

Perceptions and Precarity of the Urban Poor in Kampala, Uganda

**A Thesis Presented for the
Master of Arts
Degree**

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

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May 2019

ABSTRACT

This thesis analyzes the ways residents of Kampala, Uganda perceive each other based on socio-economic status. I focus on the slum areas of Namuwongo as a microcosm of the stratified city. As in most postcolonial cities, Kampala presents vast stratification between those living in relative comfort and those in the slums. Focusing primarily on widowed single mothers living in precarious conditions in the slums, I compare their self-perceptions and strategies for survival with the perceptions of middle-class Kampala residents who view the slums, and people living in urban poverty, from outside the community. I frame my interpretation in terms of Uganda's adoption of a neoliberal development model that includes perceptions of poverty in terms of personal responsibility and failure, or deservingness and reciprocity. I also examine how the slums are represented in government census data and by non-governmental organizations. I argue that traditional neoliberal ideologies do not manifest themselves in the daily lives of the urban poor. However, those neoliberal ideologies can be found in the perceptions those residing outside the slum have of the poor as well as in the erasure of the poor from government census data. The power structures in place in Kampala ensure that those who embrace the neoliberal ideas of personal responsibility are the ones who make and enforce the policies that most affect the urban poor.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

KCCA- Kampala Capital City Authority

GKMA- Greater Kampala Metro Area

NGO- non-governmental organizations

NCF- Namuwongo Community Foundation

SDI- Slum Dwellers International

NFSDU- National Federation of Slum Dwellers Uganda

UTK- University of Tennessee Knoxville

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION: KAMPALA AND THE URBAN NEOLIBERAL STATE

“The government does not even think about anything for us. They come, they break us, they tell us to vacate. They don’t tell us where to go. They don’t give us money when they break [our houses]. They just break. For them, they are big people in government. They don’t help me... We sleep badly, we eat badly. We are bad off... We fall sick. But you fall sick here, you find government hospitals, you find drugs are not there. Then they write for you other drugs and they tell you, ‘You go and you buy’. Where will you get the money? You don’t have any help. You don’t have where to go. Eh, many people here have died.”

- Rebecca, Soweto resident

As I sat outside Rebecca’s home on a rickety bench, I was struck by the animated response she gave to this question: “What do you think the government thinks about the people who live in the slums?” Her rapid-fire answer was barely captured by the translators, as she set aside her tea and told us about her experiences with the Kampala Capital City Authority (KCCA) in Soweto. Her answers mirrored the information I had gotten from other informants, yet she was able to track a progression of how the city authority’s actions caused havoc in both the present and future lives of those affected. In contrast to Western neoliberal ideology that casts blame upon the poor for their circumstances, Rebecca was pushing back against the idea that she is somehow responsible for her own poverty by acknowledging that she is owed compensation and help (often derisively termed “handouts”) from her own government.

Rebecca also exemplifies the population of those interviewed inside the slum in this study: widowed single mothers. For those living in Soweto, one’s way of life is controlled by proximity to the railroad. As Rebecca recounted, this proximity and its consequences can be

disastrous, but doubly so for single mothers, who have little economic recourse. For the government, the railroad represents the neoliberal trade route connecting Uganda to all of East Africa. How the Ugandan government's neoliberal policies merge with the opinions of Kampala's citizenry about the causes and consequences of poverty is at the crux of this thesis.

Kampala's Neoliberal Urban Growth

Globally, rural to urban growth patterns in developing countries are on the rise (Adger 2017). With this growth, there has also been an increase in urban poverty, particularly in informal slum communities. In 2014 alone, the world saw a 28 percent increase (from 670 million to 880 million) of people living in slums — with slums being defined as informal communities with limited access to utilities and sub-standard, informal houses usually occupying space on the outskirts of the city center (Adger 2017, UN-HABITAT 2016). Sub-Saharan Africa has been affected by this rapid urbanization more than other global regions, and the ability to create proper infrastructural interventions has not kept up with the demand for those services (Boopen 2011). The country of Uganda has followed this global urbanization trend, and in response the government released a proposal called Uganda's National Urban Policy (UNUP) to the Ugandan Parliament in 2014. While the current (2014) level of urbanization in Uganda is low at 12 percent, it is expected to reach 30 percent by 2020 and 60 percent by 2060 (Brown 2014).

Several trends contribute to the rapid urbanization in Uganda including the population of internally displaced people, drought, and land tenure insecurity in rural areas (Brown 2014, Lwasa 2011, Mukwaya 2011). While this urban growth brought development, opportunity, and affluence for some, it brought displacement and protracted urban poverty for many others. In Kampala, 60 percent of the population live in areas that are defined as slums due to the lack of clean water, sewage systems and other utilities, lack of access to health care, and poorly

constructed shelters (Brown 2014). These slums, however, occupy only 12 percent of Kampala's land (NFSD interview 2018). As the population of Kampala increases, the amount of available habitable land decreases. In fact, ecological urban growth projections show that if the growth of Kampala continues at the current rate, the wetlands (where the vast majority of the slums in Kampala are located) will be uninhabitable by 2020 (Vermeriren 2012). This adds an additional dimension to the precarity of existence in the poorest communities.

This process of urbanization in Kampala, Uganda has been a century-long multi-faceted process. Historically, the urbanization process has been marked by ethnic diversity and discrimination, violence, political chaos, and, since 1986 especially, neoliberal development policies. Simply put, neoliberalism is the prioritization of a free market, privatized business, and multinational corporations over the state's obligation for the social provision of its citizenry. Neoliberalism has been defined and discussed broadly within the anthropological discourse over the past two decades, so much so that the term "neoliberal" has become nearly ubiquitous with modern anthropology (Ganti 2014). Neoliberalism as an area of study is vast with numerous applications; however, the tenant of neoliberalism that will be explored in this thesis is the idea of personal responsibility. The idea that most aspects of social care should rely on the, usually highly-gendered, private sector is valorized within the neoliberal ideology as a "personal responsibility." Since the market system neoliberals advocate is (in their estimation) unbiased, then poverty could not be the fault of the market or the system it operates within. Therefore, each individual must be, either in part or whole, responsible for their own poverty.

Since the colonial era (1860-1962), Kampala has been the country's largest and most economically advanced city. This growth and national importance remained throughout the postcolonial era (1962-present), with the greatest periods of urban growth occurring during the

early 2000's. UN-HABITAT reports that as of 2014, 50% of Uganda's urban population was found in the Greater Kampala Metro Area (GKMA)(UN-HABITAT 2016). The establishment of boundaries, government, and economic policy during the colonial era in Uganda directly contributed to the discord Uganda experienced in the postcolonial era. British imperialist rule impacted not only national borders, but also the ways in which indigenous groups from Northern Uganda, who put up a stronger resistance to British governance, were treated by the more urbanized Ugandan South. These divisions between the north and south in Uganda today are an effect of how the imperialist government treated the different kingdoms during their rule.

The artful and symbolic Ugandan Independence Monument conveys this message powerfully through sculpture (Figure 1). The statue, commissioned by Kenyan sculptor and Makerere University professor Gregory Maloba, depicts a woman whose body is bound by cloth wrappings holding a child (symbolizing independence) above her head in triumph. The statue's symbolism can be interpreted in many ways, but the most commonly held interpretation among Kampala citizens is that while Uganda may be free, the binds of colonialism remain. Likewise, urbanization in Kampala was entangled with the influences of colonialism. Generally, post-colonial urban growth patterns in Kampala often mirror the capitalist, neoliberal urban growth patterns in the Western world, by reproducing the poverty and housing insecurity among their inhabitants. Albeit, for Ugandans, this precarity of poverty simply became further entrenched due to the pre-existing poverty rates and political instability. High rates of internal displacement in Uganda combined with lack of land distinguish Kampala from the typical global urban trends.



Figure 1, Uganda Independence Monument

Although there are varied reasons for this postcolonial urban growth, its occurrence coincides with President Yoweri Museveni's multiple terms in office. Museveni is known for his open embrace of Western neoliberal policies. His inaugural address promised "a fundamental change in the politics of our government" (Reid 2017: 79). According to his own self-presentation, the primary focus of Museveni's government has been on "peace and development" (Reid 2017: 80). However, Uganda experienced numerous episodes of outright violence under Museveni, especially in Northern Uganda. Despite this, his embrace of neoliberal economic policies has feted him with the Western world (Reid 2017). Much of this embrace of neoliberalism is connected to Museveni's acceptance of funds from the World Bank's Structural Adjustment Program. A condition of accepting these funds is "the liberalization of trade" (Makakha 2001). The government of Uganda began accepting these SAP funds in 1987, and in 2001 50 percent of the country's budget was reliant upon foreign aid (Makakha 2001). Uganda now has opened its borders to many multi-national corporations (MNC) and has transferred the burden of protracted urban poverty to the private sector (Turyahabwa 2016). For this reason, the government data and ethnographic information obtained for this research focuses on the years

Museveni was in office (1986-present). Despite nearly thirty years of positive neoliberal microeconomic and macroeconomic growth and a vast influx of foreign aid, Uganda's poverty level is still high. Scholars and citizens alike point to the uneven distribution of SAP funds as a cause for this discrepancy (Makakha 2001).

Urban Poverty in Namuwongo

As in most postcolonial cities, Kampala presents vast stratification between those living in comfort and those in the slums. The Ugandan census records divide the country into counties, sub-counties and parishes. Further divisions, too small to be included in the census data, include the village, then the smaller community. Namuwongo is located in the county of Kampala, the sub-county of Makindye, and the parish of Bukasa. Namuwongo is a village in the parish of Bukasa, and as such is not specifically included in the census. Further, the smaller slum communities of Soweto, Kanyogo, and Kasanvu are not specifically represented in official data either. This is significant because it contributes to what I will identify later in this thesis as the invisibility of the most impoverished within the census data.

Kampala is divided into five administrative districts. In the Makindye district, the dichotomy between rich and poor is particularly distinct. Smaller divisions include the parish, then still smaller is the village. Historically the neighborhood of Namuwongo, in Bukasa parish, was considered low-income, but urban growth in the early 2000's brought manufacturing industries to the area. In the beginning, this was due to the low cost of land in Namuwongo, but as industries grew, it became an industrial area for both foreign and domestic industry. It is also located proximal to the high-end and middle-class parishes of Kololo and Muyenga. Located in the wetlands of Namuwongo is a slum containing approximately 40,000 people. Some were displaced by violence in Northern Uganda, some are refugees from neighboring countries, and

many are Kampala natives. In recent years, the slum has become vast enough that three distinct communities have formed within it: Soweto, Kisugu, and Kanyogo. During my fieldwork from June-August 2018 I visited and conducted interviews in all three of these communities.

The most identifiable structure in Namuwongo is the railroad track. For miles, the railroad track stretches through the slum area, surrounded by vendors. This is the place where the most business transactions are made, the place where social gatherings occur, churches are formed, voting takes place, and also the place within Namuwongo that has the most market value to the government of Uganda. Consequently, a large percentage of the people I interviewed, all of whom were widowed single mothers, had their homes destroyed by the Kampala Capital City Authority (KCCA) for being too close to one of government's means of trade (the railroad). Namuwongo has also been flooded with industries setting up factories proximal to the areas where the most impoverished people live. Much like the example with the railroad, people who live in these impoverished areas do not have access to the benefits of the industries surrounding them. They cannot afford the products they produce, nor are they eligible for employment in the factories, because many were unable to afford to complete their education — a requirement for employment in these factories. For this reason, Namuwongo not only represents a microcosm of the city of Kampala but highlights the economic isolation neoliberal approaches concerning development and their accompanying ideologies can produce in poor communities.

Research Objectives

This thesis addresses questions concerning whether and how the perceptions of outsiders, or those who do not live within the most marginalized slums, affect the lived experiences of those who do, especially impoverished single mothers. More importantly, I examine the link between neoliberal policies and transformations and the ways that neoliberal ideologies are

manifested within the perceptions of both non-slum dwellers and slum dwellers. Because of his economic policies and the resulting SAPs, of particular interest to me is how urbanization during Museveni's term in office has affected the lived experiences of the urban poor in the urban village area of Kampala called Namuwongo. The lived experiences of those in the slums include the quotidian behaviors of daily life: eating, economic activity, recreation, and sleep. My initial objective was to consider whether and how these activities were related to outsider perceptions of the urban poor in Uganda. Ethnographic interviews revealed that the depth of isolation felt by the urban poor meant that they were unaware of how those living outside the slum perceived them. Instead, their survival is dependent upon how they conducted economic activity inside the slum.

During a period of preliminary research in December 2017, in which I conducted interviews via WhatsApp with those who reside outside the slums and those who work as social workers within the slum, I learned that negative perceptions about those in poverty are prevalent in Kampala. I therefore wanted to explore in this project whether these perceptions are mirrored in how Namuwongo's poor view themselves. Moreover, how does the information in government data portray the causes and consequences of urban poverty? How does it reflect upon the urban poor as citizen-subjects? Finally, does official political and economic discourse influence public opinion towards the most impoverished?

Another aspect of both urban poverty and neoliberal government systems is the privatization of humanitarian aid and relief. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are tasked with providing necessities for the urban poor. In Uganda, this initially was a result of political instability, but in recent decades the public sector has been cut due to SAP guidelines. Two NGOs that provide services to Namuwongo with which my research interfaced are: Namuwongo

Community Foundation, and the National Federation for Slum Dwellers, Uganda. I chose the Namuwongo Community Foundation because of my personal connection with them, having volunteered for them in 2014. I chose the National Federation for Slum Dwellers, Uganda because of the extensive demographic research they have conducted, and their emphasis on empowering the slum-dwellers by giving them access to collective savings accounts, community-led activism, and their own census data. Their data was studied to reveal NGO perceptions of those in the slum sector of Namuwongo. This thesis will show that these NGOs portrayed agency among the poor, whereas in the government data, they weren't likely to be included. In other words, the NGOs relied upon the opinions and data collected by the slum dwellers themselves, whereas the government census commission did not.

To understand perceptions of the urban poor in Kampala's Namuwongo district, I conducted ethnographic research — including interviews with those living in Soweto, Kisugu, and Kanyogo, and participant observation inside and outside the slums — in Namuwongo. To gain a local etic perspective about how those who live in the slums are perceived by non-slum dwellers, I conducted ethnographic interviews with Kampala residents who reside outside the slum. These interviews complemented my earlier preliminary research, conducted largely through the medium of WhatsApp, in which I gathered information from 23 non-slum dwellers in Kampala to begin understanding this local etic perspective. In addition, I completed a comparative analysis of government and NGO data to reveal how these sources construct intervention and/or engage with the public domain. This analysis included official data from the 2014 Uganda Census as well as data from less official sources including that of the National Slum Dwellers Federation of Uganda (NSFDU), Slum Dwellers International, and Namuwongo Community Foundation (with whom I partnered for fieldwork). NSFDU data was compiled

solely by people living in the slums of Kampala, and includes surveys and questionnaires, as well as technology for GIS mapping of the slum areas. Careful analysis of these data reveals the borders of the slums, and the collective representation of those living in the Kampala slums, including Soweto, Kisugu, and Kanyogogo. Comparative analysis revealed that the demographic data provided in the government census was limited in scope, and did not include the slum communities specifically, whereas the information obtained from NGOs often included more personalized and detailed information about the slums' population, representation, and sanitation.

Methods

In order to determine the extent to which neoliberal policies and ideologies have affected the perceptions of poverty and socio-economic status among Kampala residents (both inside and outside of the slums), I conducted structured interviews with a range of participants (described below) and engaged in participant observation of daily life. This project had multiple layers of data collection, including remote interviews obtained through WhatsApp, in-person interviews in the slum, and analysis of data from government sources.

Recruitment: In 2014, I lived in Kampala, Uganda and taught in a free school called Ray of Hope in the slum of Namuwongo. This NGO has since changed its name to Namuwongo Community Foundation. My recruitment for this project began with my contacts there and networked from those contacts to others in the city. The ethnographic component called for both the opinions of local residents of Kampala, and those living in the slums. A recruitment script that was approved the University of Tennessee's Internal Review Board is included in Appendix A.

N Size and Study Population: For the ethnographic component of this project, my N size was 50. Twenty-five of my research participants resided outside the slum, while 25 resided inside the slum. Participants ranged from displaced people living in Kampala, displaced people living in the slum, Kampala natives living in the slum, local NGO social workers, ex-pat medical team members, and citizens of Kampala without relationship to the slums. Upon beginning recruitment, I sought participants through both the connections I have within the Namuwongo Community Foundation and word-of-mouth recommendations. I endeavored to find participants by using an a priori analytic framework (Johnson 1990), that is, based on the characteristics that will give informants access to different experiences in the community (ethnicity, religion, profession, age, and gender). Using a combination of convenience sampling and purposive sampling this allowed for the research to have generalization for its reproduction in other studies yet also yielded results that are specific to the Kampala population (Bernard 2011).

This initial sampling design within the slum became problematic, since unbeknownst to me, the Namuwongo Community Foundation primarily aides single mothers, most of whom are widows. Consequently, the ethnographic interviews with those residing in the slums of Namuwongo are limited to single mothers, giving a less generalized population. This impacted my research by opening access to the most vulnerable population in the slums, and also gave me the added aspect of gender to existing poverty studies in Uganda.

WhatsApp Ethnography: In order gain a local, etic perspective about the Kampala slums and those who inhabit them, I conducted ethnographic interviews with participants who live outside the slums in Kampala via the popular texting app WhatsApp. I initiated this phase of the research as a preliminary project in 2017, the year before conducting fieldwork in Kampala, and followed up on it during the major phase of research in summer 2018. WhatsApp is a freeware cross-

platform instant messaging and voice IP service that is of growing importance in the developing world (O'Hara 2014). The use of WhatsApp is widespread globally both for social networking and everyday communication. I chose this approach for both my preliminary research and as a methodological component of my thesis fieldwork for several reasons.

