequences to people. This is a very different way of learning from what we have been used to, where we have been acting in a protected environment.

Our focus was now, for the first time in our work, on what our actions would implicate.

Architecture carries this dimension, the creation and formalization of scopes where society sets, and we feel we have been a part of that through this process.

We can say that reality was our teacher. Normally, in academic architectural design courses, our ultimate judge is the teacher and our work, the design, evolve affected by that fact. In Kivulu, the people involved and the consequences of our actions were the ultimate judges. Actions happen in real time. There is no chance to foresee and little time to review. As one incident is over, half or fully, another one takes over, this one being a reaction or something completely aside of the prior. Getting a complete picture, to fully assess possibilities and consequences, is impossible. In the latter case the actions one takes will to a large degree be based only on what feels right there and then.

We tried to explain the challenges we faced and how we did or didn't overcome them. The value of these experiences is high.

Hans Skotte, once again, says: "Learning changes our behavior, because it changes our perceptions."

It feels strange to make our work so far fit an academic format, and to be evaluated on it. Reality should be the judge on itself.

What we are trying to say is that we feel we have participated in the process of doing something in Kivulu, and that the people affected by our actions will be the ultimate judges, as it is in this reality we live in.

above: model of our proposal to the community centre.

right: from the left to the right: André Almeida, Sicong Liu, Styrkaar Hustveit and Guro Vengen.



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APPENDIX

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS:

These are the guidelines we made before going to the field for interviews the first day.

1. Where are you coming from? When and for how long have you been here?
2. How many people came with you? How many of those are children?
3. Are the children going to school? Why (not)? School supplies?
4. Why have you chosen Kivulu? How have you entered the community (if so)?
5. Explore the social networks.
6. What do you do for living? What's your primary source of income?
7. How does your income cover your needs? Savings?
8. Who is the main provider in your family? (the gender issue)
9. Problems? How do you survive to these problems? How do you overcome them?

RESOURCES

1. How do you relate with the rest of the city? Who comes here?
2. What do you think the drain channel is for? What do you use it for?
3. Ownership – do you own your property?
4. What are your perspectives for the future?
5. Would you like to stay in Kivulu?
6. What would you like to see done in Kivulu?
7. How do you relate to your neighbors?
8. How do you arrange yourselves with others? (Social Networks)
9. How are you engaged?

We would also ask questions related to their:

LIVELIHOODS

SOCIAL NETWORKS

ENGAGEMENTS

Name: Margaret

Occupation: Sells water, herbal medicine, tailoress

Margaret came to Kivulu nine years ago together with, and because of, her husband. She had a sister living here. She rents the house she lives in. When her husband died Margaret decided to stay because her business is providing for her children's education. She has 4 children, and also other dependants. When her children become old enough to make their own living, she says that she would like to go back to her village, grow some crops and look after some animals. She thinks that life is easier in the village than in Kampala. She used to be a tailor, with training from a tailoring school. Apart from that she has no formal education. Currently she is a water vendor, she bought a tap for selling water. 20 litres of water costs 100 Uganda shillings. She also has a bathroom for public use, where the fee is 300 shillings. However, the number of clients is always fluctuating - when it rains, people collect rain water, schools now have free water supply – so when the market goes down, like in the holidays, she relies on some herbal medicine she makes herself for earning an income. When asked about ambitions for her business, she would like to improve it by buying a fridge/freezer, so that she could sell fresh water and some other goods from her home – she would have to pay a small fee to the city council for this activity. She 80 would also like to open a laundry, but because of high blood pressure, she can't do physically demanding things such as washing

clothes. She has seen some changes during the time she has been here. The biggest are new constructions, toilets and bathroom, and improvement of the water supply system – there are many new taps. What Kivulu is in need of is more health centres, she says. On the community leaders' influence on the area she cannot say that they do much to improve conditions within the settlement. She is a tenant on land that was recently bought by an upcoming Pentecostal church from her former land lord, and she is therefore in danger of possible eviction. When asked if she has got a plan in case of eviction, she responds that "yes, of course!". She says she has the possibility to get into a business elsewhere in the city, and will therefore move from Kivulu in case of eviction. About social relation, she does not any have any family in this neighbourhood, The relationship to other people in Kivulu is basically that of business. She says that friends makes clients, but at the same time she don't see her clients as friends, they are just all Kivulu inhabitants.

Name: Joseph

Position: LC II in Kivulu II

The boundaries between the three sub-communities in Kivulu were established for security reasons. It is easier for these to take care of themselves when being smaller. The security problems arose after the war i 1986. However, separating Kivulu I and Kivulu II from each other gets more and more difficult with the demolition. Today, the roads functions as boundaries.

The LCs communicate with the people through monthly committee meetings, but very few attends. They claim that they are occupied elsewhere, but often, these are excuses. People feel that there are only political issues that are being discussed, and nothing that has anything to do with their everyday life. He says that the chairman doesn't bring up issues from the people, so that there are some objects that are not addressed. When so few attend to these meetings, Joseph says he gets the feeling that there are no problems within the community being so serious that they should be taken any further. The typical topics of such meetings are firstly the sanitation system, and then security and defence. Also the question of making a living, how to survive. The LCs from the two other sub-communities attend to these meetings to ensure communication between the three.

As for the market issue, he says that it is a long bureaucratic process to get permission to operate in the market, and that it is expensive too. The market is also too small to accommodate all the businesses outside the market. These people pay a fee to the city council.

A common problem for the entire Kivulu settlement is forced eviction. Often, the land owners sell their land to richer people who demolishes the structures. As Joseph sees it, the only thing people can do about this is to try to talk to the new owner and hope to be given some time before the demolition. Some might get some compensation when such things happen, but it is not mandatory to do so. He also mentions that when the demolition has happened, it often takes a very long time before new structures are constructed, but he has no explanation of this.

Name: Margaret

Occupation: Bead maker

Margaret has been living in Kivulu for around thirty years. She initially meant to use Kivulu as a steppingstone towards another place, but she ended up staying here. When she came she brought here family with her, and now she lives with her grandsons. In the beginning it was easy to get cheap accom-modation. That is different now, she says, as the area is quite full and houses are getting demolished. This happens in order to get space to put up more modern structures, which she believes is a good thing as it promotes development. Even if she never will be able to live in them, as she says, she is positive because the next generation will benefit from these houses. She works as a bead and necklace maker. An NGO, she doesn't remember what it was called, once came and taught her the technique. They are now around eight or nine bead makers in Kivulu. When the necklaces are made, Margaret brings them to a pick up point in the

neighborhood. Someone else then comes to collect them and bring them to different shops and markets in Kampala and elsewhere. Margaret is positive. Among the things she like in Kivulu is the churches, the schools and the police station, which provides safety. But most of all she values her freedom of movement. Within the settlement she can do as she pleases and walk wherever she wants. If she could change anything, she would have wanted a better health centre than the ones she already can find in Kivulu.

Name: Dorothy

Occupation: Street vender

Dorothy came to Kivulu with her parents fifteen years ago. She is now a mother herself. During daytime she works in the taxi park in Kampala selling sodas and other things for to people passing by.

We talk a bit about how she views living in Kivulu, what sees as the positive sides and as the negative ones. She quickly mentions that she doesn't want her children to grow up there. The reasons for this are, among others, bad peer influence and drug abuse. Also she says that it can be difficult to pay for the school fee.

