THE NEIGHBORHOOD UNIT CONCEPT AND ITS APPLICATION TO PLANNING IN NAIROBI, KENYA

A Thesis submitted in part fulfilment for the Degree of Master of Arts in the University of Nairobi.

May, 1975
DECLARATION

A) This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

B) This thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as the Chief University Supervisor.

E.S. MUNDIA
DR. P.A. MEMO
CHIEF SUPERVISOR
I am deeply grateful to my supervisors Dr. P.A. Mawen and Professor S.H. Omindo for guidance and advice throughout the duration of this study. Without their many worthwhile discussions and helpful comments this research would not have materialised.

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THE NEIGHBORHOOD UNIT CONCEPT AND ITS APPLICATION TO PLANNING IN NAIROBI, KENYA

ABSTRACT

It is now over twenty years since the neighborhood unit concept was officially adopted in Kenya for planning residential areas. Since then a considerable number of neighborhoods have been built in Nairobi.

The purpose of this study was (a) to examine the neighborhood unit concept as originally formulated in America in 1929 (b) to analyze the interpretation of the concept by the colonial planners of Nairobi and (c) to evaluate the extent to which the concept has been successful as a basis for planning residential areas in Nairobi.

This study has shown that the application of the neighborhood unit concept to planning African residential areas in Nairobi has been quite successful in creating a satisfactory environment for the residents of the official housing estates in Nairobi. The residential environment includes both housing and social facilities such as shops,
schools, community buildings and open spaces. The housing built is at rents which the majority of the low-income people can afford to pay.

Many of the failings in the practical application of the neighborhood unit concept during the colonial period were caused by the negative attitude of the colonial administration to the social and economic welfare of the African population in Nairobi. Since independence much effort has been made by the post-independence planners to fill in the gaps. Although the conditions have been improved, it is not possible to solve all the problems inherited from the colonial period. For instance, the neighborhood units planned during the colonial period were meant for small communities and now the population has increased to such a great extent that the neighborhoods are overcrowded. Based on the findings of the study a number of policy recommendations are made.
INTRODUCTION

The problem and objectives of the study

The problem of housing in Kenya as in other developing countries should not be seen only in the light of the individual housing unit but of the total environment. The national urban housing policy in Kenya formulated in the mid-fifties recognized this fact when it incorporated the neighborhood unit concept as part of the planning strategy. Richard Stren has stated that:

The importance of the official recognition of the neighborhood unit concept was that the physical planning of towns would now be as concerned with making living conditions pleasant and orderly for Africans as it had been in the past for Europeans.

It is now over twenty years since the neighborhood unit concept was officially accepted in Kenya. Since then a considerable number of neighborhoods have been built especially in the African residential areas of the
city of Nairobi.

The neighborhood unit concept, however, is basically a western-concept introduced to Kenya by the colonial administration. After independence many authorities have questioned the validity of applying Western-based theories to totally different conditions in Africa. For instance, as one author has stated:

Housing policies and housing procedures of a modern industrial economy are fundamentally inadequate in tackling the housing problems of most urban situations in the developing countries and that a more realistic, more indigenous, and more relevant planning strategy is required.2

But before a more realistic and more relevant planning strategy can be devised, the existing planning strategy must be examined and analysed in order to determine the extent to which it is relevant in tackling the housing problems that face Kenya today. The general aim of the present study is to evaluate the neighborhood unit concept and the way it has been utilised for planning residential areas in Nairobi. By examining the broader socio-political context under which the present planning strategy has evolved, it is possible to evaluate how the neighborhood unit concept as a planning strategy was used for the
benefit of the settler community in Kenya. The colonial planners interpreted the neighborhood unit concept and applied it to planning the African residential areas in Nairobi to suit their own ends. Since Kenya is now independent, the post-independence planners should be able to interpret the neighborhood unit concept according to the social and economic needs of the independent Kenya.

The findings of this study will hopefully be of use to the planners and the policy makers in Nairobi in identifying weaknesses in the concept itself as well as any shortcomings in its application.

1.2 Limitations and Scope

The neighborhood unit concept has been severely criticised by some sociologists as being founded on "a dubious social theory". Broadly, for instance, believes that the idea of neighborhood planning was received so enthusiastically in the years immediately after the war not because it could be shown to be valid but because it was hoped that it
would be no. However, as discussed in greater detail in chapter two, neighborhood planning can also be considered as a comprehensive concept for planning residential areas as it takes into account both the physical as well as the social aspects of planning. This study will examine this view with reference to planning of residential areas in Nairobi that: physical planning and administrative measures can, if wisely and positively conceived, encourage and facilitate the growth of the sense of community.

This study, however, does not look at the social networks of the residents in each neighborhood unit to determine such factors as the amount of socializing with neighbors and the amount of personal relationships. The study concentrates on examining the role and functional structure of the neighborhood centre as an organizing node for the neighborhood. According to Brodly, the neighborhood centre in the residential area is supposed to serve as the common focus of all local activities, such as primary schools, shopping centres and social and recreational activities, without distinction of political, religious or other opinions.
On the basis of the above discussion and the literature on the neighborhood unit concept and its application reviewed in chapters two and three, it is possible to state a number of hypotheses which are examined in chapters four and five of this study. These hypotheses are as follows:

1. It is hypothesized that neighborhood planning ensures the provision of a clean, safe, quiet and healthy environment for the residents.

2. It is hypothesized that neighborhood planning encourages the constant use of the institutions and facilities within walking distance of the home by all members of the family, especially women and children.

3. It is hypothesized that neighborhood planning encourages participation in educational and recreational activities and helps to prevent crime.

4. It is hypothesized that neighborhood planning
helps to create a sense of belonging to a community brought about by face to face contact.

5. It is hypothesized that neighborhood planning produces economies of scale by large-scale planning of residential housing.

1.4 The Study Area

The study area in which the stated hypotheses have been examined is the African residential area in Nairobi. This area is found to the east of the city centre and is popularly known as the 'Eastlands' (Figure 1.1). It was the area demarcated by the colonial government for African settlement in Nairobi, as shown in chapter three of this study. Although in other residential areas of the city, all races are found living together, this area remains a purely African area. The main reason for this, is that the houses in Eastlands were built by public authorities mainly for the low-income earners, and many of the people found in this low-income group in Nairobi are Africans.
1.5. Sources of Data

The estates chosen for study were planned and are managed by the Nairobi City Council and therefore a considerable amount of data was available from the Planning Department of the City Council. Such data included the number of housing units, type of housing, density of development, size of population and its socio-economic characteristics such as income, education, employment, car ownership and age-sex distribution.

As part of the field work for this study the author conducted personal interviews with various individuals working in the department of Housing and Social Services as well as the Planning Department of the Nairobi City Council. The following officials were interviewed in each neighborhood: the Estates Officer, the Assistant Welfare Officer, the Social Worker, the Health Officer and the Officer in charge of the Community Centre. The personal interview was used instead of a questionnaire interview because of the type of data that was being collected - and the largely exploratory nature of this study. The questionnaire consisting of preset questions and
answers were not very amenable for obtaining this type of information. The information collected from the various officials dealt with the role of the neighborhood centres in the respective estates and the type of problem encountered by the people in making further use of these centres.

Many of the officials listed above were located in the respective neighborhood centres. A neighborhood centre is supposed to perform two essential functions, to provide services catering for the basic needs of its inhabitants and to act as a focus and meeting place for the housing area it serves. The author also examined the other services catering for the basic needs of the inhabitants of the different neighborhoods such as shops and primary schools.

1.6. Organization of the Study

The study is divided into six chapters. The first chapter is the introduction which deals with the origin and purpose of the study, limitations and scope, hypotheses, delimitation of the study area, sources of data and organization of the study. The second chapter reviews the neighborhood unit concept including its origin and development in
Western countries. In the third chapter the broader socio-political context within which the city of Nairobi has evolved and the application of the neighborhood unit concept to planning residential areas in Nairobi as interpreted in the 1948 Master Plan for a Colonial Capital is discussed. The fourth and fifth chapters analyse the extent to which the neighborhood unit concept has been successful as a basis for planning African residential areas in Nairobi. The final chapter gives the summary of the main findings, recommendations for further research and implications for future policy.

REFERENCES


4. Report prepared by the National Council of Social Service on the size and Social Structure of a Town. Quoted in Broady, Ibid.

5. Ibid., pp. 75 - 76.
CHAPTER TWO

THE NEIGHBORHOOD UNIT CONCEPT

2.1 Introduction

This chapter has three objectives. Firstly it traces the origins and development of the neighborhood unit concept in city planning in Britain and America. It is here that the concept was first developed and experimented with. Secondly, the neighborhood unit as defined by Perry and as generally interpreted in the discipline of town planning is presented. Lastly, this chapter reviews some of the major criticisms appearing in contemporary literature.

2.2 The Origins of the Neighborhood Unit Concept

The neighborhood unit concept was first formulated by Clarence A. Perry and published in the Regional Survey of
New York and its environs in 1929. Perry put together ideas that had also been expressed by other people who were concerned with a systematic reform of city planning. One of these people was Ebenezer Howard, who started the Garden City Movement in England. He had published a book in 1898 entitled 'Tomorrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform' and in 1902, it was republished under the more revealing title, 'Garden Cities of Tomorrow'.

Howard was a social reformer and wanted to create a more livable environment for the people who lived in the towns. At this time in Britain, industrial towns were developing rapidly and new methods of factory production brought great wealth to cities such as Manchester and Birmingham. Unfortunately, this material prosperity only benefited the capitalists, and the property owners, and not the workers. Many of these workers were dispossessed and destitute agricultural labourers and other people who were formerly employed in cottage industry or home workshop. The responsibility of providing workers with housing was left to speculative builders whose mordus operandi was maximum utilisation of land and minimum expenditure on material and services. The houses built for the workers consisted of long rows of buildings along unlit and unpaved streets with no internal water supply or sanitary facilities; later, back-to-back houses were built in double rows under one roof with no separate water supply and with communal closets...
exposed in courts. The medical profession condemned these dwellings because they lacked ventilation and were injurious to health. Lack of privacy made decency impossible and undermined the health and morals of the tenants.

