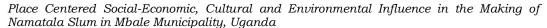
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Place Centered Social-Economic, Cultural and Environmental Influence in the Making of Namatala Slum in Mbale Municipality, Uganda

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Abstract

The increase in the levels of urbanization and congestion in cities like Mbale can be attributed to the lack of proper policies and planning to regulate or manage the socioeconomic and environmental factors that otherwise exacerbate occurrence of slums. In this paper focus is drawn on these factors which are thought to have largely influenced formation of Namatala slum in Mbale Municipality. While this slum exhibits the challenges presented by typical most African slums, this study argues linkages social. between the economic. environmental, and cultural dimensions of Namatala slum formed the basis of understanding the challenges particular to its populace. The study used mixed methods research design that entailed collection of data through household survey questionnaires, key stakeholder interviews and focus group discussions. The study established that Namatala is a significantly disadvantaged location, wrought with poverty, inadequate social amenities, poor housing, lack of solid waste management, lack of essential infrastructure, and inadequate access to clean water, safe sanitation facilities and security of tenure. This problem can be attributed to a lack of placespecific policy implementation of the national policies and guidelines as well as lack of intervention by the government, inappropriate regulation, dysfunctional land markets, unresponsive financial systems, fundamental lack of political will.

Introduction

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Informal settlements can be explained as the "spatializing" application of the concept of informality. Informality is often used in terms of economics, where the informal economy involves income generating activities that fall outside the purview of state regulation. Arguably, anyone in the informal sector was there as a last resort (Okyere & Kita, 2015). Urbanization on the other hand refers to the process by which rural areas become urbanized resulting in a shift in population from rural to urban settlements upon which slums may end up being formed (McGranahan & Satterthwaite, 2014). However, it is important to acknowledge that the criteria for defining what is urban may vary from country to country (McGranahan & Satterthwaite, 2014). In Uganda for instance, the 2002 and 2014 Censuses defined urban areas to include only the gazetted urban centers (City, Municipalities, Town Councils and Town Boards). In August 2014, there were 197 urban centers in Uganda. These included one Capital City, 22 Municipalities, and 174 Town Councils (excluding the Town Boards) (UBOS, 2016).

Rapid urbanization places huge demands on infrastructure, services, job creation, climate, and environment. One of the most visible outcomes of the rapid urbanization has been the persistence and formation of slums. The slum areas are characterized by insufficient living space, poor housing, poor access to water, lack of secure tenure and lack of sanitation facilities (Richmond, et al., 2018). The major issues in slums are, therefore, social, economic, environmental, cultural, and political in nature.

Review of Related Literature

Place-making, which has its origin in the 1960s (Jacobs, 1961), is the deliberate shaping of an environment to improve a community's quality of life and facilitate social interaction or investment into actively changing place identity (Gans, 2002; Cresswell, 2004). Slum as spaces are affected by the social, economic and environmental factors as discussed in the following subsections.

Social and Cultural factors

Social sustainability can only be achieved through delivery of material well-being, including education and access to the goods and services necessary for decent living and social, cultural, and political achievements. This will include a sense of security, dignity, and the ability to be part of a community through recognition and representation among others. Poverty is significant, and slums have become a haven for individuals who, in one way or another, have failed or are unable to get the material well-being linked to social sustainability (Lucci, et al., 2018). The impact of poverty on educational attainment and social mobility in the slum areas continue to haunt the large populations of people living in slums. This hampers prospects of people living in areas of high concentrations of poverty to move into working- and middle-class settlements. Once a poor individual becomes a resident in a low-income area, then their exit can only be facilitated by an extensive planning and intervention (Jarret, 2013). This notwithstanding, cultural and social barriers deny children from slums the opportunity to attain quality education, leaving most of them illiterate throughout their lives. Most of the children in slum areas have no access to any formal education while very few of them only manage to complete primary education (Jarret, 2013).

