URBAN LAND USE PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT

The Land Governance Assessment Technical Expert Report

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PANEL 3:

URBAN LAND USE, PLANNING, AND DEVELOPMENT

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Urban Land Use and Planning in Uganda is regulated under the Town and Country Planning Act Chapter 246, revised in 2000 and the Physical Planning Act enacted in 2010. Urbanization is growing in Uganda at a rate of 4.5% p.a and 60% of the population is slum dwellers. This means that there is a high growth of informal settlements and this creates challenges for urban planning. The growth of urbanization is resulting from a myriad of factors ranging from rural poverty, search for employment, and access to social services & opportunities, reclassification of land use and, the exploding population in the country.

Planning is key issue to urban development because it plays a significant role on what and how developments will occur, when and where they will occur. Urban planning in Uganda can be traced back to 1890s when the first European footprint can be traced through spatial and urban planning that set Kampala to be similar to a European city. The Ideas and theories of planning emerged from the British concept of cities taking into consideration health, aesthetics and exclusive settlement areas and this was made law through the Uganda’s Town and Country Planning Act of 1951. In this period, physical planning formed one of the grounds for compulsory acquisition of land and as such the area would be declared a planning Area.

In 1995, physical planning ceased to be a ground for compulsory acquisition of land. Land further was vested in the Citizens of Uganda according to four tenure systems, Leasehold, Freehold, Mailo and Customary Tenure. In effect, this did away with public land that vested in the state. It also provided that all leases out of public land were convertible to freeholds and this included statutory leases to urban authorities. The Constitution in its Article 237(7) provides that Parliament make laws to enable urban authorities to enforce and implement planning and development. The implications of this provision is that regardless tenure type, an area can be declared a planning area and planning regulations and development enforceable. This however does not come without challenge especially where rights to land are fuzzy.

The Physical Planning Act 2010 seeks to provide for the making and approval of physical development plans and for applications for development permission. Section one of the Physical Planning Act declared the whole country a planning area. As such Section 18 provides for the national, regional and local physical development plans. The National Physical Development Plan is the master plan to which all the other plans must conform. Every person must comply with the requirements of the approved plan. Every person must comply with the requirements of the approved plan. Section 22 (3) emphasizes that no development can take place unless the developer complies with the requirements of the approved plan. Furthermore, development can only be carried out upon obtaining permission from the physical planning committee of the area in which the development will take place (Section 33). In the event that the requisite permission is not obtained or the requirements within the permit are not complied with, the
development is null and void and the developer must restore the land to its natural state before the development occurred. The subdivision or consolidation of land within a local government can only be done in accordance with the approved physical development plan.

For environmentally sensitive areas, approvals are done subject to an Environmental Impact Assessment certificate issued under the National Environment Act (Section 37). To reinforce urban planning, the Ministry of Lands, housing and Urban Development is in the process of developing and Urban Land Use Policy. Consultations are currently ongoing on the first draft.

1.1 Objectives

1. Gather evidence to make an expert assessment on a prescribed set of indicators from the LGAF that describe the level of governance in land administration.
2. Deduce policy recommendations that would be in line with best practice given the contextual setting of Uganda.
2.0 Objective 1: Gather evidence to make an expert assessment on a prescribed set of indicators from the LGAF that describe the level of governance in land administration.

Indicators

2.1 Restrictions on rights: land rights are not conditional on adherence to unrealistic standards.

According Article 237 (7) of the Constitution, tenure security supersedes planning. Land tenure security refers to enforceable claims on land, with the level of enforcement ranging from national laws to local village rules, which again are supported by national regulatory frameworks. It refers to people’s recognized ability to control and manage land—using it and disposing of its products as well as engaging in such transactions as the transferring or leasing of land (IFAD, 2008). The Ugandan constitution defines four tenure systems elaborated in the typology as Mailo, Freehold, Leasehold and Customary. Theoretically, it is relatively easy and feasible to distinguish between these four tenure regimes where very well defined property boundaries based on de jure rights exist.