With the coming of the railway, began the urban sprawl; the middle-class workers, aided by cheap railway fares, moved into the suburbs and settled at lower densities. The conditions in the centre of the towns deteriorated as a result of this because only the poor, who could not live elsewhere, remained there and lived at very high densities in overcrowded conditions. After many protests, the speculative builders sought an alternative to the back-to-back house in the 'tunnel-back' form devised to meet by-law standards with minimum expenditure. A lot of land in the towns was covered with this kind of building known as 'brick boxes with slate lids' at a density of about 40 houses to the acre in seemingly endless rows of straight parallel paved streets. Although sanitation was improved, the environment was still poor because the houses were built with monotony and lacked basic amenities, such as playgrounds and open spaces.

It was against this kind of background, and more specifically in response to the living conditions in the cities in Europe at the turn of this century that Howard proposed the concept of Garden Cities. He proposed a cluster of
cities grouped round a Central City (so that) each inhabitant of the whole group, though in one sense living in a town of small size, would be in reality living in, and would enjoy all the advantages of a great and most beautiful city in which could be found the University, art galleries, theatres and so on, which no small town can afford. Each town in the cluster of cities would be a self-contained town of limited size with a population of about 30,000 people. This population would again be divided into units or wards of about 5,000 people.

Each ward "should be in a sense a complete town in itself" it should contain a cross-section of all types of people. The selection of the word "ward" implies that it should also be a local government unit. He emphasized that children must be educated near their homes and placed a school centrally in each ward; in the early stages of the town's life, he proposed that the schools should also be used as churches, meeting halls and libraries. He also advocated lower densities than those found in the central areas of existing towns, but higher than those found in the suburbs. Howard advocated for a compact town so that the land surrounding it could be reserved for agriculture which would also act as a green belt; no one was to be allowed to develop this land for suburban housing. In this manner, sprawl would be prevented and if the population
increased, another town should be started with its own green belt and be similarly protected. \[11\] The houses were to be of different sizes, each with its own gardens and all within easy reach of factories, shops, schools, cultural centres and the open country. To put his ideas into practice, Howard commissioned Raymond Unwin and Barry Parker to design and build the first garden city at Letchworth, Hertfordshire, some 35 miles north of London. The development, while somewhat slow, was successful from a financial stand-point as well as socially; and today with a population of 28,500, Letchworth is very much a going concern. \[12\]

In creating garden cities, Howard's aim was to combine the best features of town life and country life in a new form of urban settlement, the "garden city". This garden city would have a combination of the characteristics of the country such as the beauty of nature and pure air and water plus the characteristics of the town such as social opportunity, high wages and flow of capital. \[13\]

The conditions in the towns of America were not very much different from those in Britain during this period. So, almost at the same time as the Garden City Movement was evolving in Britain, the 'Community Centre Movement' developed in the United States. This movement aimed at animating civic life by providing a common local meeting place. \[14\] In 1910,
Ferry proposed the use of schools for communal activities after school hours and during summer months. In 1916 there was a planning competition in Chicago and the phrase, 'neighborhood unit' seem to have been used here for the first time.

In formulating the 'neighborhood unit' concept, Ferry used both the ideas expressed by Ebenzer Howard and others as well as his own experience drawn from where he lived in a suburb of New York. This suburb with a population of 5,000 people had a rich variety of local societies and social gatherings which people in the community enjoyed. He thought that the community would benefit by having a community centre where the social gatherings could take place. The community also lacked adequate shops and open places, a boundary and its own road system that did not have to carry through traffic. In addition of these things would, he thought, benefit the community. Applying this idea to the whole city, he said that, an urban neighborhood should be regarded both as a unit of a larger whole and as a distinct entity in itself. As a distinct entity in itself, it should consist of an internal circulation system, residential and commercial sites, recreation, education and certain other social facilities.

The 'neighborhood unit' concept as seen by Perry
was a scheme of arrangement for the family-life community. The scheme was to cover both dwellings and their environment, the environment being that "area which embraces all the public facilities and conditions required by the average family for its comfort and proper development within the vicinity of its dwellings." It was intended to aid the planner in the preparation of a site plan for residential development in which it was possible to go forward with construction without waiting for the planning of adjacent areas. This kind of scheme was suitable if house-building was to be carried out on a large scale, preferably, by a construction corporation. Before the municipality could give land and building permission to the corporation for a housing project, it would have to be convinced that the project would benefit the citizens. This concept would therefore help the municipality in deciding whether the project submitted by an corporation was admissible or not.

2.3. The Neighborhood Unit Concept as Defined by Perry

Thus, the neighborhood unit as defined by Perry and as generally accepted by town planners is a residential...
area which should provide housing for "that population for which one elementary school is ordinarily required, its actual area depending on its population density .... (and) should be bounded on all sides by arterial streets, sufficiently wide to facilitate bypassing, instead of penetration by through traffic .... (should include) a system of small parks and recreational spaces .... Sites for the school and other institutions having service spheres coinciding with the limits of the unit should be suitably grouped about a central point .... One or more shopping districts .... should be laid out in the circumference of the unit .... (and) the unit should be provided with a special street system .... being designed to facilitate circulation within the unit and to discourage its use by through traffic".\(^{17}\) (Figure 2.1).

First and most important in a neighborhood of families is the elementary school. Its central location and recommended size defines the physical extent of the neighborhood. Perry accepted the report of George D. Strayer and M.L. Rugelhardt which stated that grade-school children should not have to walk more than \(\frac{1}{2}\) mile to school and advised the provision of a school for every 1,000 or 1,200 children.\(^{18}\) This would call for an overall population of between 5,000 and 6,000 and presuming about ten families on acre, an area of about 160 - 200 acres or 64 - 80 hectares. A centrally located school in such a neighborhood could be
FIG. 2.1 NEIGHBOURHOOD UNIT PRINCIPLES.
Figure 2.1 shows the following neighborhood unit principles:

Area in open development preferably 160 acres. In any case it should house enough people to require one elementary school. Exact shape not essential but best when all sides are fairly equidistant from centre.

Shopping districts in periphery at traffic junctions and preferably bunched in form.

Ten percent of area to recreation and park space.

Interior streets not wider than required for specific use and giving easy access to shops and community centre.

Only neighborhood institutions at Community Centre.

A shopping district might be substituted for church site.
within a mile of the furthest house. The elementary school, and other public buildings for both children and adults should be located in the neighborhood centre. Children, said Perry, should never be required to cross a main traffic street on the way to school. For this reason boundaries of neighborhoods should be clearly defined with busy traffic venues forming obvious and effective limits for the neighborhoods. Streets within the residential area should vigorously exclude through traffic and have an entirely local function. They should be planned to lead naturally to the community centre, adding to the sense of physical unity. Clear boundaries therefore besides helping the residents to identify their neighborhood clearly in their consciousness would help break up extensive housing areas and create individual identifiable units. This kind of design would break the monotony and drabness of the large housing estates and create a more attractive environment.

The local shopping centre, the third element in the unit, needs to be nearby, segregated and adequate to the daily needs of the people. Perry placed the local shopping centre at the intersection of main streets bounding the neighborhood units. Any of the four intersections could serve parts of four neighborhoods. Such patronage should prove large enough to justify all needed community services.
Limiting the shops in this way would keep the business function separated from the rest of the neighborhood life and yet locate its centre not far off from the homes of the residents.

The fourth element in the unit is a system of small parks and recreation grounds amounting to about ten per cent of the total area of the unit. The greater part of this was to be at the centre and attached to the school, which was also to be used as a community centre. Small children's playgrounds were to be dispersed throughout the unit so that no child need walk more than a mile to one of them.

2.4. Criticisms of the Neighborhood Unit Concept

The neighborhood unit was generally advocated as the universal panacea for all the earlier failings in the design of residential areas. In spite of that, there has been a lot of controversy about the advantages and disadvantages of neighborhood planning.

The early protagonists of the theory emphasized its sociological advantages. Perry himself, the author of the concept, emphasized the sociological advantage of encouraging
the growth of the community by providing a meeting place and other services for the comfort and proper development of the family-life community. Dahir emphasized the point when he wrote that "an environment making for informal, friendly, and repeated contacts is a requirement of personal growth and psychological stability". The control value of neighboring was emphasized as an advantage of neighborhood planning. It was stated that conformity of social behavior and permanence of social structure is enforced by informal mutual supervision. The social disorganization found in the large city was attributed to the lack of informal means of social control. Clarence Perry referred to Cooley's and W.I. Thomas's discussion of the primary group and the constructive faces inherent in knowing your neighbor intimately.

Economic advantages of neighborhood planning which include among others a reduction of expenditure on the layout of the physical structure have not been refuted. It has been emphasized that the magnitude of the problem of urban transportation must seek a solution in bringing a larger number of institutions and facilities within walking distance of the home. The decentralisation of facilities also helps to keep free from congestion the centralised facilities and improves their utilisation. The uncontrolled urban development of cities in Europe and America could be prevented in Africa by using the neighborhood unit
plan. In addition, economies of scale are to be gained by large scale planning of residential areas. Mass production of housing leads to the adoption of economically superior methods than those used in the production of the individual family home. Where the needs for shelter for a large part of the population is envisioned large scale home construction ensures the economic advantages inherent in the provision of specialised rather than individualised services. All the members of the family especially those who are less mobile are sure to use the facilities found nearby.

Critics of neighborhood planning have argued that it encourages segregation of socio-economic groups. But the proponents of the concept have deliberately sought to create mixed neighborhoods containing a mixture of social and economic classes with an appropriate mixture of housing types. The critics have also said that it is not possible to create neighborhoods in the heterogeneous society of the city and make them function as those found in the homogeneous society of the rural setting. People in the city do not focus their interests on a particular locality; they are mobile and have city-wide interests.

The sociologists have attacked the concept on account of its architectural determinism. Such determinism holds that:
physical structures determine social behavior; that the relationship between these two factors is a one-way relationship in which social behavior is the dependent variable; and that the effect of good physical design on social behavior will be beneficial and not adverse.