Economic factors

Developing countries yearn for a growth in economy which will be sustainable to ensure better living conditions for its citizens. Economic growth is a requisite to reduce the proportion of people living in slum areas. The greatest prevalence of slums in any given country significantly correlates to various

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aggregate economic indicators like the debt stock and debt service, GDP per capita (negatively) and inequality (positively) (Arimah, 2010). Slums are often conceived as poverty traps, a view that assumes that the prevalence of urban poverty and consequent slum development are a result of underdeveloped markets and lack of economic development (Bagheri, 2013). Often slums are thought of as areas of depressed public and private investment which neither the government, social network agencies nor the broader society has managed to organize so as to provide for the widespread provision and maintenance of public services, including clean water, sanitation, garbage collection, a social safety net, and the legal infrastructure of property rights that allows for an effective market in land and housing (Laing, 2014).

Environmental factors

The environmental quality, especially within the slum areas, is degraded, lacks provision of basic water and sanitary facilities (Kimani-Murage & Ngindu, 2007). Poor waste management in slum areas lead to direct or indirect disposal of wastes into the low-lying lands, surrounding open spaces or water bodies thus polluting water that lead to diseases. Some settlements have communal toilets that are generally unsatisfactory (Arimah, 2010).

While proper housing is a very important factor for children's psychosocial development, the practical situation of slums indicates a life of poor lighting, low ventilation, overcrowding and living and cooking either close to or at the same place (UN-HABITAT, 2003). All of the buildings in slum quarters are made of low-quality materials with no construction standards, however, in some instances, you find a few buildings in the slum that are built with good quality material. Most of the buildings however, hold a single room for the whole family that makes the slums very congested. While some slums have public sanitation systems that may be accessed at a fee, majority turn to the use of "flying toilets" (Ondieki & Mbegera, 2009) contributing to several associated diseases.

Materials and Methods

In order to understand the intersection of socially, cultural, environmental and economically sustainable community elements, this study adopted a resilience focused transformative mixed method approach where both quantitative and qualitative data collection techniques and analysis procedures were used (Reyes, et al., 2014). Sampling of households was done using Slovin's formula (Almeda, et al., 2010) through random sampling.

SLOVINS FORMULA $n=N/(1+N e^2)$ (see Table 1 for summary).

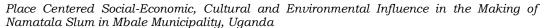
The total number of households (N) 1080 e = 0.02 Therefore, the sample was represented by:

n = 1080 / (1 + 1080*0.02*0.02) n = 758

The qualitative methods included interviews, participant observation, photography, document analysis transect walks, and focus group discussion to produce data while quantitative methods entailed use of survey questionnaire thus greater confidence being placed on the conclusions of the study (Saunders, et al., 2019). The collected data from both tools was recorded in tables and charts and in both video and audio recording which were later transcribed and notes, as well as codes made about emerging themes. All transcripts for interviews and focus group discussions were read before the commencement of the coding process and the themes and common issues that were raised were

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coded (Bazeley, 2007). In its analysis, the study took both qualitative and quantitative methods in forms of descriptive and thematic analysis. A baseline slum survey audit was further performed to examine the social, economic, cultural and environmental variables in Namatala at a household level using focus group discussions and household questionnaires.

Results and Discussion

This section seeks to look at Namatala slum as a place and to examine the dynamics of Namatala slum in terms of its social- economic and environmental outlook.

The Social Factors

Size and Composition of households in Namatala Slum by Age

Most households (70%) had 5-6 members below 18 years while most households (84%) had 1-4 adult members and 1-4 guests. The mean and standard deviation on household members (Table 1) show children and adults in the households with a mean average of 4.82 people. The household with the highest mean average was in Mvule (5.47). The mean average number of children per household was at 2.62 with a standard deviation of 2.3, while the mean average for the number of adults in a household stood at 2.16 for all households. The mean number of guests in a household for the four zones was at minimum (0.11).

Table 1: Number of Household Members Children, Adults, and guests

		Bubirabi	Mvule	Nyanza	Sisye	Overall
Household members	Mean	4.50	5.47	5.34	4.99	4.82
	Standard Deviation	2.52	3.38	3.30	3.62	2.96
Children under 18 years	Mean	2.41	3.00	3.00	2.72	2.62
	Standard Deviation	2.01	2.42	2.72	2.72	2.30
Adults	Mean	2.08	2.31	2.25	2.26	2.16
	Standard Deviation	1.30	1.69	2.25	1.39	1.40
Guests	Mean	0.09	0.15	0.10	0.16	0.11
	Standard Deviation	0.44	0.54	0.50	0.67	0.50

Source: Field Data, N=758

This shows that despite the houses being small and poorly ventilated, the number of persons in a household was high. These results were expected because of the high birth and fertility rate in Uganda. The average fertility rate countrywide is seven children per woman (UBOS, 2016).