The information age is seeing a rise in anthropologists incorporating digital and internet-based media into ethnography (Nastsai 2012; Hanna 2012). The WhatsApp platform allows for photo/video sharing, as well as video calling, telephone calling, and texting. I made use of all these services while conducting both my preliminary research and my thesis fieldwork, which added the advantages of visual ethnography to my research. Informally, I asked informants questions about slums, as well as their background, through WhatsApp text messaging. Also using WhatsApp, I shared the file containing the formal interview questions, as well as a consent form, which was signed and returned to me also via WhatsApp (Appendix B and C). Both documents were approved for use by UTK's Internal Review Board. Another component of this ethnography included informants taking photos of the slums — things they felt are important parts for a researcher to understand about them — and sending the photos to me via WhatsApp. The ethnographic component of this project built upon this data to further reveal elements of the ordering of the slums, the social networks within them, and the local perceptions and identities associated with living in the slums.

The use of technology in ethnography is becoming more common in anthropology (Ndella 2017), however using WhatsApp as the primary means of researcher communication with participants is a new tool I first employed in order to begin conducting ethnographic research from a distance, and later found useful during on-the-ground fieldwork. Social media provides new methods for social engagement, creating new spaces for connection, interaction,

communication and engagement on different issues. Similarly, social media has given people in developing countries more access to global communication opportunities (Ndlela 2017). The last five years has seen a massive increase in the usage of mobile instant messenger applications and services on smartphones. Some examples include: WhatsApp, Line, WeChat, iMessage, Viber, Skype, Facebook Messenger, and KaKao Talk. These are often called Over The Top applications (OTT) since they are independent of the network being used, just as they are of the smartphone itself (O'Hara et. Al. 2014). These services are often obtained much more cheaply than using the messaging services provided the local mobile network, and are free downloads, making them more equitably accessible. Cost is, in fact, the driving factor behind their vast usage, as there is little innovation within the media platforms themselves (Montag 2015). O'Hara et. al. (2014) postulate that the use of WhatsApp, as well as other forms of social media, can create states of social dwelling. O'Hara states: "people do sociability through using messaging applications as not only the technical means of communication, but as a resource to make content. A smartphone allows people to tell stories anytime and place, but it allows those stories to include images from where the storyteller is. Messaging technology becomes part of the palette of meaning and content production; smartphones and the apps they support make discourse as well as enable it to be couriered" (O'Hara 2014: 3). This type of digital "dwelling" is not as constrained by time and space yet offers the same sense of human entanglement. Using WhatsApp in ethnography then reveals the participants' social relationship with the researcher, as well as a sense of local ownership to the research.

Initially, I had hoped that the use of WhatsApp would extend to include both residents who live outside the slums in Kampala and those currently living in the Namuwongo slums, however the realities of life in the slum (lack of access to smartphones, theft, and the difficulties

of networking) proved this to be impossible. Therefore, most of the data I obtained through WhatsApp during both the preliminary and later phase of research focused on non-slum dwellers perceptions of socio-economic status, poverty, and responsibility.

After the initial recruitment, I asked all participants for informed consent, both informally and formally, to ensure they understood that their answers will be confidential but could be used in a research publication. WhatsApp also has file sharing capability, allowing me to share Microsoft Word documents containing both the interview questions and the consent form (Appendix B and C). Sample structured questions that I posed to participants during both preliminary research and later fieldwork include: What is the definition of a slum? Where are the slums located in Kampala? And, why do you think people stay in the slums for so long? Then I used a listing technique, asking participants to list the first twelve things they can think of associated with the slums. I then sorted the lists by the most and least used items mentioned (Bernard 2011). This analysis, conducted at the University of Tennessee, revealed the most prevalent characteristics Kampala residents participating in my study associated with the slums.

Another component of the ethnographic process using WhatsApp was that participants took on the role of “voluntary ethnographer.” The participants visited a slum in Kampala, and through WhatsApp, sent photos and videos of their experience. If the participant chose to do this, their travel expenses were paid out of pocket by the researcher (payments would not exceed \$30 USD). Ideally, this method of using WhatsApp in ethnography will engage local residents as ethnographers gives local ownership to the project and provides the researcher with first-hand data that would otherwise be unattainable. In addition, this approach to conducting ethnography extends a component of participatory action research, ensuring the researcher’s active engagement with the study population during all phases of the project (Gershwin 2008; Mosher

2012). The WhatsApp interviews, both the preliminary and the formal interviews, were conducted while I was in Knoxville, TN between November 2017 and February 2018. In total, I conducted 23 interviews using this method, 14 of whom volunteered to take photographs of the slums.

The use of WhatsApp in my ethnography, while extremely helpful for obtaining data that would otherwise have been difficult to obtain, was not as relational as I had hoped. I found that upon finding out about the payment of \$30 USD, participants saw the research as a job rather than as a way to engage with under-represented parts of their city's population. Instead of being a relational engagement, it became highly transactional, with attached photos being sent simultaneously with requests for immediate payment. I obtained more requests to participate in this part of the research than was allotted by UTK's Internal Review Board, therefore had to reject some people's requests to participate. This engagement was fueled not by interest in the research itself, but by the desire to be paid the \$30 USD. Technology is useful ethnographic tool, however, more careful attention should be given to the building of relationships when using it, as well as more careful attention to the distribution of funds, and how that can hinder relationship building between participant and researcher.

Local Interviews: During the summer of 2018, I travelled to Kampala to conduct interviews in the Namuwongo slums from June 27-August 5. Recruitment followed the same methodology as the WhatsApp interviews, and the interview questions were similar as well, allowing for a comparative analysis. Language barriers ensured that I would need a translator, who was provided by the Namuwongo Community Foundation. The interviews were informal and were recorded on the researcher's smartphone. Verbal consent was obtained from each of the participants. My use of local interviews extended beyond residents of the slum to include five

individuals who worked with NGOs. Although my N size was 25, I was only able to interview 17 slum-dwellers, all of whom were widowed single mothers.

Participant Observation: In addition to the interviews, I engaged in volunteering with the Namuwongo Community Foundation. During the volunteer process, I observed the Namuwongo community, noting ways they conduct economic activity and form their social networks. I used my mobile device to record soundscapes within Namuwongo and make notes of smell and available foods as well. This sensory anthropological approach (Classen 1997) provides a more holistic version of culture in Namuwongo, aiding me in analyzing the data. Also integral to my participation methodology was the intake of local media, both through print, social media, and television, noting any mentions of poverty. Informal conversations about the urban poor were also part of my participant observation, adding to the already-obtained interviews.

Although many of the questions are not overtly about the topic of neoliberalism, the questions and responses about lifeways in the slums and perceptions of the poor yielded data that pointed to the neoliberal ideas (or lack thereof) of personal responsibility. Responses that tended to make personal judgements about the people themselves instead of the circumstances and structures that the urban poor are in were considered expressions of neoliberal ideology. Also included in neoliberal ideologies was information about the availability of public assistance, and how those in the slums perceived their government.

The following chapters introduce the lifeways of the three slums, review the ethnographic data, and give concluding thoughts and recommendations. Chapter two provides a theoretical background to the project, highlighting neoliberalism, the history of urbanization in Uganda, and gender and poverty. The third chapter is a detailed account of participant observation within the Namuwongo slums, while accounting for the various examples of precarity those lifeways entail.

The fourth chapter reviews in detail the ethnographic data as well as the government census data and the NGO data. The fifth chapter highlights the findings of the thesis, and the sixth chapter holds the concluding analysis. Within the chapters, I argue that those who reside in the slum are intimately aware that the neoliberal perceptions of personal responsibility are flawed, however those with the power to implement changes to alleviate poverty tend to hold to the neoliberal ideas of personal responsibility, equating poverty with personal failings.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

The main bodies of scholarship that inform this thesis are anthropological theories of urbanization, especially in developing African countries, and the role of neoliberalism in shaping both policies and perceptions of the urban poor. Neoliberal perspectives on poverty tend to focus on the personal responsibility of the poor themselves to end their own poverty, while ignoring structural hindrances. Familiarization with the literature surrounding this topic meant that I was better able to determine whether these perspectives were true of those interviewed in Namuwongo. Due to the population interviewed in the slums of Namuwongo, theories of gender and poverty also guide this thesis, in revealing how females experience poverty differently than males. In Uganda, the gendered nature of labor divisions often means that women are not afforded the same employment opportunities as men. As a result, widowed single mothers are among the most impoverished in the slum. Not only is their skill set limited to the domestic sphere, they have children that require much of the limited income they are able to get from those skills.

Urbanization

In 1999, the World Bank categorized overurbanization and urban poverty as the most “significant and politically explosive” problems facing the twenty-first century (Davis 2006; Anqing 2000). Those words proved prophetic because in 2015, the world’s urban population was estimated to be more than 3 billion persons. That number is expected to double in the next three decades. Currently, the world’s urban population is increasing by one million persons per month (Gottdiener et. al. 2014). As high rates of urbanization continue to rise, housing the urban population has created more places of urban poverty; in particular these are often manifested as

slums in developing world. According to Davis (2006), overurbanization is driven by the reproduction of poverty, not the lack of available jobs. Various factors of displacement cause the “push” toward urban centers to be strengthened even when the “pull” toward urban centers is weakened by the structural violence of the slums. Uganda in particular has seen violence in the northern region, coupled with crop failure and deforestation.

Although modern urbanization saw its largest boom in Africa during the post-colonial period, urbanization began during colonization, with Europeans building cities and connecting them via railroads to the hinterlands (Tover 1994). Scholarship relating to urbanization in Africa tends to focus on the Western, colonial definition of an urban center. Often left unnoted are the numerous urban centers, especially in West Africa, that pre-date colonial urbanization by centuries (e.g. Abner Cohen’s classic text). These are considered “traditional,” and not in the same stage of modernity as the centers furthered by the colonial agenda. It was the discovery of natural resources of high Western value (i.e. gold, diamonds) that prompted Europeans to create these newer, more “modern” African urban networks. Twenty-six countries had cities during the colonial period with a population of between 70,000 and 200,000 (Tover 1994). And although most African colonies had gained their independence by the 1960’s, the rate of urbanization in Africa accelerated. Figure 2 below (UN-HABITAT 2010) shows the growth rates for the most populous urban areas in each country during 2009.

Urbanization in Africa has largely depended upon the formation of informal settlements for housing its populations (Karolien 2011). Since 1970, a share of the world’s urban population growth has been absorbed by the periphery of developing cities (Davis 2006). This urban sprawl is a form of class-based marginalization that keeps the urban poor from city centers, often resulting in their lack of access to urban resources. This marginalization also creates more

ecological hardships, as many of the urban poor are relegated to hillsides or areas prone to flooding. Byat (1997: 56) concludes that the struggles of the urban poor are not merely defensive but are “surreptitiously offensive” as they ceaselessly aim to expand the survival space and rights of the disenfranchised. In Kampala, the suburban zones of many slums are now so vast as to suggest the need to rethink the term “periphery.” Uganda, in fact, has one of the highest global slum populations (UN-HABITAT, 2016; Adger et. al. 2017). This is evidenced by the fact that 60% of Kampala’s residents live in slums. While there has been progress in improving slums worldwide, population estimates show a growth rate of 28 percent. That is an increase from 670 million to 880 million people living in slums in 2014 compared to 1990 (UN-HABITAT, 2016; Adger et. al. 2017).

As shown in Figure 2, sub-Saharan Africa has been affected by this rapid urbanization more than the other regions of Africa, mostly due to rural to urban migration. The economic growth in this region, although increasing, is not increasing at pace with urbanization. This has led to environmental stress because of the difficulties of expanding infrastructure and public services fast enough to keep up with their rapidly growing populations (Boopen 2011). Eastern Africa has experienced a low rate of urbanization, at around 12 percent, despite being densely populated (Tover 1994). Defying this trend, Uganda’s rate of urbanization is one of the highest in the world at 5.1 percent per year (Mukwaya 2010). However, welfare and poverty indicators for the urban population have not shown improvement in over fifty years (Mukwaya 2010).

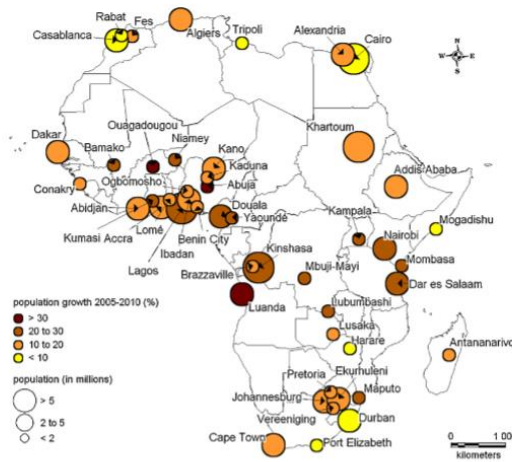


Fig. 1. Africa's million+ urban agglomerations in 2010 (UN-Habitat, 2010).

Figure 2, Population of urban centers in Africa

According to the 2014 Uganda census, the population of Kampala is 1.5 million. Table 1 (UN-HABITAT 2016) shows that most of the urban growth in Uganda occurred between the years 2002 and 2014, due mostly to rural to urban migration (Lwasa 2007). This vast population increase hindered the development of infrastructure and promoted the establishment of temporary housing and settlements (Lwasa 2007). Kampala occupies a vast 800 km land area and has grown to incorporate many of the surrounding cities, such as Entebbe, located on the shores of Lake Victoria. The city has an average population density of 6100 persons per square kilometer, but that number rises to 30,000 ppkm² in the slum areas (Figure 3). Most of the slums in Kampala are located on wetlands (Figure 4) because these places are less likely to be subject to urban policing and provide the most opportunity for urban farming (Kerolein 2011). This also means they are prone to flooding and ecological disasters. The vast population encroachment onto the wetlands also disrupts the natural ecological function of the wetlands (Figure 5), which act as a natural cleaning barrier between the city and Lake Victoria.

Table 1: **Urban centres by type, census year & population**

Index	1969	1980	1991	2002	2014
Number of gazetted urban centres	na	41	150	75	197
City	na	1	1	1	1
Municipality	na	2	13	13	22
Town council	na	34	33	61	174
Town board/township	na	4	18	20	na
Urban population	634,952	938,287	1,889,622	2,921,981	6,426,013

Figure 3, Population of urban centers in Uganda (UN-HABITAT 2016)

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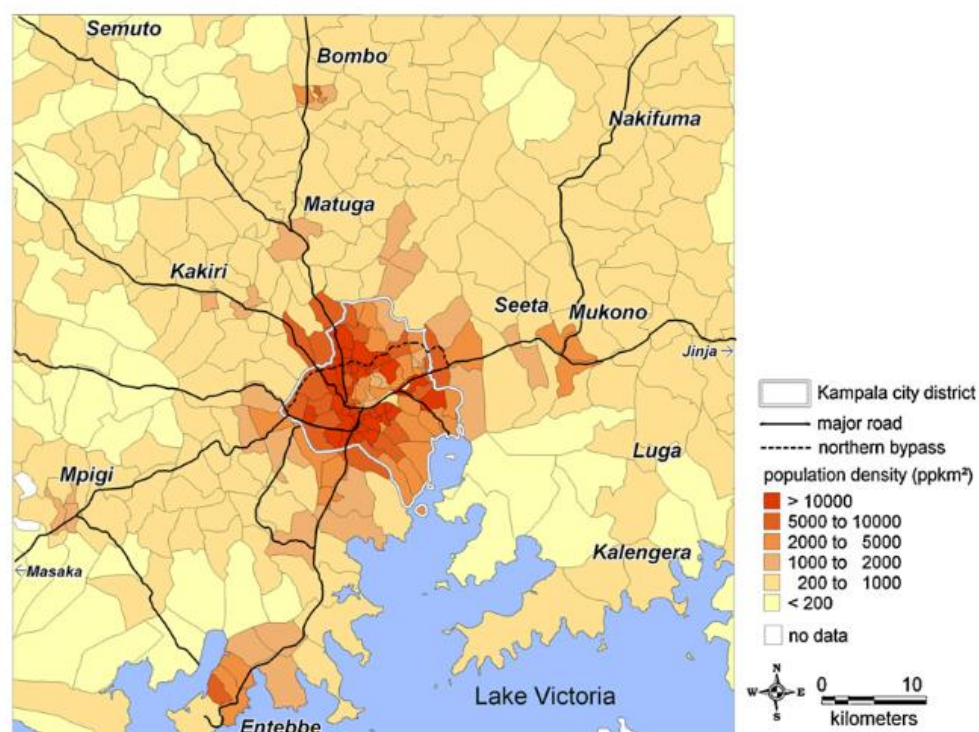


Figure 4, Map of Kampala population

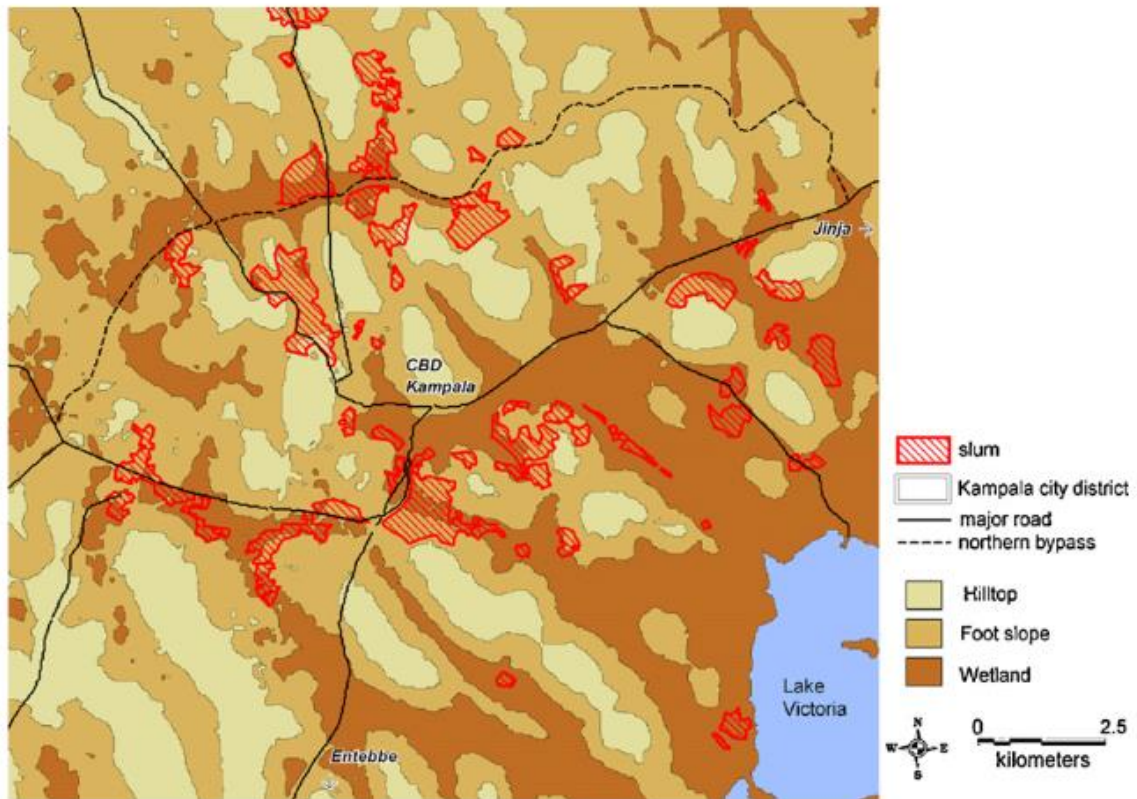


Fig. 3. Location of slums in relation to wetlands.