In practice, however, it is often difficult to identify the boundaries of each property regime, in part because formal and informal (customary) tenure systems often differ and exist in parallel, and in part because such customary or formal rights may differ from de facto access. De facto access may exist with or without a corresponding set of norms that in fact recognize or permit such access. Resource users may lack de jure rights but may have de facto rights that are based upon a number of ‘moral’ concepts about what is appropriate or just behavior. De facto rights are created through various social-political relations that in practice are not necessarily based upon the legal or formal boundaries but instead result in the emergence of informal, layered, nested and overlapping access regimes. Also, land access may not automatically translate into exclusive de jure or de facto access to resources on the land, although land access rights may certainly act to strongly condition access to these resources.

For purposes of planning particularly in urban areas, the complexity of tenure comes into play as over 60% of city dwellers in Uganda are informal settlers on land. Therefore although land tenure creates security to land holding, it has a direct effect to development as the perception of the holders of rights only perceive their security of tenure in light of the proposed developments. In other words if an area is declared an industrial park, the land owners in that area who live and derive benefit from such land begin to perceive themselves as insecure in light of the physical development plan. This often causes resistance and failure of enforcement mechanisms to be executed making development control difficult. This is corroborated by the findings by UNHABITAT (2007), MLHUD (2008), and Giddings (2009).

The proposed Urban policy recognizes this as an issue and has as one of its Policy statements under Urban Housing “Government will ensure the supply of affordable land in urban areas and provide a framework for regularizing the tenure system in the informal settlement.” It envisages achieving this through the identification of
land for public housing and implementation of the National Land Policy for effective and efficient land administration and management in urban areas.

Whereas this sounds pretty simple and the right thing to do, the complexity surrounding this is that the land is privately owned with complex layers of rights existing over a single parcel. This is particularly true for the Central region whether the Mailo Certificate of title gives rise to subservient rights whose interests are guaranteed by the Constitution. How then will government find this land and streamline informal settlements through the regularization of tenure? Since physical planning is not a ground for compulsory acquisition under Article 26 of the constitution, the only option Government would be left with is to purchase such land on a “willing buyer-willing seller basis.” This is a costly process that is unlikely to yield any results given that the land sector is underfunded.

Not only is underfunding the challenge, the regulation of tenants by occupancy poses a challenge today in Uganda. The Land Act in its section 31 places the burden of proof on the land owner of registered land to show cause why that occupant is not lawful or bonafide. With fluid grounds of claiming bonafide occupancy, more often than not land owners are unable prove the contrary. Transacting in land is thus hampered by the fuzziness of the tenure system providing incomplete rights to the land owner and the tenant, both of whom must be compensated for their interests in the same parcel, moreover with an unverifiable evidence of such rights to land. This was illustrated by Damaris Kathini Muini et.al. Pg.35 when he analyses the development of the real estate industry being constrained by a sudden influx of tenants seeking compensation for their rights to land and the challenge of proving that they are not entitled to such compensation as they are not rights holders. This is compounded by lack of regulation for compensation of the occupants by occupancy making it difficult to amass land for development.

Furthermore, the non-eviction law protects tenants by occupancy from eviction except for the non-payment of ground rent. This compounds the complexity of urban planning in Uganda. There are good plans on paper that are challenging to enforce in practice because of the land tenure regime.

However, where Government is the land owner and where leaseholds exist in urban areas, regulation and enforcement of planning is possible and is executed. In situations where there are unplanned areas occupied by informal settlements, it has been proved by GLTN through the Mbale pilot that it is possible to regularize these informalities and have rights recorded.

Currently, it is only leaseholds that have planning restrictions described in the lease agreement and enforcement effected. These are leaseholds granted by urban authorities out of former government land. In Kampala city for example, leasehold tenure accounts for 26% of the land in the city. 57% of the land is privately owned under Mailo, 14% is official Mailo belonging to the Buganda Kingdom and 3% is freehold owned by schools, mosques and churches. The table below clearly shows that it is only 26% of the land in Kampala that has any restrictions in land use imposed.
### Type of Land rights | Type of Restriction | Description of the restriction
--- | --- | ---
Mailo | |  
Tenant by Occupancy | |  
Licensee | |  
Leasehold | No renewal or extension of a lease without approval by the Physical Planning Committee of the Area | Subject to any other law on land administration, no renewal or extension of a lease on any land shall be effected without the approval by the relevant physical planning committee.(Section 51(1) of the Physical Planning Act 2010)
Sub-lease | |  
Freehold | |  
Customary Tenure | |  