In formulating the neighborhood unit concept Perry believed very strongly that social processes could be influenced, particularly the processes of human interaction, by the manipulation of spatial arrangements. Many sociologists, however, believe that neighborhood planning cannot sustain most of the claims made for it.

It represents an improvement rather than a transformation of land use planning .... (it) still concentrates on activities which affect land use .... in physical development rather than on social action .... The physical drives out the social in the land use planner’s approach.

L.E. White, an ardent advocate of social planning says, "Community is a living and vital reality, but because it is of the spirit, free and intangible, it cannot be planned anymore than freedom can be planned".

The rural community which the planners were trying to imitate in an urban environment consisted of families which formed a social group with a high order of social cohesion. They had known each other for a long time
and economic and social differentiation was slight. It was a homogeneous community. It is not possible, the sociologists say, to determine social life by the physical environment. The more people stay together, the more they come to regard themselves as members of the same community. They come to know each other and appreciate each other.

In the final analysis, however, it must be realized that the neighborhood unit concept originated in the Western world and has to be applied to African conditions with care. The next chapter will show how the neighborhood unit concept was interpreted for planning the African residential area in Nairobi.
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CHAPTER THREE

THE NEIGHBORHOOD UNIT CONCEPT AS INTERPRETED IN THE MASTER
PLAN FOR A COLONIAL CAPITAL

3.1 Introduction

The neighborhood unit concept was one of the principles adopted by the Master Plan for planning Nairobi as a colonial capital in 1948. It is important therefore to look at the neighborhood unit concept in the context of the Master Plan. This chapter will discuss the broader historical and socio-political context under which the 1948 Master Plan evolved, the origins and objectives of the Master Plan and finally, analysis of the neighborhood unit concept as interpreted by the Master Plan will be presented.

3.2 The Broader Historical and Socio-Political Context

Towns as centres of social and intellectual life,
of economic enterprise and of political activity developed in East Africa as a result of non-African enterprise. Europeans first came into East Africa as permanent residents in 1895 when Britain was finally committed to the colonization of East Africa. The main aim of the British government was to establish modern peaceful administration as a basis of an exchange economy. The first priority was the construction of the railway from Mombasa to Uganda to enable quick transportation of bulky goods. The second priority was the development of agriculture which was to be the mainstay of the economy and the third priority was the development of the towns as centres of administration and marketing.

After the building of the railway it was imperative that the land should be developed for agriculture to enable the railway to pay for itself. Fortunately the land in the Central Highlands of Kenya was suitable for European farming with its cool climate and fertile volcanic soils. In addition, most of the land seemed empty because many of the local inhabitants and their animals had died as a result of successive years of famine and extensive epidemics of small pox and rinderpest. European settlement was therefore encouraged and between 1902 and 1945 over 300,000 European settlers came to Kenya. The European settlers secured land in the Central Highlands which became known as the "White Highlands". In 1906 the
Secretary of State for the Colonies stated:

in view of the comparatively limited areas of the East African Protectorate climatically suitable for European cultivation, a reasonable discretion should be exercised in dealing with applications for land from natives of India, or other non-Europeans.... agricultural land in the highlands should be granted only to Europeans.3

This was the first racial privilege given to the European community in Kenya. Africans were restricted to the 'reserves' - special areas for tribal units - where they were supposed to continue without interference with the customary way of life including the practice of subsistence economy. The Africans were only to come out of the reserves if they wanted to work on European farms or in towns as labourers. The British government believed that the Africans could not contribute to the modern exchange economy because of their traditional methods of farming.

With the development of towns, the same policy of spatial segregation of different racial groups was followed. To begin with, the urban employer of cheap African labour did not worry about where the labourer lived. As a result the African labourer either lived in traditional huts outside the township boundaries or inside the township boundaries as a squatter. All the land in the urban area belonged to
either the government or Europeans who had bought it. The squatters in the urban area were evacuated in the same way as those on the European farms whenever land was needed for other purposes. The towns were regarded as "islands of health" for European settlement and Africans were regarded as temporary inhabitants. The Africans therefore could not bring their families in the town; they were in fact forbidden to do so and if found were punished.

As the number of African labourers in towns increased, especially those from distant parts who could not find accommodation outside the township boundaries, the urban authorities began gradually to accept them as an element in town life. The best the urban authorities could do was to define a special native location within the townships where the Africans could build their own houses and live as well as rent them out to fellow Africans. The land for residence and other facilities available to the Africans, however, were both inadequate and of very poor standards, as the following quotation shows:

It was disheartening to see legitimately employed Africans sleeping under the verandahs in River Road, in noisome and dangerous shacks in the swamp, in buses parked by the roadside and fourteen to a room in Pumwani, two to a bed and the rest on the floor.

The policy of spatial segregation of different racial
groups in the urban areas was recommended by Professor Simpson in 1913 when he stated that:

... the standard and mode of life of the Asiatic, except in the highest class do not consort with those of the European, and that on the other hand many European habits are not acceptable to Asiatics, and that the customs of primitive African unfamiliar with and not adapted to the new conditions will not blend in with either. In the interest of each community and of the healthiness of the locality and country, it is absolutely essential that in every town and trade centre, the town planning should provide well-defined and separate quarters for European, Asiatic and African ....

The colonial administration practiced racial discrimination in urban centres in order to maintain a high standard of living for the European community. The European community feared competition from non-Europeans in case the non-Europeans reached the same standards and challenged their racial superiority. The worst discrimination was found in the wage structure. As late as 1944, the median wage for an African employee was between 11 and 20 shs. per month whereas the lowest paid European worker earned 400/= per month. The minimum wage for an African worker was calculated according to the requirements of a single male adult worker with a very small margin above physical subsistence so that even if an African worker wanted to live with his family in town, he could not as the Carpenter Report pointed out in 1954:
We have to face up to the fact that for the great majority of the urban African labour force, married life is at present only obtainable at the sacrifice of health and decency. ¹

The European settler community who were benefiting from the low-wage economy wanted this state of affairs to continue. From the European point of view, "instead of an increase in money wages, it was but good sense to see a reduction in the cost of living." ² The low-wage economy was maintained in several ways. The most obvious one was the practice of payment in kind. The urban authorities instead of pressing for an increase in wages suggested the provision of food in municipal canteens and sub-economic housing provided by the municipality and employers. They argued that ill-nourished people made bad workers and were often ill. The Africans objected to this paternalistic attitude and knew that the Europeans were doing it deliberately to maintain their economic superiority. The Africans emphasized that they were not interested in becoming well-fed slaves. ³ They wanted to be treated on an equal basis with other races but the European administration was not prepared to do this until independence. Another obvious discrimination was found in commerce. African traders were restricted as to where they could practice business. The municipality undertook most of the business that the Africans could easily undertake such as the selling of beer. ¹⁰ The policy of not allowing Africans to participate in trade
could have serious political ramifications, warned the planners, "for there are many ways in which a man can apply his time less usefully than in the making of money". 11

Another aspect of the colonial policy towards urban Africans was that the town was not considered a suitable habitat for a permanent African society. Government policies generally emphasized the virtues of rural tribal societies rather than training an educated urban elite of Africans who could eventually take over the reins of power from the European settlers. Africans were regarded as temporary residents in urban centres. It therefore became the policy to house them relatively cheaply in low standard accommodation. Most of the urban Africans were also illiterate and unskilled. This was in the interest of the colonial administration and the employers because literate and skilled Africans could demand higher wages and better living conditions.

The colonial administration kept on reminding the African population in the towns that the Africans did not have any rights and privileges in the towns. Their proper place was in their tribal areas. The East Africa Royal Commission Report put it very aptly that "they are still, however, regarded socially and financially as liabilities for whose housing and welfare the urban
The colonial administration employed various devices to keep the unemployed and unemployable Africans out of the towns. Such devices as the deportation of undesirables, repatriation of the unemployed, passes, registration and curfew were all employed to keep the unwanted Africans out of the towns. The urban authorities justified their actions by saying that they wanted to safeguard property from criminal elements and that they could not afford to house an ever-growing mass of workers. Part of the reason, however, of removing the unemployed from the towns could have been a desire of satisfying European farming interests and of maintaining tribal life. The rural-urban migration was a world-wide phenomenon and could not be stopped by repressive controls as Tom Mboya noted in 1958:

The City Council has failed to grasp the simple fact that so long as Nairobi remains the capital of Kenya, and in this context the main industrial centre of the country, the majority of the able-bodied persons all over the country will trek towards this city for economic and social reasons.

The colonial policy towards the urban Africans up to 1948 can thus be summarized as follows. The urban centres established by the Europeans were to cater primarily for their needs. The first consideration was therefore the health of the Europeans: “centres had to be established
where (the Europeans) could live free from the dangers of tropical diseases. The African was not to become a permanent urban dweller. When it became necessary to cater for the increased African population in towns, the African had to be segregated in his own special location and special attention paid to the location in order to prevent any outbreak of disease. Africans who were not employed were not to live in the town. The Africans who lived in the town were not allowed to trade anywhere in the town or to build their own houses. This colonial policy was unsound as it was grounded on differences in race, political and economic power, standard of living, fear of competition and disregard of other people's rights to land.

3.3. Prelude to the 1948 Plan: The Growth of Nairobi

Nairobi began as a railway depot in 1899, following the decision by Britain in 1895 to connect the coast with Uganda by means of a railway. Work on the strategic railway started in 1896 and by 1899 had reached a point 327 miles from the coast almost half-way between the coast and its destination at Port Florence (now Kisumu) which lay
a further 257 miles to the north-west. This point, between the relatively easy terrain of the Athi Plains and the steeper slopes of the Central Highlands, seemed suitable to the railway engineer as a convenient halt before embarking on the difficult work of descending to the Great Rift Valley from the high Aberdares. Besides, there was ample flat land on the western edge of the Athi Plains for the building of station, workshop and yards as well as houses for the railway employees. Nearby was an elevated cooler area for the houses of senior railway officials. The water of the Nairobi river was adequate for the Railway community. The Railway authorities therefore decided to make Nairobi their headquarters.