Figure 5, Map of the wetlands. (Vermillion 2012)

Neoliberalism and Perceptions of the Poor

Urban growth in Kampala is connected to the presidential term of Yoweri Museveni. Not only did Kampala experience vast rural to urban migration (for reasons ranging from violence to climate change), but Museveni's acceptance of funds from the World Bank and the neoliberal stipulations that accompanied it contributed to the growth of Kampala. Museveni has been in power in Uganda since 1986, building his extended term in office on the promises of peace and development (Reid 2017). The development part of his promise entailed privatizing the local economy and opening Uganda's doors to the global free-market. With these actions, Museveni openly embraced Western neoliberal policies. In a matter of years after he was elected to office, Uganda went from being a war-wrecked "basket-case" to being a poster child for structural adjustment and liberal economics (Reid 2017: 276). This reception of the free market system, combined with relative political stability, opened Uganda up to favor with the global North. The acceptance and engagement with neoliberal policies opened Uganda more widely the non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that were able to provide services the previously unstable government hadn't been able to provide. Development projects flooded the country, but favored the southern districts, including Kampala.

Neoliberal policies, like the ones in Uganda and much of the global north, are characterized by "the removal of government regulations on business; the reduction of the power of labor to make demands; the downsizing of the labor force itself; the privatization of many public goods and institutions; and the radical reduction of programs of social assistance for poor people" (Ortner 2016: 52). The neoliberal policies of the global north are implemented in the developing global south on an involuntary basis, a the condition of the north providing development and aid funding. The global power of neoliberal policies entrench existing global

inequalities. Socially, neoliberal policies are accompanied by neoliberal ideologies among both the poor who suffer from these policies, and the middle-class who associate poverty with “personal responsibility,” rejecting the ideas of structural inequality. In *The Neoliberal Deluge*, Johnson situates neoliberalism in terms of socio-economic status, saying: “Neoliberalism is essentially a class project, in which the state intervenes to dismantle its assistance for labor and the poor and increases its assistance on capital” (Johnson 2011:256). He also situates one’s socio-economic status as something beyond production. While low-paying production jobs are central to one’s socio-economic status, one doesn’t simply stop belonging to a certain class when they leave the workplace. This is the intersection between the neoliberal policies that exacerbate inequality and precarity for the most poor, and the ideologies that justify them.

When viewed in terms of socio-economic status, neoliberalism guides the global trend toward consumerism, which creates the material aspects of poverty. Poverty is not only the lack of material goods: the social perspectives on poverty, while not causal, are often linked to poverty’s perpetuity. The 2017 anthology *Poverty and Shame* reviewed multi-cultural scenarios in poverty and found that shame associated with poverty results not in a jolt of self-made wealth and determination, but in counterproductive individual and social consequences that result in further poverty and pain (Chase 2017: xii). Shame is a subjective, cultural construction that is ultimately tied to social perspective. It results in how others perceive you being internalized to feelings of inadequacy about your place in society. According to the data I collected in my interviews, in Kampala, these neoliberal ideologies have seeped into the population’s thinking, reflecting negatively on those residing in the slums.

Poverty and Gender

It is important to understand that identities are comprised of hegemonic ideas that are inextricable from power and value systems. This means that although identity is associated with race, class, gender, and sexuality, it is also associated with discrimination, poverty, and inequality. For this reason, gender must also be studied in terms of the intersecting identities that collide with it, for example, race and class. Within anthropological studies of development, gender can be seen as a structuring process to organize labor and regulate social integration. The majority of gender theorists since the 1960's have concluded that gender is experienced differently based on socio-economic status and that socio-economic status is experienced differently based upon gender, even cross-culturally.

Uganda has many cultural practices (such as the bride price) that are gender-based, and those practices often vary by ethnic group. Although these customs predate colonial influence, they are often reinforced by Western Christian traditions that have strongly shaped Ugandan society since the colonial period. Ugandan society is largely patrilineal, ascribing power to males in every household. This practice extends to property ownership and inheritance laws. A 2007 study conducted by Makerere University in Kampala indicated that upon a man's death, his widow was deprived of home ownership (Asiimwe 2007). For women, this usually means that they are subservient to their fathers, then to their husbands (Kaleeba et al., 1991; Obbo, 1995). The custom of paying for a bride is also popular throughout Uganda, and the terms of the bride price often have women releasing certain rights to their husband. For example, from my personal experience in Uganda, I have seen the bride price result in domestic violence, since some men will treat the women they have "purchased" as chattel. A 2015 Uganda Supreme Court decision, while stopping short of outlawing the practice, ruled that a man cannot demand a

“bride price refund” should marriage fall apart. Laws concerning inheritance and property rights in Uganda are designed for male advancement, often hindering women’s economic mobility. For example, a woman’s access to wealth depends upon her marital status. While unmarried or widowed, her property is held in a trust for a son until they are adults. If she decides to remarry, she then has access to her new husband’s money and property, but still lacks inheritance rights (Asiimwe 2007). Unless there are changes at a Parliamentary level, the law keeps women in an economically insecure position.

Gender is a factor in socio-economic status in Uganda for more reasons than inheritance laws. Females are also less likely to be educated beyond elementary school. In secondary schools, the ratio of girls to boys can be as low 1:3 (Katungi 2008). Having a secondary education opens access to more jobs and economic advancement. Job training, like households in Uganda, is heavily gendered: women aren’t seen doing jobs that are typically male. For example, the NGO I partnered with started a vocational school while I was there. They wanted women to learn sewing, and the men to learn mechanic skills. Common domestic functions (cooking, cleaning, child care) are typically controlled by women, and are learned from childhood. This corresponds to historically sedimented and globalized gender patterns in reproductive labor. Among middle-class women, it is not typical for women to be wage earners. Low-income women, although not primary wage earners, often have to fill economic gaps left by the unemployment rates their husbands are affected by. It is typical for women not to be economically active outside the realm of reproductive labor. Therefore, when left without a husband to navigate the economic system, women must learn a trade or learn to use the skills they have to make an income. Often the skills they can offer, limited to domestic tasks, pay low wages. This, coupled with the absence of affordable child care facilities, makes single mothers

among the most economically vulnerable in Kampala. There is significant evidence that employment can lower poverty rates; however, single mothers only have access to the employment for which they are qualified, and they must simultaneously be able to care for their children. Many scholars agree that when women are given access to employment, families as a whole benefit, and the risk of poverty for future generations is lowered (Brady 2006; Bianchi 1999).

CHAPTER THREE: NAMUWONGO DAY BY DAY

As a rule, the slums in Kampala are not clearly marked. There is no sign that says: “Slum This Way.” They are so prevalent in the city, however, that the locals know where they are and how to get to them. It was no surprise then, that to get to the slums in Namuwongo, we took various routes everyday depending on where the homes we were visiting that day were located, but all were down narrow, dirt road alleys that jutted out from the main tarmacked (paved) road, Namuwongo Road. Upon exiting any of the alleys, the space opened up into an expanse of economic activity (Figure 6).

For a three kilometer stretch along the railroad tracks, there was a cacophony of boda boda (motorcycle) engines roaring, African music, and the voices of people negotiating business, minding their children, and greeting friends. Due to the abundance of food vendors, my olfactory senses were assaulted with the smells of various fried foods. Lurking beneath that top layer of smells, however, was the layer of smells that remind you that are in a slum: the smells of rotting food and rubbish, and the smells of human and animal waste. It was extremely common to see animals, especially goats, wild dogs, and sheep, along our route to conduct to home visits. Quickly into my fieldwork, my interpreter tuned into the fact that I liked animals, and whenever we would pass one, she would nudge me and say “Look, Kayla!” On election day in Namuwongo, there were crowds of people lined up to vote. The crowds caused us to detour our route more than once. So, when we saw cows being herded along the railroad tracks, jokes about how even the cows came to vote abounded in our little group (Figure 7).



Figure 6, Entering the Namuwongo slum



Figure 7, The voting cows

Prior to my visits here, I was cognizant of the fact that my presence could mean a change of behavior in those who saw me there. From my previous experience in Uganda, I knew that there was a complicated simultaneous respect and disdain for the white people who lived in the city among Ugandans. I was used to being stopped on the street and asked for money, I was used to being overcharged by public transport drivers and street vendors. I was even used to being stopped on the street and asked to go on dates by strangers. I was surprised to note however, that in this area of the Namuwongo slum, I was practically ignored. Everyone went about their business, and I was rarely spoken to, except maybe to tell me to move out of the way when I was unknowingly interrupting the normal flow of movement by my slow observations.

All of my experiences in Soweto, Kanyogo, and Kisugu led me to varied conclusions about the economy, livelihoods, survival, and ways those in the slum perceive themselves as well as those in the greater city. The topic of isolation was prevalent, as economic activity and survival strategies were dependent upon only what the slum had to offer them. For most, leaving the slum wasn't an option they had even considered. This was not because of hopelessness or the inability to see beyond the day. Instead, they found a sense of cooperative survival in the slum that they believed was not available in the larger city. It was the benefits of the slum as much as the structural constraints of poverty that kept them there.

Economy of Soweto, Kanyogo, and Kisugu

Tuesday in Namuwongo is market day. This means that streets of Namuwongo, not just the slum, are filled with vendors selling their wares. The normal bustle of the slum's economic center (the area surrounding the railroad tracks) is magnified since double the amount of people fill the streets. On a normal day of walking along the railroad tracks, I was ignored, but on market day vendors are more openly aware of my presence, and I was constantly bombarded

with requests to buy their items. At times, I did buy from them, preferring to spend my money there as opposed to the larger grocery store food chains in the city. The formal market (Figure 8) consists of a roofed pergola with vendor stalls where fresh fruits and vegetables are sold. Paying rent in this formal space secures you a place to sell your items. Some vendors operate informally however, opting to set up along roadside (Figure 9). With these vendors, you will find household goods, cleaning supplies, clothing (most of which was shipped from the United States and sold by the bushel then resold in individual pieces), jewelry, kitenge (African fabric), and electronics (Figure 10). The space directly along the railroad tracks is full of vendors on Tuesday, and the crowds are thick with people. On all other days, the business and sales stands are approximately 75 meters from the tracks and are housed in permanent structures, unlike the make-shift stands and tarps you would see on market day. It isn't only slum and Namuwongo residents who take advantage of market day here; many of the expatriate families I spoke with knew that the prices were cheaper there and took advantage of this too. However, believing they would be overcharged if they went themselves, they often sent hired help to do the market shopping for them. This is why my presence at market day was noted; it wasn't often that a muzungu (white person) was seen here.



Figure 8, The formal market



Figure 9, The informal market



Figure 10, Various non-food items being sold on market day

Even when it isn't market day, it is easy to find the staple food and household items that a typical family would need within the slum. As I mentioned, businesses line the railroad tracks for many miles. Most were small shops (approximately 5x5 meters), and carried necessary items like bread, milk, soda, sugar, tea, eggs, and snacks (Figure 11). Some had vendors who sold produce in front of the store. There were also several open-air butcheries, and many vendors who sold cooked food, like rolex (a cheap Ugandan on-the-go dish consisting of an omelette-style egg with your choice of vegetables wrapped in chapati) and grilled chicken. Public toilets were a popular business as well, where people charged a small fee for using a toilet. Otherwise, toilet options were limited within the slum. Also dotted along the economic center were places to buy cell phone minutes, or airtime. Even though there is a lack of internet-enabled "smart phones" within the slum, most of the population uses a cell phone to communicate, and one cell phone is often shared among family members and neighbors. Second only to the corner shop business was the beauty parlor business. Many of these lined the economic center and were places not only to get one's hair styled or nails polished but they were also places of sociality.



Figure 11, Businesses lining a street in the slum

I was able to quickly conclude upon entering the slum that there were a multitude of commodities available for the slum dwellers' consumption. Therefore, when interviewees told me they rarely left the slum, I was unsurprised. All the necessary survival options were available to them here and at a cheaper price. The monetary exchange-based marketplace functions here, like it does in most of the city. The supply exceeded the demand in most cases, but prices were brought lower by competition. For many, their ideal livelihood was being able to take place in this monetary exchange economy and own a business. The term "capital" was used 14 times in 12 interviews with slum dwellers, illustrating that the residents understand that their means of survival is directly tied to an economy based on money as the predominant form of exchange. In the interviews, sentiments like "if I only had a business" were repeated. One interviewee stated: *"if people can come in and help me and rescue me and look for me where to sleep and even give me capital to put in my business, and run it, she will have peace."* Yet another pointed the reciprocity-based networks in her demand for capital by saying: *"If I come up with a small hotel-like business working with food, I can work and people can eat."*

The fact that they asked for the capital outright instead of asking to earn it shows that the neoliberal ideals of personal responsibility for their own poverty have not invaded the mind sets of those residing here. The neoliberal ideal values work while overlooking the hindrances that may impede those in poverty to work. For example: transportation and childcare. The single mothers I interviewed considered asking for money or using the various NGOs around them as a survival mechanism as more advantageous than seeking a job, although many expressed to me that they were looking for employment. Interestingly, when my interviewees spoke of looking for a job, they rarely spoke of leaving the slum to find one. Their hope was to sell on market day or find a job at a store or slum hotel. The money they would need for transport precluded them from

finding a job in the greater city, but also the jobs in the greater city belonged to those privileged enough to have gotten a complete education.

Over the past decade, many multi-national corporations have built factories and industrial complexes in the Namuwongo sector. These industries do provide jobs, but those jobs are only available to people who have completed the American equivalent of high school, which is referred to in Uganda as “having papers.” The number of people who have papers in the slum areas is extremely small because of the cost involved in education. For even the cheaper schools, one year of secondary school can cost \$1500 USD. Most people that I met in the slum struggle to pay their rent, which on average costs \$13 USD per month. This makes the possibility of completing their education improbable enough to seem impossible.

Other jobs in the service sector that are not available to those living in the slum include: housekeeping for the expat population, police services, construction, and shop clerks at stores in the greater city. All these jobs require secondary education papers, and all except the construction work require a fluent knowledge of English as interacting with the vast expatriate population of Kampala will be necessary. This creates a direct connection between Museveni’s opening of Uganda to a plethora of foreign aid organizations to unemployment in Uganda.

Since many of my interviewees were unemployed, I was sure to ask how they survived. How did they find money to exchange for food? How did they pay rent? Sixty-three percent of my interviewees were self-employed by washing clothes (Figure 12). This usually meant they went from door to door asking if someone wanted to pay them (usually between \$1 and \$2 USD) to wash their clothes. One mother described her job in this way: *“Eh, I go outside the slum to Muyenga place and Namuwongo place, outside. Those places. Sometimes I go to people’s homes. I tell them: ‘I need 10,000 [Ugandan shillings] to wash for you the clothes.’ They say,*

‘we are giving you 6,000.’ And then they give me the 6,000 and I have [money] to feed the children.” This was a job with little overhead, as Namuwongo had free spring water installed by KCCA, and washing soap could be obtained for as cheap as 30 cents USD. Most of those (92%) found business by both going up into the middle-class neighborhood of Muyenga and by staying in the slums. If they did go out of the slum, they walked, not adding an expense of transportation to their business overhead. Given that these women were self-employed, the services that they provided were not conducted at scheduled intervals.



Figure 12, Laundry in the slum

Household Precarity

A typical slum dwelling in Namuwongo is located along a narrow alleyway lined on each side with other dwellings (Figure 13). For the most part, each home is not freestanding but is connected to at least five other homes, much like an apartment complex. However, these are window-less single room spaces. Most of the homes have doors, but they are usually wooden, and since there is no other light source than the door opening, many leave the door open or cover it with a sheet to let in air as well as some light. Utility services are not provided here, so electric lights are rare. Some people have figured out ways to get electricity into their homes illegally, and I saw at least one lucky family who had an outlet. For this reason, the homes were dark and tended to be very warm from cooking with an open flame inside the house. The average home is about 8x8 meters square and is shared by an average of six people. Furnishings tend to be limited, and the furnishings that are there make the space very cramped. Most families move furniture at night to ensure that everyone has space to sleep. Children typically sleep on the floor.



Figure 13, Slum alley lined with housing units

One constant for most people living the slums is a precarious day to day type of survival. When speaking of the future, it was difficult for my interviewees to see past the immediate future or to see past a life in the slum. Much of their energy is focused on day to day survival. Precarity, as defined by Anna Tsing is “life without the promise of stability” (2015:2). Stability is a privilege that few have in the slums of Namuwongo, even concerning daily household activities. This type of household precarity is manifested in many ways but the ones I will discuss are housing precarity and economic precarity.

