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## Collision and Contestation of Power in Kampala Capital City Authority (KCCA)

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### Abstract

*This article describes the collision and contestation of power in Kampala Capital City Authority (KCCA). Power collision and contestation in KCCA have been known for a decade since the inception of the KCCA Act 2010. The draft of the Act was to have a better city; however, the implementation resulted in sharp conflicts, and since it broke at the center of power, it left a lot to be desired. Qualitative content analysis was used; articles were downloaded from various newspapers online and analyzed. Results indicate that the Act referred to the Lord Mayor as a political head in KCCA, not the political head of the Authority. It was weakened because it reduced the legislative powers of the Lord Mayor to the Speaker and hence making the Mayor accountable to the Council; the Ministry of Kampala in consultation with the Ministry of Lands and Local Government shall coordinate the planning of the City and proposed an establishment of an executive committee appointed by the Lord Mayor on matters of legislation. The patronage approach cannot overtake the powers of the people and belittling the powers of elected leadership will only create more problems than the Government can solve.*

**Keywords:** Kampala Capital City Authority, Act, Power, Political and Technical leadership, Service delivery, Council, Uganda



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## Background

Cities are regarded as complex multidimensional social players because they are associated with diverse controls to centralized administration, public Authority, decentralized administration, civil society, the private sector, professional bodies, and other stakeholders (Florida, 2003). Cities have been linked to bigger state bureaucratization (Tilly, 1992); therefore, the investigation of power struggles as a contemporary phenomenon could contribute to a clear understanding of leaders in Kampala Capital City Authority.

For the last decade, there has been interest in the National Resistance Movement (NRM) regime to wrestle control of the City's political leadership from the opposition. The draft of the KCCA Act 2010 (GoU, 2010) and its implementation were meant to have a better, cleaner city. However, the implementation of the KCCA Act brought several turf conflicts that later resulted in altering the powers of the Lord Mayor, Executive Director, and Minister for Kampala (Sabiiti, 2019). There was an urgent need to bring order to the city by creating harmony among the three Authority wings: political, technical, and executive. Since its creation in 2010, the Authority has been in the limelight over fights between the Lord Mayor and the Executive Director on issues related to the management of KCCA. This was followed by the impeachment of the Lord Mayor, blaming him for misconduct, incompetence, and abuse of office, which led to extended legal battles between KCCA and the Lord Mayor (Eyotaru, 2016). The Mayor later petitioned to dismiss the appeal and challenge the unpaid salary worth 500 million (Agaba, 2019; Ainebyoona, 2016; Barbra Kabahumuza, 2017; Kigongo, 2019).

## Problem statement

There was continuous foster fight between the technical and political wing in KCCA -- between the Minister, Lord Mayor and Executive Director (Kazibwe, 2018b). The Minister was accused of quietly manipulating the KCCA budget with new Executive Director to save money for the ruling NRM to fund its electoral activities and support strategies to turn Kampala in favour of the ruling party (Takabasa, 2019).

According to the Mayor, KCCA was being managed as a one-man affair (Nankuulu) Draku (2019); the organs were not operating well due to interference from the Executive Director (ED). The Council claimed that they were unable to pass several ordinances, strategic plans in line with the drainage master plan, model transport plan, education plan, market construction plan to decongest the City, street lights, and sanitation plan including buying 20 garbage trucks. Central Government could not release money for implementation until the Council sitting with minutes, and accountability reports were not presented by the ED<sup>1</sup>.

Given the Mayor's understanding, he exposed fraud in the legal department in the name of consent judgements. This led to the Director of Legal Affairs resigning since KCCA lost 50 billion and their account was frozen (Draku, 2019). The continued collision in KCCA was related to huge sums of money tapped by different individuals, power contestations since the Minister assumed to be the day-to-day administrator of mayors in the City; the

<sup>1</sup> In this article elected Lord Mayor of Kampala herein referred to as Erias Lukwago, Executive Director Ms. Jennifer Semakula Musisi and Minister for Kampala Hon. Olivia Betty Namisango

Minister summoned meetings without including the Lord Mayor and resolve policy decisions; Council meetings were declared illegal (Waiswa, 2018b); Minister attended all functions, commissioned markets; met matatu operators; resolved administrative issues that fell under Mayor's jurisdiction rather than handling policy-related issues nationally; defended the KCCA budget in Parliament; supervised and guided operations (Kazibwe, 2018b).

One of the division Mayors promulgated himself as chairman, and rose to the level of Mayor; he would meet the Minister directly, pass resolutions, and start implementing them without the knowledge of the Council (Draku, 2019). The business in KCCA was managed unusually. There was no KCCA PAC, 700 staff on temporary appointment, and over 80% were handpicked and recruited, which led to duplication, hence affecting performance, causing loss of morale, and consequently, job dissatisfaction; over 700 staff recruited worked under unclear circumstances; the KCCA laws (Ngwomoya, 2019a), contracts were irregularly renewed; and staff acted beyond six (6) months which was against public service standing orders (Kazibwe, 2018b).

There is no Kampala City Service Commission because many powers were given to the president to appoint staff in KCCA (Draku, 2019). The City Service Commission should be responsible for appointing other positions beyond Ministers, Executive Director, ten Directors, and their deputies and Resident City Commissioner and Deputies. Some powers to appoint should be delegated to other agencies to avoid putting KCCA staff on tester hangers of patronage due to lack of job security (Draku, 2019). The president took time to appoint substantive staff to replace those who had left, yet there was high turnover in KCCA, which paralyzed business, resulting in poor service delivery (Reporter, 2020).

## Objectives

- a) To establish what changed in the 2019 KCCA Act and how this affected service delivery;
- b) To explain the causes of power collision in KCCA;
- c) To assess the achievements and challenges faced by KCCA during service delivery.