Trouble began when the provincial administration also moved its headquarters from Machakos to Nairobi. The Railway authorities regarded Nairobi as a railway town and nothing more. The Chief Engineer had been granted permission to appropriate all land required for railway purposes. When the civil administration came to Nairobi, however, it claimed the control of land leases and settlements and this led to friction with the Railway authorities. It became difficult to integrate the Railway with the civil administration. The Railway was a large organisation compared to the provincial government. It had developed a technical
and administrative staff, which consisted of doctors, magis-
trates and police force. It had large funds at its dis-
posal and built many and impressive buildings. The pro-
vincial government on the other hand, had not adequate staff
to cope with the work of surveying and land division that
it was supposed to do to lay out the new and rapidly
growing township of Nairobi (Figure 3.1).

As the town continued to grow, Asian traders and
a large number of workers came to the town. 31,983 Indian
artisans, clerks and labourers had been imported for the
building of the railway. Indigenous African labourers
then numbered only 2,600. Besides the European officials
employed by the Railway and the government, shipping agents,
contractors, commercial people and big game hunters were
found in the town.

The biggest problem that Nairobi faced in the
early years was persistent outbreaks of plague. The
sanitary engineer and the medical expert attributed the
plague to the poor site. The site was considered poor
because of the black cotton soil covering the plains which
became very dry in the dry season and water-logged in the
wet season. It was during the latter season that the
disease was prevalent. The medical experts suggested
that the town should be moved a few miles further west
to a better site on the foot-hills of the Kikuyu escarpment
where the red soil drained better than the cotton soils.
FIG 3.1 NAIROBI, 1901.

SOURCE: W.T.W. Morgan, NAIROBI, CITY AND REGION.
and were good for construction purposes. The Railway authorities opposed removal on the ground that "as a station site, the level ground commends itself to a railway engine." The debate went on from 1902 to 1906 when Winston Churchill concluded that:

> It is now too late to change, and thus the lack of foresight and of a comprehensive view leaves its permanent imprint upon the countenance of a new country.

The most striking characteristic of Nairobi at this time was the poor sanitary conditions that existed in the town. "Hygiene had not extended into the realm of African city planning. As a public virtue, drains and cleanliness, like Godliness had still to penetrate the tropical Empire." Although it was known that plague originated from the Asian commercial-cum-residential area because of the lack of proper drainage system, a drainage system was not installed. The government lacked money for the improvement of sanitation. The commercial area of Nairobi was considered one of the most insanitary. The section of the commercial area occupied by the Indian bazaar consisted of "houses, or better, tin sheds, for they lacked windows, were used indiscriminately as dwelling houses, shops, stores, laundries, wash houses .... rats abounded and the general condition of life was miserable and filthy in the extreme." There was an outbreak of plague in this area in 1911 and again in 1912 and 1913. When Professor Simpson
came to advise he noted that even the Government officer and other public places had poor sanitary conditions. The claims of sanitation and public health were not receiving the attention they deserved. The European community thought that racial segregation and zoning was the answer to the problem of health and they termed the Asian community "inferior, insanitary and disease bearing". 

By 1906 the town had sorted itself into seven distinct areas. The different areas from the plains towards the uplands were as follows:

1. The Railway Centre.
2. The Indian Bazaar.
3. The European Business and Administrative Centre.
4. The Railway Quarter.
5. The Dhobi Quarter.
6. The European Residential Suburbs.
7. The Military barracks outside the town.

(Figure 3.1(b)).

From the beginning the European community in Nairobi as well as in the rest of the country did not want to mix and live together with other races. The European community regarded itself as superior and wanted to maintain that superiority socially, economically and politically. In
Nairobi although segregation as between Europeans and Asians was formally and explicitly rejected in the Paper No. 1922 of 1923, racial separation was maintained regardless by covenants which prohibited the transfer of leases and other property transactions between people of different races. The policy of segregation helped the European community to put aside for themselves large areas of land and to eliminate Asian competition. Africans could not compete because they did not have financial ability.

Another problem that faced Nairobi during the early period was land speculation. The first boundary of Nairobi was an arbitrary one and was defined as "that area within a radius of 1½ miles from the present office of H.M. Sub-Commissioner in Ukamba" (Figure 3.1 (b). Large tracts outside the boundary were alienated to private individuals with little thought to the future development of the town. Most of this land was held in speculation in the hope that the town's expansion would increase the value of the holdings. Occasionally European houses were built on these at low densities and as a result dwellings were scattered over an area of several square miles. The boundary was extended in 1919 to include some of the European residential areas and again in 1928 to include some more autonomous residential areas despite considerable resistance on their part.
peri-urban low density residential areas developed. There was no land use control and the European settlers were allowed to do what they liked in matters of land. By 1919 the area of the municipality was 6,400 acres of which 2,700 acres were for Europeans who constituted 10% of the population; 300 acres were for the Asiatics who formed 30% of the total population; and the African population who formed 60% of the population had no provision for land in the municipality. It took the colonial administration a long time to realize that this glaring inequality had disastrous consequences. The European community was enjoying such a high standard of living that they did not imagine that it would ever be different.

The European community was able to maintain a control over the affairs of the town because the municipality administration was dominated by them. Before 1919, however, there was no effective self-government by the municipality. The affairs of the town were looked after by a committee. A government officer was the chairman and the majority of members were officials. The committee was purely advisory; the real management of municipal affairs rested in the hands of the Protectorate government. In 1920, one year after Nairobi became a municipality, the number of councillors was fixed at 16, four of whom were offered to the Indian Community. Africans were not represented. In 1926 the colonial government sponsored the Nairobi African Advisory Council to channel communication between Africans and the
government. In 1946 the Advisory Council was given the right to send two representatives to the municipal council. For the first time African representation was "direct". 22

When the municipality took over the management of the township in 1919, the question of a native location was one of the important issues they took up. It was feared that the native villages that had grown spontaneously in and around Nairobi were breeding places for disease which could spread to other areas (Figure 3.2). These native villages were found in Parklands, Kilimani, Ngara and Pangani and as well as being insanitary, they were built on other people's land. It was necessary therefore to define a native location where roads, drains and clean drinking water would be provided. Africans could be allocated plots in this area to build for themselves proper huts and take in some lodgers. In 1919 the Council finally decided to occupy the location named Pumwani (lying on both sides of Nairobi stream). The area was capable of extension to the extent of at least 150 acres and was all on crown land. 23 Two native villages were cleared and the populations moved to Pumwani. By 1921, however, only a few plots had been allocated. One of the villages still existed in 1928 and another was still vexing the authorities in 1938.

The Council soon realized that the system of allocating plots and letting the Africans build houses
FIG. 3.2 SPONTANEOUS AFRICAN VILLAGES & THE FIRST OFFICIAL AFRICAN LOCATION OF PUMWANI.
for themselves did not provide enough accommodation for all who needed it. The Medical Officer reported in 1928 that:

The state of affairs in the native villages in Nairobi is well- indicated by the very high incidence of VD among not only adults, but also young female children .... (such) conditions .... can only exert a wholly harmful influence upon the new native coming from the Reserves to work in the town. The ideal solution is the provision of sufficient municipally owned and regulated houses of various types, suitable for the various social grades to be accommodated. The capital expenditure involved in such a scheme is very high, but it would probably be wiser to adopt it in its entirety and proceed with it as and when funds are available than to accept a less costly modification which would at best prove only a partial remedy. 24

As result of this it was planned to extend municipal housing. The first African public housing scheme was Kariakor on which £13,000 was spent. The quarters provided were only dormitories. The scheme was a failure and one third of them remained empty until the dormitories were portioned into small cubicles. The scheme was built in 1923 and was only filled to capacity in 1928 because of lack of alternative accommodation. Shaurimoyo was built in 1938 for the residents of Pangani village. The residents of Pangani, however, resented being moved into municipal owned houses; they wanted adequate compensation to enable them build their own houses but this was not granted by the municipality. 24 However, the
municipal village was near the sewerage plant and noxious industries. They were, however, forced to move by 1938 and the Bombay Chronicle reported that the "white men in Nairobi has by legalised violence effectively smothered the right of the native to peaceable residence in Nairobi."\(^{25}\)

In 1939 the Local Government wrote to the Council stating that:

The Governor in Council had recently had under consideration, certain aspects of the native problem arising out of urbanisation and has reached the conclusion that the ultimate solution was the provision of adequate and suitable housing at rents properly related to native incomes.\(^{26}\)

The Council agreed, but the war came and the need for economy was stressed. The Council was not willing to spend money on African housing but they were constantly reminded of the need for housing on sanitary and economic grounds. The Council also feared the effect of slump conditions on municipal housing. Overcrowding increased during the war by military requirements and Africans were migrating to Eastleigh, hitherto an Indian residential area and thus giving rise to complaints by Indians.

After the war both the colonial administration and the European settlers began to change their attitude towards urban Africans. The European employers whose chief interest was the efficiency and productivity of African labour paid
attention to the following points included in a memorandum on the housing of Africans in Nairobi in 1939:

It is conceded that the African in Kenya could be improved as a labourer and does not give the effectual output of which he is really capable. With better housing, apart from being free from those petty ailments which so often put him on the sick list, he would be capable of a higher degree of training. Instead of the frequent return to his Reserve, a desire which is only to be expected of a worker living apart from his wife, family, and home, he should stay longer, acquire greater skill, and give a greater return for his cost.

This is the origin of the "progressive" policy pursued by Nairobi Municipal Council. The writers of the report recommended "sub-economic housing (i.e. subsidized housing), enforcement of provision of housing by employers, permission to natives to build in temporary materials, and establishment of a semi-rural village on garden city lines." 29

Ziwani housing estate was consequently built in 1942 to house some 2,000 to 3,000 people. In 1943 Makongeni housing scheme, the present Kaloleni, was built to house some 3,000 people. Rentals were to be subsidized.