In spite of these problems, she has no intention leaving Kivulu yet. The main reason for staying is cheap housing and the proximity to her work. She also adds other qualities: due to the location Kivulu has in a hillside it is a good place when it comes to drainage. The slope makes water run away quickly and the ground dries, which makes a poor environment for diseases to develop.

I ask her about the open spaces I find around in the settlement, and say that I find this a bit odd as it is so condensed everywhere else in the settlement. She says that this comes from rich people buying land and clearing it in order to put up apartment houses. She continues that this is a good thing as it.

contributes to development. Also she believes that these apartment houses will be good buildings, but probably very different to live in compared to where she now lives. However, as things are now, it would be difficult for her to get a flat there as she has to look for housing based on her income, she adds.

I'm interested to find out if there is any community collaboration or organizations active in the area. She says that there have been attempts, but they have all failed. As an example she mentions one case from last year: They tried to unite people in order to raise some funds in some sort of a saving scheme. The organization soon collapsed due to poor management. However, she still has a belief that if people unite they could be able to bring about change. But in order to do that they would need a trustworthy management in which she doubts anyone in Kivulu is capable of.

Name: Joseph Simbwa

Occupation: Winsor Consultant LTD Development Consultants

We talk to Joseph Simbwa. He is working for Winsor Consult LTD (from now on: WC), which is the company responsible for implementation of the Kagugube Water Supply and Sanitation Project. In short this is the new latrines and water points we see coming up in Kivulu. WC has been hired by National Water and Sewerage Cooperation (from now on: NWSC) and the project gets its funding from Africa Development Bank.

Joseph tells us the story of how the whole project started: NWSC initially conducted a survey where a number of slums were evaluated and given priority based on which state the water and sewerage systems were in. Kagugube Parish, and therefore Kivulu, was among the ones given high priority. From this point WC was engaged and given responsibility for taking the project further. They have been working in Kivulu from 2008 to present date.

They approached Kivulu by first handing out questionnaires about water and sanitation conditions. Based on this, the needs in the community were mapped and an appropriate way of intervention was chosen.

In Kivulu the main problem proved to be lack of toilets and water points. Joseph says that to solve this, they have decided upon three

different, but already known, latrine designs and one new design for water points. The different latrine types are 1) water toilets connected to the sewer, 2) ventilated pit latrines and 3) ecological sanitation, also called ecosan. The latter two both require emptying, the pit latrine also needs that the waste is taken to a sanitation facility. The ecosan latrines, however, separate the urine from the faeces, which in turn can be used as fertilizer.

As response on our question on how the latrines are going to be emptied, Joseph answers that the community has been trained to do this job. There has also been appointed a committee, Kagugube Water and Sanitation Steering Committee, which will oversee the facilities.

Even though it has been difficult to get people to sit in this committee, the biggest challenge in the project has been the issue of land, Joseph states. And this issue had to be addressed before any other, he continues. If a lot of money had to be used on buying land, the number of latrines would be fewer. Instead they decided upon asking the different landowners to voluntarily give away small plots of land. In doing this, the first challenge was actually finding the landowners. After avoiding several so called ghost landowners, they finally came up with the real ones.

The next problem, Joseph says, was to get them to freely give away parts of their land. The following arguments were used in order to do this:

First, a landlord is by law committed to provide sanitation to his tenants.

Secondly, the landlords who happen to live on their land will also benefit directly from the new facilities. Also, after 20 years both land and structure will go back to the landlord's ownership. And lastly, the value of the property increases according to the improvements being made. Here Joseph agrees that this could lead to higher rents, something he already is seeing.

However, Joseph's biggest concern with the project is that Kivulu, as he states, is a transitional community. This will be a problem in the way that new inhabitants need education in how to use and maintain the latrines, which he fears will be difficult.

As earlier mentioned, the project also deals with putting up more water posts. Joseph claims that many communities struggle to pay the water bills. Therefore they have chosen to implement a system which makes the users pay for the water before they get it. All users get a chip which they can fill up with money on a loading point. When the chip is inserted in the water meter, water equivalent to the pre paid amount comes out of the tap. One person within the proximity of each water post will be responsible for running the loading point and this person will get 10% provision of the water sale as salary for the job he or she does. The water and sanitation project is close to completion. By October 2009 it will be fully operational, Joseph says. He, along with WC, will then pull out and move to the next slum on their priority list.

Name: Moses

Occupation: Samosa maker

We talk to Moses, a samosa maker. He has been living in Kivulu since around 1995. Now he lives together with his sister Agnes, and they share a room of about 10 square meters close to Moses' workshop. Agnes is also present during the interview.

Moses originally comes from a village close to Mbale, situated in the eastern part of Uganda. He came to Kivulu to join his relatives, who already were running a business there. Prior to this he had left school without completing some courses, and for him he did not see any other possibility than to try to get a job. When he first came to Kivulu the place was in much worse condition than it is now, he explains. There were no schools, no market and no clinic. Today they have all this, plus several churches. Also there has been improvement on the accessibility of water as there used to be springs while they now have taps.

I ask him what he thinks of the new latrines and water posts we see coming up in Kivulu, but he says that he can not comment upon them as they are not in common use yet.

As many things have changed to the better, some things have also gotten worse. Among these are the levels of the rent. There used to be cheap houses in Kivulu, but now people even have to compete with students trying to find cheap accommodation, Moses explains.

Another challenge he meets as a samosa maker and vender is the issue of sales license. This is an expensive document and if one does not have it, one can get in trouble with Kampala City Council.

When we first met Moses a few days earlier he was busy working. Around him sat about ten people also involved in the different parts of the process of making samosas. Some were frying, some were preparing dough while others were wrapping the dough around peas or other vegetables.

During our conversation his sister Agnes gives away that it is actually Moses who is employing all these men. Moses modestly agrees that this is true, and continues that most of them are friends or relatives. But he adds that he will employ anyone who needs it as long as he has a job to offer.

Still, lack of employees is not the main challenge his business is facing just now. One of the aluminum saucepans has gotten a big hole, and repairs are expensive. He asks if we in any way could be able to offer any assistance in this.

Name: Hassan Kulubya

Occupation: Salon owner, secretary of the markets committee

History of the market in Kivulu:

Earlier, the market buildings were made of papyrus, they were temporary structures. The market committee applied for funding from the World Bank. World Bank refused because the market didn't have enough income, so they went to the city council for a loan. The city council agreed to give a loan. (?)

The market was constructed between 1996 and 1997. The plan was to build four rectangular structures making a big courtyard. They didn't manage to complete the entire plan, there is one structure missing.

The loan from the city council was initially to be paid by tenants, but by this they didn't get enough money to cover the costs. The only way to collect the money was to sell each lock-up to private persons. Doing this, they were able to pay down the entire loan.

The next problem appeared with the lack of electricity. This stopped people to invest in the market, because without electricity it was considered an insecure investment. The market was going down. To get such services, they had to ask for consent of the land owners. Some refused, they saw it as a unnecessary expense in an area threatened by evictions, but these land owners ended up having no tenants for two years. In the end, everybody agreed to giving the market electricity. In 2001 they got power in the market.

"Electricity is what? Manoeuvring positively businesses."

2004 they had an idea of putting up a new structure, fulfilling the original plan, but with a different building type. They tried a lease system, dividing up the structures in smaller parts.

2007: Toilet problem. Next to the market there is a toilet constructed by the NGO Papska. The community is using the toilet, but wanted the market to be responsible to the maintenance of the toilet (emptying). They solved this problems by employing a person sitting at the toilet charging people money for using it.