#### 2.2 Transparency of land use restrictions:

**Changes in land use and management regulations are made in a transparent fashion and provide significant benefits for society in general rather than just for specific groups.**

Urban expansion in Uganda is characterized by reclassification of land use from rural to urban through spatial expansion by annexing the adjacent townships and rural areas, converting farmlands and villages into urban areas. Kampala city for example has grown from an administrative township measuring 0.7Sq Km in 1902 to over 195sq km by 1968 and now estimated at about 839sqkm. Urban Expansion in Uganda is estimated at a rate of 6%p.a, which is much faster than the global rate of urbanization (Somik Lall 2012:5).

Beyond spatial expansion, administrative reclassifications have influenced the pace and magnitude of urbanization. The Local Governments Act authorizes the Ministry of Local Government to classify cities, municipalities and town councils as urban areas. This classification is followed by the gazettement of these areas. Furthermore, all district headquarters are classified as towns. For all these classifications, it is only the municipalities which require master plans, water services and capacity to provide services.

The Physical Planning Act 2010 in its Section 29 provides that the National Planning Board within 14 days after the approving the district, urban or local development plan publish in the Gazzette whether or not it has approved the plan with or without modification and where the plan can be found for inspection. This is an attempt to make the process transparent. This proviso has not been implemented to date.

The growth of urban areas in Uganda has been unplanned – with high rates of spatial expansion (sprawl) and unplanned growth, lack of integration between sectoral and spatial planning, inadequate provision of basic services, weak urban management capacity and significant fiscal constraints (Somik Lall 2012:17). The land use change and management in Uganda is characterized by corruption and high handed actions of the officials. As a consequence, congestion and chaotic development is setting in making it impossible to develop organized living
environment within the towns and cities. As stated earlier, over 60% of those living in the urban areas are slum dwellers living in unplanned neighbourhoods, with poor road network, poor drainage, sanitation and waste disposal characterized by solid waste damping in the neighbourhood and liquid waste disposal into the water sources leading to contamination water sources and increase in disease especially during the rainy season.

Part of the urban chaos is due to the lack of the urban policy and a weak legal framework. This has left the aspect of planning to individual interests and manipulation of systems and processes has been at the forefront of shaping land use restrictions. This lack of transparency has resulted in riots and violent acts in towns as the ordinary people begin to realize that they are powerless and voiceless.

Tom Goodfellow describes urban planning in Uganda as “Planning through the barrel of the gun.” The Ugandan urban planning situation is best described by the words of Giddens as ‘the reflexive monitoring of action that both draws upon and reconstitutes the institutional organization of society’. This implies more attention to social action as a factor in determining how planning happens in Ugandan urban centres and the reproduction of formal institutional matrices relying on popular action and civil defiance; after all, ‘institutions do not just work ‘behind the backs’ of the social actors who produce and reproduce them’ (Giddens 1979: 71).

The issue of agency in the reproduction of institutions for urban planning in Uganda raises questions of power. Informal institutions are arguably reproduced and reinforced by the powerless as well as the powerful through strikes, riots and street action, even if they are not in the former’s immediate interests. They may take on ‘functional’ qualities over time as they become ‘locked in’, because ‘social adaptation to institutions drastically increases the cost of exit from existing arrangements’ (Pierson 2000b: 492). This is the case when the President of Uganda in many instances sides with the urban dwellers especially in the big cities, leaving the technocrats making effort to enforce planning in the cold. The Case study in the box below clearly demonstrates this by highlighting the state of anarchy created by lack of transparency in restrictions on land use and management.