## Literature Review

The transformational leader of ED was tasked to instil and reinforce discipline and integrity in staff, retire old KCC staff, kick vendors off streets, build markets, build a new taxi park, settle ownership controversy and leadership chaos in markets, carry out evictions of Ugandans in government houses of those who occupied them illegally and bring trade order in the City (Asiimwe, 2018).

Further, she was required to develop infrastructure, streetlights and improve public health service delivery, register motorcyclists commonly known as boda boda, bring about new taxes for taxis and motorcycles. She was supposed to re-build the city from deserted places into the Gardens of Eden, and symbolically and fearlessly incorruptible with determination clean up the City (Asiimwe, 2018).

This resulted in hate mail, death threats, escape poisoning, and media criticism, which resulted in character assassination of her as arrogant and offensive. The suspicions, threats, accusations, and personal attacks came as a result of the scope of her job. "It took decades for Kampala to degenerate. There was a need to go through pain to transform it" (Avolio & Gardner, 2005; Bamwanga, 2014; Judge & Bono, 2000; Stewart, 2006; Vaculik, Prochazka, & Smutny, 2014).

The ED brought hope as some dwellers believed in her as a transformational leader since they cleaned daily and Kampala was lighting. The businessmen benefited in the former dirty City. Hence, natural resistance to return to the status quo frustrated her efforts (Antonakis & Robert, 2013; Bass, 1996; Bass & Avolio, 1990, 1994; Bass & Steidlmeier, 1999; Margach, 1979).

Despite the challenges, the ED achieved a lot in her leadership; she received numerous awards, both national and international, i.e., she wore the Quality Leadership Award in December 2014, organized by the European Society for Quality Research (ESQR), for outstanding leadership as an individual for having taken some steps to advance and improve development quality. She received and won the Golden European Award in Public Administration (WBC) organized by leaders in Rome (Mulera, 2014), Innovative Price in Public Administration to benefit citizens, Grand Award for Integrity and Excellence in Leadership from Global Leadership Institute (BigEye3, 2015; Kitubi, 2018), Uganda Revenue Authority Award for demonstrating high integrity and excellence in public service and for transforming Kampala city into a model of governance and infrastructure development (Asiimwe, 2018; Bass & Avolio, 1993a, 1993b; Bass & Steidlmeier, 1999; Kabuye, 2019; Tichy & Devanna, 1986).

Maintaining city order needed forceful measures since the populace in Kampala was vandalizing government property, street lights were uprooted, flowers and road signage were stolen, and garbage bins and man-holes were stolen, which resulted in expensive service delivery (Bass, 1996; Bass & Avolio, 1994).

The impounding of commuter taxis off the illegal parks, heavy-handed law enforcement officers punished over torture and manhandling suspects, demolition of the Kiseka market, working without respecting borders and boundaries, hence usurping the Mayor's powers, her belief that brutal actions were part of her mission to create change in the Kampala for the best (Bass & Avolio, 1993b; Bass & Riggio, 2006).

The ED largely succeeded in the transformation of the City even though she did not have any political background but transformed the landscape of service delivery in public service in Kampala City (Bass & Avolio, 1993b; Bass & Riggio, 2006; Gardner, Cogliser, Davis, & Dickens, 2011; Kanungo & Mendonca, 1996).

However, the ED never took into consideration the sensitivity of the populace in Kampala, which resulted in her downfall. There was no need for meetings between the people of Kampala and its leadership (transactional) (Burns, 1998). The leadership in Kampala should have focused on self-development and intellectual stimulation. This would enable them to change individual interests into collective goals (transformational) (Bass & Avolio, 1990).

In Uganda, regulations to govern street vending are underway, but they still operate in strict and undefined circumstances (F. Asimwe, 2016). They work in open spaces with no shelter, which exposes them to bad weather conditions during the rainy season, yet they lack storage facilities. Some areas of operation lack park yards and have inadequate toilets, while big markets like Usafi, with over 100,000 traders, now have limited toilets. Garbage collection is done ineffectively, and a few available are left to overflow due to a lack of enough garbage trucks coupled with irregular collection by KCCA and private companies. In Kenya, heaps of garbage welcome you as familiar sights around crowded streets and by the roadside, which areas are available for street vendors to operate as they look for income (Mitullah, 2003).

The growing urbanization in African cities has attracted foreign and local investors searching for markets across the world. City authorities in Africa are doing their best to revamp their cities in order to attract investment that will later create jobs, reduce unemployment, and improve the standards of living (Côté-Roy & Moser, 2019; Howard, 2003).

### *Theories underpinning power struggles*

Karl Marx defined power as the ability to achieve goals without populace support. He explained how it is distributed through the community's economic structure. The economic system describes the structure of society. Society must shape ownership of means of production. The ruling class was made up of royalty and nobles, and real power was vested in the populace that was rich and owned property. People with low incomes need control over the means of production. The decadent political ideology prevails and alters. They impose beliefs and values on society. He warned on developing class consciousness to avoid revolution (Burriss, 1987; Wolin, 1981). Power concentration in the hands of one ruling for 32 years was given to a class of people who determine the leadership of public institutions.

According to pluralists, power is distributed among many different groups, i.e., unions, coalitions of like-minded people, professional bodies, think tanks, and lobbyists. The composition of these groups is very small, but the public acts as bystanders in the pluralists' power model. In KCCA, with the amended Act, the elected Mayor is permitted to appoint a deputy Mayor and establish an executive committee, political action committees, professional bodies, grassroots activism, and labour groups (Anton, 1963; Manley, 1983).

The power of the elite model centres on the idea of power concentration among the rich. It is believed that power is in the hands of the wealthy people, e.g., the military, businesses, and Government. The people at the grassroots cannot be heard (Dahl, 1958; Mills & Wolfe, 2000). This theory was commonly used in the KCCA administration, where the town dwellers were never considered in decision-making regarding policies designed to affect their day-to-day lives.