2008-2009(?): The owner of the land where the toilet was built, claimed demand for the land, and tried to compensate by putting up another toilet much more far from the market. (...) There were some people living in poor-condition houses on the market land. The market committee paid them out, demolished the houses and put up toilets.

What makes the market stand now is the food business, but the raw material business is lowering their income because of the competition from the outside sellers. The people selling from outside the market doesn't have to pay rent, electricity etc., and can therefore offer their goods to lower prices. The market committee is trying to get those people to sell from the market as well, but there is a political side

to this. These people of course make more money outside the market, and the chairman doesn't want to lose his votes on forcing them into the market.

Also, customers are disappearing because of forced eviction. The new structures who is built on these sites are often housing for people with higher income who doesn't want to shop in the market, and hence the new inhabitants does not replace the old customers.

He mentions two problems:

- The outside stalls. Corruption. Politics make things difficult.
- Demolition

Another problem is that this market is hidden, people don't know where the market place is. The market has to be visible, but the routes to this market is blocked by random structures. There are some structures blocking a road which was supposed to go all the way from Gadaffi road to the Bativa Hotel. If this road was open, it might improve the accessibility to the market. The committee is trying to get them to move by getting the land owners to compensate them with some land, and also by giving them lock-ups in the market. (Is this working? Seems like it's not.)

The market generates much waste, and the garbage collectors come only once a week, and is not enough.

The market is not working to its full capacity. The markets has the capacity to accommodate all of them, and that would give the economy to expand.

Name: Josephine

Occupancy: Hostel owner and manager

Josephine is the owner of both a hostel and the land where it stands.

The only good thing she sees in Kivulu is her business, because she is making money. Josephine would like to have a larger structure, like the ones being built in the surrounding areas – "I feel I'll have a larger structure"

The hostel has no tall walls demarcating the hostel's property. Josephine opted for wire fences – "everything is so built up and you need to look outside".

She has no relation of any kind with the people living around her hostels – "I don't know my neighbors and I don't believe they know me".

The people employed on the hostel are not from Kivulu. It was a decision Josephine made based on the experience she had with people she formerly employed from Kivulu. As they were from around, they couldn't settle down working, there was always someone familiar passing by, and they would constantly interrupt their work to do personal things.

"People from inside are not serious. It's better to have someone from the outside who doesn't know anybody and she knows she comes here to work.

She complains about the solid waste management. She pays monthly fees for it and they are not accurate.

They have flush toilets and are connected to the public sewerage infrastructure.

Name: James Ndaula

Occupation: Working in the NGO Makiv CBC

This NGO has been here since 2003. They get their fund—ing from the United States based organization Compassion International.

This organization offers the possibility to sponsor a child directly. Their main objective is to look after children in Makere and Kivulu area, with a holistic approach. This is done by providing for the children both spiritually, cognitively, socially and health wise. They are taught

the word of God, practical skills (making things as soap, earrings and mats), about AIDS and how to avoid it, and they are being given revision of their academic work.

One of the services they offer to children and their parents, is to send them to medical clinics when they are sick. If there are children who are HIV positive, this NGO provides for their treatment. They also distribute food for the HIV positive children's families. For parents who are HIV positive, they sometimes arrange for income generating activities. Makiv CBC can give loans to the children's parents who have difficulties, without demanding interest.

There are now 253 children attending Makiv CBC's programmes, aged from 3 to 22 years. By the end of this year they will start up another programme, Child Survival Programme, directed to children up to three years of age, and to pregnant women. For this programme, they expect about 50 new children/mothers to come.

For the university students, there is a leadership development programme.

The NGO also moves out in the community, for example to see what the needs for school funding are. They collaborate with other NGOs around the country, to educate leaders for the organizations, and other work.

Reflections:

It seems like NGOs like this is not really rooted in the community. There is not much contact between the NGO and the community leaders.

Name: Bob

Occupation: Laundry shop, boda-boda and public pay phone owner

While still young, Bob lived with his brother in the suburbs of Kampala, and moved a lot between different places – "I tested most of them (the suburbs)." Soon his mother realized that if he stayed in the city he would easily get spoiled, so she sent him to a boarding school. While studying there, he would return to his village on holidays - this was according to his parents' wishes. However, during that whole period, Bob says he always had the mentality of coming back to the city.

His father died in 1997, consequently he lost his economic support to get to school. Hence he thought about something to do that allowed him to cater for himself – "you settle down with your own money and then you go to school". By doing this he would ensure he had enough money to continue studying. He went into bricklaying in the village for a few months and he made some money but quit both village and the whole activity of brick making.

He came to Kivulu in 1999 with the money he saved from brick making. A friend invited him to live here in his grandmother's house, this was why he chose Kivulu as a place to live in.

"I wanted to go to the city where there are opportunities and where I can be someone in the world."

He moved into his grandmother's house, and was sleeping in the living room. As he had already learned how to make sumbusas, he would cook them during the mornings to sell them after in the afternoon and evening – he started generating income with this small economical activity.

As soon as he got enough money, he rented a place for himself and became independent. His business was growing whereby he got a partner and rented a place together. They started a take-away business but the partnership fell apart and Bob continued on his own. Once again his business was prospering and he started a new business in parallel with the take away one – he had learned how to make beads with his friend's sister while living in her grandmother's house. Through this he managed to collect money to buy a motorcycle and rent it to a boda boda driver, and started to generate regular income.

His clients were mainly students from Makerere living in Kivulu (who paid in advance), but also food places within and outside Kivulu. The owner of the place where he lived and worked saw the motorcycle as an expression of income generated by his business, and de-

cided to claim his structure back, so he gave bob two weeks to leave his premises. After that he expelled him off and took over his business and his clients – “the land owner chased me out.” He could only keep it running for almost three months, after that he collapsed. Bob had to look for something else.

“So I had to use my brains again! I had friends from Makerere that wanted to give me money to do the same business elsewhere.”

“By this time I was living out of selling beads and from the motorcycle renting.” He kept doing only this economical activity from 2002/2003 to 2006/2007.

He identified the laundry services as a good business, and studied it for some time.

Football is one of his hobbies, and he has made lots of friends out of it, and as he says “friends are clients!”

He is now renting a small room for 20000 shillings yet he was paying 60000 shillings for renting the place he previously lived in. He got this new place from a friend he got in football (his friend’s father is the room’s owner). He lives and works in the same place so that he doesn’t overspend - he can cut costs by doing this.

He employs 4 people, 3 of them are from Kivulu and has his laundry working for two years now.

Most of his clients are from within Kivulu, but he has some clients from the surrounding places and plots. He meets them to pick their clothes and delivers them later, washed and ironed. He only advertises his laundry services door-to-door, he won’t risk paper advertisements as he can consequently be looked for by the city hall to collect taxes.

He buys his supplies like soap from the street shops in Kivulu in small quantities, and large quantities of detergent from the supermarket, because it is cheaper and he can get more profit.

His food he buys to the street vendors because it is more convenient as they deliver directly to his place.

He is currently trying to create a Dry Cleaners Association within Kivulu. “Some have vision, some don’t, they just come with their own motive.” Bob wants to buy a washing machine to improve his business and increase his working capacity. The association is a good way to get it.

