

## ***Two Cities in One: The Genesis, Planning and Transformation of Kampala City 1900-1968***

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### **ABSTRACT**

*The system of indirect rule in Uganda, like most British colonies was made to ensure that the 'Native Societies' would not be polluted by the 'sophistication' of European based trade, mining and administrative urban centres. Therefore, for several years there existed two worlds in one, with limited contact and little understanding of each other – the world of the European and the world of the African – the 'Native', each with their planning ideologies and culture. Planning as an activity was technical and so was a domain of a few technocrats, mainly consultants from the United Kingdom who used planning as a tool to further the manipulation of space as a means of fostering hegemony and thus the alienation of native residents from the modern urban environment. Through review and deduction of archival and documentary resources, this paper focuses on how the city has transformed over time and the planning Ideas at play since the evolution of territorial and administrative dualism in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, an aspect that for a long time has remained almost unstudied.*

### **INTRODUCTION**

This paper reviews the role of planning Ideas in the transformation of Kampala city from pre-independence and dissects the concept of 'two cities in one', as the coexistence of modern and traditional landscapes within a single geographical space, resulting from imperialist policies of the nineteenth century. The concept of planning 'Ideas' or 'values' in this paper, simply means those things which are deeply cherished, or literally highly valued and which have a bearing on how the quality of the urban environment was envisaged and judged to be of high quality or ideal.

In East Africa, "new" colonial settlements were established, sometimes from scratch and sometimes on the sites of earlier settlements. Sometimes colonial settlements were superimposed on and attached to existing towns and cities. Kampala was founded next to one of the few important African Agglomerations in Eastern Africa – Mengo capital of the Kingdom of Buganda and the seat of His Highness the *Kabaka* (King). Hance submits that the capital of the ancient Kingdom of Buganda, which had one of the best evolved hierarchical administrations in East Africa naturally, drew the first European settlements to Uganda (Hance 1970:216).

The focus of this paper is twofold. First, the paper explores and describes how Indirect rule as advocated for by Frederick Lugard and sealed by 1900 Buganda Agreement, brought about the transformation of a once famous Kingdom in East and Central Africa into two discrete subsections: Kampala primarily for Europeans and Asians, and the *Kibuga* (capital city) exclusively for Africans. This, although later, the African city engulfed the European city, and then the European city grew

outwards into the native city creating a 'two cities in one' structure, manifested the existence of the civilised and traditional, European and native landscapes. Secondly, in Kampala Urban planning was used to shape the physical spaces of city life as a way to create consent as well as domination, while in Mengo planning was more for the *Kibuga*, and the palace and the rest of the Municipality grew naturally. These two worlds – the European city and the Native city, which we inherited from the colonialists continued to exist unabated till 1968 when administratively Mengo and the *Kibuga* became part of Kampala.

### Background

Before the Europeans set their feet in Uganda, all political power in Buganda was vested in the king who had a government formed by chiefs (Van Norstrand, *et al.* 1994). The Buganda Kingdom itself, "was divided into ten districts (awasaza), each ruled over by a chief; these were divided from one another by rivers or swamps, while others had valleys, or gardens, which marked their boundaries" (Roscoe, 1965:233). By the nineteenth century, Buganda had expanded considerably and comprised about 50 clans. These clans upheld traditional religious beliefs, involving the worship of deities and spirits. From the death of Kabaka Suna in 1859 until 1890 the capital changed at least ten times (Southall and Gutkind, 1957: 1). The capital usually moved from one hill top to another with the ascendancy of each new king. With the death of Kabaka Mutesa I in 1884, and the succession of Kabaka Mwanga, the palace was moved to Mengo where it still stands today (Southall, 1967:299).

In 1862, Speke and Grant, coming from the South, reached the capital of Buganda, the first Europeans to do so. On their return to 'civilization', they told of a Kingdom under the absolute rule of a cruel and despotic King, Mutesa. Life was held 'cheap' and human sacrifices practiced. Little more was heard of this land until Henry Morton Stanley explored Uganda. He found that conditions had improved as a result of the civilizing force of Islamic influence (Kendall, 1955: 13).

