

The Crimes Accompanying Rapid Urbanisation in Kampala City, Uganda



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ABSTRACT:

Purpose :This study examined the urban policing paradox in Uganda with specific regard to how rapid urbanisation poses challenges for policing and urban peace enforcement in Kampala city. The specific objectives of this study were to explore the crimes accompanying rapid urbanisation in Kampala city; examine the role of the Uganda Police Force in urban policing and peace enforcement in Kampala city; analyse the challenges of urban policing and peace enforcement in Kampala city and finally explore the current responses by the Uganda Police Force in enhancing urban peace enforcement in Kampala city. The study employed two theories:the social contract and broken windows.

Methodology : Different materials and sources were used during data collection, which included documentary reviews, key informant interviews and focus group discussions.

Findings :The study found out that Kampala city remains a vulnerable place to urban insecurity primarily due to an ever increasing population, coupled with the challenges that hinder effective policing in the city. Population increase in Kampala was found out to be leading to an exponential increase in the number of slums and informal settlements which breed criminality in the city. Among the common crimes were theft, drug abuse, forgery, domestic violence, murder, cybercrimes especially forgery and terrorism. The relationship between crime and urbanization in Kampala city included an ever increasing population, informal settlements, inadequate planning, corruption and logistical challenges within the Uganda Police Force. However, the study revealed that the Uganda Police Force has made various milestones like the CCTV Cameras, forensics capabilities, 999 communication system, in promoting peace and security in Kampala city.

KEYWORDS: Crime, urbanization and Policing

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Back ground of the study

This study examined the urban policing paradox in Uganda. The city of Kampala served as the study area. Kampala was chosen because of its historical experience and geography. Kampala has been relatively stable and the oldest city of Uganda. Furthermore, Kampala is Uganda's capital city. The rural-urban paradigm was used since Kampala, is an urban area with many rural areas getting gazetted into urban areas. The study employed the social contract and broken window theories to examine the intricacies of the society and policing enforcement. The study employed a qualitative research design. In this chapter, the objectives and methods are presented. It also shows the theory and conceptualisation of the main concepts that are used in the study, as well as scope of the study, significance and justification.

Cordner, *et al*, (2019) observed that the number of urban dwellers in the world has increased four-fold, from 740 million in 1950 to almost 3.3 billion in 2007. This ongoing urbanisation is creating major security challenges in many countries. The consequences of urbanisation include crime, terrorism, disorder, drugs, traffic crashes, human rights activism and police reform, among others. They also show that these challenges have necessitated modern responses from urban governments and security agencies; these responses include urbanisation of security, tracking transnational crime, racial profiling, and information sharing. Globally, the phenomenon of rapid urbanisation is posing considerable challenges for security agencies, especially police (Cordner *et al*, 2019).

According to the State of the World's Cities (2008/2009), Europe, North America and Latin America became predominantly urban in the mid-twentieth century (UN-Habitat, 2018). American policing has been largely influenced by the English system throughout the course of history. In the early stages of development in both England and Colonial America, citizens were responsible for law enforcement. In this regard, Monkkonen (1981) notes that Sir Robert Peel in 1829 introduced a bill for the institutionalisation of the police as a law enforcement agency of the state. Peel further identified several principles that he believed would lead to credibility with citizens, including that the police must be under government control, have a military-like

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organisational structure, and have a central headquarters that was located in an area that was easily accessible to the public (Jordan, 1972). The Police in urban spaces in America are confronted with crimes like drug abuse /trafficking, juvenile delinquency, homeless people and gangs. As such, beginning in the 1990s, police departments in major American cities started aggressively deploying pedestrian stops and body searches in response to escalating violent crime rates (Meares, 2014). In Australia, for example, burglary is a significant issue in most urban areas and many agencies are involved in efforts to combat the problem (Graycar, 2001). Burglary is one of the most pervasive crime problems in Australia where unlawful entry or breakings are done. The International Crime Victimization Survey (Kesteren, Mayhew & Nieuwebeerta, 2000) attributed Australia with the highest burglary victimisation level. The hotspots include the more established suburbs of the inner-north of the city and the inner south-east and there is a far greater spread of residential burglary activity across Canberra than non-residential burglary and the most targeted regions include both old and more recently developed suburbs as per Australian Federal Police database (Ratcliffe, 2001). In the African context, urbanisation is rapidly taking place. However, it does so in a disorganised way. The biggest challenge is the rapid emergence of slums in Africa's urban spaces, which is resulting in higher security threats. Rapid development of cities in Africa has resulted in growth of slums and their form frustrates traditional service delivery such as police (Howell, 2019). In South Africa, for instance, more than 51% of the population lives in urban areas. By the early 1990s, Shaw (1995) observed that with higher populations in South Africa's urban spaces, there was change in nature and increase in quantity of conflict and crime. He argued for better policing and monitoring to curb violence. The traditional battles between rival gangs and antagonists was replaced by drive-by shootings and hit-and-run attacks. The visible parties in urban contests were replaced with invisible ones and this further complicates urban policing. Urban spaces see more lethal conflicts resulting in more people dying and getting wounded.

Some African countries illustrate the afore described phenomenon. Kenya, for instance, has witnessed emerging tendencies of more urban workers than urban industrial jobs referred to as over urbanisation with rapid rate of urbanisation being 6 % and population growth of 3% during the last four decades. In this, only the Nairobi city dominates the urban system (Mireri, 2000). Consequently, Kenya's urban centres are characterised with expansive informal settlements, poor water and sanitation infrastructure and services with over 60% of the urban residents living in the informal or slum settlement with overcrowding and congestion, traffic jams, noise pollution, social decay and increased crime rates (ibid). The UNEP (2000) report on *Nairobi: Impacts of Urban Growth* established that slums of Kibera and Mathare were the Africa's largest slums and probably the most dangerous.

The Policing system in Uganda has been criticised by a number of researchers, political analysts and activists. Baker (2005) noted that there were three types of police structure in Uganda: those operated by the state; private and community organisations approved by the state; and those that are illegal. The UPF supervises and regulates the operations of the private and community organisations approved by the state to provide security as they complement the police. Shah (2006) observed that overall, all governments in developing countries typically follow the old model of local governance and simply provide a narrow range of local services directly. According to the Uganda's emergency response to poverty, food security and gender, Local governments have limited autonomy in expenditure and hardly any revenue raising decisions. They are also allowed to discharge only a small number of functions which are mandated to them (Brown, 2013).

2.0 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This section discusses the methodology and methods that were used for this study. It explains the research design, the instruments of research and the different methods used in data collection. The study employed a qualitative study design to examine the attitudes and experiences of urban policing in Kampala city. A qualitative design was used because the study investigated communities and the Force's understanding of the perceptions of the public and police officers. The research delved into the social and institutional processes that guide police operations and their implicit meanings and impact on urban policing. It is arguable that human conceptualisations and their bearing on institutional and social behaviour can be qualitatively studied, the analysis of the 'deeper' meanings of conceptions of ideas and social processes are best studied using qualitative methodology (Silverman, 2001).