The first type of precarity is related to the neoliberal government’s protection of the railway in favor of protecting its citizens. A vast majority of those I spoke with had homes or businesses destroyed by the city government for having any sort of livelihood too close to the railway. One mother felt this issue to be the most important in the slums saying: *“I want you to know and people doing research...out there: here we can start a business or build a house- and they break it. Meaning I can start a business and people can come and break it because it’s so close to the railway.”* As mentioned before, the railroad provides free market-type trade services connecting East Africa. The Kampala Capital City Authority continually changes the regulations regarding the legal proximity structures are allowed to be in relation to the railroad. These regulations certainly can have safety related implications; however, the railroad is a part of the culture and way of living in the slums, and deaths resulting from being too close to the railroad are rare. From my own experience in 2014, I recall that KCCA entered the slum area with bulldozers in the early hours of the morning, destroying homes with little warning, leaving hundreds of citizens homeless. I have close friends (who are expatriates) who helped in the relief efforts in the aftermath of this destruction. Since 2014, this destruction of property by KCCA has occurred at regular intervals.

During the course of my research, I contacted KCCA for a statement through email, social media, and WhatsApp, but as of the time of this writing have not received a response.

When speaking with interviewees about the destruction of their homes, they often use the term “broke.” For example: *“I was next to the railway, they broke me, and I had to shift, and when they break, they take some of the things. Tractor came and broke and when they broke, some of the things were taken and I picked some up.”* Similarly, this answer was common when asked what their thoughts were about the government: *“The government is one who is breaking us, they broke us when we were next to the railway.”* An example of this term’s usage can also be seen in the opening quotation. *“They broke us”* was such a common refrain that it was used in all of the interviews that I conducted, whether the “breaking” affected them personally or by extension. My interpretation of this term “break” surpasses the physical damage that was caused to a home or business. When a home is destroyed, more than just a physical building is broken, and more is lost than simply shelter. Two participants shared that after KCCA had demolished their homes, they had to use what little money they had saved (intended for purchasing capital for their business) to secure housing and food for their families. This means that not only was their home destroyed, their means of making a living was also broken. Given that they had little warning before their home was broken, it was confirmed to me that they also lost what belongings they couldn’t carry with them.

In addition to broken property and livelihood, this sense of brokenness also extends to the psychosocial. This includes a broken trust in the police force of Uganda, and the city authorities. One of the mandates of the Uganda Police Force under the Police Act of 1994 is “to protect the life, property and other rights of the individual (Raleigh 1998).” This mandate obviously does not

extend to the slum dwellers of Namuwongo. Among those interviewed, not a single person had a positive comment to say about the government— another indicator of this broken trust.

Household precarity in the slums is directly related to the lack of employment opportunities for those who live there. As mentioned before, those in the slum who have not completed high school are ineligible for many jobs in the greater city. This coupled with transportation costs means most people try to find employment within the slum. However, since most businesses tend to be privately owned and business owners are self-employed, they do not have the resources to hire an employee. The businesses that do hire employees are often hotels within the slum that pay very little.

Apart from the threat of destruction of property, precarity of housing extends to the lack of oversight that landlords are given in slums. Rent control is a lost concept in the slums. Landlords often make rental agreements without any legal form of documentation. This gives them the ability to collect rent or evict at will, making housing incredibly insecure for those living in the slums. For example, one lady disclosed to me that her landlord had demanded four months' rent in advance. She had to ask her employers for an advance in pay, which they initially refused. Yet another participant said that her landlord had decided to rent to someone else, and she needed to find another place to live. According to many outsiders, women often are forced to resort to non-monetary means (such as prostitution) to pay their rent. This was unsupported by interviews with slum dwellers (possibly because of stigma or embarrassment). This issue of landlord power then leads many to being constantly re-displaced. Housing precarity then becomes a part of the lifeways of those living in the slums.

Soweto's Single Mothers

Single mothers in the slums made up the majority of my interview participants for this thesis. Because they are among the poorest of those living in the slums, Namuwongo Community Foundation focuses much of their relief effort on them. As single mothers, they only have one (meager, precarious) income, and fifty-eight percent of those interviewed are providing for four or more children with that income. Since providing school fees, clothing, food, and housing for their children is often more expensive than they can possibly afford, the common survival strategy for single mothers is to accept help from local NGOs for their children's school fees and food. The children are provided at least one meal per day at school, relieving the mother of having to provide as much food. Some schools provide more, but often the food they receive at school is all the food the children will get for the day.

Although the picture I've painted of the slums is often grim by Western standards of living, a common topic among those interviewed was that having more access to NGOs was a benefit to living there. This access to NGOs is a possible reason that many of those interviewed felt that capital was something they should be given, as opposed to something that could earn. Financially, leaving the slum meant not only higher costs of living, but also the loss of support from NGO's who provide school fees and free medical care. This type of cooperative survival was also revealed through the fact that forty-two percent of single mothers were not living in their own home but were sharing with friends and family. If they left the slum, this option would not be available to them because they would also experience the loss of their social network.

The process of becoming a single mother looked similar for many whom I interviewed as well. Not a single time did I hear about divorce or out of wedlock pregnancies resulting in single motherhood, although sharing with an outside researcher could have been shameful for them to

admit. Instead, I was told time after time that the husband had died, making them not only single mothers but also widows. Many lost husbands due to HIV/AIDS, exemplifying the medical precarity in the slum.

Environmental Precarity

A precarious aspect of the slums that both insider and outsider participants mentioned were the environmental hazards that pervade the slums. As mentioned before, the majority of the slums in Kampala are located in wetland areas (Figure 14). This not only is a hazard for the ecosystem of Kampala; the more immediate result is the constant flooding of the slums when it rains. Many homes that I visited had water lines on the walls indicating the level the water rises when it floods. Rainy days in the slums were considered so hazardous, that the NCF social workers refused to take me down to conduct interviews on rainy days. Common knowledge about the weather patterns in Uganda says there are two seasons, wet and hot. Rainfall charts indicate that seven months (January, March, April, May, October, November, and December) out of the year have high rainfall (Figure 15).



Figure 14, Swampy area created by the wetlands

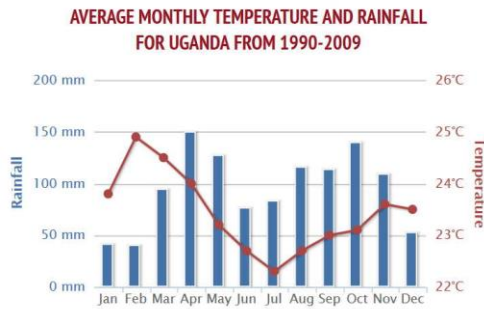


Figure 15, Uganda temperate and rainfall report. Source: <http://www.nationalparks-worldwide.info/eaf/uganda/uganda-climate.html>

This affects the slums not only because of the way they are built on the wetlands, but also because of way the slums are constructed for maximum occupancy. The type of narrow alleys lined with homes that are common in the lowland slums flood quickly. When asked what happened when the flood waters reach inside their homes, residents answered that they try to find a neighbor whose flooding is less severe than theirs to share housing with until the waters recede. This reinforces the cooperative survival strategies that characterize living in the slum. Since neoliberal ideologies view economics as a zero-sum phenomenon, I would have expected to see competitive survival strategies if there neoliberal ideas were prevalent within the slums.

When asked about what the government thinks of them, some spoke against the organization NEMA (National Environmental Management Agency). Although the organization is correct in their assessment of the environmental hazards the slums are contributing to, people have angst about being displaced. That angst is well-founded since NEMA has destroyed property in various slums around Kampala in the past, in the name of preserving the wetland for posterity. So, this environmental precarity also reveals an underlying housing uncertainty.

Daily life in the slums of Namuwongo is a precarious existence where uncertainty has become a lifeway. Insecurity in having access to permanent housing abounds, while the housing they have is constantly flooded. Economic insecurity is exacerbated by the lack of employment in the Namuwongo business sector, and the fact that gainful employment in the larger city requires a high school diploma, which is unattainable for most in the slum. In part, this precarity is fueled by the neoliberal government protecting the railroad, an important link to free trade in East Africa. The capitalist economic practices that have invaded the slum businesses have meant earning money is dependent upon supply and demand economics. Both participant observation and interview data revealed that those living in the slums have not internalized the notion that they are at fault for their poverty. Instead, they recognize that they are constrained by a variety of factors: poor housing, lack of access to employment, and government destruction of property. Even so, their lives are affected by neoliberal policies that are associated with those ideologies, especially the assistance they receive from local NGOs. The following excerpt from an interview with a widowed single mother concisely illustrates the precarity of slums in a simple exchange:

Interviewee: What I see in the slum, many people here are poor. People don't work, people can't afford to pay fees for their children. Yes. The situation is bad. They chase us away. They tell us to relocate, but we don't have where to go because we don't have the money.

Davis: Who tells you to relocate?

Interviewee: The city council and the government that's chasing [us away] because this is under water, under NEMA. It is difficult to get school fees, even for to eat we struggle. When it rains, it floods. [Pointing to her walls]: That one is carpet, but it protects when it rains.

Translator: Eh, Look. They have put wood on the wall, because of water. It's wood, Kayla. [she knocks on the wall]

Interviewee: When it rains, they have to leave.

Davis: But when it rains at night?

Interviewee: If it rains at night, we have to look for neighbor.

Davis: Mmmm. What about business here? What do you do for money?

Interviewee: I used to work. I had a small business. City council came in- city council is under the government- KCCA is city council. It has authority from the government. So, I am trying to say I tried to start a small business, but city council came and captured everything. They chased me out.

Translator: And they have been doing it even in Kampala, if you saw on the TV. They chase people. They even arrest you, if you see people with mangos running. They arrest them, they put them in prison, they release them, they get their mangos. People who grab their mangos, eat them. Then she makes a loss.

Davis: And her business was here, in the slum?

Interviewee: It was up. It was next to the railroad. As for now, I have no capital, but even I did, they would chase me away.

CHAPTER FOUR: PERCEPTIONS OF KAMPALA'S URBAN POOR

The ethnographic data I collected revealed not only the quotidian lives of those in slums but also how those in the greater city perceived those who live in the slums, and how those in the slums felt they were perceived. There was a strong divergence between how outsiders felt life in the slum was conducted, and how the slum dwellers themselves described life in the slum. Also of note was the fact that many in the slum felt that their existence was unknown by residents of the greater urban area, when this was not the case. In addition to ethnographic data, I examined the data from the 2014 Uganda census, and compared that to the data collected by Slum Dwellers, Int., since they are known to interact directly with those in the slum to obtain their data. Unsurprisingly, the slums of Namuwongo were not specifically included in the government census, but the data collected by SDI was highly detailed.

Ethnographic Data

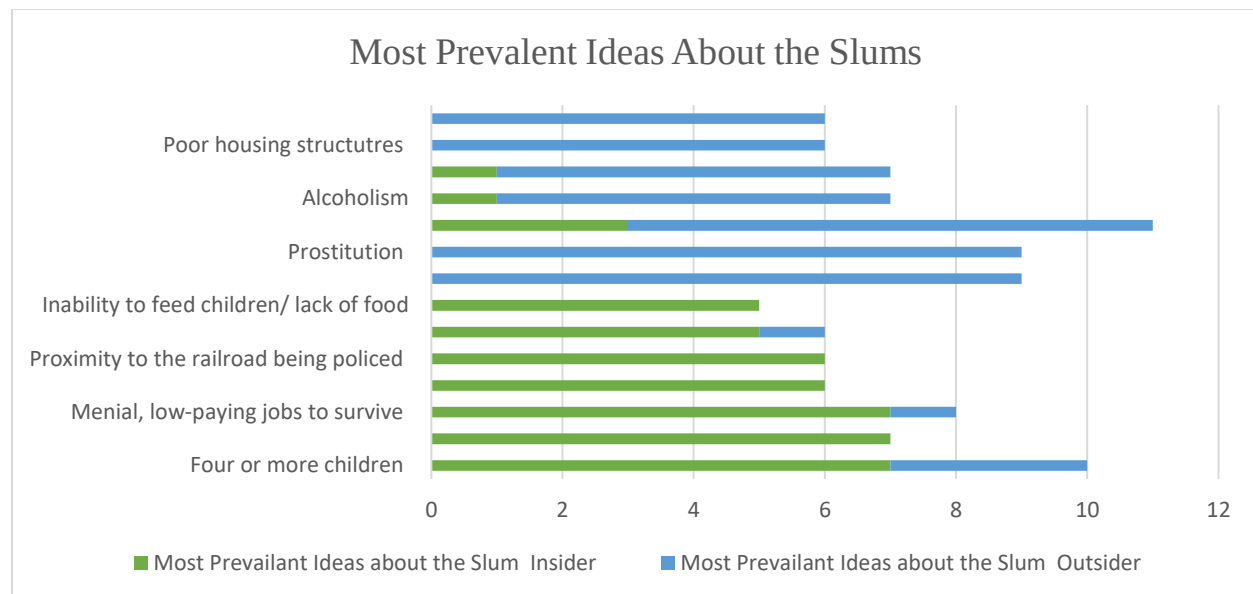
The ethnographic data obtained in this thesis was the result of interviews and participant observation in the slum, as well as interviews with people who live outside the slum via WhatsApp. These data were collected both in Kampala, and remotely from the University of Tennessee. The participants in the slum population were single mothers whom the NCF had recognized as the neediest individuals in the slum. The participants outside the slum mostly included young adults (age 19-30) who lived outside of a slum area. When asked the same interview questions, the responses showed variation among what the people thought of each other, as well as what they thought were the living conditions in the slum.

When asked about the living conditions in slums, the top seven responses given by those residing inside the slum were: having four or more children; resorting to menial, low paying jobs

to survive; destruction of property by KCCA; an abundance of widows; the policing of the railroad; the inability to feed their children; and cooperative survival. As shown in Table 1, the top seven responses from those residing outside the slums differ from the insiders' answers. The top seven aspects that were repeated in the outsiders' interviews were: poor hygiene, prostitution, abundance of theft, alcoholism, high slum population, poor housing structures, and drug use.

While people who resided inside the slum focused on the poverty levels they seemed unable to overcome, those outside the slum made judgements that were more personal. The most common answers reflected negatively upon the people in the slums, rather than the physical structures. Poor housing and overpopulation was acknowledged, but the rest of the list—prostitution, alcoholism, theft, poor hygiene, and drug use—were directed at the personal flaws of those who resided in the slums. One of the tenets of neoliberalism is the idea of personal responsibility, which is ultimately what is reflected in the answers of those outside the slum. Implied in their responses is the idea that if only these weren't prostitutes, thieves, alcoholics, and so forth, they would not be in the situation they live in. To those living outside the slum, the slum is a place where the worst of the city congregate. Further evidence of this is revealed in the fact that when asked what the city would be without the slums, the responses indicated that the city would be cleaner and safer. Thus, they thought that getting rid of the people who live in the slums, not just the structures, would improve the city.

TABLE 1: Most Prevalent Ideas About the Slums



When asked how they thought people outside the slum viewed them, most slum dwellers were under the impression that those outside the slum were unaware of their existence (Table 2). Some indicated that they didn't know how they were perceived, still others thought that those outside the slum wanted them gone. All of these answers reveal the isolation of the slums. Despite their negative perceptions of the people in the slums, those residing outside the slums were able to accurately describe what living the slum was like. They knew about the narrow alleyways, the cramped living quarters, and the abundant poverty. People outside the slums, especially females, expressed fear about entering the slums alone. According to one interviewee: *"You don't just go taking pictures [in the slums]. They may think [I] am working with the government to evict them and lynch me!"* The truth of this claim (that some violence may come to those entering the slums alone) was unconfirmed by my data. However, it demonstrates that there are restrictions to accessing both locations. For those in the slums, economic restrictions

limit them from accessing the rest of the city. For those outside, fear of violence restricts them from interaction with those in the slum. The fact that outsiders were still able to describe the slums in detail, however, was an indication of the mobility within the city. Although they were limited from complete access to the slum, they had seen the outskirts well enough to describe them. The fact that those outside the slum were aware of those inside the slum was not reflected in the answers of those living in the slums. One of the reasons for this is that often, people in the slum equate how they are thought of with some kind of aid. One of the common replies was that the people outside the slum didn't help them, so they must not think of them at all. In the mind of a slum dweller, if the people in the greater city knew of their plight, it would be impossible for them not to help. Even among those who answered "I don't know what they think of us," followed up with, "They never come here, so I can't know what they think." This reflects that 1) slum dwellers expect those in the greater city to know about what's happening and to help them, and 2) that if the greater city population doesn't come to them, they won't be able to interact because their own mobility is limited by poverty.

As an added layer of the ethnographic research, I reviewed the data for mentions of the neoliberal ideas surrounding personal responsibility, as well as more general references to neoliberalism broadly such as a free market, privatization of social programs, or capital/monetary exchange systems (Table 3). I focused on the ideas of personal responsibility: where the "blame" lay for the prolonged urban poverty that seems to define the slums, as well as mentions of various strategies to alleviate the poverty. Then, I focused on how those ideas related to neoliberal policies, perceptions, and ideologies.