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Research conducted by Tom Goodfellow in 2012 studying urban marketplaces of Uganda illustrates the challenges of non-transparent restrictions on land use and management. Markets are among the city’s most highly politicized spaces and have proved extremely difficult to manage. Struggles over the city’s largest marketplaces – including Owino market, which with over 7,000 vendors and an average daytime population of around 50,000 is East Africa’s largest have been a particular feature of urban politics since 2006. Kampala’s Mayor from 2006-11, Nasser Ntege Ssebaggala, built his popular appeal around being the son of market vendors with an agenda to empower them to take control of their own markets, which were previously controlled by the city authorities. However, he soon dramatically reneged on this promises, negotiating the lease of some of the city’s largest markets to private companies with close links to political elites for ‘redevelopment’. Several were even leased to a company owned by the chairperson of the NRM’s own entrepreneur’s league, and Mayor Ssebaggala was accused of taking large bribes from companies awarded market leases.
In Uganda, power relations have evolved in a manner that there is less scope for the powerful to exercise either total domination or ‘three dimensional’ power, state-society conflict is overt and may be expressed through a politics of ‘noise.’ The interesting point about this sequence of events is not that there was corruption and elite collusion in the sale of the market lease, or that vendors were angry about it, neither of which is surprising. The point is the way in which rioting became almost the ‘normal’ mode of political interchange through which a large group of urban-dwellers participated in engagement with the state. As it became evident that rioting was more effective than complaining to the City Council, there were clear incentives to riot; yet at the same time, rioting was not effective enough to end the matter once and for all, causing incentives for more riots to win further attention and concessions. The government’s decision to respond with both fire power and public rhetorical interventions in vendors’ favour was a way of both subduing and conciliating them without actually giving too many concessions. Vendors’ expectations that government would respond only to riots, and government expectations that a limited response would suffice to placate the vendors, have both perpetuated rioting as a form of political dialogue.

In the smaller urban areas, the relatively powerless often continue adhering to, and thereby reinforcing, existing norms that are seemingly detrimental to them, even in the absence of overt coercion. Whether this happens because they are deceived as to their ‘real’ interests, or because they find it expedient to conform but are actually...
resisting internally, has been a subject of much debate. The urban dwellers even though excluded from planning and decision making processes regarding urban planning seem aloof and mere observers of developments in their locality. Despite all these challenges that emerged, the issues paper for the development of the Urban Land Policy (MLHUD 2013b) does not consider lack transparency and participation of urban dwellers and stakeholders as challenges to urban planning requiring policy response. It still considers urban planning as a technocratic top-down process with skewed power relations, where it is only the state that knows what is good for the citizen. The issues paper only considers the technical aspects of urban planning and not integrated planning and decision making that takes into account the interests and needs of the society that makes up an urban area. The only mention of stakeholder participation is in the final chapter of the draft National Urban Policy (MLHUD 2013c) in which it is required that simplified versions be distributed to all stakeholders and the inclusion of stakeholders in the preparation and implementation of subsequent plans and programs of the Urban Policy. Moreover, the definition of stakeholders is restricted to Ministry Departments and Agencies, Development Partners, Private Sector, the Academia and Civil society organizations. There is no stake for the urban dwellers and the community that makes up the urban area to participate in planning processes irrespective of the fact that they shape the development path and shape the fabric of urban space.

It is most probable that the Urban Policy when developed will have little or no significant effect in improving urban planning because of the non-consideration of transparency and participation as important ingredients to sustainable urban planning, development and growth. Communities largely influence the development path and fabric of urban space. Disregarding their participation works to the detriment of urban planning and development.

2.3 Efficiency in the urban land use planning process:

Land use plans and regulations are justified, effectively implemented, do not drive large parts of the population into informality, and are able to cope with population growth.

The Fundamentals of urban planning is that it should meet the needs of the population or enable people to innovate and meet their own needs. Urban land use planning processes in Uganda have been challenged by population growth rate, management and governance challenges.

The emerging rapid increase in the urban population is not matched with growth and development in the basic physical infrastructure, housing, social amenities, management and skills. This has led to overcrowding, sprawling development of slums and informal settlements, dilapidated housing and poor sanitation. The quality of the urban environment is being degraded due to the proliferation of informal settlements and slums, industrial emissions and effluent, deforestation and uncontrolled soil erosion.