The progressive policy pursued by the municipal council would help change the social structure of urban Africans. In 1945 the African population was 90 - 96% male. 30 Although the Council had since 1939 considered the family in planning accommodation, family accommodation by both
employers and Council was frequently used to house single men. By 1947 the African population was still 76% male, 11% female and 11% child.\(^3^1\)

The main reasons why the administration and the European settlers wanted to improve the living conditions of the African population was fear of African discontent, crime, prostitution and the instability of a labour supply never resident long enough to be well-trained.\(^3^2\)

According to Parker the problem of housing in Nairobi could not be solved until (a) the disparity between agricultural and urban wages was decreased (b) the productivity of agricultural areas was increased and (c) some form of social insurance for old age or a wage level from which such provision could be made was introduced.\(^3^3\)

Sir Phillip Mitchell, governor of Kenya from 1945 to 1952 also believed in "effecting a radical transformation of the subsistence society in which the masses are still enmeshed"\(^3^4\) as one way of solving the urban housing problem. He hoped that industrialisation will take place and said that:

\[
\text{We do feel, however, that it is important that industrial undertakings should not be erected on unsatisfactory labour conditions and that the industries should be built upon the assumption that the employees will become completely urbanised with their families. This in turn means the provision of adequate and suitable housing and health services and the payment of adequate wages to maintain family life.}\(^3^5\)
It was realised more and more that "slum areas bred disease which spread to other communities, that bad housing led to social and moral (i.e. political) ills, and that better living conditions would hasten the day when we shall have an urban population of Africans with some kind of civic pride."  

The report of the Committee of Inquiry into Labour Unrest at Mombasa in 1939 stated that the creation of a permanent African population could not be achieved at existing wage levels. In the Committee's view, stabilization of labour was to be encouraged. This meant that wages had to be increased so that a married worker could support a family in town. According to Stren, this growing concern over the stabilization of labour outside the reserves was a response to the demands of war and the demobilization of troops together with increasingly industrialised economy, which brought many more Africans into the towns.  

It was hoped that a stable labour force could be made more efficient which was not possible under migratory conditions.

The history of Nairobi therefore up to the time when the Master Plan for a Colonial Capital was drawn up in 1948 shows the gradual change in policy towards urban Africans. As Stren puts it, "during the inter war period the govern-
ment's approach to the problem of urban Africans was essentially administrative: the objectives were maintaining law and order, ensuring the collection of tax, and keeping a reasonable level of personal contact with the shifting migrant population". The change in policy particularly after the Second World War on the part of both European officials and unofficials meant that they were now beginning to realise the political and economic importance of the urban Africans.

The large employers encouraged the 'progressive policy' of creating suitable conditions for Africans in the town because they were going to gain most from the stabilisation and efficiency of labour. The structure of the land ownership and residential pattern, however, remained the same. A large area of land was for Europeans only, followed by a smaller area for Asians and Africans occupied the least land to the east of the commercial and industrial zone (Figure 3.3.).

3.4. The Origins and Objectives of the 1948 Master Plan

According to the Mayor of Nairobi in 1948 the town of Nairobi had become sufficiently big to warrant a master
plan. Nairobi had developed rapidly from "a tiny wayside halt on a railway line" to become the commercial centre of East Africa and the Judicial and administrative seat of Kenya government.

During the interwar period the central part of Nairobi took on a proper urban look. Public buildings, new hotels and office blocks, club buildings and schools were built. Nairobi was the headquarters of the East African Command and the base of East African troops for the Abyssinian Campaign, the Middle East and the Asiatic regions of war. Nairobi was launched by these events as a "big city" which was reflected in its social service expenditure and the increase in rates and staff. During the war the population of Nairobi jumped from 65,000 to 109,000 inhabitants.

Thus, in the first fifty years of Nairobi's establishment it experienced very rapid development. Its position on the strategic railway and on the edge of the Central Highlands of Kenya helped it to grow into an important transport and market centre. The presence of an established community of European settlers in the Central Highlands ensured its continued growth because the settlers provided both the raw materials for export and the main market for imported goods. The railway and the roads that connected
Nairobi to all parts of East Africa made it an important communications centre. As a result the economic influence of Nairobi extended to the North-eastern part of Tanganyika and the whole of Uganda. The East African High Commission (now the East African Community) made Nairobi its headquarters as well as all the banks and most of the large commercial firms serving all the three East African territories.

All these developments left no doubt in people's minds that Nairobi was destined to become one of the largest cities in Tropical Africa. The Municipality realised this in good time and called for the preparation of the Master Plan. The Master Plan provided for limited and predictable change. It rested upon the assumption that social change would be slow and that the existing beautiful country should be preserved. The planners did not foresee the rapid rate of demographic growth and planned for a city of finite size. They envisaged a population of roughly 250,000 inhabitants as both likely and desirable by the year 1975 and aimed to confine further growth within the then existing boundaries of the municipality.42

The task of the planners was to find "a fruitful approach to planning matters"43 and to evolve "a pattern which will make for harmonious and balanced growth, eoc..."
accommodating the rapidly increasing number of persons and purposes which the town needs serve. 44

The main goal of the Master Plan was to guide "the general physical, economic and social development of Nairobi over the next 25 years. 45 The social objectives of the Master Plan were (a) to raise the standard of living and the cultural quality of the community's life and (b) to reduce tensions and to open up opportunities to the aspiring and the progressive. 46

The Master Plan was mainly a zoning plan. It gave form and assigned functions to the different areas which were to be connected by a new road system. Specifically, the Master Plan set out to fulfil the following programme:

1. To provide areas adequate in size for the probable future requirements of Nairobi for: residential, housing, commerce and business, industry, public buildings, recreation, etc.

2. To zone the above areas to ensure their most efficient inter-relationship.

3. To merge any new development into existing so that the values of existing sites and buildings
are not seriously disturbed, particularly in the business area. That is to say, we do not want a plan which will disrupt the gradual evolution of Nairobi, but rather a plan which will develop naturally out of the present land usage and particularly the present land values.

4. To establish a reserve of suitably placed land for a future Government centre of Kenya or of East Africa as a whole.

5. To establish reserves which act as "Contingency Zones" the use of which may be decided some time in the future.

6. To organize traffic circulation on a rational basis:

   (a) a clearly defined parkway system for fast traffic both for local and national needs.

   (b) a clearly defined system of local main roads feeding the parkway at restricted intervals.

   (c) the establishment of the principle of running cycle tracks through open spaces of neighborhood units and not along main roads.
7. To design a system of inter-linked open spaces for the use of the public as park and recreation land and for the building of public amenities proper to such open spaces (i.e. schools, clinics, libraries, meeting halls, local shopping facilities, etc).

8. To relate social and physical planning objectives:
   (a) to conserve land and prevent sprawl.
   (b) to promote stabilization of the urban African population and reduce horizontal mobility.
   (c) to lower the cost of living while raising the standard of living by means of neighborhood and factory estate planning and greater densities.

9. To increase civic consciousness by a grouping of social services in the centre of each neighborhood.

10. To plan in terms of African environment, to site buildings in their correct orientation towards the sun, and to establish principles for architectural control generally.
Analysis of some of these objectives as they relate to the neighborhood unit concept will be made in the following section.

3.5. The Interpretation of the Neighborhood Unit Concept in the Master Plan

According to the Master Plan, the neighborhood unit concept was adopted because it was felt that it was "the design which incorporates most effectively the principle of social organization". The town of Nairobi at the time the Master Plan was prepared consisted of a multi-racial society. There were three distinct racial groups - Europeans, Asians, and Africans. In all the stages of development the African Population was in the majority as the following figures show.
### TABLE 3.1

**The Population of Nairobi**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1906</th>
<th>1926</th>
<th>1936</th>
<th>1944</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>European</strong></td>
<td>559</td>
<td>2,665</td>
<td>5,600</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Asiatic</strong></td>
<td>3,582</td>
<td>9,199</td>
<td>16,000</td>
<td>34,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>African</strong></td>
<td>7,321</td>
<td>18,000</td>
<td>28,000</td>
<td>64,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>11,512</td>
<td>29,864</td>
<td>49,600</td>
<td>108,900</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Nairobi Master Plan for a Colonial Capital p. 43.

The society was not only divided according to race, although the racial origin was the basic and most important division; it was also divided according to tribal origins, religious creeds and language. The planners remarked that:
It is a fascinating task to investigate whether different planning principles should apply to each of these various peoples and their specific cultures. And indeed if an examination there emerge such striking differences in the management of those activities which are the subject of town planning, the Plan will have to particularise for each community.

Spatial segregation of the races had been advocated by the Simpson Report in 1913 and approved by the colonial administration. Even before 1913, the town had already sorted itself into Asian and European areas. The task of the Master Plan therefore was to devise different planning principles for each area. Thus the Plan was formulated within a spatial framework of segregation of the three races. This was evident in the statement of objectives where it was stated that the plan "will develop naturally out of the present land usage and particularly present land values". This meant that the planners were going to build upon the existing structure of the city which was divided up into three distinct residential zones based on racial origin — African, Asian and European (Figure 3.3).

The colonial planners tried very hard to hide the fact that they were applying different planning principles to the three different races in keeping with the general policy of racial discrimination. But this came out very
clearly in the zoning of Nairobi into fourteen major
uses (Table 3.2; Figure 3.4).

Only 20% of the total acreage was allowed for
African housing termed Official Housing while over 40% of
the total acreage was allowed for "areas of economic
residential development" which was to be occupied mainly
by the European community.

It had been stated that:

The Master Plan, however, is able to be
completely neutral on the subject of
racial segregation by being confined
to the principles of planning which
take their measure on the human and
technical needs.51

Yet in the same plan it was again stated that in
the "areas of economic residential development".