Following Stanley's request to King Mutesa of Buganda to allow missionaries, the first mission, the Church Missionary Society, established itself at Natete in 1877, and then moved to Namirembe Hill in 1884, the White Fathers from France were allocated Rubaga Hill in 1879, Nsambya Hill became the headquarters of the Mill Hill Fathers from England in 1895. Kibuli Hill was already occupied and was the headquarters and social focus of African Muslims. But as is evident from the following words of encouragement and wisdom emanating from Stanley, to his compatriots behind his religious zeal were the commercial possibilities of Uganda and the neighbouring regions. To quote:

"There are fourty million people beyond the gateway to the Congo, and the cotton spinners of Manchester are waiting to cloth them. Birmingham foundries are glowing with the red metal that will presently be made into iron work for them and the trinkets that shall adorn those dusky bosoms, and the ministers of Christ are zealous to bring them, the poor benighted heathen into the Christian fold." (Mukherjee 1985:117)

Thus Lugard, who arrived in Uganda in 1887, to establish the Imperial British East African Company declared quite candidly,

"The scramble for Africa by the nations of Europe – an incident without parallel in the history of the world – was due to growing commercial rivalry, which brought home to civilised nations the vital necessity of securing the only remaining fields for industrial enterprise and expansion. It is 'will' then to realise that it is for our own advantage – and not alone at the dictates of duty that we have undertaken responsibility in East Africa. It is in order to foster the growth of the trade of this country and to

find an outlet for our manufacturers and our surplus energy, that our far seeing statesmen and our commercial men advocate colonial expansion. I do not believe that in these days our national policy is based on motives of philanthropy only.....There are some who say we have no right in Africa at all, that it belongs to the natives! I hold that our right is the necessity that is upon us to provide for our ever growing population – either by opening up new fields for emigration, or by providing work and employment which the development of over sea extension entails, and to stimulate trade by finding new markets, since we know what misery trade depression brings at home...” (Mukherjee 1985:118-119)

Within a few days of his arrival, Captain Lugard signed a treaty with King Mwanga on the 26<sup>th</sup> December 1890, and then built a stockade which was subsequently replaced by a substantial fort erected in 1891. On the 29<sup>th</sup> May, 1893, before setting out for England, Sir Gerald Portal signed a treaty with Mwanga taking Buganda under the protection of Queen Victoria and on 18<sup>th</sup> June 1894 the Protectorate was formally declared over Buganda.

### **The 1900 Agreement and the evolution of duality**

This agreement set the seal for the colonization of the country and the establishment of the colonial administrative headquarters next to *Mengo* the indigenous capital.

The principal parties to the Agreement were the Baganda oligarchy (who wanted to retain their traditional power and desired long-term British military support to guarantee their security from other tribes) and Johnston, the British Special Commissioner and representative of the British Crown (who needed to secure the best arrangement feasible for Britain’s economic profit). Under the final terms, the British allocated 10,034 square miles of land to the ‘great chiefs’ and the Royal Household, and retained all uncultivated, waste and forest lands for the British Crown. An additional eight thousand square miles of land were divided among notables and lesser chiefs (Mamdani, 1996). Peasants now became tenants of the new Baganda mailo (mile-owning) landlords, and Native Councils would continue to exist and chiefs were required to collect taxes to enable the government of the Protectorate to be run on a basis of complete self-sufficiency (Guglers, 1968).

The hill on which the British fort was originally situated by Lugard in 1891 quickly became congested as the bazaar extended and trading took place on an ever increasing scale. It was imperative for colonial government to find a more suitable site than the fort area for trading purposes. Thus the Government transferred its offices and bazaar to the adjoining Nakasero hill to the east. When the removal took place the name “**Kampala**” was given to the new settlement. ‘Kampala’ is derived from the Luganda word “impala”, a type of antelope (*Aepyceros melampus*) that the Kings of Buganda used to keep and graze on the hills where the present Old Kampala stands.

The immediate consequence of the Agreement led to the division of Buganda Kingdom into two distinct areas; the African dominated part administered by Buganda government called the *Kibuga*, centering on and around Mengo hill, and Kampala administered as a township by the British and dominated by Europeans and Asians (figure 1). All the areas surrounding Kampala were under the Kabaka’s administration, who resided at the Lubiri on top of Mengo hill. This division between Kampala and the *Kibuga* remained until 1968.