He doesn’t see Kivulu as a good place to live in because it is dirty; it has poor sanitary and water drainage conditions. Also there are lots of people wandering around what makes it a kind of unsafe place for children. It could only be a good place because of its proximity to the city center. But it is a good place for business with low capital, with little money to invest.

He feels that all the new buildings initiatives comes from the outside – NGOs

Bob is engaged with some organizations working to improve Kivulu’s conditions so when enquired about the possibility of engaging people into a community based organization, and what would gather them to work into solving some common issues he answered: People gather capacity!

“We, the renters are facing a big problem, and people would engage because most of them don’t have houses”

Name: Moses

Occupation: Washing Bay committee member

The washing bay has no specific permanent working place where they feel secure, it continues shifting place. They are allowed to build but only temporary structures as they can anytime be evicted, so they can’t invest!

The landlord of car washing market is a rich man in Kampala. Committee leader collects the money and pays the rent to the land lord.

The washing bay has approximately 30 washers, each of them specialized in some kind of washing – tires, body, inside cleaning – so it normally takes 3 washers to clean a car. Only one of them is responsible for the car. Each washer has a specific washing place.

Most of them are target workers – they decide the number of cars they want to wash before they start – “almost everyone has targets” – so they sometimes get to a situation where they have many cars to wash but no labour. Some of them are not from Kivulu.

If a new worker wants to come to this place he has to pay for a registration fee and then he gets paid accordingly to the number of cars he has washed.

They would like to buy some machinery. It would make them more productive and, in case of eviction they would be able to take the machinery with them.

Some of the clients don't pay.

The road connections and its conditions are vital problems. There is no connection to the other road – “if they could build a bridge” – and they need more labour.

They are being charged a high price for water. They are charged more for each water unit than for habitation purpose. They have to pay a daily fee to the comitee for the water (1000 UGX).

All this business is built and works around trust, as some of the clients don't even know where their car is being washed, they take car from client place and drive to car washing market to wash it, and then drive it back to the client.

Competition is also a problem – there are other washing bays around.

If people want to get a job here, they must pay 50000 shilings register fee first. And then have interview with chairman. Because the fierce competition just a part them could get job. 50000 shilings could be investment of finding job.

Name: Victor

Occupation: Wheel-cart carrier

Victor was living in Jinja, and was supported by his family to go to school. His parents worked in a factory and lost their jobs when it was privatized. Consequently, Victor had to provide for himself, and he moved to Kampala to look for a job. He had some friends that directed him to Kivulu, because it was near the center of Kampala, and he could easily get affordable housing. He has no family and apparently few friends living in Kivulu.

He has lived in the same place since he arrived, and the local church has recently bought the land where he is. Therefore he is afraid of forced eviction. When asked about what he was doing to be a part of the church's plans for the land, he answered “The church is a capitalist thing so they don't involve the people. The church wants to raise money to provide for their (future) projects and to implement them”. When asked if he would benefit from the church's plans/projects, he answered “Most of the members of the congregation are not residents of Kivulu”.

In the last five years he has seen changes in Kivulu, like improvement of sanitation, and water supply (he actually lives next to a recently built water tap). He sees people coming and going, and old and deteriorated houses being demolished and new ones being built on its place.

He started working as a Porter in construction sites for two and a half years. He quitted his job because it was too physically demanding and he was constantly being cheated by his employer – he didn't get payment for his work some of the times. He then began working as a Wheel-cart carrier in the city. He has been doing it for the past two and a half years. He is now looking for a new job, with more regular income – “I'm looking for a job in hotels, universities, schools”.

His big dream is to be a doctor. This he has been dreaming about since he was attending school back in Jinja. We ask whether he has done anything to achieve this goal, but by his response, it becomes clear that it is an idea of how he wants people to see him rather than a reality-based ambition.

Reflections

Victor seems like a dreamer with no root in reality. This becomes clear when inquired about specific relations in the community, like how he relates to the settlement, its leaders and the church community. Another thing that gives this impression, is that he sees no relation between reaching his goals and for example improving his income. He is focusing on reaching the goals, but on the image of the goal. We realized these incoherencies only when the interview was over and we started processing the collected information. While looking

ambitious, in our opinion he actually feels comfortable where he is now, being a target-worker. He works only to get a certain amount of money to cover his basic needs, so it seems he actually has a chance to get a higher income. Also, he lives in one of the more expensive areas of the settlement, a street with a lot of shops, but without having a shop himself. This may show that it is possible for him to grasp the opportunity to improve his life and go to a better place, like he claimed he would like to do, but:

"to get out of Kivulu, I have to work what? Really hard."

We get the feeling that he describes his life in a way that fits an idea he would like to give us. Therefore, it seems like he only tells us parts of his life so that it will fit to this idea. We feel that he is changing the facts, especially things like his age and possibly his job. When we interview him again, we will ask some of the same questions that we did today, and then we will get a more accurate image of his reality.

Name: Beatrice "Small"

Occupancy: Bar owner

She has a small bar which is a major meeting point for her friends.

Small has relatives living within and outside Kivulu.

Lives with her son and with three grandsons.

Lives in the same place where she works.

Her bar is a meeting point for people from Eastern Uganda living in Kivulu and in the nearby areas

Economical linkages

She has clients from Kivulu, and here she buys food and other household supplies from within Kivulu, but some of her clients live in outside areas. She buys the local brew that she sells from Gayaza (outside Kivulu).

Name: Badru

Position: LC I in Kivulu I

On the history of Kivulu:

In the 1960's there were only few and small buildings in Kivulu. They were mainly bars. At that time, the East African Community started to build a railway through Uganda. The workers, coming both from Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania and other places started to hang out in Kivulu after their day of work was over, drinking beer and listening to music from jukeboxes. In fact, the word Kivulu means concert. When Idi Amin came to power in 1971, he chased away any other tribes than the Ugandan ones, the railway industry closed down, and the remaining inhabitants started doing business like putting up shops instead. In those days, there was a lack of basic goods like for instance sugar, and the people in Kivulu started magendos, that is making trips for purchasing something, to Kenya, and the shops were started as a result of this. When Museveni became president, he introduced a new system of governance that led to the cutting of Kivulu into the three parts we have today.

The chairman sees improvements in the demolishing and building of the new structures. Some will suffer, but it's good because it is development. He also says that small houses are not good. When the houses can have several floors, there is room for more people, and therefore, more customers. Now, he says, Kivulu is no longer a place for resting.

Decisions are being made in the community through village meetings. These are meetings for the people, organised by the LC I. From there, the LC I takes the discussions made, to a parish meeting, organised by the LC II. Here, each village talks about the problems they experience, and they have the opportunity to make by-laws. These by-laws can't contradict with the constitution, and to ensure this,

they confer with the LC III in a third meeting. In this way, each community can try to deal with its internal problems. The fines collected for unwanted behaviour goes to the village committee.

The common issues in all parts of Kivulu are sanitation and insecurity. When it comes to sanitation, there has been improvements, for instance the toilets. Still, they struggle with getting people to use it, because some newcomers from villages outside Kampala is not used to such things and has to be taught how to use them. Other common problems are the low employment rate and poverty.

As for the market issue, Badru mentions the accessibility. The customers are rarely coming from the outside. He describes the market as land-locked.

SAVINGS

"It's about collecting people"

All Federations in the SDI network are collectives of slumdwellers whose central activity is the operation of savings and credit schemes. As the basic unit of collective action, each savings and credit scheme is comprised of slumdwellers living on the same street. Leaders walk door-to-door gathering small change from neighbors, and conducting daily community needs assessments.