With some working out of densities in
the details of a statutory scheme,
however, it is inevitable that each
unit will in practice house a partic­
ular economic group and develop a
particular racial character as indeed
such units do in other parts.52

The planners were therefore not neutral on the
subject of racial segregation but supported racial segre­
gation and devised different planning principles for each
race. For instance, an average density of 15 persons on
acre was advocated for the European residential area
and 30 persons per acre for the African residential area.
### TABLE 3.2

#### THE ZONING OF THE MASTER PLAN INTO FOURTEEN USES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>USE</th>
<th>APPROXIMATE ACREAGE</th>
<th>% OF TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Kenya and Civic Centre: Buildings</td>
<td>58.2</td>
<td>0.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Kenya and Civic Centre: Open spaces</td>
<td>116.3</td>
<td>0.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Business or Commerce</td>
<td>229.5</td>
<td>1.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) Reserve for Business or Light Industry</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>0.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) Light Industry</td>
<td>125.5</td>
<td>0.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(f) K.U.R. &amp; H. Yards (existing and new)</td>
<td>127.8</td>
<td>0.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(g) Existing Heavy Industry</td>
<td>268.1</td>
<td>1.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(h) New Heavy Industry</td>
<td>726.7</td>
<td>3.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) Noxious Industry (excluding open space)</td>
<td>70.0</td>
<td>0.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(j) Residential (excluding open space)</td>
<td>8,244.8</td>
<td>38.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(k) Official Housing</td>
<td>3,594.1</td>
<td>16.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(l) Reserves for Official Housing Extension</td>
<td>716.6</td>
<td>3.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(m) Open spaces of all kinds excluding (b)</td>
<td>6,169.1</td>
<td>28.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n) Major Roads: trunk and circulatory</td>
<td>1,012.5</td>
<td>4.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>21,489.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Nairobi Master Plan for a Colonial Capital p. 57.
The African residential area was found to the east of the city centre on the black cotton soil plains which were known to be poor for construction purposes and of poor drainage but the planners merely extended African housing in this particular area. Thus continuity of the hitherto existing practice of racial segregation was implicit in the plan. Racial segregation was equivalent to economic segregation as the economic and racial groups overlapped very closely.

As already stated the Master Plan did not attempt to change the structure as it existed at the time of the preparation of the Plan. The European community, most of whom were in the high income group, had already bought land to the north and western half of the city and had built spacious houses with large gardens. The Asian community had been allowed to build houses in the north-east and eastern part of the city.

The neighborhood unit concept therefore was to be used mainly for planning and building houses by the Council and various government departments for Africans in the section of the city that had been designated as the Official housing zone. The concept was good but the motives behind the application of the concept reflected deeply vested interests and contempt based on racial prejudice.
The planners believed that some of the social problems that were being experienced in the towns such as juvenile delinquency and increase in crime were caused by the fact that tribal discipline and other taboos which used to regulate the lives and activities of the country's youth on a communal basis had been removed and nothing had been provided to fill the vacuum. It was important therefore to create communities in the city that would effect informal means of social control. They felt that although traditional African life was based on the tribe and clan, in the city, such institutions as the schools and the public places of recreation could help to bring people together instead of relying on tribal affiliation.

The most important reason, however, for adopting the neighborhood unit concept was the stabilisation of the labour force. A stable community would lead to a normal family life. Labour turnover would be reduced and skills could be taught. Self-governing location committees could be introduced. A stable community given the amenities and social facilities would have a home in the town and help to improve the environment.

In a similar manner, the East African Royal Commission Report remarked in 1955 that:
The first step in the formation of a healthy urban society is the growth of a settled urban population whose loyalties are directed towards their town rather than their areas of origin.53

The acceptance of the neighborhood unit concept, however, marked an important turning point in the attitudes of the colonial administration towards urban Africans. It meant that the Africans were now being accepted as an element in town life. The administration was moving away from the policy of building dormitories and cubicles for male employees only to building family units. It was hoped that the African would now settle down in the urban area and concentrate on becoming a more efficient worker. Wage increases enough to keep a man and his family were recommended but the Europeans feared that the African workmen might choose to devote increases not on food but on other goods.

The neighborhood unit concept was basically a western theory. In adopting it to an African city, it was realized by one of the planners that:

We must plan with humility admitting that as yet we do not know the idiom in which African urban development will express itself. If the success of English planning is as yet uncertain, it is likely that they will have to be greatly modified before they find a home in Africa.54

In the planning of the African residential areas
In Nairobi, the neighborhood unit concept was modified and called T.W. Neighborhood Design. It was named after the leader of the Tea, Thornton-White from South Africa, a country which was similar in many respects to the settler colony of Kenya.

In the T.W. neighborhood design the school is not made the focus of the neighborhood unit. The reason given was that "in the pre-literacy conditions of Africa, the school does not define the community with the clarity it does in Europe". In the same report, however, it was stated that:

> The development of the Social Services, particularly education, health and social welfare, are today considered the hallmark of a progressive society. It is for this reason that the primary school is adopted as the focus of the neighborhood unit. It is the school and its optimum capacity which determines the size of the neighborhood unit.

This just shows that different standards of planning were used for each community. Compulsory education was introduced for the Europeans and Asians of Nairobi in 1944 while the education for Africans was left in the hands of the missionaries. It was feared that compulsory education would draw many Africans to the city. However, a lot of space was left in the centre of each neighborhood unit for recreation and this space has been utilised for the building
of schools in the post-independent era.

T.W. neighborhood design also recommended a smaller population than 10,000 considered appropriate to Greater London. Thornton believed that a smaller population could be more easily knit together into a community which was the main reason for introducing neighborhood planning.

The shops, in the T.W. neighborhood design were to be grouped together with other public buildings in the centre of the neighborhood unit instead of at traffic junctions as proposed by Perry for the convenience of the
public and for economy in services and maintenance.

T.W. Neighborhood design recommended grouping of social facilities and design for multiple purposes whereby the social hall or the health centre was to be used simultaneously for recreation and to extend its work into health education and health promotion.

Thornton White believed that the neighborhood design is better than the mechanical nature and unpleasing monotony of the gridiron layout. The neighborhood design would help to prevent sprawl and ribbon development and encourage the healthy growth of a communal spirit and organization.
Finally the neighborhood unit was recommended because of its adaptability. An authority could select those objectives which it wished to adopt and discard others.

Neighborhood planning cannot, however, achieve the social and economic advantages it proposes unless it is seen in the wider context of the whole town and the whole country. It is no use planning for a few individuals in large urban centres to have all the amenities of modern living while the majority of the people in the countryside have very little or nothing at all. What the colonial government and planners for Nairobi did not realize is that in order to make the urban problem manageable, the conditions in the rural areas must be improved and the same kind of planning for amenities extended in the rural areas. This is the only way to make the people who would otherwise want to come to the city, stay in the rural areas.

3.6. Conclusion

The settler government in Kenya and planners in Nairobi used western-based theories to justify their own particular ends of maintaining economic superiority
of the settlers and the continuation of the practice of racial segregation. In the case of the application of neighborhood planning concept to Nairobi, it was noted for instance that "apart, however, from the failure to provide these services and amenities, in many estates, they are too rigidly planned and leave no room for organic growth". 57

At the eve of independence, the country was therefore faced with many problems in the urban areas which were created by colonial policies. Most of the problems were concentrated in Nairobi where it was reported that:

The immediate problem was one of overcrowding in African estates of the city and the consequent increase in the water demands and pressure on health services and clinics. These led directly to an accelerating deficiency in the African housing rent account and later in the year to proposals for rent increases. The presence of thousands of unemployed in the city was also reflected in the growth of unauthorized hawking and street trading and an increase in crime figures. Tenants of Council housing were obliged to feed their newly arrived tribal kin and this led to increase in family living costs. 58

Overcrowding increased just before independence because the restrictions to Africans of entry into the towns were removed. Now that anybody who wanted to stay in the town was free to do so, it was possible to see whether the informal means of social control could work. Before the inhabitants of the neighborhoods were very strictly controlled by the colonial administration and their point of
view was not considered important. The colonial government was more concerned with maintaining law and order than worrying about the creation of "a permanent urban African community with its own institutions and its own sense of responsibility and communal pride". 59

After independence, the African government was determined to show that the city of Nairobi belonged to the Africans and that the Africans should have all the amenities and facilities that were advocated in the neighborhood unit concept.

REFERENCES


3. Ibid., p. 19.


6. Parker, M. Political and Social Aspects of the Development of Municipal Government in Kenya with Special


10. Ibid.


22. Ibid., pp. 16 - 17.

23. Parker, op. cit. p. 78.


29. Ibid., p. 5.


31. Parker, op. cit. p. 98.

32. Ibid., p. 99.

33. Ibid., p. 100.


38. Ibid., p. 66.


41. Ibid., p. 44.

42. Ibid., pp. 44 - 45.

43. Ibid., p. 1.

44. Ibid.

45. Ibid.
46. Ibid., p. 43.
47. Ibid., p. 57.
48. Ibid., p. 3.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid., p. 57.
51. Ibid., p. 30.
52. Ibid., p. 64.
55. White, Silberman and Anderson, op. cit. p. 46.
56. Ibid., p. 30.
CHAPTER FOUR

APPLICATION OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD UNIT CONCEPT TO PLANNING OF
THE AFRICAN RESIDENTIAL AREA IN NAIROBI

PART ONE

4.1. Introduction

The purpose of this as well as the next chapter is to analyse the extent to which the neighborhood unit concept has been successful as a basis for planning the African residential area in Nairobi. The following criteria, which constitute the basic dimensions of the neighborhood unit concept, will be examined as they relate to the African residential area: (1) Area, Population and Density, (2) Boundaries, (3) Provision of schools, (4) Provision of shops and (5) Provision of community buildings.

The above criteria will be used to test the first three hypotheses stated in the first chapter of the study.
The last two hypotheses will be tested in the next chapter. These hypotheses are:

1. It is hypothesised that neighborhood planning ensures the development of a clean, safe and healthy environment for the residents.

2. It is hypothesised that neighborhood planning encourages the constant use of the institutions and facilities within walking distance of the home by all members of the family, especially women and children.

3. It is hypothesised that neighborhood planning encourages participation in educational and recreational activities and helps to prevent crime.

4. It is hypothesised that neighborhood planning helps to create a sense of belonging to a community brought about by face-to-face contact.