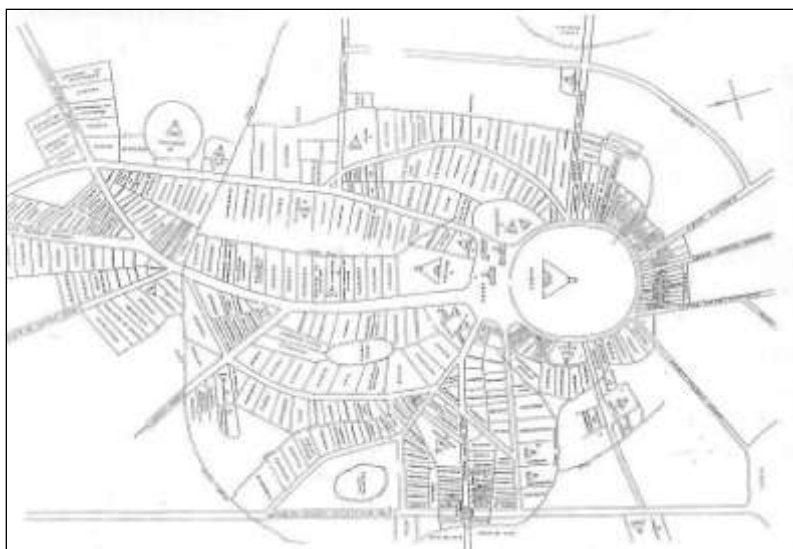


Figure 2: Plan and Organization of the *Kibuga*.  
 Source: P.C.W Gutkind, 1960

### **The Organization and Transformation of the Lubiri (Kings Palace)**

In this feudal society, the *Lubiri* (kings' palace) was the nucleus and the *raison d'être* of the *Kibuga* and therefore was the most organized place in the Kingdom (Gutkind, 1960). The *Lubiri* was designed in keeping with custom. According to Kagwa, as a rule the palace was built facing east which was the direction from which the ancestors were supposed to have arrived. The palace was an oval enclosure "about 1105 by 1122 yards by European measure" (Kagwa, 1934:74). According to Roscoe:

"The whole of the royal enclosure was divided up into small courtyards with groups of huts in them; each group was enclosed by a high fence and was under the supervision of some responsible wife. Wide paths between high fences connected each group of houses with the king's private enclosure..... All the land between the royal residence and the lake was retained for the king's five hundred wives and here they grew their plantains....." (Roscoe, 1921:88-9; in: Gutkind, 1960).

From 1884 onwards, the Lubiri was restructured, the main entrance in front of the royal residence was the only way by which the public was allowed to enter or leave the court. A man made lake of approximately 2km<sup>2</sup> and about 200 feet deep was dug up for the Kabaka for sporting activities – especially swimming and fishing.

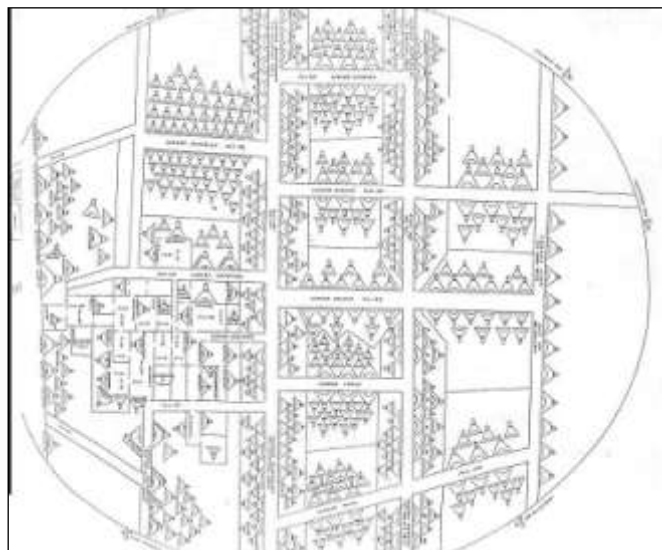


Figure 3: Organization of the Lubiri (Kings Palace) during the reign of Kabaka Mutesa I (Source: Gutkind, 1960)