The entire process is designed to maximize the contact that people have with each other, enabling strong bonds to form around their shared identity as poor people. When people interact with each other every day - whether it be over savings and loans or the threat of eviction - their sense of being a community intensifies. As members say, "Daily savings is a ritual that is not just about collecting money, it is about collecting people, collecting information about their lives and learning how to best support them."

Apart from encouraging savings, these women's collectives also offer access to cheap credit by issuing crisis, consumption and income generation loans. The point here is that the urban poor are completely excluded from the formal financial market and are often forced to borrow from moneylenders who charge extremely high rates of interest. This leads to vicious cycles of debt and ever-deepening poverty. Therefore, offering cheap credit fulfils a critical need for the urban poor and is an important entry point for Federations to build united communities.

Through savings and loan schemes, trust is built up by a system which allows a member to take a loan for any purpose whatsoever to buy one's freedom as a prostitute or to get one's husband out of jail. The idea is that women should not dip into their slowly growing savings when facing a crisis, but should take small affordable loans. Contrary to prevailing micro-credit logic, most Federations in the SDI network will not punish women who cannot repay immediately. Instead, after assessing the reasons for delay, the group will issue a second loan, and a third. This will continue until the member is strong enough to start earning an adequate income once it is clear that the member can stand on her own feet, Federation leaders will visit her every day to help her repay. At a purely economic level, SDI's effectiveness to mobilize savings can be measured in numerical terms: how many savings schemes, how many savers, how much money saved, borrowed and repaid, how much capital geared up through savings. From a developmental perspective, however, the basic equity inherent in savings is the cohesion, understanding, trust and confidence generated. The trust built through savings is not only essential to the formation of a strong and active Federation, but also critical to take pro-poor development initiatives to scale.

EXCHANGES

A Poor People's Pedagogy: The Praxis of Horizontal Learning

When professionals enter settlements of urban poverty to teach, the focus of learning is often taken away from the community. Even the most participatory approaches generally seek to ensure the acquiescence of the group to the ideas suggested by the "experts." As a result, communities are unable to advance their own strategies to address their own problems, and very often professionals provide

solutions that are just too expensive and inappropriate to the needs on the ground.

Horizontal exchange, then, is the primary learning strategy of SDI. Participants within the savings networks learn best from each other - when one savings group has initiated a successful income-generating project or has replanned a settlement or has built a toilet block, SDI enables groups to come together and learn from intra-network achievements. The community exchange process builds upon the logic of 'doing is knowing' and helps to develop a collective vision. As savers travel from Khayelitsha to Greenpoint or Nairobi to Colombo, the network is unified and strengthened - not only at a street level but between towns, regions and provinces, and nation-states. In this way, locally appropriate ideas get transferred into the global milieu through dialogue amongst slumdweller partners.

Community-to-community exchanges allow participants to see themselves and their peers as experts, thereby breaking isolation to create a unified voice of the urban poor, reclaiming sites of knowledge that have frequently been co-opted by professionals, and strengthening solidarity to increase critical mass. The pool of knowledge generated through exchange programmes becomes a collective asset of the SDI network - so that when slum dwellers meet with external actors to debate development policies, they can draw from international examples, forcing government and other stakeholders to listen.

One of the most powerful aspects of exchange then, is when government ministers travel with SDI partners to learn about development from another context. As Minister Lindiwe Sisulu has said of her trip to Thailand: "I was exposed to a unique programme that forms partnerships between communities, government, and other stakeholders in identifying and developing suitable land for housing.

ENUMERATION

Laying the Foundation of Collective Action

Enumeration is a participatory research tool designed to enable Federations to develop detailed information about their communities, which can then be used to broker deals with formal institutions. Although there are no hard and fast rules, enumeration exercises tend to take the following form:

1. Building a Team: A local enumeration team is selected. This team is comprised of Federation leaders, members of the community, local authorities, academics, support professionals and members of the SDI network.
2. Rough Mapping: The enumeration team meets with local community leaders and city officials to "rough map" the settlement, identifying toilets, water taps, public services, and transport systems. This exercise provides a general sense of issues to be addressed by the enumeration process, and informs the preparation of a questionnaire.
3. Training: Community members build their skills and capacity to complete the survey form by conducting a trial-run in a sample section of the settlement.
4. Launch: The enumeration exercise is launched at a public ceremony. Ministers, mayors and local leaders are often in attendance to add political credibility.
5. Cadastral Survey: Armed with questionnaires, chalk, booklets and tape measures, enumerators create a qualitative and quantitative map of their settlement. Their work is twofold: (1) to survey each household, and (2) to number and measure every structure. This information-gathering underpins the development a physical and narrative picture of community-level challenges.
6. Household Survey: The completed survey forms are conveyed to a central point for verification - staff members begin to assess and compile the data, returning incomplete or disputed forms to be redone. This verification process enables areas of disagreement to be identified and mediated by community members. Detailed documentation (graphs, charts and narratives) is prepared by the support organization and given to the community, city officials and other stakeholders. This data is then used by the settlement in future negotiations for resources.
8. Women's Participation: While Federation members are enumerating, they are also mobilizing women into savings and credit schemes.

With support of the Federation, these new groups develop the tools necessary to advocate for State services, redesign their homes and settlements, and manage their settlement upgrading or relocation process. While men are not excluded, women are the always primary drivers of development and thus are encouraged lead.

UPGRADING AND RELOCATION

"Building Toilets with our Eyes Closed"

In almost every major city in the south, Slum Boards, Housing

Authorities and Municipalities are charged with building and maintaining toilet blocks in low-income neighbourhoods and slums. Engineers tender for contracts and handle issues of location, design, and construction; municipalities hire external staff (that has no investment in the upkeep) for cleaning and maintenance; and community members are entirely left out of all decision-making processes, and therefore have no sense of ownership. This leads to a situation where the quality of construction is frequently poor, the availability of water is limited, and access to drainage is inadequate. All these problems lead to the early destruction and deterioration of the few working toilets blocks in the city.

The consequences of this approach are obvious: in most of cities, there are few operational toilet blocks and slumdweller are forced to shit in the open. Women must wait until dark to defecate in order to protect their modesty (and often suffer from gastric disorders). Children will squat anywhere and everywhere leaving excrement throughout the settlement. Families, quite literally, are forced to live in shit, suffering from poor health conditions and the spread of disease. In order to alleviate potential public health crises and restore human dignity, SDI affiliates have pioneered a people-driven approach to water and sanitation, building toilets in a way that reifies community capacity.

Federations in India, Cambodia, South Africa, Kenya and Uganda have brokered deals with local authorities to design, construct and maintain toilet blocks. Engineers and Municipal officials frequently visit the construction sites - those with insights into the actual needs of the communities are usually available for guidance and support, and those preoccupied with bureaucratic regulations tend to obstruct and control. Both approaches provide opportunities to learn, and in most instances, even the most resistant officials are won over by the Federation's success.

Federation built and managed toilets have had a profound impact on the health and environment of the slums, and more than is commonly recognized, have instilled a sense of pride and confidence in communities. In an interview, Savita Sonawane, a leader in Pune, India, summed it up by saying: "In the beginning, we did not know what a drawing or a plinth was. We did not understand what a foundation was or how to do plastering. But as we went along, we learnt more and more and now we can build toilets with our eyes closed."