5. It is hypothesised that neighborhood planning produces economies of scale by large-scale planning of residential housing.
4.2. Area, Population and Density

According to the neighborhood unit concept, "a residential unit development should provide housing for that population for which one elementary school is ordinarily required, its actual area depending upon its population density". A residential unit development is based on the needs of all members of the family, specifically women and children; this is why the primary school is made the focus of the neighborhood unit. The size of the population of the neighborhood unit, therefore, is determined by the number of pupils that a primary school should contain, and the area of the unit is determined by the distance a child can walk to school. Having found the number of pupils a primary school should contain, it is then possible to calculate the size of the population which can provide that number of pupils, assuming that the proportion of the population that consists of children of primary school age is known. Using American statistics, Perry found that the number of pupils in a primary school ranged from 500 to 1,600 and the proportion of the children of primary school age, made up about one sixth of the size of total population. By this standard, the size of the population of the neighborhood unit would range from 3,000 to 10,000 people. By incorporating the distance factor, he showed
that a population of 6,000 people housed at the density of about 94 people per hectare would require an area of 64 hectares. Thus a school located at its centre would be within a quarter of a mile of almost all of its families. This was in agreement with what educationalists generally advocated about size of school catchment areas. For instance, one authority has stated that "in cities it is generally agreed that the contributing area for an elementary school may have a radius of one-half to three quarters of a mile". Other facilities and institutions required by the residents were found to have the same service radii as the primary school. The main reason for having the facilities within walking distance of the home was to ensure their constant use by all members of the family. The size of the neighborhood unit was also important for two more reasons, (1) the achievement of a distinctive residential quality and, (2) the possession of a rich associational life.

4.2.1. Population

In the planning of the African residential area in Nairobi, the school was not made the focus of the neighborhood unit as shown subsequently in this chapter; the 1948
Master Plan recommended a population of less than 10,000 people considered appropriate to Greater London. Thornton-White, the author of the Plan reasoned that "the exact figure should be a matter of experimentation rather than deductive logic; it will vary with the evolution of social cohesion and differ from race to race". What the colonial planners considered important was the creation of small communities for administrative purposes and the fact that small African populations could easily be controlled.

Thus, on the basis of Thornton-White's recommendations, neighborhood units with populations of between 3,000 and 6,000 people were planned for. At the same time, higher densities than 125 persons per net hectare and 50 persons per gross hectare recommended by Thornton-White were followed.
TABLE 4.1

PLANNED POPULATIONS AND DENSITIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kaloleni</td>
<td>3,060</td>
<td>187.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ubotela</td>
<td>6,200</td>
<td>335.0</td>
<td>217.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahati</td>
<td>3,984</td>
<td>227.5</td>
<td>152.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahati (African built)</td>
<td>2,814</td>
<td>330.0</td>
<td>117.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Bahati neighborhood unit consists of two housing schemes. Bahati (African built) scheme consists of private houses built by Africans for rental or owner occupation and the other scheme consists of houses built by the City Council. Today, the two schemes form one neighborhood unit. Kaloleni was the first neighborhood unit to be built in the study area.
in 1943. The building of Bahati and Mbotela commenced in 1953.

Three other neighborhood units that have been included in this study are Ofafa 1 and Ofafa Maringo, which form one neighborhood unit of Ofafa. Ofafa 1 was started in 1954 and Ofafa Maringo in 1958. Makadara the first site and service scheme was initiated in 1952. Jericho the latest to be built in 1963 consists of lower Jericho and upper Jericho also known as Lumumba. Ofafa 1 consists of 1,324 rooms and Ofafa Maringo, 1,400 family units. The rooms were planned for three people each and the family units for a household of five. The planned population of Ofafa was therefore 10,972 people. Makadara site and service scheme was allowed 700 plots. On each plot a five-roomed house could be constructed. The population expected was 10,500 if all plots were taken up and used for use construction. Jericho was planned for a population of 15,020 people in 3,004 family units.

It was possible originally to plan for small African neighborhood communities because the entry of Africans into Nairobi could be strictly controlled by the colonial government. During the Emergency, 1952 - 1955, it became obvious that it was not possible to deny Africans the right to migrate to Nairobi. For this reason, larger
neighborhoods had to be planned. The planned populations of Ofafa and Jericho are much higher than those of Kaloleni and Bahati because the former were built after the Emergency when it became impossible to restrict urban migration from rural areas.

The present populations of the neighborhood units range from 5,000 to 18,000 people compared to the planned populations of 3,000 to 15,000 people (Table 4.2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Neighborhood Unit</th>
<th>Planned Population</th>
<th>Present Population</th>
<th>Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kaloleni</td>
<td>3,060</td>
<td>4,962</td>
<td>1,902</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahati</td>
<td>6,798</td>
<td>11,976</td>
<td>5,178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbotela</td>
<td>6,200</td>
<td>13,165</td>
<td>6,965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makadara</td>
<td>10,500</td>
<td>15,611</td>
<td>5,111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ofafa</td>
<td>10,972</td>
<td>17,205</td>
<td>6,233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jericho</td>
<td>15,020</td>
<td>18,295</td>
<td>3,275</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The fact that the present populations of the neighborhood units are much higher than the planned populations indicate that there is much overcrowding in the neighborhood units. Overcrowding has been caused partly by the rural-urban migration since 1955. The 1948 Master Plan did not foresee the rising tide of migration when they projected a population of Nairobi of 270,000 people by the year 1975. This figure was a gross underestimation for by 1962 the population of Nairobi was 266,976 and had gone up to 407,736 by 1969 almost double the projected population for 1975. For this reason, it has proved unfeasible for the Nairobi City Council to adhere to the original planning strategy. The "site and service" schemes were introduced as an alternative planning strategy to the neighborhood unit concept. It was reckoned that neighborhood planning could not provide adequate housing for all the people who needed it. Between 1968 and 1971 when the production of houses by the City Council reached its peak, the Public Sector produced only 22.1% of the total estimated annual need in Nairobi.

The state of overcrowding has always been serious in Nairobi especially in the African residential area as explained in detail in chapter three of this study. In 1964, the United Nations Mission to Kenya on Housing pointed out that 52% of the African households in Nairobi were living
in overcrowded conditions, living three or more persons per room, that is six persons or more in a two-room unit and nine persons per room in a three-room unit. According to a survey carried out in 1971 the occupancy rates in the neighborhoods were as follows: Bahati 3.7; Mbotela 3.0; Maringo 3.2; Jericho 2.2; Makadara 3.3 and Kaloleni 4.5.

Several authorities have pointed out that overcrowded and insanitary conditions are a direct cause of ill-health, helping to spread tuberculosis and giving rise to such diseases as dysentery and malaria. In 1964, just after independence, a total of 2,506 deaths were recorded from the African population in the city. 19.4% of these deaths were caused by respiratory diseases, 16.2% died in early infancy and 13.1% died from other infectious diseases. Tuberculosis was the main respiratory disease causing deaths. According to the statistics from the chest clinic the number of cases attending the clinic increased from 612 in 1964 to 788 in 1969, and the population of Nairobi increased from 367,000 to 478,000.

The statistics from Maternal and Child Care clinics show the number of deaths recorded in the neighborhoods (Table 4.3).

In 1963 there were few deaths in Jericho and Maringo. These two neighborhoods were fairly new, Jericho built in 1963 and Maringo in 1958. They consisted
TABLE 4.3

DEATHS RECORDED IN THE CLINICS - 1963 AND 1973

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1963</th>
<th>1973</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jericho</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kakadara</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbotela</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maringo</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


of family units with good facilities such as electricity and water in every unit. Kakadara and Mbotela recorded more deaths because these old neighborhoods had communal facilities and consisted of single-room units. Overcrowding was therefore more serious in the latter two neighborhoods. By 1973, however, the sanitary conditions in the old neighborhoods had been improved and there was thus a reduction in the number of deaths. At the same time more people had filled the other two neighborhoods of Jericho and Maringo leading to an increase in the number of deaths.
The health officers in the neighborhoods interviewed are of the opinion that some of these cases of death originate from the rural areas.

Another consequence of overcrowding is that not all people can bring their families to the town. For this reason many people frequently visit their families in their areas of origin and cannot be committed to the town. Many of these people would like to live with their families in the city if adequate accommodation was available. Many families find that it is expensive to maintain two homes — one in the city and another in the rural area. The government should plan residential housing for the large numbers of people who are bound to live in the urban area, for Kenya is coming near to the end of the time when every African could expect to be a land holder in the Reserve by right of birth. The future must see increasing numbers of families living permanently under urban conditions, gaining a living from urban employment. It is estimated that the present urban population of just over 1 million will rise to about 8 million in the year 2000.

Already increasing numbers of families in the middle-income group are living permanently under urban conditions. The neighborhood of Jericho is inhabited by younger and better educated people than those found in
There is a high proportion of wives of whom 30 - 50% are employed in white-collar occupation. There is an awareness of class differences between themselves and the inhabitants of the old neighborhoods who are mainly low-income manual workers in the regular employment.\(^1\)

The absence of family life is usually expected to lead to drunkenness, prostitution, and venereal disease. Lack of proper employment for single women often makes them turn to prostitution or temporary marriages. The children who are born out of these temporary marriages grow up with little parental control and are likely to become delinquents.

From the interviews with the social workers the author gathered that the social evils mentioned above which are associated with the lack of family life are rife in the neighborhoods studied particularly in the old neighborhoods. For instance, Bahati neighborhood unit with a female/male ratio of 100/229 has a large number of uncontrolled youths from broken families which disintegrated during the Emergency. There are also many unmarried mothers who live by prostitution. The area is overcrowded with several heads of households sharing one room.

The incidence of crime is likely to be high where conditions of poverty and social instability exist. The
incidence of crime is not, however, very high in the neighborhoods as shown in Table 4.4.