The tools for this research included interview guide, focus group discussion guides and literature was reviewed based on a documentary review guide. The interview guide included questions on crime levels in Kampala city. The documentary guide gave a general guide on what kind of literature needed to be reviewed. This included journals, archives, reports, and books.. Data included reports on crime, urban policing, urbanisation and peace enforcement in the world and in Uganda, in particular. The study used both primary and secondary sources of data to collect information. Primary information was collected from the field using focus group discussions and key informant interviews. Secondary data was collected from documentary reviews that were done in the course of the study. The Key Informant Interviews involved 24 respondents who were urban government officials. They were selected as Key Informants (KIs) because of their expertise, responsibilities, and their valuable contributions to the study.

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Focus Group Discussions involved the 100 community members in the urban spaces in the five Divisions of Kampala city. The Community members included; local government officials, youth, women, boda boda representatives, taxi representatives, Market/ Street vendors, elders, police officers across the ranks, legal officers, religious leaders and shop keepers in the five divisions of Kampala city namely Central, Kawempe, Makindye, Nakawa and Rubaga. The community representation was drawn from people of different occupations, age groups and households.

Purposive and snowballing sampling strategies were used. Purposive sampling addressed expertise, inclusivity of different categories such as the girls and women, people with disabilities within the areas of study, and different ranks and responsibilities of the target population. Purposive sampling took note of leaders, officers in the Uganda Police Force, the community in slums and other areas in Kampala. These were chosen because officers are the law enforcers while the community is where crime takes place and can be averted. The snowballing strategy helped enlist referrals to respondents with requisite information relating to the study. These respondents came from the purposively sampled respondents from both in the community and the UPF. Saturation was determined by the fact that there was no new information arising from the individual and group interviews.

2.1 Conceptual Review

Literature on urban policing shows that there are different reasons for this type of policing. While in America is aimed at racial profiling during the wave of racial unrest in the United State and racial disorders in the 1980s and 1990s posed by the prevalence of racial minorities in the population (Sharp, 2006), in other parts of the world it is engendered and racial (Brunson & Miller, 2006). Homelessness is also one of the reasons for urban policing. With homelessness comes the drugs issue and police are always on the move to catch criminals involved in drug abuse (Stuart, 2013). This literature shows that urban policing, while aimed at enforcing law and order, always has underlying reasons. These aims of policing, as the literature shows, go back to Robert Peel's idea of community policing. This is because the literature shows that the community is the Police and the police is the community but with Police being dedicated to policing. For this study, urban policing was looked at as a collaborative project between the Uganda Police Force and the community it seeks to serve. The study sought to examine how this relationship can enhance peace and law enforcement in the urban areas.

It is in these urban areas that urbanisation is on the increase. Urbanisation is understood differently in various contexts. It is a global trend that is mostly regarded as a positive and driving force for human development, economic development and poverty reduction (UN, 2018). In Uganda, urbanisation is considered a prerequisite and pillar for the country in the achievement of the middle income status in the realization of Uganda's Vision 2040 (MOFPED, 2016).

2.2 The Nexus between Rapid Urbanisation and Crimes

Crime has been a hot subject and kept its place in every day's agenda overtime. Becker (1968) points out that "Crime has probably become more important during the last forty years". Every society has its own values system, these value systems usually define what Crime is or what constitutes a crime. Gumus (2004) contends that, for one reason or the other, there has been crime in every society throughout history but the rate, type, cause, and effect on each society might be highly different. He cites that as the percentage of population that lives in the urban areas increases in the world, crime and crime prevention measures will become more important in urban areas thus the urban policing paradox.

The *UN Urbanisation Prospects* (2018) report notes that more than 4 billion people live in urban areas globally today; and they are increasingly living in densely occupied and poorly planned cities. In the past few decades there has been a mass migration of populations from rural to urban areas. The UN estimates the number of people globally who live in urban and rural areas to be 4.1 billion people. This means over half of the world (55%) live in urban settings.

Chalom *et al.*, (2001) further assert that throughout the world, violence, delinquency and fear undermine individual's rights to live in peace and fully benefit from a healthy and sustainable community. They argue that violence, delinquency and fear make no real distinction between prosperous and poor cities, and that the three elements impose a considerable cost on the population, particularly through the decline of communities, the increase in health and security expenditures and the deterioration of investments. To them violence and fear directly threaten life in society, good governance and the sustainable development of the world's communities and neighbourhoods. The writers highlight the cost of crime around the world showing loss in terms of money, lives, and property and strategies adopted by various countries to curb crime in urban areas. There has been efforts like increasing the size of police forces has been the main response to the rise in violence and crime in urban areas.

Over the past thirty years, human resources in the police forces of the majority of industrialized countries have increased by 50% and represent on average 85% of all personnel in the justice system (United Nations, 1995). In spite of the relative increase in police resources, there is a growing consensus that the traditional police strategies alone cannot be expected to ensure security and safety within cities, as the expansion of the private security sector demonstrates. This study sought to understand the crimes accompanying urbanisation in Kampala city of Uganda and highlighted the strategies Uganda Police has initiated to respond to urban crime.

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According to the United Nations, violent crimes increased almost 10% in the last decade. Offenses such as larceny, robbery and fraud account for 70% of reported crimes around the world and increased by 30% between 1980 and 1990. Three-quarters of these crimes are committed in urban areas, with robbery and assault being more prevalent with rates of crime two to three times higher than those reported 10 or 20 years ago (UN, 2013). Burglary is one of the most common crimes against property in urban areas (Dijk, 1996), drug and alcohol abuse and gun violence in the United States as death by gunshot wounds accounted for 64% of homicides (Sloane, 1988). The World Conference of Mayors on Social Development, bringing together the mayors of over 135 cities, showed that the question of crime, violence, and insecurity ranks on average as the fourth most serious urban problem with Crime being the number one problem in Rio de Janeiro in Brazil, Prague in Czech Republic, San José in Costa Rica and Newark in the United States of America Cities (UNDP, 1994). The report on Human Development indicates an increasingly clear link between human development and delinquency (United Nations, 1994). Factors like family breakdown, insufficient means of social integration and the proliferation of consumer goods, some youth turn to violence. The foregoing discussion points to the fact that there is increase in crime, violence and fear in urban areas across the globe as seen above. The conditions of living, housing, infrastructure and services predispose urban dwellers to problems of crime and insecurity. How these conditions foster the need for urban policing in Kampala city was the subject of this study.

Additionally, over the past decades, the globe especially the developing world has been faced with massive public protests and riots in cities resulting in significant loss of life and extensive destruction of property (Galvin, 2002). According to Gavin, more than 146 separate incidents of strikes, riots and demonstrations took place in various developing-country cities between 1976 and 1992. He attributes the civil disobedience and disturbances to triggers like economic circumstances like rising food prices, food scarcity, currency devaluation, austerity measures and political upheavals citing the Indian sub-continent, simmering ethnic and communal tensions. The effects of civil disobedience occurrences of citywide violence not only destroy physical capital but also discouraged foreign direct investment, thereby threatening already fragile national economies and even potentially destabilizing governments.