LAND TENURE

Finding Alternatives to all Forms of Eviction

Security of tenure is, perhaps, the single most enabling factor contributing toward people's housing processes around the world. It provides a tangible asset, a contractual agreement between the citizen and the State, demarcating ownership of a plot of land. It is a promise of permanent residence and a clear statement that the government will not evict residents without much negotiation and compensation. When communities of the urban poor do not have ownership rights to their settlement, the impulse toward improvement is stifled because there is no incentive to invest in something that will eventually be bulldozed. But with a formal address and title agreement, communities naturally begin to build incremental structures because every investment is secure.

Even so, securing tenure is not without its complexities and often leads to the softest form of eviction yet. In many cases, simply giving

out title deeds has created an increase in poverty by placing slumdwellers at the mercy of a voracious property market. Slightly richer people, with an eye toward entrepreneurial development, scoop up newly secured property to resell or rent. And what family isn't going to trade in a shack for more money than they could get in 5 years?

And yet, this often leads to a chorus of accusations coming from every quarter: "See what they do when you give them a house? They sell it and move back to the slum."

Such tenure arrangements can, in fact, be used as a thinly disguised way of using market forces to push poor people out, without messy demolitions, bulldozers, or bad press. Instead, eviction happens gradually, one plot at a time, until one day all the poor people are gone.

For SDI, the goal then is to create tenure situations that work for communities without subjecting them to increased market forces. Poor people in South Africa, India, Brazil and Kenya have been instrumental in designing communal tenure arrangements that ensure the current residents actually benefit from increased security, and can set about building their dream houses little by little.

URBAN POOR FUND

Monetizing the Social and Political Capital of the Poor

Once Federations begin to negotiate with local governments around secure tenure and basic services, the next step is always to find the finance for the actual implementation and delivery. Very often the lack of access to funds delays projects and results in a loss of morale for the communities involved. These constraints have prompted many SDI affiliates to build new institutions, called Urban Poor Funds, which monetize the social and political capital of savings groups to leverage additional resources from formal banking institutions, the State, and international donor agencies. By combining the savings of the poor with external contributions, Urban Poor Funds gear up capital for large-scale construction and infrastructure development.

SDI's Urban Poor Funds are meant to reinforce cooperation between Federations and more powerful players in the development sector. Through the participatory design and implementation process, communities learn to build transparent, accountable finance systems, create responsive allocation mechanisms, and accommodate increases in scale and volume.

When external partners see that these Federation-led financial facilities have the capacity to resource target groups (which have been unreachable by other mechanisms) and recover costs, then mutual trust is built and ongoing relationships are established for future investments. Urban Poor Funds, therefore, fulfill a critical monetary gap for Federation communities and, more importantly, begin to build more equal relationships between external partners and the poor.

Some of these Funds have emerged "bottom up" from the communities: uTshani (SA), Twahangana (Namibia), Guungano (Zimbabwe), Akiba Mashinani (Kenya) and Phnom Penh Urban Poor Fund (Cambodia); and others have come "top-down" from the state: CODI (Thailand). All however have given communities a chance to have a voice in the development politics of their cities. As the South African Federation of the Urban Poor says: "Power is Money and Knowledge."

HOUSING

Altering Extant Power Dynamics

For SDI, house construction has always been about altering the extant power dynamics that place a premium on external, developer-driven solutions and ignore the contextually-appropriate ideas emerging from the urban poor. Recognizing that slum dwellers have always been the architects and engineers of their settlements, SDI gives communities the opportunity to define what adequate space and affordable cost means in their particular environment. Taking cues from the ground, SDI negotiates with governments to create an enabling environment for pro-poor housing, whereby slumdwellers can continue to play a central role in the design and construction of

their homes and communities. Vacant land surveying, participatory housing exhibitions, architectural planning, and community construction practices are always crucial components of the reversal of the standard undervaluation of slumdweller-capacity.

Vacant Land Surveying: Although cities often claim there is no land left for the poor, this is almost always untrue. When poor people learn about their own cities and educate themselves about development plans, they can challenge this fallacy. Identifying vacant land has helped many Federations negotiate for resettlement and upgrading deals.

House Models: These exercises are a democratic appropriation of a middle-class practice that is popular in professional circles. Using large colourful pieces of cloth to represent walls, slum dwellers physically construct their dream houses, deciding on the size of the bedrooms, the position of the kitchen, and the orientation of the lounge. Through discussion and argument, the community agrees upon a layout plan that is appropriate and affordable for all.

Architectural Drawings: Along with the full-size house model, women from the community often imagine and design their dream houses in miniature, building their own interpretations from cardboard boxes. The full-size house model and these miniatures serve as the foundation for final plans to be drawn up by slum dwellers and an architect. This teaches communities to redefine their relationship with professionals, and allows them to translate their visions into a real blueprint.

Construction: Though this approach is contextually specific, most SDI construction practices use some blend of community labour and technical support. The goal here is to use the knowledge and skills of the formal sector in complement to the knowledge and skills of the informal sector - building quality houses without eclipsing the participation of beneficiaries. By working alongside professionals, community labourers can hone and develop their skills as proficient builders.

Some affiliates even have a formal accreditation process, whereby community labourers can then take their competency certification to the market.

PARTNERSHIPS

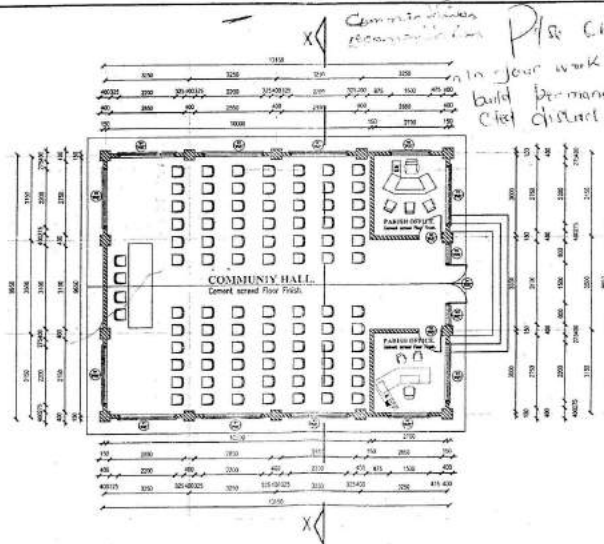
Engagement as Equals

Since its inception, SDI has operated from a clear platform of engagement and negotiation with governments, multi- and bi-laterals, academic institutions and other actors in the development sector to reorient roles, responsibilities, and relationships for the benefit of the urban poor. Although SDI Federations resolutely eschew confrontational strategies, this does not result in automatic acquiescence to national and international interests. In fact, most Federations are essentially pragmatic in nature - their extraordinary capacity to survive under impossible conditions is, more often than not, based on their ability to seek compromise and mediation. As a result, SDI affiliates question the capacity of State and multi-lateral institutions to deliver on their own - and thus, seek out situations where conglomerations of slum dwellers can play a defining role in the global development industry.

For many years, SDI has focused on building partnerships with national governments that produce, control or regulate all of the commodities that the poor need for development (land, water, sanitation, electricity, housing finance). Such partnerships are crucial to remind States of their responsibility towards the poor, ensuring that the most vulnerable are not left to the mercy of the market. More recently, however, SDI has also begun to engage on multi-lateral institutions (particularly the World Bank and the UN) bringing the voice of the urban poor to global forums, and attempting to shift policy at the transnational level.