## **Methodology**

This study used an exploratory design because the problem under study has few or no earlier studies to be referred to. The aim was to gain insight and familiarity for later investigations

since the problem under study was in the preliminary stage of its investigation (Schreier, 2012). The study sought to establish an understanding of how best to proceed to understand what caused the collision in KCCA<sup>2</sup>.

The research did not aim at generation but gaining insights into the phenomenon under study. With its flexibility, it allows content analysis of thirty seven (37) articles from newspapers in Uganda that covered the power struggles of KCCA.

Table showing source of information

	Name	Title	Source
1	Agaba, R. (2019)	Court allows former KCCA ED Musisi to attach Lord Mayor's salary	<a href="https://www.pmeldaily.com/news/2019/06/court-allows-former-kcca-ed-musisi-to-attach-lord-mayors-salary">https://www.pmeldaily.com/news/2019/06/court-allows-former-kcca-ed-musisi-to-attach-lord-mayors-salary</a> .
2	Ahabwe, C.(2019)	Trouble for Lukwago as Museveni assents to new KCCA Act.	<a href="https://www.pmeldaily.com/news/2019/12/trouble-for-lukwago-as-museveni-assents-to-new-kcca-bill">https://www.pmeldaily.com/news/2019/12/trouble-for-lukwago-as-museveni-assents-to-new-kcca-bill</a> .
3	Ainebyoona, E. (2016)	Lukwago issues new era notice, demands pay	<a href="https://www.monitor.co.ug/News/National/Lukwago-issues-new-era-notice--demands-pay/688334-3217716-auuvhj/index">https://www.monitor.co.ug/News/National/Lukwago-issues-new-era-notice--demands-pay/688334-3217716-auuvhj/index</a> .
4	Asiimwe, B. (2018)	Jennifer Musisi, Doris Akol Receive African Virtuous Women Award	<a href="https://www.softpower.ug/jennifer-musisi-doris-akol-receive-african-virtuous-women-award/">https://www.softpower.ug/jennifer-musisi-doris-akol-receive-african-virtuous-women-award/</a>
5	Asiimwe, G. (2019).	Lukwago, Kamyia clash over Councilors' decision to summon Musisi	<a href="https://chimpreports.com/lukwago-kamyia-clash-over-councilors-decision-to-summon-musisi/html">https://chimpreports.com/lukwago-kamyia-clash-over-councilors-decision-to-summon-musisi/html</a> , retrieved, September, 2019.
6	Barbra Kabahumuza, H. N. a. J. W. (2017).	Lukwago drags Kamyia, Musisi to court over salary	<a href="https://www.newvision.co.ug/new_vision/news/1448585/lukwago-drags-kamyia-musisi-court-salary/html">https://www.newvision.co.ug/new_vision/news/1448585/lukwago-drags-kamyia-musisi-court-salary/html</a> , retrieved, March 2017.
7	BigEye3. (2015).	Abryanz Hands over Award to KCCA's Jennifer Musisi	<a href="https://bigeye.ug/photo-abryanz-hands-over-award-to-kccas-jennifer-musisi/html">https://bigeye.ug/photo-abryanz-hands-over-award-to-kccas-jennifer-musisi/html</a> , retrieved, December, 2019.
8	Draku, F. (2019).	Lukwago: I have issues with Kamyia but infighting at KCCA has reduced	<a href="https://www.monitor.co.ug/SpecialReports/Lukwago-Kamyia--but-infighting-at-KCCA-has-reduced--/688342-5232842-15pol8g/index.html">https://www.monitor.co.ug/SpecialReports/Lukwago-Kamyia--but-infighting-at-KCCA-has-reduced--/688342-5232842-15pol8g/index.html</a> , retrieved August, 2019
9	Eyotaru, O. (2016).	Fights At KCCA Were Inevitable	<a href="https://ugandaradionetwork.net/story/tumwebaze-the-fights-at-kcca-were-inevitable,html">https://ugandaradionetwork.net/story/tumwebaze-the-fights-at-kcca-were-inevitable,html</a> , retrieved 24 May 2019.
10	GoU. (2010).	The Kampala Capital City Act, 2010	<a href="https://www.kcca.go.ug/uploads/KCCA_ACT_2010.pdf">https://www.kcca.go.ug/uploads/KCCA_ACT_2010.pdf</a> , retrieved, December, 2019.

<sup>2</sup> KCCA-Kampala Capital City Authority, ED-Executive Director, LM-Lory Mayor and MK-Minister for Kampala