There is absence of physical development plans for most of the urban centres in Uganda. Over 100 urban centres in have no maps to guide their planning. The
lack of up-to-date information including topographic maps, cadastre information and land tenure maps impacts on the ability to have controlled development of urban areas (MLHUD 2013:60). Formulation of physical development plans requires competent and qualified staff. The majority of districts lack competent staff and equipment to undertake planning. The use of GIS for planning is a foreign concept and manual approaches are still being used by some districts. Limited qualified personnel, materials, equipment, planning, implementation, resource mobilization and management, coordination, monitoring and evaluation of the implementation of urban development initiatives are a detriment to controlled and organized urban development. This is compounded by lack of coordination among sectors mandated to carry out planning. Key among these are the urban local governments, the District Local governments, Ministry of Local Government and Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development.

There is lack of integration of physical planning with socio-economic planning arising out of a low appreciation of the significance of land use planning and this has led to the increase in informality and disorderly urban development in Uganda. Whereas physical planning provides a spatial framework for development of urban centres, socio-economic planning ensures that there is adequate allocation of human, technical and financial resources to support the implementation of the physical development plans. There is absence of good will from the political leadership to commit financial resources to physical planning. While many of the old districts have structure plans, there is lack of institutional capacity and technical and financial resources to implement them. In many instances, Development has preceded planning and thus uncontrolled the sprawling urban development (MLHUD 2013:12).

Furthermore, undertaking physical planning requires huge sums of money to compensate the informal settlements in order to ensure that the changed land use can be developed according to the plans. Furthermore, there is need to compensate land owners of areas designated through planning for public facilities such as roads, public open spaces, public health facilities, e.t.c. Local governments do not have the budgets to undertake these compensations and therefore forfeit planning altogether.

As a result, the outcomes of urban management in Uganda are unpredictable. Planned outcomes are often not achieved because urban areas develop as a result of millions of consumption and production decisions by different individuals, groups and organizations. It is common to find pockets of well planned, services, developed and managed neighborhoods, industrial parks or transportation corridors (TAHAL 2005:37) amidst widespread impoverishment. Successes in urban services delivery can be found in smaller secondary towns dotted all around the country especially where the urban managers and political leadership is keen to see planned and sustained urban growth and development. The larger part of urban development in Uganda is occurring largely informally with inadequate planning and regulation (Lwasa & Kadila 2010:30).

The failures in urban planning are due to a myriad of issues including lack of
resources and regulation enforcement. However, it is also true that those engaged in urban planning have neither been well linked to the values of planning and urban development nor to the knowledge bases that guide development (Lwasa 2006:36). This has resulted in urban development occurring largely informally with no service provision.

The draft Urban Policy however has recognized three issues that will be addressed.

a) Inadequate integration and poor strategic alignment of physical planning and economic planning. For this, it provides that government will adopt a national development framework that emphasizes integrated planning and will build staff capacity to enhance integrated planning. Furthermore, that the local government assessment thematic areas will include integrated planning, monitoring and implementation of urban development plans.

b) Inadequate planning and implementation frameworks for the physical development plans. The Draft policy envisages reversing this by coordinating and monitoring the planning of conurbations including metropolitan areas, establishing a land use data base, enforcing compliance to all physical development plans in urban areas and the decentralization of urbanization among others.

c) Inadequate inter administrative planning processes which then Policy hopes to resolve by ensuring that planning is carried out 5 sq km beyond the administrative boundary of any urban area and ensure that there is an appropriate legal framework and human resource capacity to respond to urban growth.

2.4 Speed and predictability of enforcement of restricted land uses: development permits are granted promptly and predictably.

Section 32 of the Physical Planning Act places a duty on the physical planning committee to prohibit or control the use of land and buildings in the interest of proper orderly development of its area. Section 33(1) then requires a developer to obtain development permission from the physical planning committee of the area prior to commencing development. The committee’s approval is subject to the physical development plan, development intensity and the land use of the area.

Despite these legal provisions, there are no regulations in place to stipulate the detailed procedures. The law is quiet regarding timeframes. This makes it difficult to obtain the development permission. Experience in Uganda is such that upon lodgment of applications and the acknowledgement of receipt of the lodgment by the physical planner, development commences. Many buildings have been complemented without the approval of plans and issuance of development permits. The alternatives available to many developers are to pay bribes to speed up the process and even then it takes a minimum of six months to receive the approval to develop.