Housing

This study found that sixty-nine (69%) of the respondents lived in rented houses, 29% owned their houses while only (1%) of households had settled on either government houses or those of unknown owners. Nyanza Cell had the highest proportion of people owning both land (48%) and houses (49%) while Mvule had the lowest (Table 2).

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Table 2: Land/House Ownership

	Owner	Bubirabi (%)	Mvule (%)	Nyanza (%)	Sisye (%)	Mean (%)
Land	Landlord	77	82	50	71	70
	Self	23	16	48	28	29
	Government	0	2	2	1	1
House	Landlord	76	81	50	70	69
	Self	23	17	49	29	30
	Government	1	2	1	1	1

Source: Field Data, N=758

This can be explained by the freehold nature of land tenure which has led to the sale and subdivision of land to people employed in Mbale town. This process has been aided by its proximity to town and has subsequently led to the gentrification of Namatala slum. This trend of land ownership can be attributed to the government initiatives whereby squatters are encouraged to negotiate with the landlords so that they acquire legal rights to own land (Cities Alliance, 2018).

Further, the distribution of the types of dwelling units varied, with a majority 54% of households living in tin roof and brick wall, followed by 26% in houses with tin roof and mud wall, 20% of households live in grass-thatched houses with mud walls (see Table 3). The 2014 census statistics showed the percentage of semi-permanent housing in Namatala at 38.4% and temporal housing at 2.9% (UBOS, 2016). Myule cell had the highest percentage of grass thatched huts with mud walls at 57%.

Table 3: Type of Houses used by slum dwellers

Type o	of Bubirab	i Mvule	Nyanza	Sisye	Overall (%)
Tin roof bric wall	k 51%	22%	73%	82%	54%
Tin roof, mu wall	d 30%	22%	25%	16%	26%
Grass thatched mud walls	19%	57%	2%	3%	20%
Bamboo an mud walls	d 0%	0%	1%	0%	0%

Source: Field Data, N=758

Diet/Frequency of Daily Meals

Table 4 shows that 46% of the households had two meals in a day while 23% had only one meal a day. Only 30% of the households had more than two meals a day. Bubirabi Cell (27%) and Mvule Cell (30%) experienced the lowest number of meals per day. Families that are financially stable can afford more than two meals and such households were found in Nyanza and Sisye Cells.

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Table 4: Daily Frequency of Meals

Meals per day	Bubirabi	Mvule	Nyanza	Sisye	Mean (%)
One	27%	30%	10%	15%	23%
Two	46%	50%	47%	44%	46%
Three	25%	18%	39%	39%	28%
Four/Five	2%	2%	4 %	3%	2%

Source: Field Data, N=758

When a household lives on one meal per day, the implication is that such a household is struggling financially, and that the children could be at high risk of malnutrition and most likely to suffer from nutritional related illnesses.

Education

Eighty-four percent (84%) of the households indicated that a primary school or more were situated in their cell. Only a low proportion at 4% (Table 5), confirmed presence of a secondary school within their cells.

Table 5: Educational facilities

		Bubirabi	Mvule	Nyanza	Sisye	Mean (%)
Presence	of	100%	4%	94%	96%	84%
primary sch	1001					
Presence secondary school	of	1%	2%	18%	7 %	4%

Source: Field Data, N=758

The overall trend of children school attendance in Namatala slum stands at 70% while those who do not attend school account for 30%. Overall, in Namatala slum, 30% of the household heads confirmed that there could be non-schooling children below the age of 18 years that are engaged in child labor (see Figure 1).