11	Himbaza, S. (2018).	Mayor Lukwago shuns Beti Kamyra, Jenifer Musisi peace talks	<a href="https://theugandan.com/ug/mayor-lukwago-shuns-beti-kamyra-jenifer-musisi-peace-talks/html">https://theugandan.com/ug/mayor-lukwago-shuns-beti-kamyra-jenifer-musisi-peace-talks/html</a> , retrieved, July, 2019.
12	Independent, T. (2018).	K amyra praises Musisi for changing the face of Kampala	<a href="https://www.independent.co/ug/kamyra-praises-musisi-for-changing-the-face-of-kampala/html">https://www.independent.co/ug/kamyra-praises-musisi-for-changing-the-face-of-kampala/html</a> , retrieved, October, 2018.
13	Issa, H. (2019).	Kamyra, Lukwago Disagree on How to Implement Council Resolutions	<a href="https://ugandaradionetwork.net/a/story/kamyra-lukwago-disagree-on-how-to-implement-council-resolutions/html">https://ugandaradionetwork.net/a/story/kamyra-lukwago-disagree-on-how-to-implement-council-resolutions/html</a> , retrieved, September, 2019.
14	John, L. (2018).	Jennifer Musisi Finally Resigns From KCCA	<a href="https://newslexpoint.com/jennifer-musisi-finally-resigns-kcca/html">https://newslexpoint.com/jennifer-musisi-finally-resigns-kcca/html</a> , retrieved, October, 2019.
15	Kabuye, K. (2019).	Kalungi's Lens: One year after Jennifer Musisi	<a href="https://www.newvision.co/ug/new_vision/news/1512766/kalungis-lens-jennifer-musisi/html">https://www.newvision.co/ug/new_vision/news/1512766/kalungis-lens-jennifer-musisi/html</a> , retrieved, December 2019.
16	Kazibwe, K. (2018a).	Lukwago Accuses Minister Kamyra of Buying Time As She Plots To Become Kampala Political Head	<a href="https://nilepost.co/ug/2018/06/11/lukwago-accuses-minister-kamyra-of-buying-time-as-she-plots-to-become-kampala-political-head/html">https://nilepost.co/ug/2018/06/11/lukwago-accuses-minister-kamyra-of-buying-time-as-she-plots-to-become-kampala-political-head/html</a> , retrieved, July, 2019.
17	Kemigisa, J. (2018).	Lukwago, Musisi, contradict over city law enforcement	<a href="https://parliamentwatch.ug/lukwago-musisi-contradict-over-city-law-enforcement/html">https://parliamentwatch.ug/lukwago-musisi-contradict-over-city-law-enforcement/html</a> , retrieved, March, 2019.
18	Kigongo, E. K. a. J. (2019).	Lukwago seeks to block KCCA appeal on his pay	<a href="https://www.monitor.co/ug/News/National/Lukwago-seeks-to-block-KCCA-appeal-his-pay/688334-5375020-ffow6n/index.html">https://www.monitor.co/ug/News/National/Lukwago-seeks-to-block-KCCA-appeal-his-pay/688334-5375020-ffow6n/index.html</a> , retrieved, December, 2019.
19	Kugonza, D. (2019).	Mayor Lukwago faults minister Kamyra for allegedly frustrating his work	<a href="http://www.kfm.co/ug/news/lukwago-faults-minister-kamyra-for-allegedly-making-his-work-difficult.html">http://www.kfm.co/ug/news/lukwago-faults-minister-kamyra-for-allegedly-making-his-work-difficult.html</a> , retrieved, October, 2019.
20	Mboowa, N. (2018).	Lord Mayor Lukwago jubilates Musisi's departure	<a href="http://www.sunrise.ug/news/201810/lord-mayor-lukwago-jubilates-musisi-departure.html">http://www.sunrise.ug/news/201810/lord-mayor-lukwago-jubilates-musisi-departure.html</a> , retrieved, October 2019.
21	Mulera, M. K. (2014).	Kampala's fate not in Jennifer Musisi's hands	<a href="https://www.monitor.co/ug/OpEd/columnists/MuniiniMulera/Kampala-s-fate-not-in-Jennifer-Musisi-s-hands/878676-2143596-4r59h7z/index.html">https://www.monitor.co/ug/OpEd/columnists/MuniiniMulera/Kampala-s-fate-not-in-Jennifer-Musisi-s-hands/878676-2143596-4r59h7z/index.html</a> /retrieved, January, 2019.
22	Muneza, S. (2016).	Musisi welcomes Lord Mayor Lukwago back to City Hall	<a href="https://eagle.co/ug/2016/06/06/musisi-welcomes-lord-mayor-lukwago-back-to-city-hall-lord-mayor-lukwago-councillors-swearing.html">https://eagle.co/ug/2016/06/06/musisi-welcomes-lord-mayor-lukwago-back-to-city-hall-lord-mayor-lukwago-councillors-swearing.html</a> , retrieved, June, 2019.

23	Nangonzi, Y. (2019).	Lukwago: I'm happier, busier without Musisi	<a href="https://observer.ug/news/headlines/60303-lukwago-i-m-happier-busier-without-musisi/html">https://observer.ug/news/headlines/60303-lukwago-i-m-happier-busier-without-musisi/html</a> , retrieved, April, 2019.
24	Ngwomoya, A. (2019a).	Fresh fight erupts over KCCA staff recruitment	<a href="https://www.monitor.co.ug/News/National/-fight-KCCA-staff-recruitment-Public-Service-Ralph-Ochan/688334-5158080-mv0ov2/index.html">https://www.monitor.co.ug/News/National/-fight-KCCA-staff-recruitment-Public-Service-Ralph-Ochan/688334-5158080-mv0ov2/index.html</a> , retrieved, June, 2019.
25	Okello, G. (2018).	Why the excitement? Kamywa warns Lukwago against 'destabilising' KCCA staff as Musisi quits	<a href="http://www.pmldaily.com/news/2018/10/why-the-excitement-kamywa-warns-lukwago-against-destabilising-kcca-staff-as-musisi-quits.html">http://www.pmldaily.com/news/2018/10/why-the-excitement-kamywa-warns-lukwago-against-destabilising-kcca-staff-as-musisi-quits.html</a> , retrieved, October, 2019.
26	Parliament. (2019a).	Amended KCCA law strengthens office of Lord Mayor	<a href="https://www.parliament.go.ug/news/3644/amended-kcca-law-strengthens-office-lord-mayor.html">https://www.parliament.go.ug/news/3644/amended-kcca-law-strengthens-office-lord-mayor.html</a> , retrieved, March. 20. 2019.
27	Parliament. (2019b).	Lord Mayor gets back his powers in New KCCA Amendment Bill passed by Parliament	<a href="https://www.pmldaily.com/news/2019/08/parliament-passes-kcca-amendment-bill.html">https://www.pmldaily.com/news/2019/08/parliament-passes-kcca-amendment-bill.html</a> , retrieved, August. 2019.
28	Reporter. (2018a).	Jennifer Musisi hands over KCCA office to Beti Kamywa	<a href="http://dispatch.ug/2018/12/14/jennifer-musisi-hands-kcca-office-beti-kamywa/html">http://dispatch.ug/2018/12/14/jennifer-musisi-hands-kcca-office-beti-kamywa/html</a> , retrieved, November, 2019.
29	Reporter. (2018b).	Lukwago: I'll work with new KCCA boss in this sinking boat	<a href="https://edge.ug/2018/12/26/lukwago-ill-work-with-new-kcca-boss-in-this-sinking-boat/html">https://edge.ug/2018/12/26/lukwago-ill-work-with-new-kcca-boss-in-this-sinking-boat/html</a> , retrieved, December, 2019.
30	Reporter. (2020).	In absence of substantive Executive Director, KCCA's budgetary process hangs in balance	<a href="https://www.softpower.ug/in-absence-of-substantive-e-d-kccas-budgetary-process-hangs-in-balance/html">https://www.softpower.ug/in-absence-of-substantive-e-d-kccas-budgetary-process-hangs-in-balance/html</a> , retrieved, January 2020.
31	Sabiiti, J. B. a. J. (2019).	Why Museveni might not sign new KCCA law	<a href="https://www.independent.co.ug/why-museveni-might-not-sign-new-kcca-law/html">https://www.independent.co.ug/why-museveni-might-not-sign-new-kcca-law/html</a> , retrieved, 12. September. 2019.
32	Ssenyonga, J. W. a. A. (2012).	Uganda: City Bus Operations Illegal - Lukwago	<a href="https://allafrica.com/stories/201203131111.html">https://allafrica.com/stories/201203131111.html</a> , retrieved, March 2018.
33	Waiswa, J. (2018a).	Kamywa orders Lukwago to organize council meetings	<a href="https://www.newvision.co.ug/new_vision/news/1484777/kamywa-lukwago-organise-council-meetings/html">https://www.newvision.co.ug/new_vision/news/1484777/kamywa-lukwago-organise-council-meetings/html</a> , retrieved, August 2018.
34	Waiswa, J. (2018b).	Lukwago council meeting flops	<a href="https://www.newvision.co.ug/new_vision/news/1486829/lukwago-council-meeting-flops/html">https://www.newvision.co.ug/new_vision/news/1486829/lukwago-council-meeting-flops/html</a> , retrieved, October 2019.