Similarly, Kenya in the eastern Africa has been a victim of global terrorism as international terrorist organizations like Al-Qaeda and Alshabab launched and threaten terror incidents in the Kenyan territory majorly the 1998 strikes at US Embasies in Kenya ana Tanzania(Githirago). Other attacks were recorded in 2002 in Mombasa, 2009, 2010 and the 2013 September West Gate among other local and international attacks. The author argues that Kenya made several responses towards mitiating the threat of terrorism including foreign policy reviews including stabilizing Somalia, international cooperation, creation of the Kenya Anti-Terrorism Police Unit in 2003, strengthening intelligence capacity and sharing between Kenya National Intelligence Service and the US Federal Bureau of Investigations, strengthening Anti terror legislation with the 2003 Anti terrorism Bill, 2012 Prevention of Terrorism Act and subsequent ammendents. However, in a bid to counter terrorism in Kenya, allegations on violation of international law and human rights specifically emerged. Human rights watch report (2013) documents abuses like arbitrary detention, cruel treatment, extortion and rape by law enforcement agencies in Eastleigh a Nairobi suburb largely inhabited by Kenyan Somalis and Somali Immigrants as enforcement is done along religious and racial discrimination. Human Rights violations in Kenya's counter terrorism strategy have been cited through its international cooperation with neighbouring and friendly states without due regard to legal procedures(Open Society Foundations, 2013). This study sought to examine the intervations Uganda took in the wake of terrorism and how Uganda Police Force handled the threat of terrorism and violent extresim.

2.3. Theoretical Framework

This study drew on the Social Contract Theory and the Broken Windows Theory. Since the police are charged with the mandate to maintain law and order in the country, they work with communities. Their obligation is to the community. In essence, there is an implicit social contract between the police and the community. The broken window theory was important for this study because crime creates urban social disorder and therefore calls for police enforcement.

3.0 FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

3.1. Conceptions of Crime among the people in Kampala City

Crime remains a primary challenge to peace in an urban setting such as Kampala city. It was however important to establish how the different categories of people (respondents) understand crime or activities that are said to be leading to commission of crime. There was a general view among both senior and lower ranking police officers who took part in the study that crime is an act or omission that constitutes an offence and is punishable by law. A senior Police officer who is a Regional Police Commander pointed out, "crime is a behavior either by act or omission defined by statutory or common law as deserving of punishment". In contrast, respondents who were not members of the UPF, their definition crime was encompassing all aspects of morality. This seems to suggest that people in the community take noncompliance to proper conduct and respect of all social norms as crime. A

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similar view is held by Becker (1968:172) who argues that, “every society has its own values system, these value systems usually define what crime is or what constitutes a crime”. A respondent within KCCA argued;-

....those are the social miss fits, the unacceptable way of behavior in society, which diverts from the social set up of the community. Because the community has got its own principles, values and norms. So once you go and divert off from those acceptable norms, in a given community or society, to me that is crime. Once you divert into something that has a negative impact on another person, to me that is crime.¹

3.2. General Conceptions of Urbanisation among the People in Kampala city

The NDP III puts the urbanizing growth at a rate of 5 % per annum. Kampala is projected to become a mega-city of more than 10 million people in 2040 and other cities are expected to record a demographic explosion (World Bank Report, 2015). Unfortunately, the relationship between urbanisation and crime can be said to be positive where a growth in urban centers directly leads to an increase in crime rate. The common understanding of urbanisation among the respondents was that “communities progress towards modernisation and it comes in forms infrastructure, social facilities such as hospitals, schools, and improved lifestyle”. With such a perceived improvement in the life style, many people are attracted to migrate from the rural communities to urban centers in search for job opportunities and overall improvement of the living standards. A respondent emphasized during an interview that “there is that tendency to pull people from their local setups, in search of better livelihoods. It is a phenomenon that attracts majorly youth. Youth at amore attracted to urbanization because they believe that life in the city is better”². Unfortunately, the reality often turns out to be different that the cost of living is generally higher within the urban centers.

Drawing from literature, language and cultural barriers between the police and some residents due to the lack of proficiency in English by many residents and the lack of non-English language skills by police constitutes a barrier to communication and urban policing (Healy, 1992). Schneider (1999) observed that there was poor communication between police and the residents in the modern history of policing in North America especially in the poor inner city , high-crime, multi-ethnic neighbourhood in Vancouver, Canada.. The inability of the Vancouver Police Department police to effectively communicate with minority and special needs groups in the endorsement of community policing strategy due to communicative problems like language, assumptions and metaphors occasioned to the limited success community policing and crime prevention in the neighbourhoods thus affecting relations between residents and the police.

In view of the above, the urban youth language as a sub culture which is cited by the respondents in a focus group discussion as a language and culture of the Ghetto/ slums within Kampala city points to lack of proficiency in different languages by police and the community affecting their relationship and the participation efforts in community crime prevention especially among the urban youth living in slum areas. The above barrier presents a broken relationship and trust between the police and the communities they serve as lack of proper communication leads to suspicion and reduced interactions and unproductive crime prevention activities which the Uganda Police Force is to facilitate. The Uganda Police and other stakeholders in urban policing ought to invest in decoding urban youth languages especially the one used in slums to conceel crime as a means of improving relations, effectiveness and altimately curb crime and promote urban peace enforcement in Kampala city.

3.3. Categories of Crime in Kampala City

The Uganda Police annaual traffic and crime report 2017 recorded an increase of the crimes reported to police increased by 3.3% citing the public confidence in the police ability to deal with the reported crimes and by making more reports than the previous years. While the same report reported a decrease in economic crimes, sex related crimes, breakings, robbery, assaults and political/ media crimes, there was an increase in incidents of violent crimes against persons such as Homicides, thefts and Child Related crimes (UPF, 2018). In 2017, out of every 100,000 people, 667 were victims of crime compared to 666 in 2016 showing an increase in crime rate with an average 21,005 crimes were reported per month in 2017 as compared to 20,332 crimes in 2016.

While different cases and actions that constitute crime were mentioned during the study, it seems reasonable to assert that the recurring crimes were relating to petty theft. The respondents unanimously spelt out theft of ‘easy to carry’ items such as mobile phones and hand bags as the commonest crime. This fate correlates the 2019 and 2020 Annual Crime reports by the Uganda police where theft of mobile phones stood out as the highest reported crime in Kampala metropolitan region. As it regards the ranking per the various crimes, still Kampala Metropolitan Police (KMP) North registered the highest number of theft cases amounting to 3,149 with KMP south registering 2,788 cases and Kampala Metropolitan Police (KMP) East registering 2,601 cases in 2020. Considering theft of phones alone, Kampala simply competes with itself where out of the total number of cases of mobile phone cases across the country in 2020; Kampala alone contributes more than 50% of the total cases. KMP North registered the highest number of mobile phone thefts rating at 463 cases, followed by KMP South at 462 cases and KMP East with 381 cases reported.

¹ Interview with Key Informant 1, Kampala Central Division.

² Interview with key informant 2, Kampala Central Division.

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In relation to snatching of hand bags, a high ranking police officer argued, “The opportunities to have money in the urban areas is high ... If you snatch a hand bag, there is high chance there is money compared to the village. People don’t have jobs, Prices of all goods are high, so the only way of surviving is by stealing”³. Surprisingly, many respondents attested to the fact that such activities are common during the day hours, not at night because people work during day and go back to sleep. Congestion within the city offers favourable escape routes and criminals can easily hide. A youth leader in Kawempe said, “You know, people don’t even help you chase a thief, everybody minds their business, it’s like people have accepted stealing as normal...”⁴ Other crimes relating to theft were simple robberies to aggravated robberies thefts in the bank and then burglary.