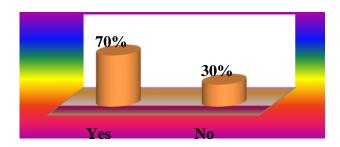
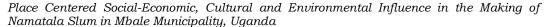


Figure 1. Number of children in school

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The census statistics show that 17.4% of children aged between 6-12 years in Namatala do not attend school, the percentage increases to 56.6% for ages 13-18 (UBOS, 2016). This probably means that these children could be engaged in commercial labor to raise funds to support the basic needs of their families. To enhance the attainment of education and to enable children from low-income families' access free education, the Government of Uganda introduced Universal Primary Education (UPE) and Universal Secondary Education (USE). In addition, one of the presidential pledges that became a government policy "was to construct a primary school in every parish and secondary school in each sub county" (Huylebroeck & Titeca, 2015).

Health

Thirty-one percent of the households in Namatala slum indicated existence of Government health facilities in their locality (see Table 6). Table 7 and 8 indicate sources of medical care and illnesses in households, respectively.

Table 6: Presence of health facilities

Health Services		Bubirabi	Mvule	Nyanza	Sisye	Mean (%)
Government health center within the cell	Yes	2%	5%	29%	87%	31%
Private clinic	Yes	63%	0%	0%	3%	37%

Source: Field Data, N=758

Table 7: Source of medical care

Source o	f Bubirabi	Mvule	Nyanza	Sisye	Mean (%)
Government hospital	38%	37%	61%	18%	38%
Government clinic	47%	55%	27%	45%	45%
Private clinic	16%	5%	11%	27%	15%
Buy medicine a chemist	at 0%	3%	1%	10%	2%

Source: Field Data, N=758

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Table 8: Episodes of illness in the households

	Bubirabi	Mvule	Nyanza	Sisye	Mean (%)
Diseases in	adults within th	e past one ye	ar		
Diarrhea	24%	32%	17%	8%	22%
Malaria	79%	82%	88%	53%	77 %
Cholera	1%	3%	1%	2%	1%
Other	19%	18%	5%	12%	16 %
Diseases in	children within	the past one	year		
Diarrhea	32%	30%	19%	14%	27 %
Malaria	71%	75%	84%	41%	70 %
Cholera	0%	1%	2%	2%	1%
Other	16%	9%	8%	13%	14%

Source: Field Data

Slum dwellers are more vulnerable to communicable diseases and malnutrition and at the same time exposed to greater risk of accidents at work. Across slum settings, the adverse health effects of overcrowding are aggravated by poor access to water and sanitation facilities. A range of studies have documented the poor water access and overall hygiene of slum neighborhoods (Innocent & Christoph, 2013).

Leisure Activities

Fifty-three per cent (53%) of the households spent their leisure time for religious activities while 22% engaged in alcohol drinking. At least 7% visited video halls while 8%, especially the male youth often engaged in community football (see Table 9).

Table 9: Leisure Activities

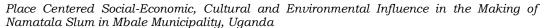
Leisure activity	Bubirabi	Mvule	Nyanza	Sisye	Mean (%)
Religious activity	62%	25%	72%	51%	53%
Traditional beer drinking	18%	53%	7%	8%	22%
Community football	7%	7%	9%	12%	8%
Video	1%	6%	6%	15%	7 %
Other	12%	9%	6%	14%	10%

Source: Field Data, N=758

Religious organizations have always played a central role in supporting those experiencing poverty, through service delivery as well as the provision of spiritual resources that provide mechanisms for resilience at both the individual and community levels (Haynes, 2007). The

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focus group discussions also listed activities like discussing/conversing with other men, listening to radio, playing indoor games (cards/pool), robbery, sports betting, watching TV and watching gaming.

Social support was found to be very low as only 12% of the households reported belonging to and being supported by a community group. The involvement of households in community groups acts as a safety net and is often perceived as a fundamental step in resisting the shocks from poverty. The focus group discussions on the other hand reported support from religious organizations and NGOs that work with the communities to form selfhelp savings groups and the communities come together to form community-based organizations to support each other during calamities such as death of a member or relative.