Given the growing informality, there is evidence in most urban centres of developers building at night and during weekends to avoid law enforcement. Once the building is
erected, it becomes difficult for the planning committee to erase it.

On a regular basis, it is commercial premises in the city centre that acquire development permits prior to commencement of development. This flaw in the system has resulted in the collapse of several buildings across the city of Kampala. In just 2013, a total of five buildings collapsed in the city centre leading to death of over 30 people.
3.0. Objective 2: Deduce policy recommendations that would be in line with best practice given the contextual setting of Uganda.

There is a draft Urban Policy currently being subject to public scrutiny and discussion. The current policy however does not take the matters relating to governance at the heart of urban planning. It carries on the view that urban planning is a technical field received for government and technocrats and therefore envisages a top-down planning process for the urban areas. This is unlikely to yield results.

**Restrictions of rights**

Despite the Constitutional provision that Planning supersedes tenure, the multiplicity of tenure systems compounded by the multiple laying of rights over the same parcel is a practical challenge to land use planning in Uganda’s urban areas. Apart from Leaseholds, it has been impossible to impose any restrictions on land use.

Although it is not possible any longer to revert to a single tenure system for urban areas, options available include widening the coverage and complaisance to property tax. This will push those who do not comply with the development plans to sell out to those who can put the land to the best and sustainable use. To achieve this, there must be a credible system in place to attain correct land values beyond the traditional approaches and speculation. This will improve the land market in the urban areas and enable the local authorities obtain enough finances to pay for infrastructural development.

**Transparency on Land use Restrictions**

The lack of clear rules and regulations regarding land use restrictions is a big bottleneck to achieving compliance. To ensure that spatial planning is respected, there is need to harness a participatory approach to planning in which all stakeholders participate in the formulation of the rules and regulations. This builds ownership and makes compliance easy. Furthermore, there is need for transparency in procedures and decision making processes regarding the enforcement of regulations and use. The benefits accruing from such processes must be seen to benefit the entire community and just not a selected few. Plans should not be for selected areas but should cover the whole urban area taking into account rights of women, the urban poor and the vulnerable.

Provision of public information on land use planning and restrictions quells a lot of unrest, improves public confidence and fosters compliance. This needs to be prioritized.

**Efficiency in Urban Land Use Planning**

Strong institutions are critical to efficiency in urban planning. The training of urban planners to have the requisite skills in integrated planning for growth of towns
and cities is critical. Financing for infrastructural development and enforcement of regulations is paramount to orderly development and growth.

Cities and urban areas need to invest in building the knowledge base of the citizenry to ensure that they participate in orderly urban development. After all, they determine and are in control of the culture, aura and fabric of the urban space. Creation of committees in the urban areas comprising a cross section of the urban dwellers and actors ensures improvement in service delivery and quality of life in the city. It makes the service deliverers more efficient in executing their mandates.

There is need for a coordinated policy and planning response in order to manage the rapid spatial expansion and population growth in Uganda’s urban areas.

**Speed and predictability of enforcement of restrictions on land use**

Lack of regulatory framework for enforcement of restrictions on land use has led to the sprawling development of urban areas in Uganda. A well funded regulatory framework with clear timeframes stipulated needs to be put in place. Furthermore, information needs to be made public regarding the processes and procedures that a developer is required to comply with in order to obtain a development permit. This will eliminate corruption and complacency.

A complaints mechanism needs to be put in place and punitive measures instituted against technical officers who unduly delay processes.
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LANDnet is an institution registered under the laws of Uganda with a mission to create an enabling environment for effective participation of all stakeholders in the efficient use and management of Uganda’s land resources for sustainable development.

The foundations of LANDnet lie in the principles of equity and equality, in the desire to ensure inclusion and equal opportunities in access to and control over productive resources including land. Through this, LANDnet aligns itself to existing global frameworks such as Agenda 2030, the Voluntary Guidelines on the Responsible governance of Tenure of Land, Forests and Fisheries (VGGT) and Africa Framework & Guidelines on Land Policies in Africa.

The success of LANDnet lies in strong partnerships and a shared vision with its partners.