Similarly, most respondents decried of unbearable levels of forgery and fraud within Kampala city. This ranges from forging documents such as land titles, passport and academic documents. “if you want a PhD the one you are trying to suffer with in the university, here downtown it is only 500,000 Uganda shillings from any University in this world and there are also first-class degrees”⁵, emphasized one of the Division Police Commander from one of the policing divisions of Kampala city. He further argued,

Other crimes related to fraud and actually those some of the most common crimes committed around areas like Nkrumah road, ... we have theft in general with breakings and this being a central business center there are cases related to that and crimes related to public order and this being a city center and being a target by most of the activists. The political activists tend to target the urban areas. They lure young people and they give them small facilitation. Therefore, the urban areas breed more crimes compared to the rural. And of course there are idlers in town. You find in the village, someone goes to the garden in the morning and by the evening you find when they are tired so they have no time of engaging in rioting. You cannot mobilize them for rioting.⁶

Fire outbreaks was another crime and a public safety concern in Kampala city during the period of review. A key informant interview with an officer from the Uganda police fire prevention and rescue services said arson is a common crime where “there is planning and eventual implementation of the evil plans to burn”.⁷ He cited examples of fires resulting from traffic accidents and electricity due to of poor wiring, overloading and negligence of the users. According to 2017 Police traffic and annual crime report of 2017, most of the fires in the country were registered in Districts/Divisions of KMP with Makindye leading by 111 cases followed by Wakiso (93), Kampala Central (82), Rubaga and Kawempe with 43 each and Nakawa (39). This was corroborated during the KII where an officer from fire prevention and rescue services asserted, “The truth of the matter is like in Kampala alone almost 90% of the fires are fought here because annually you find we respond to like 1200 or 1300 cases of fire but 900 or 1000 cases are in Kampala”.⁸ The table below shows the fire incidents that were attended to in Kampala City by the Fire Police in 2015-2018.

Table 1. Fire incidents in Kampala City, 2015-2018

Division	Fire incident	2015	2016	2017	2018	TOTAL
Central	Domestic	01	01	-	-	02
	Industrial	-	-	-	-	00
	Car fires	03	04	05	03	15
Kawempe	Domestic	22	19	23	03	84
	Industrial	02	01	-	01	04
	Car fires	04	02	04	02	12
Rubaga	Domestic	14	17	19	11	61
	Industrial	-	-	-	-	00
	Car fires	04	01	03	02	10
Makindye	Domestic	60	57	66	40	223
	Industrial	-	-	-	-	00
	Car fires	03	02	04	-	09
Nakawa	Domestic	30	27	18	11	76
	Industrial	02	-	61	01	04
	Car fires	03	04	02	01	10
Grand Total		148	135	205	92	510

³ Interview with Key Informant 8, Kampala Central Division.

⁴ Interview with Key Informant 11, Kawempe Division.

⁵ Interview with Key Informant 1, Kampala Central Division.

⁶ Interview with Key Informant 2, Kampala Central Division.

⁷ Interview with Key Informant 16, Makindye Division.

⁸ Interview with Key Informant 16, Makindye Division.

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Source: Uganda Police Force (2019)

The table above presents the registered cases of fire accidents from the year 2015 to 2018. These incidences were categorized into three main categories which include domestic, industrial and car fires. These accidents were also presented as per the individual years. Considering divisions, Makindye division was found to have the highest rate of fire with 232 cases registered through the course of the four years while as the central region registered the least number of fire cases. Similarly, domestic fires were the commonest forms of fire followed by car fires and industrial fires were the least cases registered. Finally, comparing the four years, 2017 had the highest cases of fire with a total of 205 cases while 2018 registered a total of 92 cases of fire.

Fire incidents and accidents either due to arson or accidents continue to threaten urban peace enforcement within Kampala city. According to Annual Crime Report 2019 (2020) and responses from the study participants show that domestic fires are prevalent in Kampala city and the Uganda Police Force and urban authorities within the 5 divisions of Kampala city need to engage the communities to fight fires and strengthen administrative mechanisms to prevent fire accidents in order to protect lives and property of the city residents.

Technological advancement, despite its advantages, was cited to be a leading cause for cyber related crime. Particularly, social media platforms were found to be linking both the good and the wrong people where many fall victims at the hands of those with criminal intentions. This challenge is on the rise within Kampala and this is also attested to by the 2020 Annual Crime Report of the Uganda Police which notes that a “total of 256 cases were reported during the period under review compared to 248 cases reported in 2020, giving a 3.2% increase. Cybercrimes led to a loss of Ugx. 15,949,236,000 in 2020 in which Ugx. 7,720,000 was recovered”. During the survey, a respondent from the Professional Standards Unit of UPF explained;-

One of the challenges is that crimes are evolving and the crimes are now changing and the criminals are also changing their mode of operation like what I would call the cybercrime because now very many people have access to internet and information and also the criminals have also gone ahead to use the same platforms that we use genuinely to commit crime because if you see we have so many cases of defilement, rape that start right on the social media and you get friend requests and then you start chatting and then time comes and then you are meeting and then that way someone is raped or defiled, someone is robbed or murdered but starting from social media and these days is actually easy to access someone than it was before because of the advancement in technology.⁹

Acts of terrorism and violent extremism were also pointed out as one of the crimes as threatening urban security in Kampala city. Terrorism equals any act which involves serious violence against a person or serious, damage to property, endangers a person's life (but not just the life of the person committing the act), creates a serious risk to the health or safety of the public. Any such act must furthermore be “designed to influence the Government or to intimidate the public or a section of the public”, and to further the advancement of a “political, religious, social or economic aim” indiscriminately without due regard to the safety of others or property.¹⁰

The unfortunate side with terrorism is that those who orchestrate it don't mind about how many people are to be affected but they aim at influencing the target group. Terrorism acts through intimidation, driving people into fear including governments and driving people into composure to prove to the people that they are in charge. Methods that have been used in Kampala include shooting, using armed attacks, bombings, arson, petrol bombs, and they may use chemicals or biological or radioactive attacks, kidnap and hostage taking. A respondent from the Directorate of Counter Terrorism in Uganda Police Force submitted as follows;-

...generally, terrorism is the use of violence or the threat of using violence to harm others whether basing on religion, riding on culture, politics, but without targeting mainly specific person but a general population, it doesn't particularly hurt one person, it does indiscriminate way of doing things in order to force the authorities to act in any way either to force others to think like you to influence communities, public, government or an international organization to do things the way you want them to be. ... our law says that terrorism is an act of violence or threat of violence done for purposes of influencing government or the general public for either religious or political, traditional reasons indiscriminately without due regard of life.¹¹

Similarly, factors mentioned that contribute to terrorism were mainly violent extremism and radicalization of the community. A respondent pointed out;

...factors of violent extremism and radicalization that lead into terrorism and if we are to fight terrorism we must look far left what are those influencing factors the inductive factors that favor terrorism and now before someone acts there is a mindset formation, there is persuasion, there is formation of an idea and maybe there are forces that focus them and drive them in to that and that is

⁹ Interview with Key Informant 3, Nakawa Division.

¹⁰ Section 7 of the Counter Terrorism Act 2002 of Uganda.