Table 10: Community Supportive Groups

Are there community groups, cooperatives associations support you	that	Bubirabi	Mvule	Nyanza	Sisye	Mean (%)
Yes		11%	19%	20%	4%	12%
No		89%	81%	80%	96%	88%

Source: Field Data, N=758

Economic Factors

Economic status is highly correlated to social factors such as water and sanitation service access in urban environments and is often tied to other demographic characteristics such as ethnicity and race.

Employment

The most common economic activity in Namatala is local beer brewing at 20.5%, hawking at 13.5% and vending of second-hand clothes at 13%, retailing at 11%, food services at 11%, charcoal vending at 11% (Table 11).

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Table 11: Economic Activities Households are engaged in

Economic activity	Bubirabi	Muvule	Nyanza	Sisye	Mean (%)
Local beer brewing	13%	35%	18%	16%	20.5%
Hawking	14%	12%	15%	13%	13.5%
Second-hand clothes vendor	15%	10%	14%	12%	13%
Retailer	14%	4%	13%	12%	11%
Food services	10%	12%	11%	13%	11%
Charcoal vending	11%	10%	9%	11%	10%
Video halls	11%	6%	10%	8%	9%
Hairdressers	7%	5%	6%	9%	7 %
Formal employment	5%	6%	4%	6%	5%

Source: Field Data, N=758

The results of the interviews were confirmed by FGDs which reported casual work such as sorting food in the market, washing clothes in others' homes/gardens and selling charcoal/firewood as the main economic activities in Namatala. Other significant economic activities included boda boda (motorcycle taxi) riding, formal employment in the civil service, operating small road kiosks, brewing alcohol and prostitution.

Household Income

Table 12 shows that majority (81%) of the households in Namatala had a source of income. Such household heads could be the ones that are involved in the sale of local beer and those that are in formal employment.

Table 12: Income for head of the household

Head earned an income	Bubirabi	Mvule	Nyanza	Sisye	Overall (%)
Yes	77%	93%	87%	79%	81%
No	23%	7%	13%	21%	19%

Source: Field Data, N=758

The majority (44%) of household heads earned monthly income of less than 50,000 Uganda shillings (Ugsh). This is quite low considering that in many household's people indicated that they are married and there are many people staying in the house, two cells, Nyanza (41%) and Sisye (30%) had the highest number of households with incomes of less than 30,000 Ugsh. per month. This translates into approximately \$8 per month. However, other households are earning UGX 200,000 – 500,000 (20%) and UGX 500,000 – 1,000,000 (5%).

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It was also noted from the FGDs that women also got food from winnowing rice in town and would collect whatever fell and the children also begged for food in the streets and collected from rubbish heaps in the main market in the town center, which accounted for some of the informal income (Maliyamkono & Bagachwa, 1990).

Expenditure

Most (86%) of households spend Uganda shillings 51,000 – 100,000 on food. These amounts are minimal given the big household sizes (Table 13). The responses on activities that greatly drive household expenditure were listed as follows in the focus group discussion: feeding, renting/accommodation, alcohol, school, medicine/ sickness/ treatment and buying water in that order. This triangulates with the questionnaire data on expenditure.

Table 13: Monthly Expenditures

Item	Amount (UGX)	Bubirabi	Mvule	Nyanza	Sisye	Mean (%)
Rent	<50,000	95	94	96	94	95
	51,000- 100,000	5	6	4	6	5
Food	51,000- 100,000	85	88	87	82	86
	100,000- 200,000	15	12	13	18	14
Medicine/hospital	<50,000	96	97	96	95	96
	51,000- 100,000	4	3	4	5	4
School fees	<50,000	89	82	85	84	85
	51,000- 100,000	11	18	15	16	15
Transport	<50,000	91	86	88	83	87
	51,000- 100,000	9	14	12	17	13
Fuel	51,000- 100,000	94	90	93	91	92
	100,000- 200,000	6	10	7	9	8
Clothes	51,000- 100,000	89	84	86	81	85
	100,000- 200,000	11	16	14	19	15

Source: Field Data, N=758

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Household Asset Ownership

The study assessed the ownership of essential and necessary household items (see Table 14). Statistics show that "almost 24.8m or 70.9 per cent of Ugandans own mobile phones" (UBOS, 2016) and "over 300 radio stations are registered in Uganda". People need to transact business and to also get updates about the events happening around the nation and the entire world.