TABLE 2: How Insiders Felt They Were Perceived by Outsiders

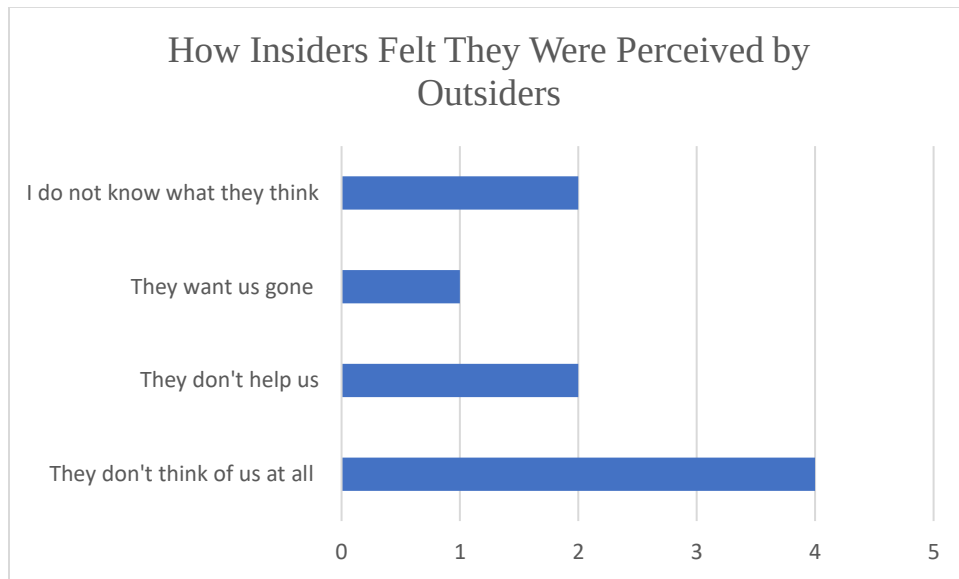
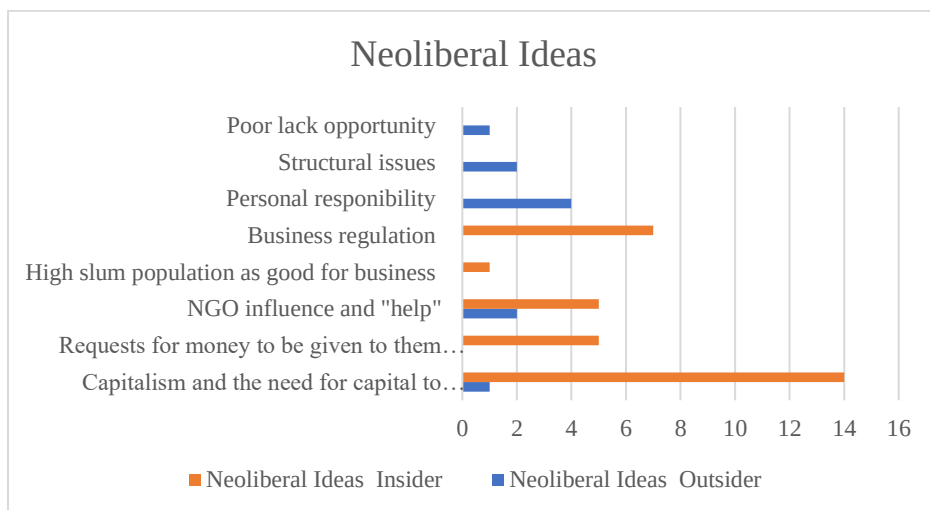


TABLE 3: Neoliberal Ideas



The ideas of those outside the slum seemed to more clearly reflect neoliberal ideologies and specifically the relationship between poverty and personal responsibility. For example, one respondent called people in the slum “failures at life and living.” Another suggested that people who live in the slum are idlers who simply have a lower standard of living than the middle-class residents in the greater city. Several also mentioned how the government has already provided for them; something excluded in the interviews with insiders. One participant was under the impression that the government provides free schools, free health care, and free water to those in the slums, yet they still were unable to succeed. In my research, I could only confirm that the government provides free water to select slums (Soweto being one), while foreign-funded NGOs provide the other services.

The presence of multiple NGOs in slum areas was acknowledged by both insiders and outsiders to the slum. Another tenet of neoliberalism is the laissez-faire policies of government intervention. Given that the government should intervene in the economic affairs of their citizenry as little as possible, that leaves an open door for non-governmental organizations to fill the gap that would be filled by the state. Uganda was listed as one of the most visited countries by humanitarian travelers by *The Guardian* in 2018. To date, there are over 600 NGOs registered with the Uganda NGO Forum, but some estimates point to thousands of NGOs within the country (UNGOF 2016).

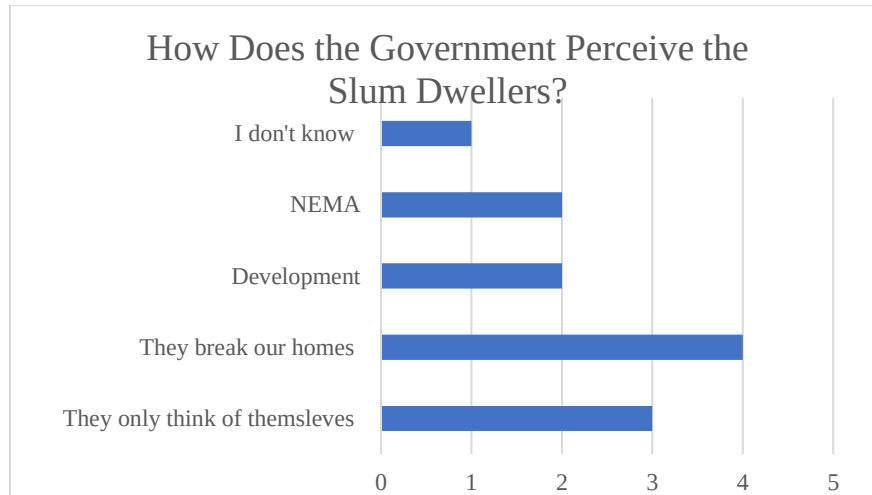
However, outsiders still acknowledge that structural issues played a role in the poor’s inability to obtain upward mobility. Many listed lack of opportunity, lack of education, and unemployment as being a factor in slum life. They also understood that some people in who lived in the slums were refugees and internally displaced people, although they believed these people to exist at a higher rate in the slums than they actually do.

For those living inside the slum, they were aware that they were living in a neoliberal system, yet they were more able to acknowledge the flaws in this system. Not once did someone living in the slum refer to personal responsibility when talking about their situation. They did speak of business regulation, especially surrounding the railroad. They spoke of needing “capital” (usually vegetables to sell) to start a business. They spoke of which NGOs they could use to sponsor their children’s school fees and medical care. They even plainly asked for money, indicating that they saw themselves as deserving of help. For those living the daily burden of precarious poverty, it was obvious that they were doing all they possibly could to survive. Part of that survival meant reaching beyond themselves and claiming what resources they could.

When asked how the government views them, people in the slum responded that the government thought negatively of them, as shown in Table 4. Although I did not receive answers from the government employees that I corresponded with, all of the anecdotal evidence indicates that slum dwellers are correct in this assessment. The most common responses were: they only care about their own prosperity, not us; they break our houses; they care about development; and NEMA wants to displace us. At its core, the question revealed not how the government felt about the poor, but what the poor felt about the government.

The ethnographic data demonstrates that urban poor are thought of in negative ways. Those residing outside the slums also saw the poor in absolute, unchanging terms. The poor themselves are isolated enough from the city at large that most of their energy is consumed with surviving inside the slums, not focusing on those who can’t (or won’t) help them outside of it. Neoliberal ideas are expressed on both side of the class line, however those who live in poverty are better able to discern the myth of the “personal responsibility” mantra.

TABLE 4: How Does the Government Perceive the Slum Dwellers?



Open Source Data

2014 Uganda Census: Publicly available data through the Ugandan government can provide information about how the slum areas in Kampala are recognized by the Ugandan government. In 2014, the Ugandan government conducted a national census, and that data is now publicly available online through the Uganda Bureau of Statistics. The 2014 census is only one of five of its kind in the last century, therefore it was a large undertaking by the Ugandan government. There is data available concerning religious affiliation, household size, urbanization, ethnicity, mortality rates, etc. For the purposes of this thesis, I will be using the Area Specific Profile produced by the Kampala City Authority for the National Population and Housing Census. This one hundred and nineteen page document highlights the following indicators: household, household population, population size, education and literacy, ownership of a birth certificate, disability, marriage, employment, access to services, status of dwelling, and environmental conditions.

The city of Kampala is divided into five administrative divisions: Kampala City Central, Nakawa, Makindye, Lubaga, and Kawempe (Figure 16). City Central is the largest area containing the downtown business sector as well as the upper-class neighborhood of Kololo. Southeast of City Central is the Makindye Division, which contains the parish of Bukasa, and the smaller village of Namuwongo. Makindye is home to Makindye Hill, one of the seven hills upon which Kampala is built. The hill contains mostly upper to middle-class homes that afford both a view of the city and a view of Lake Victoria. Namuwongo is located in the eastern lowlands of the Makindye division, far from the peaceful views of the upper and middle class.



Figure 16, Map of administrative districts. Source: Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2014

The KCCA 2014 report includes only the census reports for the broader divisions of Kampala, not the smaller parishes and villages. The advantage of counting the population of Kampala in this way is that most all of the slum areas in Kampala border places of middle-class lifestyles. This makes this sector of the city seem more livable than it actually is by not counting the slums individually. The narrowest information available in the census reports for Namuwongo are the for the whole area of East Makindye. That data reflects that the total population of East Makindye is 154, 342 of which 48 percent is male and 51 percent is female. Although there are several available data, my focus remains on finding the urban poor within these census data. Therefore, I have chosen the following data points for my comparative analysis: female head of households, access to proper (defined by the KCCA) toilets, employment, access to water, access to medical care, and status of dwelling.

The below chart (Figure 17) was taken from the census data specific to East Makindye. The data show that 29.3 percent of households are female-headed. The definition of “head of household” is not clearly explained in the data, leaving the reader to wonder whether a female head of household indicated the absence of a male in the household, or whether the female is the primary wage earner. This statistic also cannot reveal whether the female head of household is married or single, or whether they have children. Either way, a female head of household in Kampala usually is an indicator of poverty. The other statistic that is of interest in these data is the large number of households (42.2 percent) that are headed by youth, which the census defines as age 18-30.

We see gaps in the data here because it was not narrowed by sex as was done with the overall head of household data. How many young females are also head of households was not included in the data.

The only line item in the census about toilets was the above statistic indicating that only 1.4 percent of households have no access to a toilet facility (Figure 18). From my personal visits to the slums, I can attest that not a single home within the three slums I visited had toilets in the household. There were toilets in the economic center of the slums, but they were often latrines that required payment to use. This is an indicator that the census data did not include the Makindye slum areas or that they considered the few toilets as properly representing household toilets.

1.2: Households	Number	Percent
Total households	42,319	
Households headed by males	29,904	70.7
Households headed by females	12,415	29.3
Households headed by children (aged 10-17 years)	225	0.5
Households headed by youth (aged 18-30 years)	17,873	42.2
Households headed by older persons (aged 60 years and above)	2,238	5.3

Figure 17, Census household data. Source: Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2014

12.3:Ownership of a Toilet facility	Number	Percent
Households without any toilet facility	600	1.4

Figure 18, Census toilet data. Source: Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2014

Figure 19 shows that the employment status of East Makindye shows that a high rate (14.8 percent) of employment among children ages 10-17. This indicates that children may not be in school, which is another poverty indicator. The largest group of employed people is unsurprisingly between the ages of 18-64, and is 69 percent of the East Makindye population. Conversely, this means that 31 percent of people are unemployed. Persons aged 18-30 who are not working make up 10.6 percent of the population, leaving the remaining 19.4 percent to be senior citizens. What this data cannot reveal is what is considered employment. Only the jobs that pay taxes? Are the single mothers I interviewed who primarily wash clothes considered by the census as self-employed or unemployed? Given only this information, it is difficult to locate the slum dweller in this employment data, although if they are included, they are likely to be counted among the unemployed.

8.1: Working persons	Number	Percent
Persons aged 10-15 years who were working	1,875	10.8
Persons aged 10-17 years who were working	3,599	14.8
Persons aged 18-30 years who were working	34,192	61.0
Persons aged 16-64 years who were working	63,345	66.3
Persons aged 18 years and above who were working	62,470	69.0
Persons aged 60 years and above who were working	1,698	56.4
8.2: Youths Not working and not in school		
Youths (Persons aged 18-30 years) who were neither working nor in school	5,971	10.6

Figure 19, Census employment data. Source: Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2014

Access to all public services, including health care facilities and police stations, is measured by the 5km radius it is from a person's household; presumably walking distance (Figure 20). If a household is more than 5km away from health services, whether public or private, they are considered not to have access to those services. The census shows that only 4.1 percent of the East Makindye population do not have access to public health services. From my experience in the slums, I believe this to be accurate, since there are NGO organizations that have offices along Namuwongo Road. International Hospital Kampala is also within the 5km radius of the slums. One issue with this statistic, as pointed out in the introduction, is that this doesn't account for the people who don't take advantages of the services, only the distance the service is from them. It also cannot account for the type of health care service a certain facility may provide. For example, Alive Medical is an NGO in Namuwongo that treats only AIDS patients. There is no cost for their services. However, if a person does not have AIDS but malaria, and like those in the slums, cannot afford the hospital, do they really have access to medical care? This is a statistic where the poor are likely counted, but access to care does not have a nuanced enough definition to claim accuracy.

11.3: Access to a Health Facility	Number	Percent
Households that are 5 km or more to the nearest health facility, <u>whether public or private</u>	1,741	4.1
Households that are 5 km or more to the nearest <u>public</u> health facility	8,303	19.6

Figure 20, Census healthcare data. Source: Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2014

Access to clean water is an interesting statistic, because in Soweto the government provided access to spring water for the population. The water is always flowing, and there are always lines of people with their jerrycans (3-gallon yellow jugs for carrying water) waiting to get water. This statistic, according to my observations, seems to reflect the conditions in the slum. According the census (Figure 21), 84.5 percent have piped water, meaning they pay the city for water services. Those that have a borehole (a type of well) are only 1.1 percent. This accounts for only 85.6 percent of the populations' access to water. Either the remaining 14.4 percent (22, 225 people) do not have any access to water in East Makindye, or they are getting it free from the slum. The population numbers for the remaining people correspond with most estimates of the population numbers for the Namuwongo slums.

The census data also noted the ways in which houses were constructed, as a sign of development (Figure 22). Houses using “permanent” materials were considered acceptable housing establishments by the city. An example of a permanent material would be concrete. This does include the slum settlements because those structures are constructed of concrete. It is telling that over 90 percent of dwellings are not constructed of temporary materials, making them suitable in the eyes of the government. This is yet another way to gloss over those in slums of Namuwongo. Their dwellings, by the standards of those outside the slum, are not acceptable although they are constructed of concrete. The lack of space, the lack of toilet facilities, and the flooding make living there a daily peril. However, by making concrete the standard for a permanent, well-constructed dwelling, the UBOS has made the urban poverty in Kampala appear less severe than it actually is.

12.2: Source Of Water For Drinking	Number	Percent
Households that have access to piped water	35,770	84.5
Households that use a bore hole	478	1.1

Figure 21, Census water data. Source: Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2014

10.1: Construction Materials For the Dwelling Units	Number	Percent
Households living in dwelling units constructed using permanent roof materials	42,224	99.8
Households living in dwelling units constructed using permanent wall materials	38,941	92.0
Households living in dwelling units constructed using permanent floor materials	39,646	93.7
10.2: Status of Dwelling Units	Number	Percent
Households living in semi-permanent dwelling units	4,491	10.6
Households living in temporary dwelling units	14	0.0

Figure 22, Census construction data. Source: Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2014

In addition to the fact that the slum areas are not included individually, there is insight to be gained by giving thought to the information that the census failed to include. The biggest example is the exclusion of assessing food security. Although unemployment and access to water are measured, access to food is not. While food insecurity is difficult to measure and can differ between geographies and cultures, strategies for obtaining food were a common thread in the interviews I conducted. Food security could be measured in Kampala by measuring wage amount compared to the price of food and rent in the various districts. Another factor that is not measured in the KCCA data are the environmental hazards within the city. Wetlands are common in Kampala, however mostly the poor reside in them. An identification within the census of flood prone areas and the people who occupy them would be yet another way for Kampala's slum dwellers to be counted in the official census. One other gap I found in the data, where the participants for my research were excluded was in the marriage statistics. The census options for females only included those age 10 and above who had been married or never been married, and those who were aged 50 and above who had been widows. None of those options encompassed the majority of those I interviewed who were widowed and under age 50. The emphasis on female marriage within the census data reinforces a system that values a female's relationship a male counterpart within Ugandan society, as does the fact that the women excluded from the data are among the most impoverished in the city due to the ways in which gender and class intersect in their lives.

Slum Dwellers' International Data: ACTogether, Uganda is an association headquartered in Kampala that combines Slum Dwellers International and the National Slum Dwellers' Federation of Uganda under one umbrella. The offices are all located in the same building, and they are all working toward a common goal: empowering the urban poor. ACTogether and NSDFU focus on

creating small shared savings accounts, while SDI focuses on getting the slum dwelling community connected to their local city administrators through organizing town hall-like meetings. SDI is a larger organization, spanning 32 countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

There are two types of data that are available as open source data. From SDI, the data can be found on their website under the Know Your City campaign. This campaign has slum dwellers organizing themselves and gathering information by hand through household surveys they can better assess their own settlements' needs. The other type of data was collected by NSDFU and uses GIS mapping to show the various in Kampala's slum communities. The Know Your City data measured land ownership, sanitation, population, threat of eviction, land area size, access to water, infrastructure, access to health care, and commercial establishments. The NSDFU measured population density, amount of open defecation, the number of informal settlements, access to water, percentage of permanent buildings, average wait time for emergency services, and majority type of land tenure. For the purposes of this thesis, I will be using data that is comparable to the open source government data. Hence, I will show population data, infrastructure, access to health care and sanitation data.