¹¹ Interview with Key Informant 5, Makindye Division.

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why for us to effectively fight it we have to look at all these other factors and see how we can reduce them down as possible such that we can be able to reduce the acts.¹²

Terrorism does not act in isolation, it also rides on other crimes which can be categorized as crime terror nexus on things like human trafficking, join terrorist groups, drug trafficking, fundraising money and kidnap for ransom as well as other legitimate business that aim at financing terrorism. Other related activities include forging of travel documents such as passports to disguise as different people so as to avoid being detected. One of the leading causes of terrorism was found to be ignorance where people from the rural communities are easily lured into acts of violent extremism and terrorism as compared to those in urban centers. However, it was striking to establish that terrorist attacks are more widely publicized when they happen in urban centers “like a bomb exploding near parliament or CPS Kampala creates more news than in a rural district or Namayingo”, noted a respondent from the Directorate of Counter Terrorism in Uganda Police Force.

Organized crime is another nexus between crime and urbanization in literature. In relation to the above, terrorism specifically have become a growing global presence that undermine public security with many cities becoming the locus of terrorist attacks. More than 150 cities world over have experienced a terrorist act between 1993 and 1997 (Galvin, 2002) with many cities remain targets of global terrorism. Terrorist’s networks and groups like al-Qaeda have operated with impunity in a number of cities in Europe, South Asia and the Middle East, utilizing sophisticated communications technology. Uganda’s capital city Kampala like other cities in the region like Kenya, Tanzania have been targets and likely to be the targets of more terrorist attacks by bombing embassies, public buildings, security installations as terrorists always seek to have the greatest possible impact in terms of destruction of property and loss of life in densely populated areas.

There was equally a mention of traffic related offences with in the city. This was attributed to the population pressure leading to road congestion. “That is a big challenge, especially with boda boda men who even ride in the opposite direction of a one-way lane. It is terrible in the morning and evening when people are rushing for work and back home”¹³, said a local government division councilor. This similarly risks the lives of people while creating public disorder within the city. Relating to the heavy traffic was the argument that even thieves use that as an opportunity to snatch bags and mobile phones and disappear within the crowd. In response, a minister from within Kampala argued;-

...we would have solved 50% of the crime in the city, maybe even more, we are coming up with a very comprehensive plan to address the integrated transport challenges in the city. This is because most of them are culminating from that. For instance, ten years ago, we had less than 10,000 boda bodas in Kampala. But now the reality is, we have close to one million boda bodas. The challenge wouldn’t have been the number, but it is, those who are riding motorcycles, 98% are very ignorant of the traffic rules and regulations. The only thing they know is to start a motorcycle and stop it. I am already training them; we have started on them these are about 30,000. But out of this, we only got 5% of the 30,000, who could tell you the basics. So, unless we do that, we cannot solve this. We need to train them. Secondly, out of 10 cases of accidents in the city, 8 of them are caused by boda bodas. So as an intervention, we wanted to document them; write their details, name, where they come from etc. then we go to the most crucial thing; how do you use the road. We teach them how to ride on the road, how do you observe traffic laws and rules when riding on the road, and then after that we are going to help them get the permits. And then we hand over to police to continue surveillance and observation. We want to have rules where by when you make a mistake, you are penalized and once you do it 5 times, a permit is withdrawn from you. It is not an easy job; it has challenged me since I came to office.¹⁴

The traffic related challenge in Kampala city cuts across various spheres where it hinders a speedy response to emergencies. Among the top emergency issues was the failure to show concern among the road users when they hear an alarm for an emergency vehicle such as an ambulance, fire brigade or police patrol vans. Generally, road users hardly give way and this gets worse with slum settings where the road network is very poor yet they are prone to fire out breaks. This was partly attribute to ignorance of the road users and in the words of one of the operations officer at a police station in Kampala city, “These are people who are very green but are riding motorcycles. One of them told us that these are disco lights (Traffic lights), so when he reaches the corner it is like he is going to dance. ...we brought in the junction boxes to teach them patience. But we can have stringent penalties to avoid someone to violate these rules”¹⁵ However, besides the ignorance, the structural arrangement of the roads was also cited out as fueling the traffic challenge; hence, urban insecurity. Often times, even when the emergency vehicles are alarming, the traffic is too heavy that the other road users have now where to turn as to create way for the emergency trucks. Worst of all, such trucks are usually big especially the fire brigade which delays the response time in case of emergencies and this crisis is reflected in the Annual Traffic and Crime Report of 2019 and the respondents of FGD 3 in Kawempe Division

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ R9, in FGD 4, Local Council Leaders, Kampala Central Division.

¹⁴ Interview with Key Informant 14, Kampala Central Division.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

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Traffic accidents remain a threat to peace and safety in Kampala city despite legislations and mechanisms to control and divert traffic by the UPF through its directorate of traffic and road safety and KCCA through available infrastructure and traffic wardens. People continue to lose lives and property due to road carnage even with available legislation like the Traffic and Road Safety Act 2020 as amended. Consequently, the Uganda Police Force and KCCA need to strengthen enforcement mechanisms in the central business district and adapt the use of technology in addressing traffic related crimes and regulate lawlessness.

Drug abuse was mentioned by the respondents during the study pointing out that it is a common vice within the urban centers as compared to the rural settings. They listed some of the drugs abused as opium, Jet oil, petrol, khat among others as the drugs commonly abused in Kampala city. A respondent at a Focus Group Discussion emphasized;

In a rural setting, you might not find the different types of drugs there as compared to urban areas. Basically here in town they use drugs like “Tina-the one for the plane, the jet oil” you cannot get it in the villages. There is also this gum that they smoke, you cannot find it in the villages! ...And if you are in places like Kabalagala in Kampala should be known as a drug hub. You know you even get people smoking cocaine on the streets. Those Nigerians, the majority of them stay in Kabalagala and they deal in drugs.¹⁶

3.4. The relationship between Crime and Rapid Urbanisation

Unlike in rural communities, crime in urban centers like Kampala is implied within the very nature of the life style of the people. Such a co-existence was detailed well during an interview with a Makerere University lecturer who has served at the African Union, East African Community and the East African court and the Great Lakes Region in developing a continental architecture to prevent the occurrence of Genocide and mass atrocities and was also central in designing the National Strategy on Prevention of Violent Extremism. He argued that “crime comes from processes of socialization, interactions of upbringing, relationships and the function of systems and structures of the state”¹⁷. A response from a focus group within Makindye division sums it up as follows;- I think ghetto itself is a life. So there is no protection in ghetto and its one of the reasons responsible for crime. So survival mode is the reason for crime in Kampala. If I am in a world where there is prostitution, I have to do prostitution. There is no any hesitation. But in protected environments,(Formal settlements) there is fear. You haven’t seen people doing it and they can arrest you because the society you are living in doesn’t support it. It is so hard in that even those that rob people come from the ghetto. Now the people even got used, now they see it as a normal thing.... I think the percentage is 85% on crime in ghetto because when you reach the cell (Police custody), you find ghetto children there but when they have minor crimes. Like stealing chicken, meaning the crime rate is high on the side of the ghetto yet my thought is, 85% of the ghetto children commit crime most. These become upcoming criminals. In the prisons, these children identify themselves and when they go back they start working together.¹⁸

Furthermore, the Makerere University lecturer pointed out that, normally at the confluence where systems and structures of the state interact with people and their needs, there is either satisfaction or dissatisfaction. Under situations where there is no satisfaction, where there is a dearth of social services, with poor living standards, people search for opportunities for redress because on many occasions human needs are non-negotiable and people must find means of attaining their needs. In situations of resource dissatisfaction as it is in growing urban centers where interactions between systems or established institutions and people fail, there is deviation and departure from the norm hence crime. Giving reference to Anthony Giddens’s 1986 “*Constitution of Society*”, the respondent emphasized the question of confluence of systems and relationships where the process is “marked by dissatisfaction and satisfaction, inclusion and exclusion and in the process regardless of laws, security mechanisms and so on, people will always find ways to be people”¹⁹. In situations of dissatisfaction, this breeds vices such as disobedience and non-compliance leading to crime.