35	Wesaka, A. (2018).	Lukwago sues Minister Kamyua for blocking his foreign trips	<a href="https://www.monitor.co.ug/News/National/Lukwago-sues-minister-Kamyua-blocking-foreign-trips/688334-4301980-77iqpgz/index.html">https://www.monitor.co.ug/News/National/Lukwago-sues-minister-Kamyua-blocking-foreign-trips/688334-4301980-77iqpgz/index.html</a> , retrieved, February 2019.
36	Yasin, M. (2018).	KCCA Organizes A Meeting To Discuss Jennifer's Abandoned Position	<a href="https://newslexpoint.com/kcca-organizes-meeting-discuss-position/html">https://newslexpoint.com/kcca-organizes-meeting-discuss-position/html</a> , retrieved, October 2019.

While prior studies focused on bureaucratic structures, transformational leadership, opposition politics, and service delivery, this research identified causes of power collision and contestation and its effect on service delivery. The study was guided by the research question: What causes power collision in KCCA? Additionally, this study examined how the power collision affected service delivery using content analysis of newspapers. The theoretical and practical implications were discussed after the causes of power collisions had been identified in the newspapers (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). The sampling technique used was a census, thus requiring the research to use all the obtained articles since they were within the required limit of a single sample as guided by qualitative methodology (Marshall, 1996).

Conventional qualitative content analysis ensured the qualitative evaluation of the selected newspaper articles. The focus was on the underlying line of reasoning of each heading of the newspaper articles and the paragraphs in order to evaluate the critical discourse about the causes of collision and what really changed in the 2019 KCCA Act to understand whether media content is “a reflection of the phenomenon under study as the situation was viewed” (Toennesen, 2014; Christian Toennesen, Simon Hodgson, & Francis Mimmack, 2013a, 2013b; C Toennesen, S. Hodgson, & F. Mimmack, 2013).

Content analysis methodology is recognized to be the most helpful tool in studying media agendas because it focuses on the space or time dedicated to a specific topic of interest to enable understanding of the relevance of media agenda, specifically on how the topic of power collision and what changed in KCCA Act 2019 is presented in selected material (Mayring, 2004). This methodology was selected because it analyses the textual material from a wide range of options in line with communication matters in various formats. It is a thorough method that included coding (Dearing, Rogers, & Rogers, 1996). The first step was defining the material, selecting the material that answers the research questions, analysing the material, putting into consideration the situation in which materials were produced, and characterization in terms of details on how the content was documented under categories obtained under the theoretical models, defining the direction of the analysis of the chose text and newspaper materials and this outlines what the researcher intended to interpret from the collected data (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005).

Validity and reliability were used to ensure a dictionary or contextual translation rules by use of selective reduction, specific words or patterns that are indicative of the questions under study (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). The theoretical approach used was cognitive science, which created decision maps (relationships between ideas, briefs, attitudes, and information

available to make a decision within the text) and mental models (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009). This article covered the period from 2011 to 2019 because it was characterized by the collision of power between ED, the Lord Mayor, and the Minister for Kampala.

## Results

### What changed in KCCA Act 2019?

#### Section 6 of the Principal ACT

1. inserted the ward council.
2. section 6 of the principal Act was amended to Council of the Authority and notes were defined as;
  - a) council, the governing body of the capital city
  - b) membership of the Council allowed councilors to represent the elderly persons and workers, eliminating the councilors representing the professional bodies.
  - c) inserted a new section (function of the Council) section 6(A)

#### New sections 8(A) 8(B) and 8(D)

- a) section 8 ward authority was replaced with Council
- b) The Lord Mayor and Mayor shall be ceremonial in regards to powers since they shall be in the hands of the Council speaker making a decision
- c) The new appointments of speaker and deputy
- d) Election of the speaker
- e) Functions of speaker and deputy
- f) removal of the speaker
- g) section 9 of the Principal Act was replaced.
- h) the new law wanted to weaken the mayors
- i) the lord mayor and other mayors have no decision-making powers in the Council
- j) The attorney General advises the appointed Minister within 60 days and not 90 days

The Act was weakened because it reduced the legislative powers of the Lord Mayor to the Speaker and the Council, making the Mayor accountable to the Council since he is required to prepare the budget and submit it to the Council for approval (Ahabwe, 2019). The new KCCA Act created a position of Minister for Kampala appointed by the president and reduced the powers of the Director of Kampala Capital City Authority since He/She reports to the Minister, yet in the 2010 Act, the Director KCCA was reporting directly to the president. The ED exercised too much power, which later ended up in egotism and recurrent wars between the political and technical wings (Mboowa, 2018).