Figure 4: A map showing the Lubiri – from 1884 to date. (Source: Gutkind, 1960)

### **Kampala: The Modern European Town**

With the erection of a fort on Nakasero hill and signing of the 1900 Buganda Agreement, residential, economic and administrative centres were established and Kampala came to represent the principal 'node' of colonial administration from which the surrounding regions could be placed under the colonial gaze (Byerley 2005). Lugard argues that colonial designs on space and socio-economic spatial re-ordering in the territory that was to progressively become Uganda were evident even before the proclamation of a Protectorate in June of 1894. Lord Salisbury, the then British Prime Minister, stated for example that: 'We do not value Uganda for what she is, but for what she might become' (Lugard 1893; in: Byerley 2005). The colonial period was marked by a reorientation of urban patterns to serve the needs of trade and administration and to establish 'acceptable' living environments similar to those in Europe, and this was to be achieved through city design and planning as in the rest of the British Empire.

### **The Ideal - Utopia for Kampala**

Ideas about garden cities/garden suburbs that dominated the planning discourses in Northern Europe in the first half of the 20th century came to define the parameters of colonial planning and practice in the newly created Kampala Township. The town area was getting congested as trading and business took centre stage and attracted every individual to town leading to the growth of slums, increases in population and housing densities, lack of housing standards, siting and building regulations, and noise and nuisance making (Prabha, 1993:52).

To address this anomaly and to transform Kampala into an acceptable modern environment, a legal framework for the orderly growth of Kampala was first laid down in the Uganda Ordinance of 1903, which gave powers to the colonial Governor of Kampala to define the city's boundary and make rules and regulations governing the physical development of the city that was at the time developing haphazardly. In 1906 the boundary was set for Kampala as a 3-mile radius from the Fort. The Kampala Local Sanitary Board was designated as the "Authority" for urban administration in the Kampala Township Area. Gutkind estimates that the *Kibuga* had a population of around 32,441 in 1911 and therefore was considerably larger than the European Kampala, though almost completely separate (Southall, 1968). The question of what kind or ideal urban environment was needed featured and the first planning scheme for Kampala was prepared in 1912

Many of the concepts which were implicit or explicit in British planning had a *prioristic* and utopian origin. They are the idea of nineteenth-century reformers, and especially those of the utopian writers, who saw social conditions and relationships in terms of black and white, and in terms of straightforward interactions. They believed firmly that environment directly determines human character and social structure-and that their recipes for the reform of environment (such as industrial villages and garden cities) had universal validity and would assure that men everywhere live happily ever after. They were confident, moreover, of the power of rational persuasion and of a steady sequence of social progress, directed by a 'super-planner', as the diagnosis appeared to be so simple, and the cure so obvious, there seemed to be no need for systematic inquiry (Glass, 1959).

### **Structuring of Kampala along Health lines – sustaining the duality**

From 1913, onwards, Kampala urban space was to accommodate residential, office and commerce within the new city. However, earlier Ideas of planning were superseded by health concerns, and this was at the most critical time, when European powers were seeking methods of exercising control of colonies. The colonial state was in a position to formulate and implement policy and to channel this through the dominant utilitarian theories of the era that were founded largely on the medicalisation of space did, however, facilitate a strategy that eventuated a de facto racial segregation. A perspective, if formulated as the politically contested

production of space – implied that within these parameters the colonial state needed to produce a reproducible space or terrain of operation that would meet and serve the needs of the self-sufficiency goal (Byerley, 2005)

Chadwick and his model for improving public health later formed the famous nineteenth century movement which led to subsequent efforts for town planning. This was also a period when the mosquito theory made its appearance, buttressed by the findings of a team of British colonial medical officers led by Dr. Ronald Ross at the University of Liverpool's School of Tropical Medicine, which identified the anopheles mosquito as the vector for malaria (Curtin, 1985; Frenkel & Western, 1988; Njoh, 2008). From these medical Ideas, the rationale of protecting the health of Europeans was the basis for the segregation of European reservations by building-free zone.