The ACTogether maps track the number of informal settlements (or slums) in all of Kampala; then there are maps showing the informal settlements in each city division. In these maps (Figure 23), Soweto and Kanyogo are grouped together as Bukasa-Namuwongo. The slums develop and split over time, so since the map is from 2013-2014, it is likely that the split hadn't occurred at the time of this map's publication. They also have detailed maps about population, access to water, infrastructure, and sanitation for each informal settlement. To make these maps, slum dwellers were trained in how to use GIS mapping and gather data themselves. The introductory statement to the maps states: *"It is critical to acknowledge that all of the data*

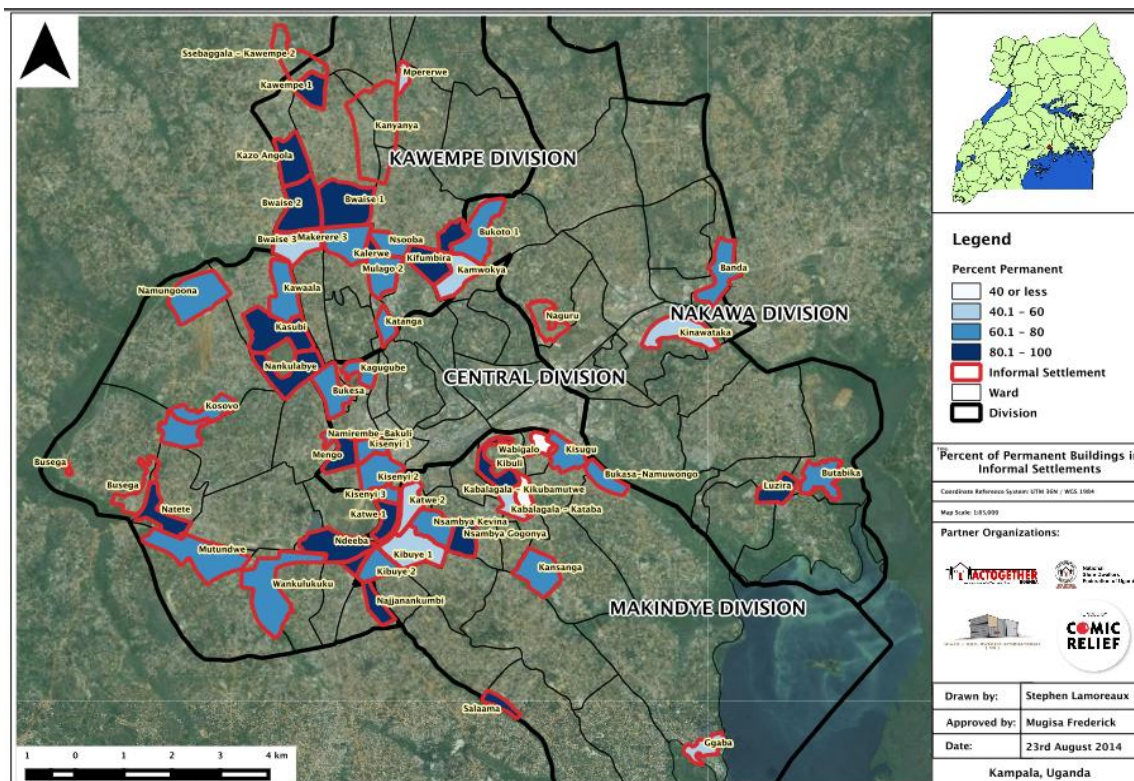
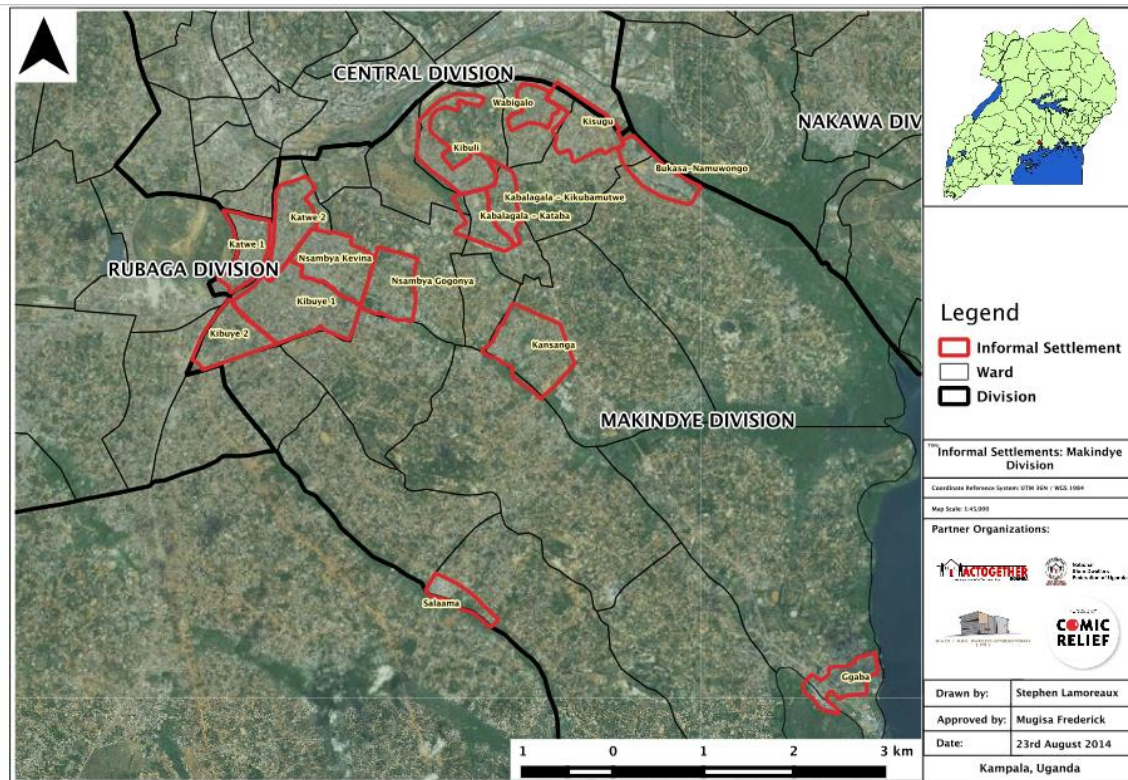


Figure 23, GIS data from NFSDU (NSDFU 2014)

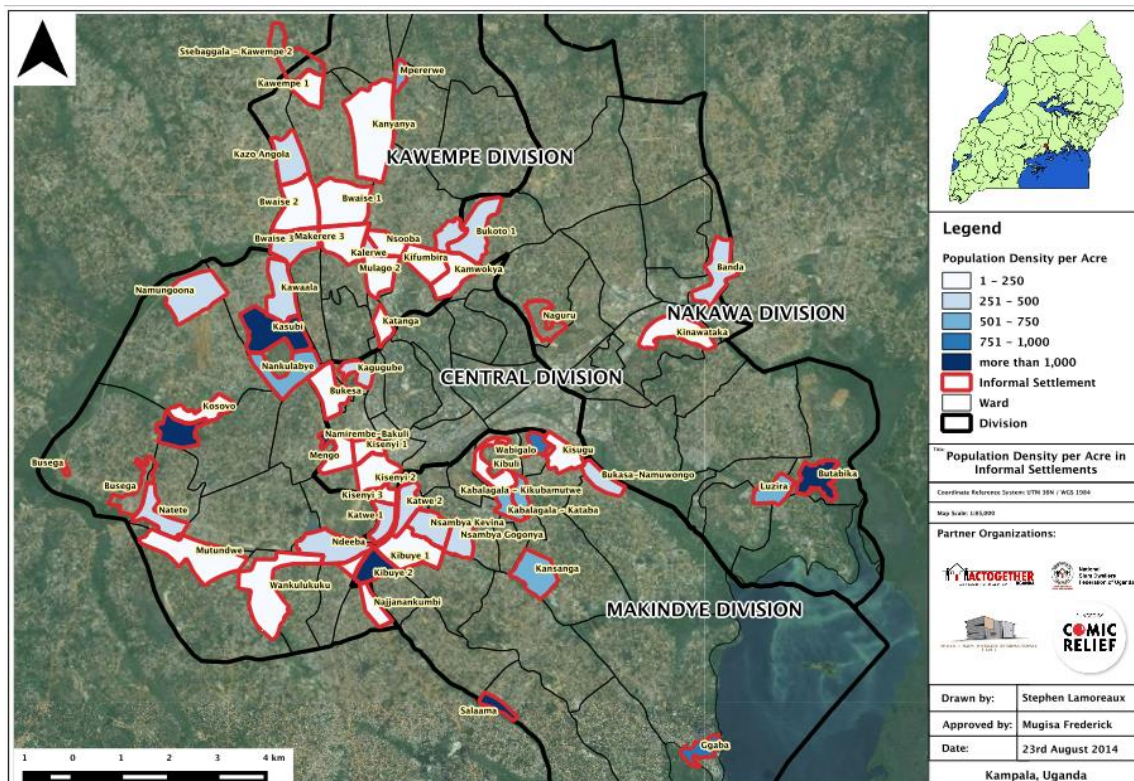
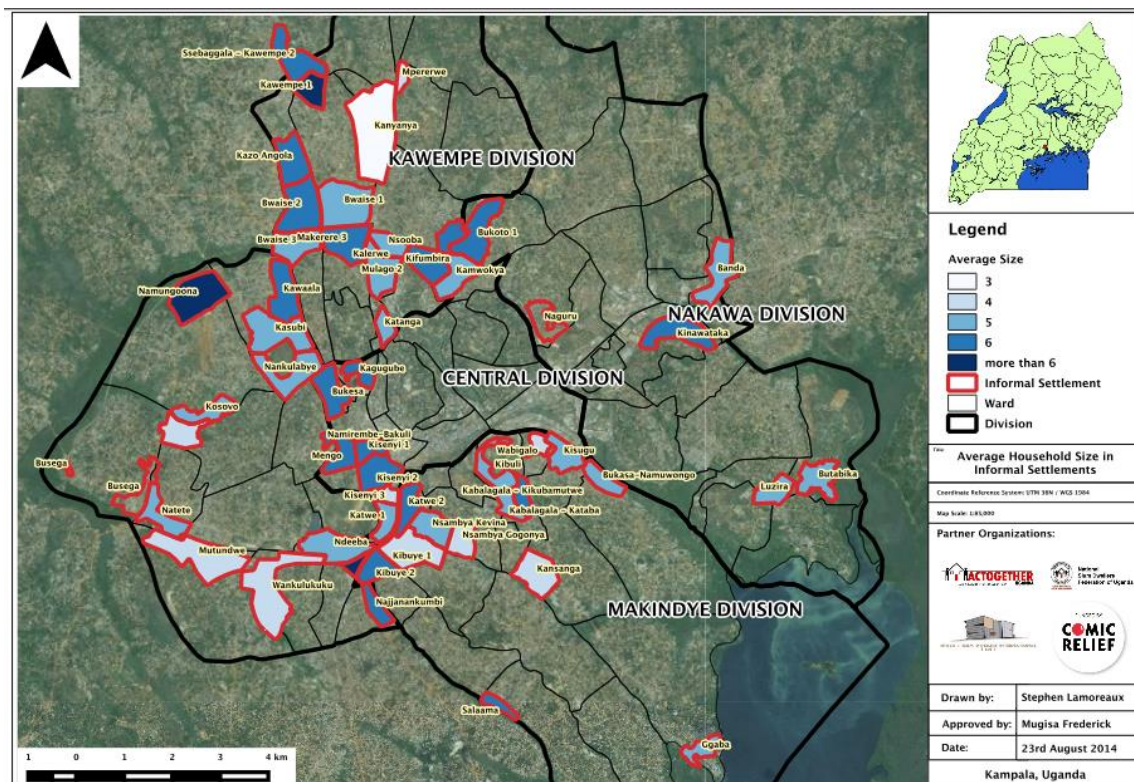


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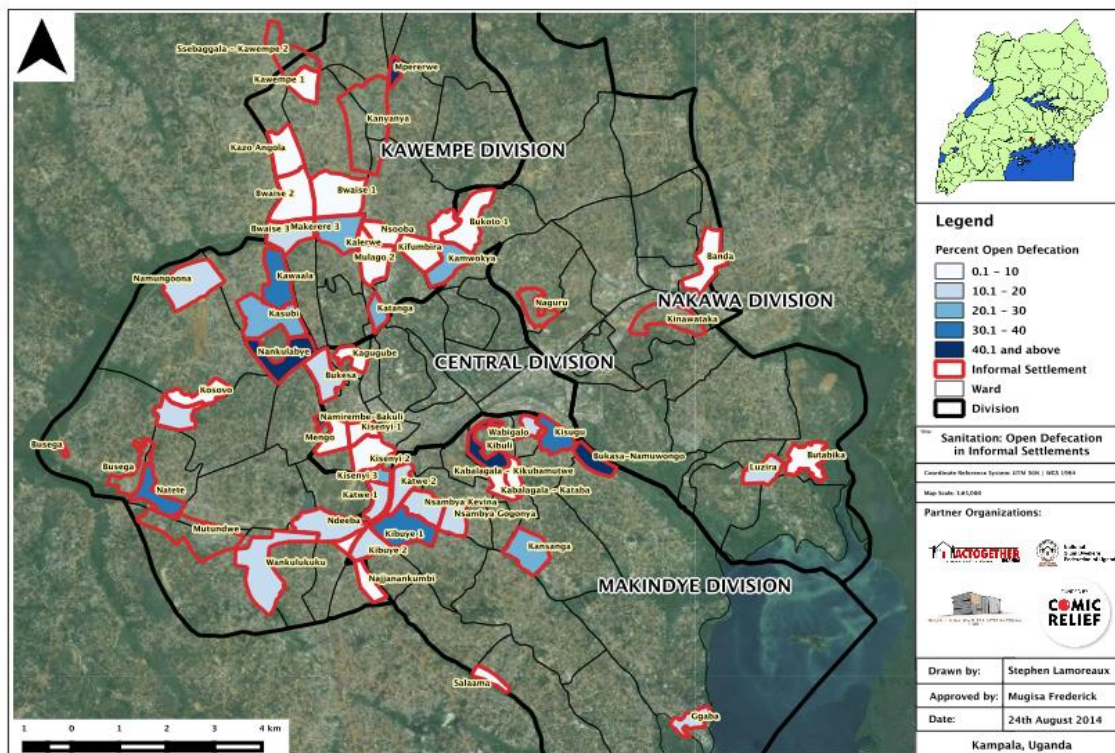
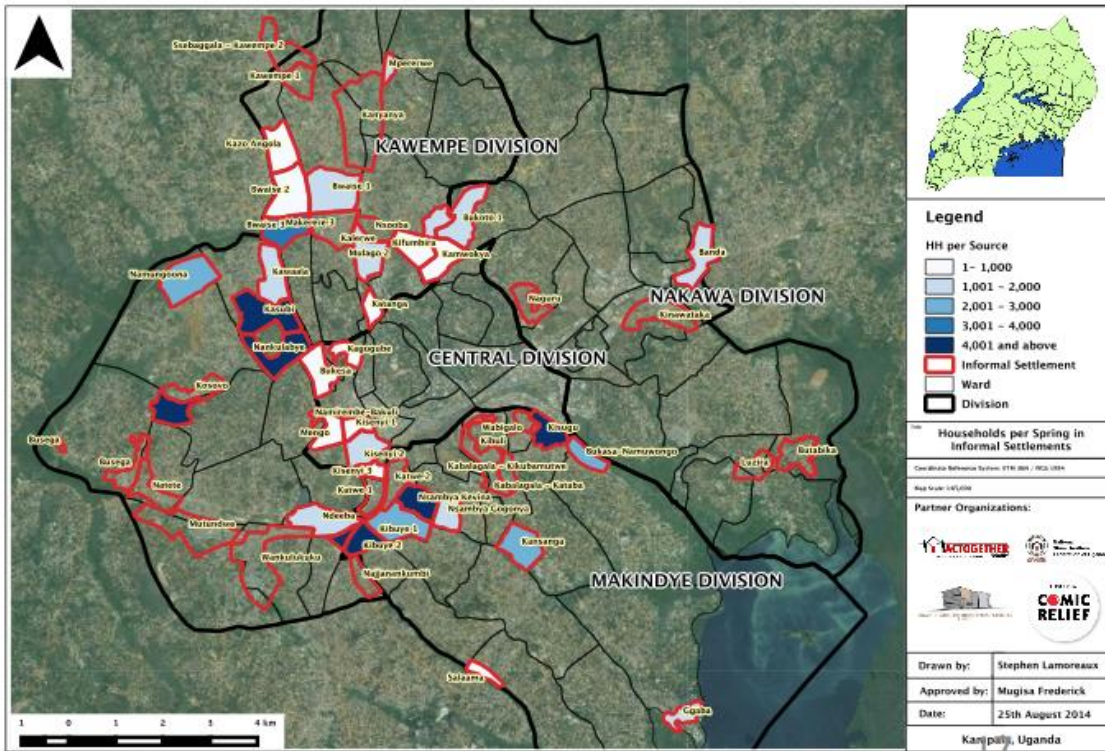


Figure 23, continued

used to generate these maps was gathered by slum dwellers themselves. They administered the questionnaire at settlement-level and GIS mapped all the slum settlement boundaries for themselves.” The following maps show this data they collected. First, is the population data, which gathers population density, not only population in numbers. For Bukasa-Namuwongo the population density shows between 251-500 persons per square acre. For Kisugu, the population density is lower at between 1-250 persons per square acre. This is confirmed by my observations in those slums: Soweto and Kanyogogo are denser as places of higher population and economic activity, and Kisugu is further out into the wetlands. The second map shows the percentage of permanent dwelling in the slum areas, reflecting the infrastructure. Since it not defined, I will assume the definition of permanent here is the same as the definition of permanent in the government data. For both Kisugu and Bukasa/Namuwongo, the percentage of permanent dwellings is between 60 and 80 percent. The third map shows the persons per household. In all of the slums I studied, the average household size is five persons. This is consistent with ethnographic data, since many of the single mothers I visited had at least four children. To assess the access to water in each settlement, ACTogether members used a number of indicators on various maps. They noted access to spring water, access to boreholes, water on tap, and community water taps. Since I was aware that the Namuwongo slum community had access to spring water, this is the chart I chose to display. The map shows that in Bukasa-Namuwongo (Soweto/Kanyogogo), there is one spring for between 2,000-3,000 persons. In Kisugu, that number rises to above 4,000 persons per access to spring, since it is the more rural of the three slums. The final map I chose was one reflecting the percentage of open defecation within each settlement. The report included maps indicating the amount of toilets per household, the amount it costs to use public toilets, and the number of individual and shared toilets. Open defecation,

however, reflects the actual access to toilets answering the question of whether the toilets are actually being used. The map of open defecation shows that over 40 percent of the Bukasa-Namuwongo residents resort to open defecation while in Kisugu, the number falls to between 30 and 40 percent.