Parliament granted the Lord Mayor the responsibility of managing the KCCA budget with the support of the Director KCCA. This implied that the powers of the Executive Director were reduced to simply giving technical assistance to the Lord Mayor (Parliament, 2019a;

Sabiiti, 2019), hence reporting to him in some instances.

The Act referred to the Lord Mayor as a political head in KCCA, not the political head of the Authority, which was denied on grounds that Kampala City enjoys special status awarded in the Constitution of Uganda under Article 5(4), which placed the City under the administration of central Government (Parliament, 2019a). The Act further gave the Mayor the Authority to enjoy executive powers to appoint a deputy and two other members to serve in his office on a full-time basis, and there will be “a state of the city” to address the public on the state of affairs. The new KCCA law seemed to give the Lord Mayor more powers and explained why the president sent it back several times to Parliament, a situation that created anxiety due to its timing and attitude of the president over the sitting Mayor, something many voters thought the president would never approve (Sabiiti, 2019).

The Ministry of Kampala, in consultation with the Ministry of Lands and Local Government, shall coordinate the planning of the City. Clause 3(2) of the Act allowed the scrapping of academic qualifications for members seeking councillorship but retained advanced-level qualifications for Lord Mayor and Deputy Lord Mayor. Clause 6(a) of the Act created two positions (a) speaker and (b) deputy speaker for KCCA, and this development meant that the Mayor has lost powers to preside over KCCA Council sittings (Parliament, 2019b).

The legislators warned not to change the mode of elections from adult suffrage (voters) to the Electoral College of councilors because it could easily result in anarchy in a porous political Kampala city. Why would a voter in Mbale district vote for a mayor but one in Kampala be denied the chance? This can lead to profound anarchy in the City. One wonders why the Government was interested in pushing piecemeal amendments rather than preferring to make the Omnibus Act for all newly created cities in the country. Political headship of KCCA being awarded to the Minister for Kampala would make the position non-functional given the number of duties to be performed as a minister as well as a political head, and given the nature of Kampala politics, it would be a very subjective time bomb.

The Act proposed the establishment of an executive committee appointed by the Lord Mayor within the pool of councilors, and their role is to lay matters that call for legislation, an indication that President Museveni would not like the reversal of powers from central Government to the Lord Mayor (Local Government). The Mayor can still influence legislation through roundabout committees since he is the appointing Authority.

### **Implication to policy and practice**

The genesis of the Act started as a means of aiming and clipping the wings of the current Lord Mayor Ssalongo Erias Lukwago after the Government failed on two counts, i.e., kicking him out of office using universal adult suffrage a good section of NRM MPs advised to use reform of the Act and have Division Councilors elect their Mayor on a hypothesis that NRM will have most division councilors and, secondly, the law should clearly state that the Mayor is not the Political Head of the Authority but rather the Minister hence creating a Metropolitan

Authority to handle some government business in the City. The failure of the NRM plot ended in personal disagreement, attitude towards the Act, and ego.

According to the Mayor, the ministerial position is redundant and, therefore, must be scrapped since the Act has placed the Mayor in the top management position of KCCA. He warned that if people are not upheld, they will act since the Constitution has given them their powers.

The Act separated the office of the Lord Mayor from that of the Council. The power of the Minister is in Section 79 of the KCCA Act 2010. The challenge is the Minister is interested in the rejection of the decisions of the Lord Mayor and the Council even when they are not in conflict with the ambition of the central Government. The management of the City is about promoting good policies that foster development, not demonstrating Authority (Sabiiti, 2019). The Act also achieved separation of powers since the Mayor does not chair the Council, thus avoiding conflict of interest. It provided the opportunity for better city management.

The KCCA Act was not ambitious on where power belongs between the Lord Mayor, Minister for Kampala, and the Executive Director. The challenge in KCCA was related to power struggles, which were inevitable because the institution was new and lacked clearly defined roles among the three key figures. This led the Lord Mayor to put political pressure on the operational management of the City, i.e., the Lord Mayor refused the Executive Director from presenting the budget, claiming that the budget ignored capacity building, community development, city welfare, lack a clear strategy for the City and the Executive Director did not publish quarterly reports on procurement and disposals (*Independent*, 2019).

### **Causes of collision and contestation of power in KCCA**

- a) The KCCA Act 2010 did not define the roles of the three top officials well; this resulted in a conflict of roles, which caused a crossing of the boundaries of power among the Lord Mayor, Minister for Kampala, and Director KCCA.
- b) The endless disagreements on how to implement Council resolutions meant that correct procedures were not followed, and baseless information was rumoured out of council meetings by some councillors (G. Asiimwe, 2019; Issa, 2019; Kugonza, 2019).
- c) Conflicting government interests to wrestle control of the City's political leadership from opposition politicians. This caused a flight from opposition to retain the political position of the City, which resulted in operational difficulties in implementing the day-to-day management of KCCA.
- d) The patronage approach used by the Minister for Kampala to manage KCCA ended up in political and technical operational conflicts that resulted in the defiance approach of the Mayor that ended up frustrating business management in KCCA.
- e) The political leaders incited the public against law enforcers (cruel, heartless, and inhuman), which was perceived as an act of hooligans, false allegations by political leaders and media to tarnish KCCA's goodwill among the public.
- f) The attitude and desire to please the appointing Authority and orders given in the decree

forms by the Minister and the ED. This increased power struggles as the Mayor stuck to the law and kept fighting for what he believed belonged to him.