The origin of the policy of Segregation for health influenced the urban formations and patterns in a number of colonies in Africa and Asia. Colonial urban form increasingly sought to enforce separation: white from black, migrant from native, traditional from modern, men from women and family (Home 1997: 219). In Kampala as in the whole of East and West Africa, the thread of racism became increasingly strong as the First World War approached. The most elaborate segregationist proposals, combining racist and sanitary objectives, came from William J. Simpson of the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, who, on a tour of Kenya, Uganda, and Zanzibar in 1913-14, made recommendations, followed by an elaborate final report filed in July 1914.

Town planning in Europe, he believed, required the separation of commercial, residential, and manufacturing areas, but in Africa different principles were necessary - "... something more is required where the races are diverse and their habits and customs differ from one another..... it has to be recognized that the standards and mode of life of the Asiatic do not ordinarily consort with the European, whilst the customs of Europeans are at times not acceptable to the Asiatics, and that those of the African unfamiliar with and not adapted to the new conditions of town life will not blend with either. Also, the diseases to which these different races are respectively liable are readily transferable to the European and vice versa, a result especially liable to occur when their dwellings are near each other. Simpson emphasized that in the interests of each community and of the healthiness of the locality and country, it is absolutely essential that in every town and trade centre the town planning should provide well defined and separate quarters or wards for Europeans, Asiatics and Africans, as well as those divisions which are necessary in a town of one nationality and race, and that there should be a neutral belt of open unoccupied country of at least 300 yards in width between the European residences and those of the Asiatic and African" (Simpson 1914).

All the plans before World War II excluded Africans from the urban environment. Africans were kept in the rural areas to undertake agricultural activities especially cotton cultivation, and the Colonial Government felt that urbanization would separate Africans from family, clan and tribal authority as well as social codes of behaviour, discipline, custom and perhaps religion which originally guided their thought and actions with the object of making them useful members of the tribe or community to which they belong (Molohan 1957:1, 11-12; Mbilinyi, 1985; Obbo 1980:21). Although the Africans lived communal traditional lifestyle, the reasons for keeping Africans out of the urban environment by the Colonial Government were justification and pretext for racial segregation. In Africa, however, the traditional pattern of living was collective and in group settlements mainly because of the need for common defence against external enemies. The village was essentially composed of blood relatives who were kept together by well defined and historically evolved social customs and traditions. As Nyerere wrote,

“Africans lived together and worked together because that was how they understood life, and how they reinforced each other



against the difficulties they had to contend with.....These difficulties were such things like uncertainties of weather and sickness, wild animals, human enemies and “the cycle of life and death” (Nyerere 1968:106).

However, later the medical officers argued, it was possible for Europeans to work safely with members of the indigenous population during the day, returning to their exclusively White enclaves at night – a rare advocacy for nocturnal segregation.

### **The Africans’ right to Urban Space**

The end of World War II brought significant changes in the British Empire. The extensive physical rebuilding of cities following the war lent new urgency to town planning. In 1947 Great Britain enacted its significant Town and Country Planning Act, which placed all development under regional control. The new colonial policy issued in the mid forties was built on new principles that aimed at leading the Colonial territories towards self government. Partnership was now replacing the old trusteeship policy. Local governments were supposed to play a critical role in this process of conferring more political representation and autonomy to the local people. On the economics side, the Colonial Office also launched important modernisation programmes that aimed at setting up the economic framework for the development of the colonies (Home, 1997)

At this time there were a number of negotiations to incorporate areas from the *Kibuga* into the Modern Kampala municipality in order to be able to raise the service standards in these areas such that they could also then be developed as part of the colonial economy – for instance Asian business men were keen on establishing themselves in some parts of the *Kibuga* (Southall, 1967). However, the Buganda government was hesitant to accept the Kampala administration taking over responsibilities in the *Kibuga* partly due to prospect of losing revenue to the colonial administration – remember this took place during independence struggles.

By 1944, Kampala Township now covered more than 4,600 acres, engulfing residential and industrial zones in the Eastern direction of the town. At this point, it is important to note that by 1945, the Development Plan for Uganda, just like in other colonies, began to raise the issue of housing for Africans and their right to urban space.