Table 14: Household Equipment

Household Assets	Bubirabi	Mvule	Nyanza	Sisye	Mean (%)
Mobile phone	57%	48%	73%	77%	64%
Radio	42%	27%	48%	52%	42 %
Television	17%	6%	43%	33%	25 %
Sofa set	14%	8%	23%	23%	17 %
DVD	5%	2%	7%	8%	6 %
Refrigerator	5%	1%	13%	5%	6 %
Computer	4%	0%	8%	6%	5%

Source: Field Data, N=758

The focus group discussions corroborated the findings but also listed other assets such as animals like pigs, chicken and goats. Others were bicycles, mattresses, motorcycles, phones and a few with plots. Besides being trapped in a low-human-capital equilibrium, Namatala exhibits dysfunctional institutions that lead to poor access to proper housing, depressed public and private investment. There's lack of clean water, poor sanitation, uncoordinated garbage collection, lack of a social safety net, and an ineffective legal infrastructure of property rights that does not permit for an effective market in land and housing, popularly referred as super wicked problems (Metens, 2015).

Environmental patterns

The poorest urban populations in the poorest countries tend to have the worst environmental health conditions in and around their homes (Mcgranahan & Satterthwaite, 2014) and Namatala is no exception. Environmental quality within Namatala is significantly linked to health and can be assessed by considering water sources, drainage, sanitation, and waste management.

The source, availability and quality of the drinking water

The source, availability and quality of the drinking water are also important hygiene factors in any settlement. Access to piped water provided at a fee in public access points recorded the highest usage of 89% (Table 15).

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Table 15: Sources of Water for the Residents

	Bubirabi	Mvule	Nyanza	Sisye	Mean (%)
Public Standpipe	91%	75%	96%	91%	89%
Borehole	1%	23%	2%	6%	5%
Open Unprotected Well	2%	3%	0%	0%	2%
Piped Water in Residence	4%	0%	2%	3%	3%
Protected Well	2%	0%	0%	0%	1%

Source: Field Data, N=758

Public access points are tap stands situated at central points within the cell (as agreed upon by leaders) and are often commercially run by private service providers or private investors. These service providers charge Ugsh. 200 per jerrycan, which most of the residents cannot afford. Only 3% of the respondents got their water from the National Water and Sewerage Company limited. Others got their water from boreholes and unprotected wells. Myule had the highest usage of water from boreholes.

A UN study reported that "Between 40 to 60 per cent of people in unplanned settlements in Eastern Africa lack adequate water and sanitation (UN-HABITAT, 2010). Their access to water is only through street vendors. "Multiple interventions consisting of water supply, sanitation provision and hygiene education in developing countries act to reduce diarrhea illness levels. It is possible that their effectiveness could be improved by ensuring water safety in the household."

It was observed during transect walks that most households in Namatala slum consume un-boiled water. Un-boiled or untreated water contains parasitic protozoa and many microorganisms that cause various sicknesses with main symptoms that include diarrhea, weakness, weight loss, and abdominal pain. The drainage situation was also indicative of the congestion and lack of government mechanism to provide for proper drainage (see Figure 2). Studies indicate that "water borne infections are responsible for more than 80% of the diseases all over the world". In Uganda, many people are dying of waterborne illnesses and there are repeated incidences of cholera outbreaks (UBOS, 2016).



Figure 2: Namatala on a rainy day

Source: Author

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Type of Toilets Used by the Households

Eighty-five per cent (85%) of households in Namatala are using covered simple dry pit latrines. However, from the transect walks, Bubirabi and Mvule Cells neighborhoods had fecal matter near the houses. Since it is a sensitive matter to ask someone how he/she manages personal toilet matters, respondents did not give a true picture of normal practice. One of the reasons for non- use of the few available toilets in those cells could be the culture and traditions of the inhabitants. These cells are inhabited by the Karamojong tribe and to them; it is a taboo to use latrines. According to them, latrine sharing between men and women results to a serious omen of infertility among women and it can lead to blindness among men. Consequently, they opt to ease themselves in the open. The pit-latrines are in a poor state and yet they cater for more than 30 people since many landlords construct more than five single rooms that house an average of five to six people in each. In a study done in Kampala, the analysis of 1,500 randomly selected households in the urban slums of Kampala showed that only 20% of households have access to private sanitation facilities. The remaining 68.3% share their toilet (Innocent & Christoph, 2013). There is a clear and strong correlation between the number of users and the condition and cleanliness of a toilet stance.