- g) The unceasing bickering between the political and technical wings of KCCA (Kazibwe, 2018b) brought about increased tension and power struggles. This resulted in the resignation of the Executive Director and her Deputy from the position, which later resulted in high employee turnover.
- h) The management of illegal operations in KCCA, i.e., bus services: Pioneer Easy Bus operated without a license and no number plates, and the operations were not legalized by Parliament (Ssenyonga, 2012). Recruitment in KCCA was not done according to Public Service Standing Orders. This ended up with the demotivation of staff and increased attrition, which definitely affects service delivery.
- i) The egoism and damaging attitude among the three top officials of KCCA, coupled with failed negotiations to harmonize the management of KCCA business between the Minister, Executive Director, Lord Mayor, and councillors (Kazibwe, 2018b), affected service delivery.
- j) Demeaning Mayors in Kampala and their duties: it was alleged that the Executive Director was building private territory at the expense of the voters.
- k) They were implementing both a decentralized and centralized system of governance in KCCA. The KCCA Act 2010 approved a centralized system of administration with the objective of better managing the City.
- l) Failure to respect the Constitution and KCCA Act 2010 that gave powers to the Lord Mayor as a political head of Kampala. Section 11 of KCCA 2010 states that the head of the institution is the lord Mayor; therefore, the systems and rule of law were supposed to be respected.
- m) Lord Mayor's defiant attitude that resulted in failing to attend all reconciliation meetings called by the Minister for Kampala caused continuous bickering to the level that the Minister was quoted as having said that the Mayor was frustrating her business and management of Kampala City. Since Council was not sitting to pass an ordinance for Government to fund this resulted in delayed service delay and failure to achieve the key performance indicators (Kazibwe, 2018a; Wesaka, 2018).
- n) Political difference between the members of the ruling party and the opposition groups within KCCA: The opposition politicians had their own manifestoes that needed to be fulfilled in order for the Mayor to seek a second term in office, yet the Government was interested in a double win from the people to popularize the ruling party and a clean and modern city.
- o) Continuous frustration by the technical and executive staff of KCCA angered the political wing due to continuous failure to execute their duties that delayed development programmes and strategies for the development of the Capital City. Section 11 of the KCCA Act 2010 was clear that the Lord Mayor was the political head, a role he claimed the Minister took on illegally (Kazibwe, 2018a).

## Achievements of KCCA

KCCA registered a number of achievements according to The Independent (2018), the ED's transformation of the face of the Uganda's Capital, the former dirty and dark city was turned into a lit city, pioneering the setup of KCCA from a sorry state to modern place.

Kampala released improved sanitation in the city, took vendors off the streets of Kampala, formulated a number of ordinances in line with administration and management of markets to address the leadership crisis.

The sewerage and faecal sludge management for sanitation improved, National Water and Sewerage Corporation installed sewer lines across Kampala, pit latrines and septic tanks were emptied regularly to avoid private providers overcharging Kampala residents.

The green infrastructure was implemented in line with climate change action plan by installing air monitoring equipment; asking those owning land to plant trees on private land before their plans were approved; regulating street vending in Kampala to avoid harsh measures used and massive evictions by gazette streets.

KCCA limited the number of vendors with licenses after acquiring kiosks from the Gender and Legal Directorate and physical planning; management of treatment centres; installation of close circuit television (CCTV) cameras on commercial buildings; finalizing Kampala Infrastructure Development Project -- KIIDP (Nangonzi, 2019).

Kampala looked like a real city during ED's tenure in office although it was cosmetic improvement; tough administration which was result oriented commonly referred to as "a tough cookie"; City was cleaned up; paperless system of administration; middlemen were dealt away with; she handled the corrupt officials and forced them out of KCCA.

The ED discovered one hundred fifty (150) different accounts no one knew about with forty five (45) billion shillings; she created trade order; recovered KCCA properties from Major Generals of the ruling party (National Resistance Movement) and when they refused to hand over they were evicted.

The ED increased revenue collection beyond what KCCA could collect; she introduced cashless system where nobody lined up at KCCA offices to pay taxes, everything was done remotely; due to transparency many donor bodies picked interest to work with KCCA in many funded projects for Kampala i.e., Kingdom of Netherlands, World Bank, Agency of France Development, JICA, Bill and Melinda Gates, European Union, and African Development Bank Group (Kabuye, 2019). Since the ED resigned on 21<sup>st</sup> January, 2021, a leadership crisis haunted KCCA until Engineer Andrew Kitaka was appointed as Acting ED (Ngwomoya, 2019b) then substantive ED, Ms Dorothy Kisaka, was appointed.

## Challenges of KCCA

According to The Independent (2018), the unceasing bickering between the political and technical wings of KCCA (Kazibwe, 2018b) brought about increased tension and power

struggles, inadequate political support to the technical wing in their efforts to transform the City, which consequently made KCCA unable to meet the expectations of the public as well as Government.

Due to inadequate funding (Reporter, 2018a), budget limitation caused many staff to be on temporary terms which resulted into demotivation and high turnover (John, 2018; Reporter, 2018a; Yasin, 2018), reconciling the competing interests between political standpoints and strategic plans of KCCA technical team, thus it became increasingly difficult to achieve the key performance indicators.

Poor service delivery due to non-sitting of the Council as a result of technical wing which was a raw nerve to policy formulation and all business in KCCA (Waiswa, 2018a). There was failure for the ED and Lord Mayor to harmonize business at KCCA, ego and negative attitude among the three top officials of KCCA.

Failed negotiations to harmonize the management of KCCA business between the Minister, Executive Director, Lord Mayor and councillors (Kazibwe, 2018b); staff not appointed according to Public Service standing orders; developed political differences with the executive which could not enable continue performing to her expectations.

Bringing order in the City cost the ruling party NRM Kampala seat, hence ED became responsible for election defeat in the City centre following the aftermath of 2016 which caused ED loss of interest in her job hence resignation in 2018 (Okello, 2018).