From 1948 Kampala's population was estimated at 24,198 people and later in 1949 Kampala gained Municipality status; this however took effect in 1950 when a Council was appointed with a Mayor as its head (Prabha 1993). This period was dominated by the ten year development plans using the colonial development and welfare funds. The planning orthodoxy was that the major land uses of the city should be clearly distinguished and provided for in separate 'zones'. Undertakings included construction or improvement in infrastructure like roads, water supply, drainage, sewage networks and airports; and construction of public buildings including schools, hospitals, and health and social welfare centres (Kironde, 1995:50-52). This was the period when comprehensive planning was accepted in most colonial cities. It was a period of Town and Country Planning Acts and urban master plans. In Uganda, the first planning legislation was the Town and Country Planning Ordinance of 1947 which immediately was replaced by the Town and Country Planning Ordinance of 1951, which was also revised in 1964 and became the

### Town and Country Planning Act of 1964.

In Kampala the principle of comprehensiveness found expression in, the 1951 planning scheme for Kampala and was categorised into five major land use zones: residential; commercial; industrial; forests areas; open spaces, both public and private. The issue of housing for Africans and their right to urban space as raised by the Development plan for Uganda led to the detailed planning of Nakawa and Naguru residential zones and the subsequent construction of houses for the natives in native reservation camps.

### **Kampala City – After Independence**

The immediate effect of Uganda's independence in 1962 was increase in urbanization that showed a remarkable spurt of growth in Kampala city itself and all major towns neighboring the city. The gradual transfer of government ministries and departments from Entebbe (once administrative capital) that started in the nineteen fifties was accelerated when Kampala was granted city status from Municipality, in 1962. The National Parliament was established there. With Independence foreign missions arrived. The Treaty for East African Co-operation led to the establishment of the headquarters of the East African Posts and Telecommunications Corporation and the East African Development Bank in Kampala. More importantly, the operations of the corporations administered by the Community, that is, railways, harbours, posts and telecommunications, airways, and certain services, all had their offices in the new administrative and commercial capital of Kampala. Described as the expatriate headquarters, many Africans from beyond the borders of Buganda, and many from neighbouring Kenya, came in search for opportunities and settled in the national capital, in domestic quarters and in the housing estates (Gugler, 1968).

The substantial increase in the labour supply that was attracted to Kampala by wage employment brought population to well over 50,000 people within Kampala city and over 150,000 in the city and the new Mengo Municipality. In describing Kampala and Mengo Southall said,

“Kampala-Mengo is interesting because it contains within itself most of the major factors, combined at different strengths, which are found in African cities of quite varied type, such as the older, more traditional West African cities and the newer, European dominated cities of East and Central Africa. It combines both segregation and political dominance of a particular African tribe; it includes both European and African controlled land, traditional and modern roles, local African residents of long standing and high status as well as thousands of temporary migrant labourers of many ethnic backgrounds.”  
(Southall 1968:326)

### **Dissolving Duality**

The Metropolitan Area of Kampala had four separate local government authorities: Kampala City, Mengo Municipality, Nakawa Township and Kawempe Town Board. The first one was controlled by Uganda Government, and the other three by the Kingdom of Buganda Government. These were all different types of local authorities, and at different stages of development. The problem lay in the coordination of the different authorities, which proved difficult, yet co-operation was moreover lacking between the different authorities. Litherland, a UN expert on town planning in his submission said;

“...the more local authorities there are the more difficult is the task of bringing them together and getting them to agree

on the coordination of matters which transcend their own boundaries, and the more complex are the matters which have to be coordinated. It is desirable to have one metropolitan development authority to undertake with Government the physical planning and control of physical development in the future Kampala metropolis.” (Litherland, et al, 1966:15-16)

The idea of a metropolitan area for Kampala arose from the assumption that this model that combined an agglomeration – the contiguous built-up area with peripheral zones not themselves necessarily urban in character, or a large metropolis and its adjacent zone of influence would improve coordination and management of the urban activities, provision of infrastructure and services, and the development of transportation routes and physical growth of Kampala-Mengo region.