Crime, disobedience and non compliance and violence in Kampala city was linked to drug abuse in the urban communities especially the ghetto as a result of urbanization. A respondent pointed out;

For instance, you know our law now has been very weak in drug abuse yet we know that most of the communities are doing this. Drugs are push factors, somebody before they commit a crime, they want to first go high on a drug. Now when you arrest somebody smoking marijuana, you look for the laws, there is no strong law yet this person without marijuana would not have committed murder, robbery because the marijuana is what drives people to crime. But people are not putting a lot of effort to addressing this marijuana. They look at it as something that is not so important.²⁰

There’s need for the Police to engage communities on the dangers and effects on drug abuse through its community policing programs to reduce urban crime and promote urban peace enforcement owing to the fact that drug abuse leads to increased crime.

¹⁶R2 in FGD 2, Police Officers, Kawempe Division.

¹⁷ Interview with Key Informant 4, Kampala Central Division.

¹⁸ R5 in FGD 1, Ganja Crew, Makindye Division.

¹⁹ Interview with Key Informant 4, Kampala Central Division.

²⁰ Interview with Key Informant 21, Makindye Division.

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Inadequate planning was another cause that majority of the respondents pointed out. “Kampala’s set up is badly planned. The number of vehicles in town outweighs the ideal number as per the geographical plan of the city”²¹, argued one of the police officers during an interview. A community Liaison Officer asserted that “When people are displaced, they have to look for other places that are less developed to do their work. So, when they find themselves with no option of going elsewhere, they will remain in the same urban area and begin cases like phone snatching”²². A DISO and respondent from one of the divisions of Kampala associated criminality with slum and informal settlements as a result of poor planning emphasizing that development chases planning;

That is why you will find that people who first settled in areas like Katwe, where it is cheaper. The planners never thought that at one time they would be many. You get, so the planners are now caught up, the entire place is now... When you hear the name slum, just know that the planners have stopped thinking because they don’t have where to put the roads, trading centers. Everything is now entangled. The actual definition of slum; is an unplanned settlement. and the quickest categorization is that you find all activities entangled. You have a bar, you have a home, and you have this in your neighborhood and therefore wonder what type of child are you raising? That is the biggest challenge in security planning and policing. Now that is the challenges between urbanization. You know sometimes, the relationship between urbanization and planning, they don’t move at the same pace. The planning tends to chase urbanization....²³)

A similar view was held by a mayor from one of the divisions who emphasized ;-

Well, especially I will talk for Kampala central. To be honest, ever since; it is now coming to a year. Since the hawkers were evicted from the streets, we got challenges there already. Challenges how? We never planned for them an alternative where they can do their businesses. So they decided to go to their home areas now which became a problem, and those reports we have been getting them, of breaking in the houses. People leave their houses coming to work that is when the theft takes place. Those that are displaced feel aggrieved and they feel let down by authorities and can be urban authorities, central government and whoever is in charge²⁴

A leader in Nakawa Division echoed a similar concern;-

...100% that is so true, let me even talk about it. Government brings some things like KCCA that has chased people from the road minus preparing for them where to go. A hawker who has had capital of 20,000 shillings you arrest them and take them to the police and later to Luzira prison . You make them develop a heart of saying, all my capital has been taken so what can I do? Before you know it they join the robbers because they harassed them and they pushed them. That situation makes people join criminals or do something you are not ready to do. Because the biggest example is the one of the Hawkers here in Kampala, that is the biggest cause of trouble.²⁵

The methods of enforcement of the KCCA regulations were found to be a double edged sword. While as the decisions by the city authorities are always to ensure peace, security and social order within the city, the methodology of implementation comes with other challenges that later contribute to urban insecurity. Upon acknowledging that human beings are naturally stubborn and policy implementation sometimes needs to be enforced with sanctions to deter criminals and promote urban peace. A respondent, who works with the Professional Standards Unit of UPF held the same view regarding law enforcement within the KCCA as having a ripple effect on urban security in Kampala. In his words:

I have personally seen a number of occasions especially the vendors who do not have gazetted areas for their business and some are selling mangoes ... and it’s just about their capital as this KCCA law enforcement comes in, they will come and if they don’t arrest you the vendor, they will take away all your capital because people are well aware that KCCA has an express penalty system where if you are taken to that court, chances of surviving to be remanded are very minimal, so once people sight (see) KCCA law enforcement coming, so someone is safer taking off living the goods behind so you find this person has got capital of maybe 50,000 ... once this person takes off and his goods are taken and yet he has to survive then it gets hard for such a person, if that person does not get any help maybe from relatives or friends to start a fresh, most likely they resort to crime, so in that way I would say maybe the law enforcement is doing that.²⁶

The above points to street economy in literature urbanization brings the increase in the number of people per square meter hence the streets or the land to become a rentable market creating a street economy(Fidan,2020). He argues that street economy which is entirely based on the economic activities of street vendors offering goods or services for sale to the public without having a permanently built structure but with a temporary static structure or mobile stall (Bernadus et al, 2018). The street economy

²¹ Interview with Key Informant 6, Makindye Division.

²² Interview with Key Informant 17, Makindye Division.

²³ Interview with Key Informant 21, Makindye Division.

²⁴ Interview with Key Informant 12, Kampala Central Division.

²⁵ R1 in FGD 5, Local Council Leaders, Nakawa Division.

²⁶ Interview with Key Informant 3, Nakawa Division.

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actors and entrepreneurs like scrap dealers, street sellers, street vendors, street traders, peddlers and hawkers, shoe shiners cause serious gaps in urban geographies and visual disturbances within the contemporary modern cities thus drawing confrontation between law enforcement officers and street sellers in city. Cross his book, *Street Vendors and the State in Mexico City* suggests a need for regulation and engagement of street vendors citing the political influence of Mexico City's street vendors in the implementation of state policies which affect urban peace enforcement (Cross, 1998).

Additionally, the UN highlights governance challenges for many cities including the fact that many cities are comprised of a series of divisions, municipalities and suburban areas that have grown into one large urban zone can create substantial policing and governance difficulties in developing peace and law enforcement solutions for the whole city that is made several local governments, divergent political affiliations, community needs, resources and security challenges. The above is happening in Kampala city and in other cities across Asia, Africa and Latin America where insufficient formal sector employment opportunities drive many into informal work where they are prone to being victims of crimes like robbery or thefts and or being subjected to extortion in the hands criminals or state officials as their nature of their work is mostly in unregulated spaces (UN, 2011).