The illegal structures in City Hall under KCCA involving illegal staff appointed by the ED; disagreements on how to implement Council resolutions; correct procedures were not followed and baseless rumours out of council meetings by some councilors (G. Asiimwe, 2019; Issa, 2019; Kugonza, 2019; Waiswa, 2018b) led to conspiracies which affected service delivery.

The failure of the enforcement unit called militia for not being held accountable for their actions: although it was inherited by KCC, it operated illegally alongside police (Kemigisa, 2018); political leaders incited public against law enforcers (cruel, heartless and inhuman) which was act was considered to be hooliganism.

The false allegations by media to tarnish KCCA's goodwill, internal bickering and its related risks on budget management and implementation resulted into spillovers that tarnished the good image of KCCA.

Lack of teamwork affected service delivery, hence failure to achieve the objectives; dishonesty among the KCCA officials; KCCA broke at the centre of power which left a lot to be desired; each centre of power had excessive powers -- the Mayor a legislator and a judge; ED appointed by the president hence reporting to two centres of authority, and the Minister possessed executive powers (Kemigisa, 2018), hence belittling Mayors and their duties which resulted into internal conflicts that affected service delivery.

Building personal empire in KCCA at the expense of the voters: KCCA had been turned

as showoff hyped by press and everything was left to one person as if she was super-human or Alpha and Omega; and treating over 260 political leaders as if they do not matter in KCCA (Nangonzi, 2019); hence a disabled decentralized system that did not want to account for resources and consequently denying the political wing the right to play their supervisory role.

The refusal to appreciate that the head of KCCA was the Lord Mayor: In Section 11 that the head of the institution is the lord Mayor therefore the systems and rule of law should be respected; hence the minister for Kampala should not have taken away what belonged to the Lord Mayor (Nangonzi, 2019).

The unending court battles in KCCA between the Mayor, Minister and ED; illegal operations in KCCA i.e., bus services Pioneer Easy Bus was operating without a license, buses had no number plates and their operations were not cleared by parliament (Ssenyonga, 2012).

Frustrating reconciliation meeting where the Mayor continuously refused to attend meetings called by the Minister for Kampala to end the bickering with KCCA (Himbaza, 2018) and concentrate on service delivery.

The extortion of money from street vendors by KCCA law enforcement officers (Nangonzi, 2019), the negative attitude and desire to please appointing authority and orders were given in a decree form, created a defiant approach by the Mayor which frustrated business in KCCA (Muneza, 2016; Nangonzi, 2019; Reporter, 2018b).

The lack of effective communication, coordination, coalition, and unwillingness to share power between city administrators and the Council; unclear lines of responsibility, partisan politics in the city administration and unnecessary central government interference (F. Asiimwe, 2016). This consequently resulted into tension among staff and confusion among KCCA leadership in relation to their power roles.

## Conclusion

There is a need for the Government to allocate adequate resources into all KCCA projects in order to improve the lives of the town dwellers. The patronage approach cannot overtake the powers of the people; belittling the powers of elected leadership only created more problems than the Government could solve since the Constitution clearly states that power belongs to the people.

Appreciating individual weaknesses and strengths with the spirit to support them can enable teamwork to prevail for a better Kampala City. For KCCA to succeed in its mandate, there was a need for goodwill and desire to secure the backing of the central Government, with the ruling party not playing politics by contradicting the legal decisions of the City leaders as passed by the Council.

All key leaders in KCCA should keep in their lanes while implementing decisions since the new KCCA Act 2019 has clarified the roles between the Minister for Kampala, Lord Mayor, and Executive Director.



One person, the ED, could not revamp Kampala City. It is a collective effort of all residents, all civil servants, and political and technical leaders for Kampala. A joint effort is needed in the neighbourhood to prevent or report pollution, instal and maintain a common good implement, and partisan advocacy.

Boda Boda riders are political tools for the ruling party, and this makes it a challenge for KCCA to regulate their operations. They are handy to presidents during political campaigns; some could be rendering intelligence services which explains their usefulness; hence care should be taken when regulating them (Kabuye, 2019; Mulera, 2014).

The Central Government should take the responsibility of enacting aggressive policies and programmes to encourage outward migration and reduce the influx of people in Kampala. There is a need to decongest Kampala. The Government is required to plan and relocate the City following a debate by all concerned stakeholders. The ED was entirely blamed for the poor performance of the ruling party in the 2016 elections in Kampala and hence the downfall of the ED. The writings were on the wall, and she jumped before being pushed out (Kabuye, 2019).

## **Recommendations**

For KCCA to achieve its set goals, there is a need for collaboration among the city management agencies in order to achieve sustainable development in Kampala. When achievable solutions are designed and approved, this improves the quality of life among stakeholders.

The president took time to appoint substantive staff to replace those who have left, yet there was high turnover in KCCA, which paralyzed business, resulting in poor service delivery.

There is a need for collaborative leadership if cities in Africa are to develop. The city leadership needs to engage with the populace and ensure that they participate and are engaged in policies that will affect their operations in the city.

The NRM government has over the years put in place strong institutions including the judiciary systems. Therefore, the rule of law should be respected, the minister's will to take away what belonged to the Mayor by law was not being fair to the Mayor and was actually illegal.

There is need for effective communication, coordination, coalition, power sharing between city administrators and the Council to avoid confusion in service delivery.

To avoid collision there is need for clear lines of responsibility, the planning, organizing, staffing, coordinating, reporting and directing (POSCORD) functions should well spell out to smoothen service delivery in KCCA.

For the KCCA model to work across the country there is need to avoid partisan politics in the city administration and unnecessary central government interference this will give some level of autonomy hence improved service delivery.

The key ingredient to a thriving City is leadership that creates teamwork to achieve organizational effectiveness. Thus, cities need collaboration among leaders and their structures to create a united and motivated effort in order to improve service delivery.

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