The UN mission that had been tasked to offer advice on how Kampala should develop and prepare schemes to that effect, noted that past development in Uganda provided little guidance and therefore no comparative models. They had presumed that in Britain, a well planned city was composed of an orderly ‘cellular’ structure of geographically distinct neighbourhoods or ‘environmental areas’. This presupposition was central to the view most town planners held at the time of the ideal urban structure. As Lewis Keeble (1969:10) had put it: “The town ought to have a clear legible structure.” This ordered view of the ideal city found expression in spatially distinct ‘neighbourhoods’ conceived as village-like communities expressed in the radburn idea, which originated in the 1920s in the work of the American sociologist Clarence Stein and Henry Wright. It combined Clarence Perry’s neighbourhood unit concept (Perry, 1929) with a radically new street layout of Raymond Unwin’s and Barry Parker’s cul-de-sac method of residential layout for houses combined in super blocks of 30 to 50 acres plus (Stein, 1957).

Despite all the effort put into planning, all idealized geometrical schemes and plans remained on paper, except for an experimental cul-de-sac residential layout on Mulago hill. No single ‘radburn’ was built in Kampala-Mengo to date and Kampala and the surrounding areas continued to grow and expand on ad hoc basis, a trend before the involvement of the UN team. Failure to transform Kampala-Mengo into ordered neighbourhoods was blamed on lack of resources both human and economic, and the nature and comprehensiveness of the plans that rendered implementation to be a slowly expanding process taking many years to complete.

In 1966, there was a turn of events, the first prime minister of Uganda, Milton Obote, abolished all Kingdoms in the country. The overthrow of the Kabaka of Buganda as well as the other monarchies by the Prime Minister led to the forced incorporation of the *Kibuga* into Kampala Municipality with Kampala City Council as the administrative unit and from 1967-1968 the size of the city of Kampala increased from 21 sq. km. (8sq. miles) to 195 sq. km. (75 sq. miles) with the inclusion of Kawempe, Lusanja, Kisaasi, Kiwatule, Muyenga, Ggaba and Mulungu urban centres.

## Conclusion

This paper has explored, analysed and described the two distinct landscapes of (pre)colonial and the first decade of post colonial ordering that resulted directly or indirectly from British administrations’ capitalization on making treaties and provoking new divisions within the once dominant Kingdom in East and Central Africa. The fashion of rule, which emphasized working through native leaders and utilizing native social structures, became the official policy of British imperialism throughout the empire in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The original native capital (*Kibuga*) functioned as a political and economic centre point of Buganda Kingdom. It was the seat of the highest political authority, including the Kabaka’s royal residence, the highest courts of the kingdom, a trading centre and the base of the army. Settlements had conscious spatial layout, although not in the sense of modern formal planning of the western world.

The colonial period was marked by a reorientation of urban patterns to serve the needs of trade and administration using urban planning theories and ideologies of the era. Four main ideas informed planning and transformed Kampala – First, the Utopian ideals of the Century; secondly, the health concerns- fear of catching ‘native’ disease, malaria and plague; thirdly, racial segregation and lastly, the growth of the modernist planning ideas – which became popular in the colonies most especially after independence. Health concerns and the mosquito theory, and the need to provide colonial administrators and early settlers with an acceptable living environment transformed the structure of Kampala city from forested hills, vast hunting and grazing lands, and small concentrations of chiefdoms into ‘civilised’ forms of urban settings – though without tampering with the centre of the native administration. For ages of time, Uganda’s village communities lived their own lives, without being closely integrated with colonial government and other aspects of the greater society. The duality persisted and still persists – the bright modern City surrounded by a sea of poor, informally growing periphery where the great majority of the people – over ninety percent lived and worked. An influx of migrant labour into Kampala City to meet an expanding urban need in the immediate post war years gave rise to a sudden demand for accommodation within Kampala-Mengo region, an issue that led to the inclusion of Nakawa and Naguru areas into Kampala and consequently construction of housing for the Africans on the newly annexed areas. But this is not a unique situation because the African reservations were still kept at a distance of about two and three kilometres from the European residential areas and the city centre, respectively. The material and cultural antagonism between the City and the surrounding areas of the Kingdom is also an old problem that persisted – glaring the duality that for decades was very evident until 1968, and today the duality can still be seen in certain sections of the City, despite the various transformations the city has experienced.

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