The ever increasing population of mainly unemployed youths due to urbanization poses great threat to peace and security in Kampala. This particular finding is supported by the *UN Urbanisation Prospects* (2018) report which points out that more than 4 billion people live in urban areas globally today; and they are increasingly living in densely occupied and poorly planned cities. According to a report by Uganda Bureau of Statistics, (2020), Kampala is home to 1,680,600 people, 4% of the population of Uganda. While as the city was originally planned to accommodate 300,000 people, it hosts 4.5 million during the day (KCCA, 2014). The established structures of governance seem overwhelmed and strategies to improve peace and security are rendered ineffective by the shifts and changing styles of committing and concealing crime. Whether on the renewable or nonrenewable resources, the population pressure results into insecurity within the urban centers. This is mainly due to a high cost of living yet majority of the people are unemployed or do petty jobs for daily survival as urbanization is taking place in the face of increasing unemployment, growing informal sector, global economic crisis, climate change, and acute scarcity of resources for urban local authorities (UN-Habitat, 2012). One argument expressed by a Minister from the KCCA was hinged on the fact that urbanization causes an exponential populational growth. This brings tension and stress for the meagre resources there by resulting into uncontrolled rate of crime. In his words, the minister said,

Remember there are resources that do not change despite the pressure around them. For example, land... Then in the same way, there are lots of crimes related to land. People can even fight because another one has entered their land by mere feet. Because of that again, there is pressure created on water. People build in the traditional sources of water and natural sources of water forgetting that's where they collect water. A group of people will come fighting that someone is closing our well(water source). ... there will be a lot of pressure on accommodation, housing. This is an amenity that should be put in place. You will find people sleeping in space and once they start sleeping outside, they will be forced to use certain substances to keep them warm. That's how drugs come in so there are small things one leads to the other. Once people use these drugs they always lose their mental stability and understanding and they can do anything thinking they are doing the right things. And they are committing crime. So I think urbanization causes pressure on resources and it tends towards 'survival for the fittest.'²⁷

Furthermore, according to literature, the rate of urbanisation has led to Urban sprawl thus requiring more development of new areas for housing, social amenities, commercial and other urban land uses hence the creation of urban sprawl encroaching environmentally sensitive areas, major agricultural areas and areas which are not suitable for development leading to land use conflicts. These situations contribute to various urbanisation issues such as environmental pollution, congestion, depletion of green areas and degradation in the quality of urban living (Zhang, 2015).

The pressure on the scarce resources is primarily due to an ever growing population of people from different backgrounds where some of them have criminal intentions. Some of them escape from their original places with habits that promote criminal acts such as theft, robbery, fraud, among others. A political leader asserted;-"All kinds of dangerous people find market for their work. The thieves see a potential market, since many people are transacting from the area. During the buying and selling of land, crime has increased. There are false sellers of land. Since there is always high demand for land, many people end up buying ghost land."²⁸ A similar view was held during a Focus Group Discussion in Kawempe Division of Kampala city where a respondent pointed out;

In the urban areas we have the slum settings which tend to sometimes to be safe havens to some criminals, somebody can commit a crime in the rural area and finds himself in the city center and at the end of the day they end up in the slum area like in the "kimombassa" here. From other rural areas and so when they come together and they combine, it multiplies, the effect multiplies unlike the rural areas where it is in the same area and monitoring it is even different from the urban areas because you get people residing on the same house as tenants that suppose somebody makes crime, it is very easy to know the person next to him and all the acts or whatever he is doing so it brings up the increase in crimes and technology. Kampala is cosmopolitan, many

²⁷ Interview with Key Informant 14, Kampala Central Division.

²⁸ Interview with Key Informant 7, Rubaga Division.

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different people come here. You find one is from Nigeria and another one from somewhere else and when they meet, they influence. And when you see the crimes in the rural areas, in most cases these crimes they transfer them from the urban areas to the rural areas meaning that everything originates from the urban areas to the rural areas²⁹

This worsens the security state of Kampala; hence, creating a more intricate security paradox. Just like other urban centers, there was change in nature and increase in quantity of conflict and crime in South Africa due to high population (Shaw;1995). The traditional crimes were replaced by drive-by shootings and hit-and-run attacks while visible parties in urban contests were replaced with invisible ones and this further complicates urban policing.

Furthermore corruption was pointed out by various leaders and community members as fueling crime. "... there is a system that is not transparent. There is a lot of corruption. There is no town without a plan... Now you go and look at the houses behind this police station living examples! Even the road that take you from one house to another they are not there..."³⁰ This argument from a religious leader in Rubaga division was further supported by a submission from a leader in Nakawa division who asserted that registration of new residents within the area is just impracticable.³¹ As a result, strangers settle within the community without declaring their identity to the leaders and often times these commit crime and relocate to other places. This makes it hard for local leaders to effectively cooperate with police in carrying out investigations or operations there by contributing towards a high crime rate.

Some respondents argued that besides the opportunities associated with urbanization, improved technology, evolution of organizational society such as parliament replacing the traditional palaces, creates more opportunities for people to easily meet their needs and that becomes a pull factor in drawing people to an area. However, it is necessary that the social amenities and infrastructure such as offices of top government agencies and services such as hospitals and schools can be decentralized to different parts of the country. Being the country's capital, Kampala needs to be decongested, and as a Makerere University Lecturer emphasized:

... decategorization and cross categorization, the idea being that you can decategorize groups through cross categorization, disperse these services so that there is a need for somebody in Kampala to come to Karamoja to find a service and come here and in the process, groups will interact in a different ways of satisfaction of needs and that ultimately you will have a recategorization of society instead of one that is based on the haves and don't haves and have one based on I need something from you and you need something from me.³²

Furthermore, insecurity was acknowledged to be existent in urban centers where there are more people leading to increased interactions between persons. Policing and crime in Kampala city just like any other city where crime changes patterns basing on the socio-economic development of the place becomes inevitable. Consequently, there is a need to ensure individual security by taking caution and as one Division Police Commander with in Kampala argued;-

... if you had a bank that had a wooden door without security their target is very soft and I call upon people that whenever you have money that is in transit the police services are there provided for the law under the non-tax revenue collection. ... there is a certain rate provided for in our circulars and how much you are supposed to pay for police to escort in transit, then if you have a shop ... put burglar proof plus CCTV cameras which is an investigations multiplier in case any incident occurred where you have been sleeping off but the cameras will not sleep off to give us the exact picture of perhaps what transpired and then there people who live their vehicles plus valuables in areas that are vulnerable for instance where traffic is minimal and the people are few... other issue is related to movement and you will find people moving a weird hours of the night in very vulnerable places because police is not everywhere and crime is there and crime will not go away so if we don't adjust to these we shall find people are blaming us and yet we have given in the necessary few hints would otherwise help. Let people follow police programs on media like Radio, our officers are ever there giving tips on how to deal with certain crimes and how handle administrative issues perhaps you're not satisfied but people do not give attention to Radio programs where police officers are speaking and I call upon all people to embrace that detail for its better for all of us.³³

As a result, there is need to keep sensitizing the people on how to take personal security by taking precautionary measures. The use of Closed Circuit Television (CCTV) cameras on buildings stands out as a great precautionary measure since it can aid police investigation where criminals can easily be presented for prosecution. This equally includes collaborating with the police to address insecurity in Kampala city through supporting policing related programs, reporting of crime, aiding in police investigation, among other initiatives. It is logical to infer that crime is a primary challenge to peace in an urban setting such as Kampala.