A considerable number at 85% were sharing toilets with their neighbors (Table 18). The 2014 census showed only 1.4% of the population in Namatala had a toilet facility (UBOS, 2016). Available toilets had cracked walls, they had been overused and most of them were full or almost full. Improper use of dry pit latrines presents a public health problem as it promotes the spread of communicable disease such as diarrhea, cholera and other waterborne diseases such as typhoid. Figure 3 shows the state of the latrines used by the slum dwellers in Namatala.

Table 18: Sharing of toilets

Do they share latrine neighbors?	with	the	Bubirabi	Mvule	Nyanza	Sisye	Mean (%)
YES			83%	88%	81%	87%	85%
NO			17%	12%	19%	13%	15%

Source: Field Data, N=758



Figure 3: A typical Latrine in Namatala

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Solid Waste Management

Garbage management at household level was poor as represented by half (50%) of respondents who reported keeping garbage in gunny bags while 11% reported throwing the garbage on the streets. Appropriate temporary garbage disposal was reported by 27% who stored household garbage in covered containers and 12% who stored it in other ways. Poor household garbage management presents the risk of air pollution in terms of smell, rodents and the infections arising from the decay of the waste. Some families, especially in Bubirabi burn the garbage.

The issue of garbage sorting also emerged as critical both at household level and at garbage disposal points. For instance, participants complained: "Whereas government teaches people to sort garbage into biodegradable and non-biodegradables, they provide only one solid waste collection container which does not allow the recommended practice." Notably, while collecting garbage, officials also ask for a fee of Ugsh. 300 from households that are cash strapped.

Inadequacy of garbage collection coupled with stagnant waters around homesteads have led to accumulation of mosquito larvae and sanitary related infections to households. The environmental officer said the following in relation to waste collection and community participation:

... people just dump everything into those bins so and when it reaches the official dumpsite, it becomes a challenge to the people who sort the garbage and sometimes some have ended up getting injured, issues of we have always tried to tell people that they ensure they separate waste. Some have heeded to the advice some have not heeded to the advice. But we are still doing that it is a continuous process, so that they know the dangers of mixing waste (Personal Communication, 16th March 2018, Mbale Municipal Environmental Officer).

Health and sanitation issues are rendered more problematic by the lack of provision of a social safety net in slums. Slum living involves a wide range of risks: in the Kibera data, 10 percent of households have experienced being evicted from their dwelling, and 4 percent report at least one death in the household in the past six months (Kimani-Murage & Ngindu, 2007). Dwellers of slums do not have adequate system of latrine cleanliness and sanitation is very poor in slum areas. This clarifies that these people have unhygienic latrines.

Conclusion

Namatala, just like other slums experience super wicked problems which include; social inequalities, health, educational access and poverty and those whose time is running out, there is no central authority and the people trying to solve the problem are also causing it. The intersection of the economic, environment and social systems create the supper wicked problems with completely no right solutions to these types of problems. The current urban process in Uganda is associated with poverty, environmental degradation and population demands that outstrip service capacity. Uganda has been unable to effectively implement policies for coordinated, efficient and environmentally sound social economic development because of limited financial and human resources and corruption. This inability of the municipalities to implement, monitor, and enforce their development plans has resulted in encroachments on public spaces by private developers, environmental degradation, poor basic infrastructure and social services, inefficient use of land resources and inequality in

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resource allocation leading to neglect of women, youth and other vulnerable groups including slum dwellers.

Further research could be done in profiling Namatala not only on the population but on who the landlords are, the community leaders and for all the four sustainability elements including the social, environmental cultural and economic setup of the slum, directed at finding a buy-in for sustainable solutions.

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