Whilst this approach is often perceived as an instrument for co-optation, it is in fact the much more difficult and more transformative route. Instead of seeking safety in affiliation with a particular political party or coalition, SDI develops complex political relationships with the various levels and forms of national and international bureaucracies.

Besides partnerships with State governments, SDI's primary affiliations include: Cities Alliance, Homeless International, Gates Foundation, Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, Misericordia, Cordaid, Swedish Sida, Sustainability Institute, and the International Institute for Environment and Development.



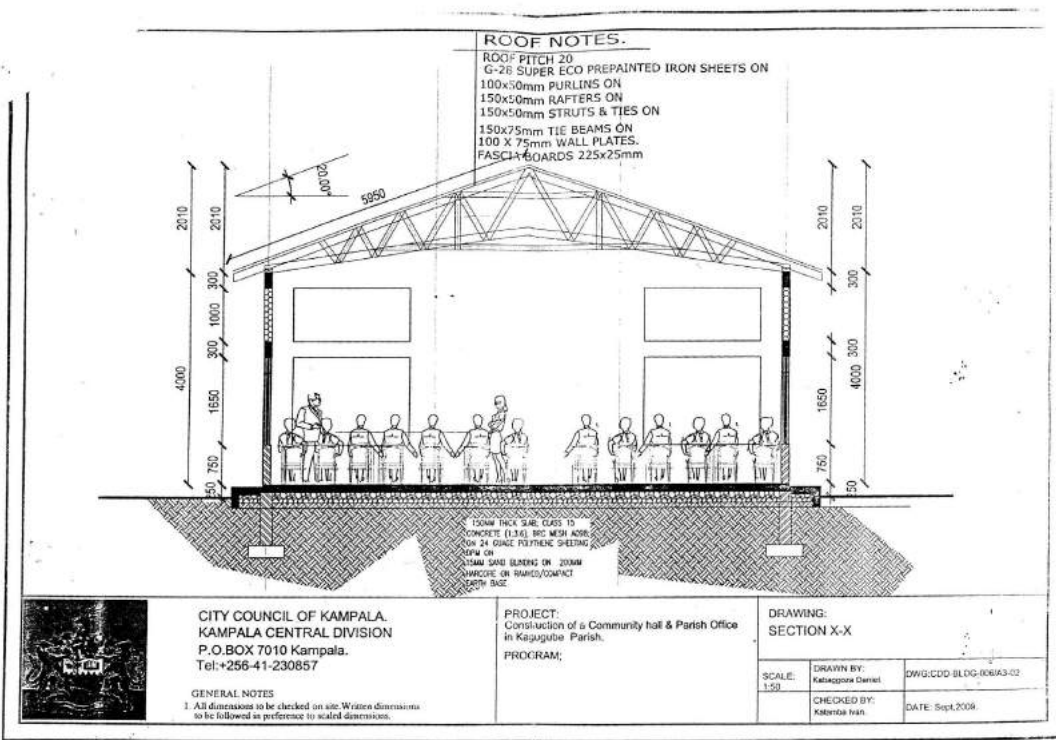
CITY COUNCIL OF KAMPALA
KAMPALA CENTRAL DIVISION
P.O. BOX 7010 Kampala.
Tel: +256-41-230857

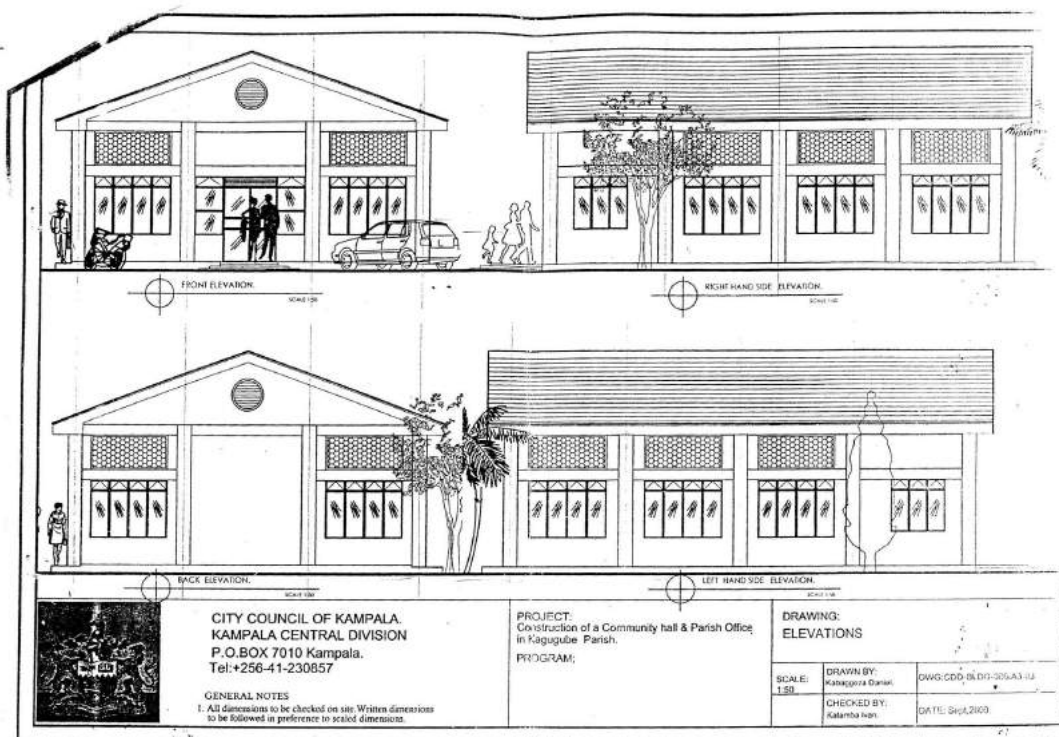
GENERAL NOTES
1. All dimensions to be checked on site. Written dimensions to be followed in preference to scale dimensions.

PROJECT:
Construction of a Community hall & Parish Office
in Kajugube Parish.
PROGRAM:

DRAWING:
FLOOR PLAN.

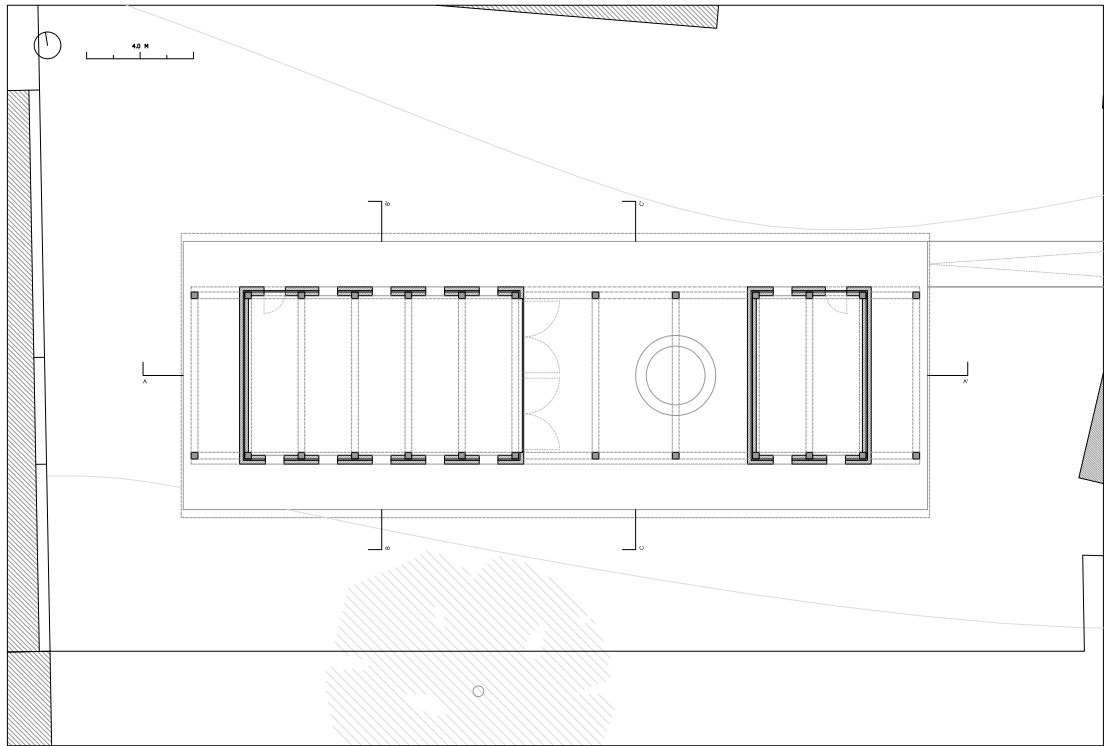
SCALE: 1:100	DRAWN BY: Kajugube District	DWG. CODE: BLDG/06/05/01
	CHECKED BY: Kajugube town	DATE: Sep, 2003