Data from the SDI Know Your City campaign is similar but is more interactive because it uses online infographics to display the information. There is settlement information about all three of the settlements that I visited, but like the data from ACTogether and NSDFU, Soweto and Kanyogo are lumped into one Bukasa settlement, and Kisugu has its own separate data set. The information is divided into these categories for every settlement: Basic Information, Sanitation, Water, Infrastructure, Organized Community (indicating whether the settlement has leadership in place and whether that leadership communicates with the city officials), Health Access, and Commercial Establishments. Below is the information for Bukasa (Figure 24):

These graphics portray some of the same data that we have seen from other sources, however there is some new data as well. While the GIS mapping data could tell how many toilets or water taps were in Bukasa, this data reveals how many of those toilets and water spouts actually work. This data is more detailed as well, giving actual population numbers as opposed to population ranges or percentages. Another issue that these graphics indicate is the availability of other types of commercial resources such food shops and transportation. Since community organization is a vital factor in the work of SDI, this is indicated in the graphics as well. Another issue that was addressed by Know Your City is the type of health care access people have, and the actual amount of time it takes to walk to those places. Below, I have also listed the website data for Kisugu (Figure 25).

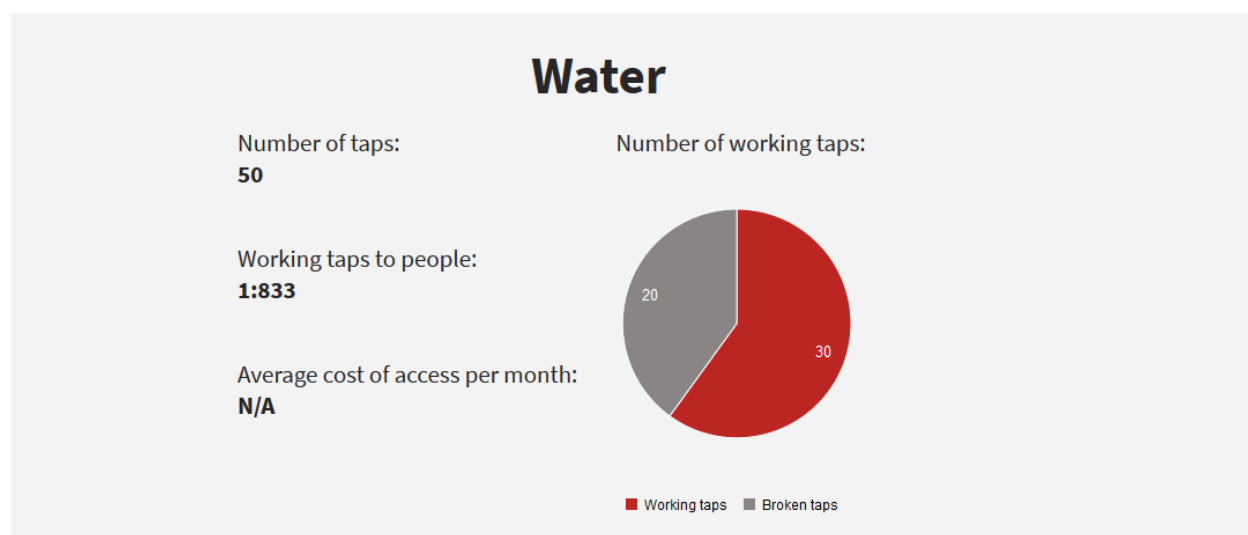
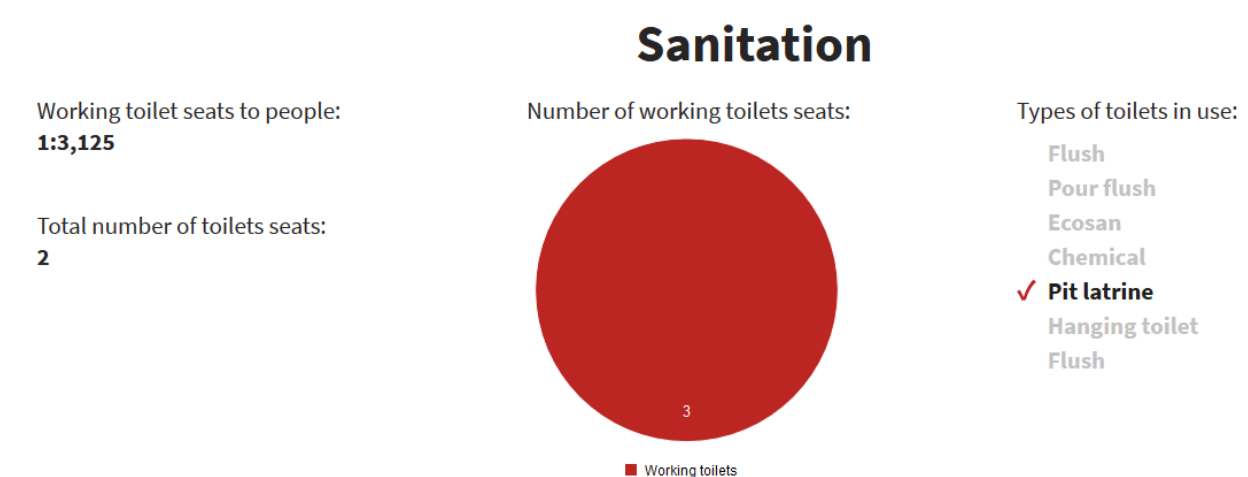
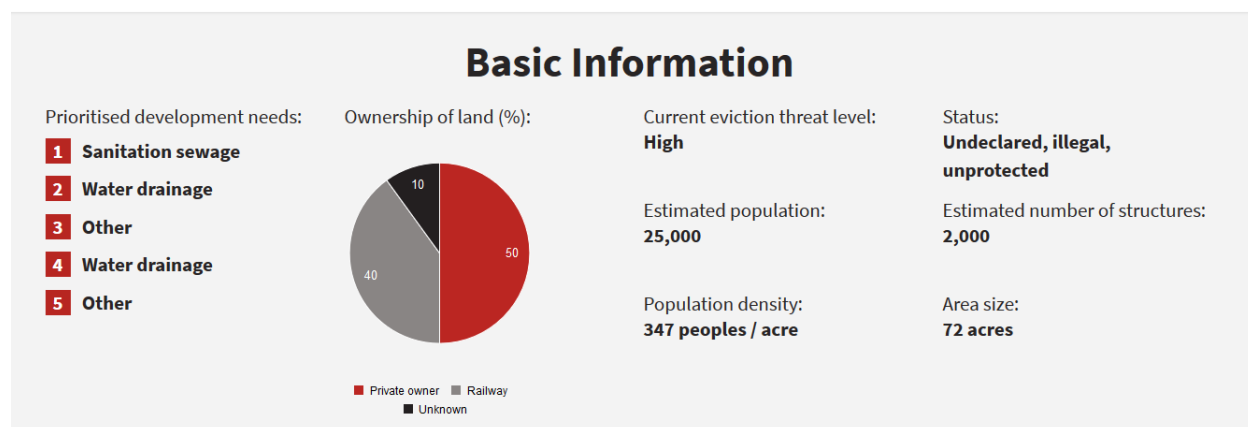


Figure 24, Data from SDI Bukasa. Source: <http://knowyourcity.info/settlement/1851/474681>

Infrastructure

Electricity available:
Yes

Garbage collections per week:
1

Garbage location:
Individual bins

Road types:
Dirt paths

Main means of transportation:

 **Bus**
 **Motorbike**

 **Car**
 **Bicycle**

 **Train**
 **Walking**

 **Taxi**
Other

Organised Community

Number of savings groups:
30

Community leadership?
Yes

How often does the community meet?
Monthly

Does the community leadership talk to the city?
N/A

Relationship with authorities:
Average

How often does the community meet with the city?
Other

Health Access

Most common diseases:

- **Malaria**
- **Other**
- **Other**
- **Other**

Access to health clinics:
Yes

Average walking time to nearest health clinic (minutes):
Unknown

Access to AIDS clinics:
Yes

Average walking time to nearest Aids clinic (minutes):
30 minutes to 1 hour

Access to hospitals:
Yes

Average walking time to nearest hospital (minutes):
30 minutes to 1 hour

Commercial Establishments & Facilities

Playground

Banks

Firestations

Police stations

 **General shops**

Informal markets

Food shops

 **Clothing shops**

 **Furniture shops**

Temples

 **Mosques**

 **Churches**

 **Communications**

 **Car repair**

Figure 24, continued

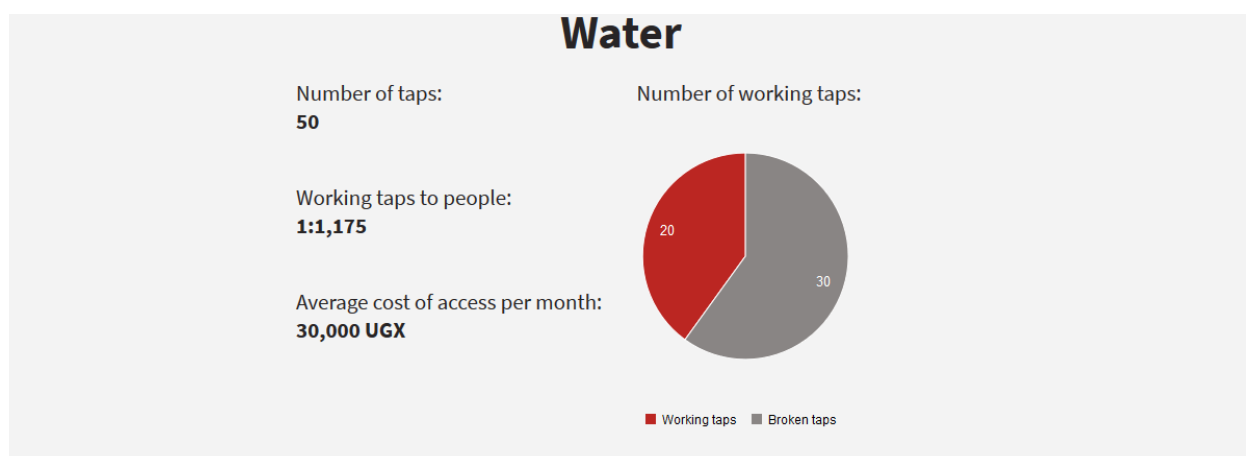
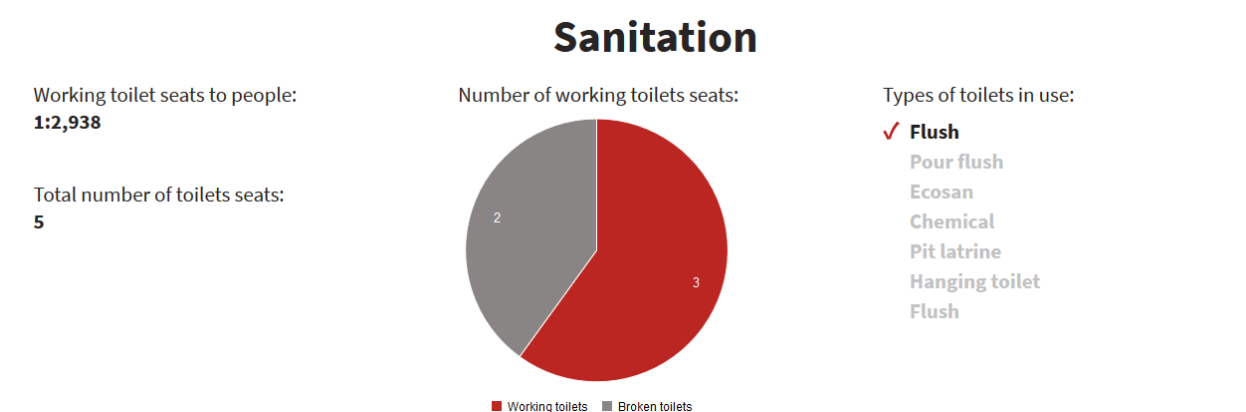
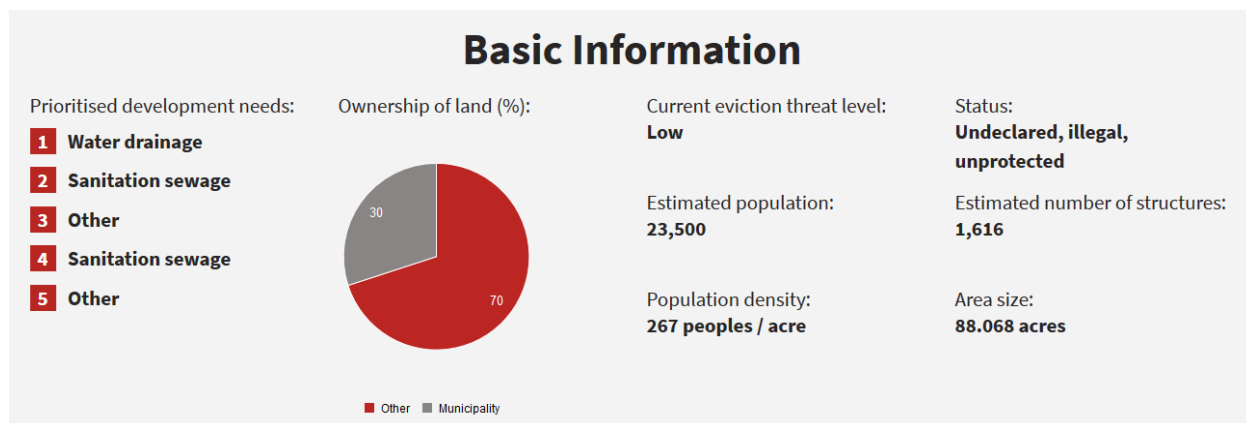


Figure 25, Data from SDI Kisugu. Source: <http://knowyourcity.info/settlement/1851/2549902>

Infrastructure

Electricity available:
Yes

Garbage collections per week:
3

Garbage location:
Individual bins

Road types:
Dirt paths

Main means of transportation:

 **Bus**
 **Motorbike**

 **Car**
 **Bicycle**

 **Train**
 **Walking**

 **Taxi**
Other

Health Access

Most common diseases:

- **Malaria**
- **Other**
- **Other**
- **Other**

Access to health clinics:
Yes

Access to AIDS clinics:
Yes

Access to hospitals:
Yes

Average walking time to nearest health clinic (minutes):
Unknown

Average walking time to nearest Aids clinic (minutes):
Unknown

Average walking time to nearest hospital (minutes):
Unknown

Organised Community

Number of savings groups:
12

Community leadership?
Yes

How often does the community meet?
Monthly

Does the community leadership talk to the city?
N/A

Relationship with authorities:
Average

How often does the community meet with the city?
Other

Commercial Establishments & Facilities

 **Playground**

 **Banks**

Firestations

 **Police stations**

 **General shops**

 **Informal markets**

 **Food shops**

 **Clothing shops**

 **Furniture shops**

Temples

 **Mosques**

 **Churches**

 **Communications**

 **Car repair**

Figure 25, continued

Conclusions: The ethnographic and open source data in this chapter reveal how the urban poor are perceived by the Ugandan government, and by people living in Kampala but outside of the slums. The ethnographic data showed that people outside the slum viewed those inside the slum negatively, equating poverty with moral failing and lack of personal responsibility. This was not reflected in how those in the slum viewed themselves, however. The neoliberal ideas of personal responsibility were reflected more in the views of those who reside outside the slums than among those in the slum. Those in slum were eager to receive help, especially from NGOs. However, this is still a reflection of the neoliberal government outsourcing the meeting of the needs of its citizens to the private sector. People in the slums acknowledge that the government of Uganda should help them as well as the NGOs.

The government data was collected and distributed in such a way that those in the slums were not counted individually and were therefore difficult to find within the data. Ironically, the motto of the 2014 census was: “Together We All Count.” The slum-led NGOs did a much more thorough job of counting those in the slums of Kampala and assessing the needs that each settlement may have. Since the data collected by ACtogether, SDI, and NSDFU were collected by those residing in the slums, it is the more accurate and an indication of how those in slums count themselves in the absence of government counting.

CHAPTER FIVE: RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

Results

The objective of this research was to find linkages between the neoliberal ideology of personal responsibility and how people within Kampala view themselves and each other. From the ethnographic data collected it is clear people who live outside the slums in Kampala view those who are in the slums negatively. They often equate living in the slums not with lack of proper resources, but as a place where immoral societal outcasts reside. These perceptions were not mirrored in how the poor in Namuwongo view themselves. They are able to acknowledge the disadvantages that landed them in the slums, while actively searching for ways to survive and become economically stable. Excluding theft, many of the crimes that outsiders attributed to the slums, especially murder and prostitution, are not mentioned by those living in the slums as among the problems they face. Although slum dwellers' goals often don't extend to leaving the slum, they value the provision of goods and services they are able to obtain with the slum. Still, neoliberal ideas seep into the slum. The people in the slum still operate under a monetary exchange economy, where they value work and business ventures, however a hybrid of strategies are being used to meet their needs, including cooperative survival and reciprocity-based networks. They often requested that I help them open a business by giving them "capital" items to sell. In doing this, they are making non-capitalist claims to a rightful share of wealth. These requests and the constant strategizing for survival indicate the circumstances of single mothers are inadequate.