²⁹ R1 in FGD 2, Police Officers, Kawempe Division.

³⁰ Interview with Key Informant 19 Rubaga Division.

³¹ Interview with Key Informant 9, Nakawa Division.

³² Interview with Key Informant 4, Kampala Central Division.

³³ Interview with Key Informant 2, Kampala Central Division.

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4.0 SUMMARY CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter presented and analysed the findings in relation to research question one regarding the crimes accompanying rapid urbanisation in Kampala city. With the view that humans are by nature are rational, egoistic and that everything that they do is in their own personal interest as per the social contract theory, crime evolves and this creates a knowledge gap about crime. There was a general understanding among the respondents of the actions that are termed as offences or that breach the law. For this study, there was a general understanding among serving police officers that crime is an act or omission that constitutes an offence and is punishable by law. Among the different crimes pointed out, theft was common but however, other offences including rape, murder, domestic violence, arson, robberies, terrorism and traffic related crimes were established to be transpiring in Kampala city. Crimes happening in the ungoverned spaces such as the slums and the informal settlements perfectly fit in the prescriptions of the broken window theory. The population pressure which leads to traffic congestion make it possible for crime to thrive where it is hard to for people to take responsibility of their neighbours. Understanding crime, urbanization, categories of prevalent crimes in Kampala city and the relationship between crime and rapid urbanisation have been the main concerns of this chapter.

4.1 Summary

This study examined the urban policing paradox in Uganda with Kampala city as the study area. Kampala was chosen for a number of reasons but primarily because it is the country's capital with a long historical experience yet it geography gets overwhelmed by an ever increasing population. This would enable the researcher to apply a rural-urban paradigm since many areas surrounding Kampala get engulfed into the rapid urbanization. In order to examine the relationship between the community and the police, a social contract theory was used. Similarly, the broken window theory was employed since crimes arise out of human interactions. The study employed a qualitative research design. This helped in examining the paradox of urban policing in Uganda with specific regard to how rapid urbanisation poses challenges for policing and urban peace enforcement in Kampala city. Specifically, this study set out with to explore the crimes accompanying rapid urbanisation in Kampala city

A conceptual framework was constructed which primarily examined the urban communities through examining the crimes committed and how law is enforced to ensure security. In relation to crimes, theft, rape, murder, drug abuse, forgery, crimes relating to SGBV, cybercrime and terrorism were mentioned among the common crimes.

Through a comprehensive review of documentary sources, this study was able to draw the relationship between urbanization and crime in Kampala city. This also helped to establish the role of police in urban peace enforcement. Similarly, this study established the challenges of urban peace enforcement and current responses by the police in enhancing urban peace enforcement in Kampala city.

The findings in relation to research question one regarding the crimes accompanying rapid urbanisation in Kampala city pointed to the fact that men is by nature rational, egoistic and that everything that they do is in their own personal interest. This was in relation to the social contract theory but also discovered that in an ever growing urban center, crime evolves and this creates a knowledge gap about crime in urban centers like Kampala.

While defining crime, it established that crime is a behavior either by act or omission defined by statutory or common law as deserving of punishment. It is important to note that the study established that people understand what is prohibited by law and such acts which do not constitute crime. Noncompliance to proper conduct and respect of all social norms is equally regarded as crime and common crimes in Kampala include theft, forgery, domestic violence, cybercrime, traffic related crimes, and acts of terrorism and radicalization.

According to the study findings, Kampala remains a vulnerable place to urban insecurity primarily due to an ever increasing population coupled with the challenges that hinder effective policing in Kampala city. Population increase in Kampala was found out to be leading to an exponential increase in the number of slums and informal settlements which breed criminality in the city.

4.2 Conclusion

Crime is a primary challenge to peace in an urban setting such as Kampala despite there being a general understanding among the people of the actions that are termed as offences or that breach the law. In the view of this study, respondents from the UPF generally understand what constitutes crime. This general understanding among serving police officers who took part in the study was that crime is an act or omission that constitutes an offence and is punishable by law. However, several respondents from the community termed the violation of acts prescribed by morality and all social values as crime. Among the different crimes pointed out, theft took the lead but however, other offences relating to rape, murder, domestic violence, arson and traffic related crimes were found to be common in Kampala city. Urbanization poses a big challenge to urban policing since informal settlements, slums and traffic congestion breed crime. Consequently, crimes accruing from urban centers threaten the peace and security of Kampala city. In understanding the relationship between urbanizations and crime, the social contract theory and the broken window theory were inestimably relevant.

Kampala city is the country's capital with a rapidly increasing the population where people come in with mixed attitudes while psychological disorientations poses a big threat to urban security.

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4.3 Recommendations

Following findings from the study, the following recommendations are suggested;

The Government of Uganda needs to increase funding for the Uganda Police Force so as to improve the UPF budgetary support to allow for improvement of the welfare of the police officers as well as availing necessary safety gear, equipment and logistical requirements in abid to alleviate both operational and infrastructural challenges established in the study. This will effectively help in combating crimes in an ever increasing urban space.

The Uganda Police Force needs to streamline discipline among its personnel to enable the members of the police force to uphold professional ethics and keep confidentiality while performing their duties. This shall go along way in improving public trust and collaboration with the community.

Community policing was found to be key in promoting urban policing and reducing crimes among the communities in Kampala city. There is need for the Uganda Force to dedicate funds for meaningful community engagement and awareness. This would enable the UPF to strengthen the relationship between the communities and the police in terms of dealing with crime. This is premised on the fact that criminals don't come from far and they are always living in society.

To improve urban policing, there is need for a policy that will enable security agencies to engage the stakeholders in the private sector and private individuals on specifications for CCTV cameras. This will enable for laws that permit the Uganda Police Force to work with those entities to improve security by installing government cameras at key places such as entertainment centers for a speedy response in case of danger.

The UPF should continue to leverage technology space to fight crime since there is an increase in cybercrime and urban crime which has outlived conventional methods of crime control.

Government through the National Planning Authority should decentralize social amenities and key and infrastructure such as offices of top government ministries, departments and agencies and services such as hospitals and schools to decongest the central business district of Kampala.

Government needs to address the root causes of crimes through social economic initiatives in Kampala city. There is a need to look at crime as an outcome of various events thereby dealing with the process by which it occurs as compared to dealing with particular criminal acts.

The UPF should engage in continuous retooling and training of its officers as well as acquiring equipment and technologies to match with the ever emerging crimes and criminal tactics.

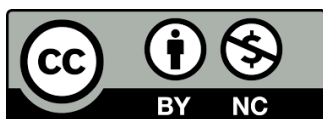
The GoU and UPF needs to invest in intelligence by identifying ethical personnel, providing appropriate equipment and strengthen the intelligence agencies and the Police Crime Intelligence Unit to ably police and promote urban peace enforcement in Kampala city which is highly populated and with the presence of informal settlements.

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