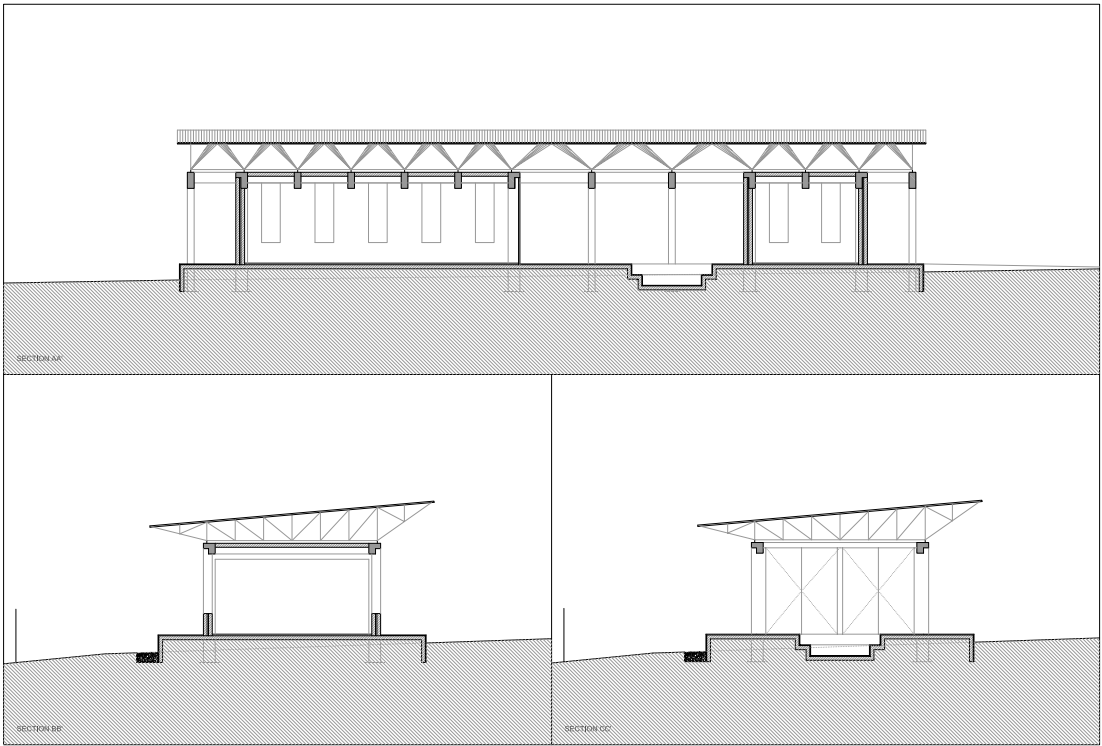




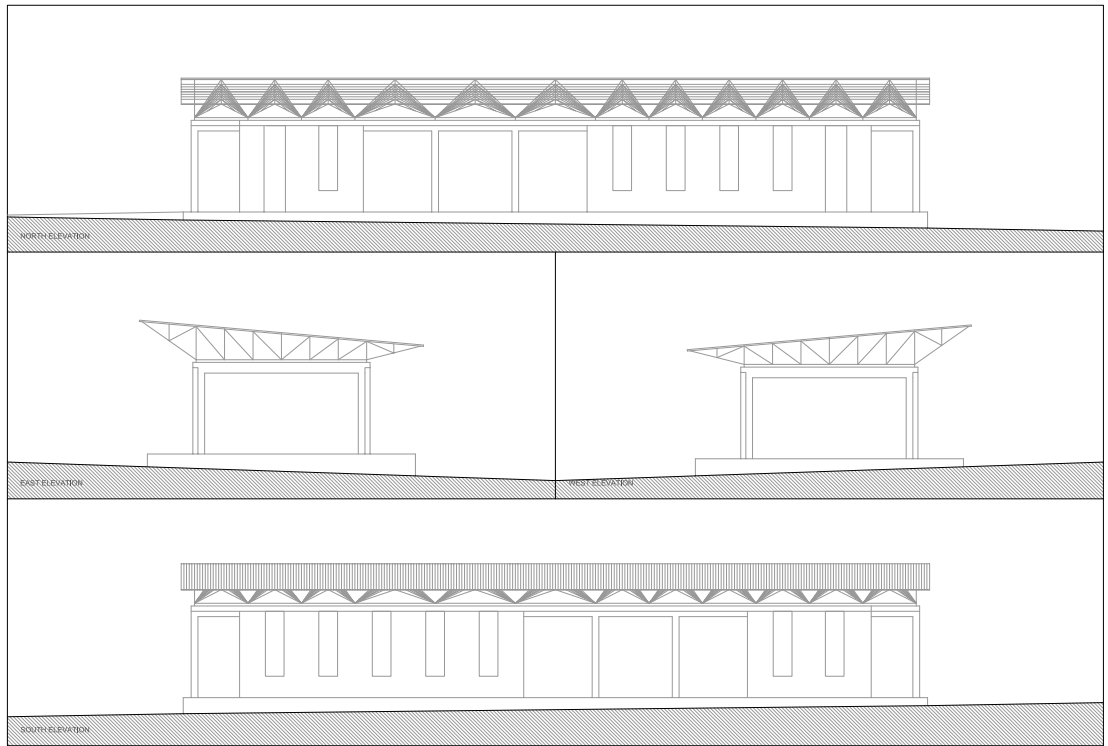
COMMUNITY CENTER IN KAGUGUBE PARISH DRAWING 01 SCALE 1/200 SITE PLAN NOVEMBER 2009



COMMUNITY CENTER IN KAGUGUBE PARISH DRAWING 02 SCALE 1/100 PLAN NOVEMBER 2009



COMMUNITY CENTER IN KAGUGUBE PARISH DRAWING 03 SCALE 1/100 SECTIONS NOVEMBER 2009



COMMUNITY CENTER IN KAGUGUBE PARISH DRAWING 04 SCALE 1/100 ELEVATIONS NOVEMBER 2009