The interviews I conducted revealed how both those inside the slums and outside the slums perceived each other. The data showed that not only were the negative perceptions not

mirrored in what the slum dwellers thought of themselves, they also were not fully aware of the negative perceptions outsiders had of them. Their goal for interactions with outsiders revolved around how those in the greater city could help them. I quickly discovered that responses to the question: “What do those who live outside the slums think of you?” were rooted in the assumption that the phrase “think of you” translated to action. Sixty-six percent of those asked this question, responded that those outside the slum did not think of them at all. One participant elaborated by saying: “*They never come here, so how can I know what they think?*” Thirty-three percent of respondents replied to that questions with: “*They don’t help us.*” This shows that the slums are isolated, not only in their economic activity, but in their ideologies toward help and competitive survival. The impoverished in Namuwongo strongly (but not solely) rely on the cooperative survival as a function of daily life. Since this is the case in their lives, they expect it from those in the city at large as well. In other words, if their survival depends upon the help of others, shouldn’t those in more secure economic circumstances be helping those with low-income status? Most of the women I interviewed were house sharing, and several spoke of neighbors opening their homes when others’ houses were flooded. The expectation, then, is that communities survive together, not each individual or family surviving independent of another. The neoliberal ideas of one’s economic success or failure existing in isolation from those in their immediate social network is an impractical concept that those in poverty perceive as “selfish” or “uncaring.” The resulting self-perception of this ideology of cooperative survival is largely positive. Although all participants spoke of their circumstances as being dire, none were self-deprecating or related their circumstances or that of those around them to moral failings. The contrast is that those in the greater city internalize the neoliberal ideas of “every man for himself” survival, resulting in the blame for poverty being placed upon the individual.

The interviews also showed divergence between how the slum dwellers felt they were perceived by the government and how outsiders thought the government viewed the slums. For those inside the slums, eighty-four percent felt the government saw the slums as strongly (actionably) negative. The remaining sixteen percent remained neutral, not wishing to respond. Among those who live outside the slum, some acknowledged that the government thought negatively of the slums, but the majority still felt that the government had already provided for those in the slums. When asked: “How do you think the government views the slums in Kampala?” 63 percent of people thought that the government already provided free medical care, free schools, and free water to those in the slums. The remaining 37 percent thought the government wanted the people in the slums gone. The claim that government provides free medical care, schools, and water is true in some cases. Namuwongo is one slum where the government has provided free water, however they do not have access to medical care, and the free schools are run by NGOs. Since there are sixty-three slums in Kampala, it is not probable that the government provides all of these services to every slum, especially since the slums are not included within the government data.

The information in government data portrays little about the causes and consequences of urban poverty. In fact, it seems much is done to obscure the urban poor and their needs. The housing questions only reflect the permanent structures, yet most all of the poor in Namuwongo live in cement, permanent structures. The access to water data in the census also doesn't reflect how many people share a single borehole or spring spigot, or whether that water is safe for drinking. There is an emphasis on marriage data and who is the “head of household” without any data to reflect gender gaps in pay or employment. The government data about working toilets does not reflect the situation in the Namuwongo slums, where the NGO data concludes that there

is high percent of open defecation and a very low toilet to person ratio. Because little can be seen about the urban poor or their structural circumstances from government data, little can be concluded about causes, consequences, or solutions to urban poverty.

Participant observation taught me about daily life in the slum, revealing that survival strategies are closely tied with the slum's economic system. This system of buying and selling is a monetary-based one, where having work is valued, even if that work does little to extricate a person from their poverty. For example, selling vegetables —the main business ventures the women I spoke with aspired to — will yield very little beyond surviving in the slums. One reason for this is the saturation of the market with these types of vendors. These types of small selling stalls are often operated illegally as well because a business license costs significantly more than their profit.

Participant observation also revealed precarity as a lifeway for those in the Namuwongo slums. Instability of livelihood manifests itself through economic instability, threat of property destruction, the lack of medical resources, lack of rent control, food insecurity, lack of access to healthy sanitation, and environmental hazards. Constant flooding destroys property and makes homes unlivable when it rains. Yet, when NEMA reports that the slums are causing ecological damage to protected wetlands, their reports are met with derision, but mostly fear of displacement, or for some re-displacement. Lack of employment often means lack of food, no matter the amount of businesses or the cheaper price. To the slum dweller, eating well means being able to afford meat. One participant cried as she told me how her children could smell the meat cooking one house over and asked her when they would be able to have some. The government has habitually torn down houses in Namuwongo by claiming they are too close to the railroad. Once a home is destroyed, usually so is the means of living in a self-sufficient

manner. Life in the slums always seems to be on the edge of destruction, hinging upon the railroad and its neoliberal entanglements.

Analysis

Neoliberalism in Uganda can best be seen in the ways Museveni's government has opened trade and business relationships with foreign governments, first with the West but more recently with India and China. Economic relationships with China have quadrupled over the last decade, and China has come to own 20% of Uganda's debt (Warmerdam 2014). Although there is a measure of conditionality with these agreements (the development of Chinese industry and building of infrastructure in exchange for loans), China in turn has chosen to extricate itself from Ugandan politics, whereas the Western world threatens (or in some cases actually removes) support based on political decisions (Warmerdam 2014). An example of this would be the withdrawal of some Western funds in response to the 2014 Anti-Homosexuality Act, also known as the "Kill the Gays" bill. Chinese imports, businesses, and infrastructure are traded for loans, that are used for both public and private infrastructure projects. To date, Uganda owes the Chinese government over \$1 billion (New Vision 2018).

This does not diminish the impact of NGOs and the privatization of aid; Western NGOs continue to thrive in Uganda. In this way, Museveni and the government of Uganda used a neoliberal system to their best advantage, privatizing aid through the West, while capitalizing on Chinese trade deals and loans whose conditions for loans are more favorable. Often, these Western NGOs are Christian, bringing with them their tenants of the Protestant Work Ethic: the biblical idea that if one doesn't work, he shouldn't eat. Due to the spread of Christianity by Western missionaries, Uganda is now considered a majority Christian nation with 85 percent of Ugandans identifying as Christians (Adong 2018). My ethnographic work revealed that the

Namuwongo slum was not isolated from this Christian influence. In fact, some people identified access to Christian religious services as a benefit to living in the slum. However, when aid organizations are Christian-led, it can lead to religious discrimination of services. During my time volunteering with the Namuwongo Community Foundation (an overtly Christian organization), I witnessed a partner organization refuse financial aid to an elderly Muslim woman because she was not Christian. When the neoliberal privatization aid is ubiquitous in a society, these judgements about the deserving and undeserving poor are common. Manji (2002: 567) argues that these Christian missionary-backed NGOs are a continuation of paternalistic colonialism in Sub-Saharan Africa. This, coupled with the religious emphasis on the positive impact of work, have aided in making Uganda fertile ground for the spread of neoliberal ideologies.

This thesis shows how neoliberal ideas extend to citizen subjects. I argue that traditional neoliberal ideologies do not manifest themselves in the daily lives of the urban poor in Kampala. The data I collected highlight that lifeways in the slums are reciprocity-based but are still influenced by both neoliberal ideas and policies. In Namuwongo, neoliberalism is not a homogenizing juggernaut, and diverse economic practices exist. A key finding was that slum dwellers have not internalized neoliberal ideology as intensely as other more middle-class Ugandans. Likely causes for this could be not only their cooperative survival mechanisms, but also the prevalence of foreign NGOs that operate within the slums. Participants often cited a reason for staying in the slums was the access to NGO resources that were not available outside the slum, therefore NGOs have contributed to the isolation- both physical and ideological- most experience living the slums of Kampala. In terms of neoliberalism, this could be an effect of the privatization of aid. However, those neoliberal ideologies of personal responsibility for poverty

can be found in the perceptions those residing outside the slum have of the poor as well as in the erasure of the poor from government census data.

Studies of slums have indicated that those in the slums provide for those living in the greater city, however, I contend that this does not apply to Kampala. The typical slum-dweller connects to the city at large by providing the greater city with necessary services. They are the builders of roads and buildings, they are the factory workers, they are the maids and street cleaners (Davis 2006). In Kampala, however, access to these types of service jobs is so limited that those in the slums are not often qualified. The influx of English-speaking foreigners has meant that a person must speak English fluently in order to obtain most service jobs in the greater city. For those with little formal education, this not attainable. Other service jobs require a high school diploma, something many in the slums also do not have. In terms of employment, those living in the slums, stay in the slums. This has created a type of economic isolation that is fueled by neoliberal policies that open doors to foreign NGOs and businesses.

The economic isolation within the slums has led to ideological isolation as well. My research has shown that while neoliberal policies contribute to long-term poverty in the slums, on an individual level, those residing in the slum do not view themselves in terms of personal failure or personal responsibility. Responses to the interview questions reveal that they see themselves as deserving of help, of survival, regardless of their employment status. Their self-perception does not reflect the neoliberal ideas embraced by other sectors of the population. While some scholars would argue that this perception of themselves as needing helps creates dependency upon NGOs (Sahoo 2013; Manji 2002), my ethnographic research indicates that requests for help are emblematic of the unequal access to wealth and opportunities for

advancement. In most cases, their requests were not for “handouts” or even cash, but for ways to survive independently in the future, i.e. requests for money to start a business.

Conclusions

This thesis challenges ideas that neoliberal ideology is completely pervasive within a society. Although those within the slums are isolated, they claim full rights as citizen subjects of both Kampala and Uganda, while those residing outside the slums make generalized judgements about those who dwell there, and “choose” to stay. It is unsurprising that those living outside of the deep poverty of the slums are unable to see the nuance of why those in the slums remain there, since this attitude is a trend in most capitalist, neoliberal societies. Work is valued above all else, therefore those who are poor must be lazy, and enjoy living in poverty where they don’t have to contribute to the production-based system. The truth, however, is that the slums are a vast social network of cooperative survival and losing those cooperative advantages would be an uneven exchange for economic advancement. Therefore, the ideas of personal responsibility do not extend to the poorest in society.

However, just because this ideology is not pervasive within the slums, does not mean people aren’t affected by it. Those who do believe in the idea of personal responsibility tend to be the ones with the most power to help the poor. The NGOs that are foreign-funded or religious-based constantly make decisions about which among the poor are worthy of help. Within the Namuwongo Community Foundation, social workers are constantly visiting the community and relaying information back to the main office and the sponsors in the UK about which needs are most pressing. In my interviews with the Ugandan director, the emphasis is on training people to work for themselves, therefore rescuing them from the slums. When pressed about how often this had worked for them, they admitted that it hadn’t. The director of another slum relocation project

that was religious-based rejected every application. One person wasn't skilled enough, one was Muslim, one was too old, one family wasn't traditionally complete without a male head of household. Although those in the slums may not ascribe to the ideas that they are not deserving of help, those capable of helping them do, therefore their survival is intricately linked to these neoliberal ideas.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

There are sixty-three slums in the city of Kampala that occupy only twelve percent of the total land space. Urban poverty is a growing issue, as the city itself continues to grow. Over the past decades, the country of Uganda as a whole has embraced Western neoliberal economic structures, opening its door to the free market trade system as well as a vast network of NGOs. As a result, the care of the urban poor has largely fallen on NGOs, not the government. This thesis examined the ways in which the neoliberal policies of the government have expressed themselves in Kampala's citizenry.

Largely, the data concluded that while the poor are operating within a neoliberal system that affects their survival, the ideologies of personal responsibility have not pervaded their perceptions of poverty. Among those who reside outside the slums, however, there were still negative ideas about the urban poor. Negative assumptions were made about the type of people who live in the slums, and many felt that the city would be safer and cleaner if these people were no longer there. So, they viewed poverty in terms of the people who lived in the slums, not the structural system which perpetuates the poverty. The government data did much to obscure the poor by not counting them or their dwelling individually but instead lumping them with a larger middle class area of the city. The data collected by NGOs was more useful communicating the actual population and structural data within the slums, thereby making it easier to assess the needs of the urban poor.

Anthropological research in areas of urban poverty, particularly in informal settlements, is necessary in a rapidly urbanizing world that is often structurally unprepared for the population increases it faces. With the increases in migration, and the threat that climate change poses for

agriculture, rural to urban migration will only increase in the future. Anthropology, and ethnography specifically, can contribute to this understanding this crisis by providing local perspectives and solutions to limited housing, ecological threats, food insecurity, and so forth. By examining the impacts that local perspectives on poverty can have upon a slum-dweller's economic future, cooperative solutions can be reached for urban poverty. Negative perceptions of poverty are not always based in fact, therefore confronting those ideas with the narratives of the slum-dwellers themselves can lead to more positive perceptions of the urban poor. Veering the poverty narrative away from personal responsibility and toward an approach that understands the ways neoliberal policies reproduce poverty will eventually result in a change in those policies. Key in the actualization of this is the dissemination of the stories and experiences of the urban poor to cities at large. In words of a Slum Dwellers International employee: "*[This work] is not just for the slum dwellers, it's for the entire city. The slums are actually a part of the entire city, so if we treat them in isolation, we will just be talking to each other. So, we need to have all the other actors in the city to also be involved in the actual work we are doing.*" Empowering locals to see their community reflexively has proven in the past to result in grassroots movements for policy change (Wang 1997). This would be the hopeful outcome for the residents Namuwongo, as well as future anthropologists who view my work as it is disseminated.

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APPENDIX

Appendix A

Recruitment Script

Kampala and the Slums

Hello, this is Kayla Davis! You may remember from working with Ray of Hope a couple years ago. I am currently working on a Master's about the city of Kampala and the slums there. Would you be willing to help me? You would only need to answer some questions about the slums. You do not need to be an expert, I want opinions about the slums from citizens of Kampala. I'm trying to find out how the government views the slums, if the slums give an economic advantage to the city, and generally how the people living in the slums are viewed by the rest of the city of Kampala. If you are willing to help, I'll need you to sign a consent form, and I will send the interview questions. We can talk over WhatsApp or over email, whichever is best for you. The consent lets you know that your answers will be used for my thesis research and could be published in academic publications. I will not use your name, so your answers will not be tied back you.

If you are able and would like to participate more, I would love to have any pictures you are able to take of the slums. I am willing to reimburse you for any transportation costs. This part is not required, only voluntary. Whatever you can do is appreciated.

Appendix B

CONSENT FORM: THE SLUMS AND KAMPALA PROJECT

DESCRIPTION: You are invited to participate in a research study on the slums in Kampala. You will be asked to complete a short written interview. If you choose, you may take photographs of the places and objects that you think are most important for an outsider to know about the slums.

TIME INVOLVEMENT: Your participation will take approximately two hours if you only complete the interview, one day if you choose to take photos.

RISKS AND BENEFITS: The risks associated with this study are minimal. The benefits which may reasonably be expected to result from this study are possible reimbursement for travel expenses, and the opportunity to be involved in the researcher's future research. We cannot and do not guarantee or promise that you will receive any benefits from this study.

PAYMENTS: You will receive reimbursement for travel if you choose to take photographs as payment for your participation. The amount will not exceed \$30USD

PARTICIPANT’S RIGHTS: If you have read this form and have decided to participate in this project, please understand your participation is voluntary and you have the right to withdraw your consent or discontinue participation at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. The alternative is not to participate. You have the right to refuse to answer particular questions. The results of this research study may be presented at scientific or professional meetings or published in scientific journals.

CONTACT INFORMATION:

Questions: If you have any questions, concerns or complaints about this research, its procedures, risks and benefits, contact the Protocol Director, Kayla Davis, +12672102579.

You may also contact the University of Tennessee Office of Compliance for any questions regarding your rights as a research participant. +18659747697 or utkirb@utk.edu

The extra copy of this signed and dated consent form will be emailed to you and is for you to keep.

I consent for any answers given to the researcher, Kayla Davis, over email, WhatsApp or other means of electronic contact to be used in thesis publication.

_____ YES _____ NO

SIGNATURE _____ DATE _____

Print name of participant _____

Appendix C

Interview: The Slums and Kampala

1. How do you think the government views the slums in Kampala? How do you know this? Can you give examples?
2. How do you think the people in the slums view the government of Kampala? How do you know this? Can you give examples?
3. How do you think the surrounding communities view the people in the slums? How do you know this? Can you give examples?
4. How would you define a “slum”? How are slums different than other parts of the city? Are there good things about slums? What are the worst things about slums?
5. Where are the slums located in Kampala? Can you draw a map of the city and where the slums are?
6. How do you think the slums came to exist? Are there differences between how slums formed in one part of the city or another?
7. Who lives in the slums? Why do they live there?
8. Do the slums contribute to the city? Do people in the slums help the city in any way? By providing services (like cleaning or working to sell things)?
9. How would the city be different if the slums did not exist?
10. Which slum in Kampala do you think is the worst? Why?

11. What do you think are the most pressing needs in the slums, and what do you think is the best way to fix the need? How do you know about this?
12. Draw a picture of the typical slum home. Be sure to include how many people you think typically share a home.

VITA

Kayla Davis received her bachelor's degree in Anthropology from East Tennessee State University in 2016, where she gained experience in both sociology and biological anthropology. Prior to this, Kayla was a high school and ESL teacher- a job which took her to Kampala, Uganda during 2014. Much of the work reflected in this thesis began forming during that time, and the connections made at that time were rekindled during the research trip in 2018. In 2016, she began her Master of Arts degree at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, under the guidance of Dr. Tricia Hepner. As a graduate student she taught both cultural and biological lab sections, as well as conducting an independent research project that raised awareness for the refugee crisis. This research was presented at the Society for Applied Anthropology Conference in Philadelphia in April 2018. With the generous support of a W.K. McClure Scholarship for the Study of World Affairs, Kayla was able to travel to Kampala, Uganda to conduct the research for this thesis. In December 2018, she completed her Master of Arts in Anthropology degree with a graduate certificate in Disasters, Displacement, and Human Rights. She currently resides in Knoxville, with her border collie Neville and tabby cat Westley.