From this table it can be seen that there are very few crimes committed in the neighborhoods of Kaloleni and Mbotela. The few crimes committed being assaults and house breaking. The other three neighborhoods of Bahati, Makadara and Jericho have almost the same number of crimes including murder, theft and offences against property. The neighborhoods of Bahati and Makadara have large numbers of Kikuyu people who were restricted to these areas during the Emergency. Many of these people are self-employed as small businessmen running 'kioski' and "matatu". These people cannot support families in town because of their uncertain employment. Having no family responsibilities nor property, these people cannot be expected to support the police authority. They struggle to survive in a harsh urban environment and have no extended family relationships. These people, therefore, commit crime more readily than the residents of Kaloleni and Mbotela, who have regular employment and support their families and relatives according to the old tradition. There are few Kikuyus in these two neighborhoods and few self-employed people. Jericho has almost an equal number of all the major tribes in Kenya and a mixture of the low and middle income people. The middle income people in this area have goods which attract thieves thus the large incidence of burglary,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Crime</th>
<th>Neighborhood Units</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kaloleni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assaults</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape and Indecency</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery with violence</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House breaking</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft of motor-vehicles</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft of motor-vehicle parts</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other theft</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offences against property</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other penal code offences</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft of cycles</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft from dwelling house</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other breakings</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft of motor-vehicle articles</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shop breaking</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft of over 400/-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Police Officer in charge of Eastlands. Unpublished data.
The most common types of crime in the neighborhoods seem to be housebreaking, burglary and assaults. Police officers in this area feel that many of these crimes are committed because of the unemployment that prevails not only in the neighborhoods but in the whole city. Many people who live in the neighborhoods try to eke out a living by the brewing of illegal nubian gin, by illegal hawking and formerly by running illegal taxis known as 'matatu' which have now been legalised. These types of people plus the large number of school leavers and unemployed youths make this area potentially dangerous unless something is done to alleviate the misery of the unemployed. In the past the extended family system has to a certain extent contained the large number of unemployed people but this is rapidly giving way as the cost of living rises. The incidence of crime is likely to increase unless something is done to help the large number of unemployed and underemployed people in this area.

Advantages of neighborhood planning of creating a safe and healthy environment for the family and neighborhood community cannot be realised unless poverty and social instability are arrested.
4.2.2. Density

The main author of the Master Plan recommended a net population density of 125 persons per hectare and a gross population density of 50 persons per hectare. But the planned and existing densities are higher than those recommended by Thornton-White (Table 4.5). The failure to maintain low residential densities can be attributed to socio-political factors. One of the major reasons for this can be attributed to the fear of the Europeans to allow urban Africans to own land in the town. As Stren puts it:

"While on the one hand the government accepted "the creation of a stable middle-class African population" as a policy goal; on the other it wanted to retain control over land tenure and to restrict mortgages "for the protection of African interests". Nor could plots be large or privacy assured, given the cost of land in urban areas where alternative demand by wealthier communities would keep up the price of land."

Thus, because of the vested interests of the Europeans, the colonial planners could not insist on low density residential areas for Africans. High net densities found in the study area have increased the rate of overcrowding. Although the planned and existing gross densities are higher than the density recommended by Thornton-White (Table 4.3), there seems to be adequate space for the social facilities such as clinics, schools, community buildings and local shops. The colonial administration was mainly...
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Neighborhood</th>
<th>Area in hectares</th>
<th>Planned Population Density</th>
<th>Present Population Density</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NET</td>
<td>GROSS</td>
<td>NET</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaloleni</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>47.8</td>
<td>187.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahati</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>52.4</td>
<td>183.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbotela</td>
<td>46.5</td>
<td>53.9</td>
<td>335.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makadara</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>48.2</td>
<td>807.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ofafa</td>
<td>45.9</td>
<td>58.3</td>
<td>238.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jericho</td>
<td>60.3</td>
<td>74.4</td>
<td>250.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Overall Recommended Density</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Nairobi City Council. Unpublished data.
concerned with the provision of recreational facilities for the African communities and so a large amount of open space was allowed for recreation. This open space has since then been utilised for other social facilities particularly schools during the post-independence era as shown later on.

Because of the high residential densities in the study area, however, the advantage of having institutions and facilities within walking distance of the home so that they can be used by all members of the family has been achieved. In addition, since the six neighborhood units are contiguous, it is possible for the residents of any one of the neighborhoods to use any of the facilities in all the six neighborhood units. The aim of the colonial planners was to build an "African town" in Nairobi rather than a series of uncoordinated estates. For this reason, all the neighborhood units today are within a circle of radius of one and a half miles (Figure 4.1).

At the same time, each neighborhood unit today is self-contained in terms of schools, social halls and/or community centres and shopping centres. The neighborhood diagrams (Figures 4.2 - 4.7) show how the actual area relate to a circle with a radius of one quarter of a mile from the neighborhood centre.
FIG. 4.1 THE EXTENT OF THE STUDY AREA.
4.3. Boundaries

An important criterion for judging the success of neighborhood planning is the presence of clear boundaries consisting of arterial streets. The clear boundaries carrying through traffic help to promote street safety within the neighborhood, enable the residents and the public at large to see the limits of the community and visualize it as a distinct entity and encourage the motive for local improvement by defining the area of local responsibility. The importance of clear boundaries was emphasized by Mumford who stated that: "to define the unit and keep it in form, there must be both a civic nucleus to draw people together and an outer boundary to give them the sense of belonging together".

The boundaries of the six neighborhood units are clearly shown on the diagrams (Figures 4.2 - 4.7) on which the names of the neighborhoods are also written. The boundaries are fairly clear although they do not all consist of wide arterial streets.

The boundaries of Kaloleni, which was built in the form of a triangle, consist of the Jogoo road on one side, a railway on the second side and a fence on the third side. The fence forms a boundary between Kaloleni and Makongeni housing scheme built by the Railway. The
internal streets of Kaloleni radiate out from the centre of the unit to serve the housing units (Figure 4.2).

Mbotela neighborhood unit was also built in the form of a triangle and is bounded by main roads on two sides and a railway on the third side. The internal roads are constructed to serve the housing units in the neighborhood only (Figure 4.3).

Makadara site and service scheme was built in the form of a semi-circle. It is bounded by a main road on one side, secondary roads on two sides and an open space on the remaining side. The internal streets are in the form of circumferentials designed to serve the housing units in the area only (Figure 4.4).

The boundaries of Bahati do not consist of arterial streets. Bahati is bounded on one side by the Nairobi river and on the three remaining sides by other neighborhood units. A secondary road (Heshima Avenue), instead of forming a boundary, passes through the neighborhood unit greatly reducing the road safety within the neighborhood (Figure 4.5).

The boundaries of Ofafa consist of wide arterial streets. Jogoo Road forms the southern boundary, Nile Road the eastern one, Nyasa Road the western one and Uaso Nyiro River the northern boundary (Figure 4.6).
the northern one. The internal streets form crescents and are made narrow to serve the neighborhood residents only (Figure 4.6).

Jericho neighborhood unit forms a rectangle and has two clear boundaries consisting of secondary roads on two parallel sides. On the remaining two sides the boundaries consist of other neighborhood units. The internal roads are constructed to serve the housing units in the area only (Figure 4.7).

The clear boundaries consisting of arterial streets and the arrangement of the internal streets so that they cannot be used by through traffic have been successful in reducing motor accidents within the neighborhoods. In addition, wheeled traffic has been separated from the pedestrian traffic by the provision of footpaths. It is shorter to use footpaths than roads so the pedestrian prefer using the former. The number of traffic accidents within the neighborhoods is negligible except in Bahati where children going to school are in danger when crossing the secondary road which carries through traffic to Thika.

It is important, however, to point out that motor accidents occur along Jogoo road almost everyday. This road forms the boundaries of several neighborhood units including Kaloleni, and Mbotela on one side of the road and Makadara and Ofafa on the other side. Both
LEGEND (FOR 42-4.7)

- School
- Clinic
- Shops
- Social Hall
- Community Centre
- Road
- Railway
- Neighbourhood Boundary

CITY STADIUM
CIRCLE IS A 1/4 Mile Radius

FIG. 4.2 KALOLENI NEIGHBOURHOOD UNIT.
FIG. 4.3 MBOTELA NEIGHBOURHOOD UNIT.

FIG. 4.4 MAKADARA NEIGHBOURHOOD UNIT.
FIG. 4.5 BAHATI NEIGHBOURHOOD UNIT.
FIG. 4.6, OFAFA NEIGHBOURHOOD UNIT.

FIG. 4.7, JERICHO NEIGHBOURHOOD UNIT.
children and adults are involved in accidents when crossing this road to use facilities in other neighborhood units. This road carries through traffic to the industrial area and to the airport. Instead of traffic to these places going through these densely populated residential areas, an alternative road could be constructed following the railway. In this way motor accidents along Jogoo road could be reduced and the safety of the residents enhanced. In the same manner another road could be constructed along the river to form part of the boundary of Bahati. Through traffic to Thika could then use this road instead of the road that goes through Bahati.

The clear boundaries of neighborhood units, which also correspond to local government ward boundaries thus help the residents and the public at large to see the limits of the community and visualize it as a distinct entity. The inhabitants of the neighborhoods might not tell the name of the street on which they live but they will certainly know the neighborhood by name and locality. The City Council has also marked the names of the neighborhoods in places where strangers can easily identify the neighborhoods.

Clear boundaries define the area of local responsibility particularly for the various officers who work in the
neighborhood centres. These officers through their work can encourage the residents to take a pride in their locality and help to improve it. If the officers working in each neighborhood unit can work together and involve the people, results of neighborhood planning such as promotion of health, maintenance of cleanliness and safety, would be better realized. By defining the area of local responsibility clear boundaries have to some extent helped the residents of the neighborhood units to take a pride in their locality and want to improve it but more could be done if the officials encouraged the people. During the colonial period competitions used to be held in order to encourage the residents to keep their houses and their neighborhoods clean. Although the City Council has employed adequate staff in the cleansing section of the Public Health Department to clean the drains and pick rubbish from the neighborhoods, their work cannot be done successfully without the cooperation of the residents.

4.4. The Provision of Schools

As stated in chapter three of this study the colonial planners believed that the development of the
social services particularly education, health and social welfare were the hallmark of a progressive society. Yet in the planning of the African residential area in Nairobi, the same planners felt that the school did not define the community with the clarity it did in Europe. They stated that:

In the planning of residential areas in Nairobi, it is important to change the emphasis. It should be remembered that in the pre-literacy conditions of Africa, the school does not define the community with the clarity it does in Europe. Schools are in themselves more segmented; there are state and mission schools, Mohammedan and Christian schools. Only a minority of children go to school. Nor is the community characterised by a normal age and sex distribution. A committee appointed to review the educational needs among Africans in Nairobi (December, 1943) reported that of 53,000 Africans in Nairobi, only 3,600 were children of school going age. The overwhelming majority of children in the age-group 10 - 14 years live in the reserves. Of the 3,600 children, only 44% attended school and of these the majority were in the two sub-standard classes.19

The colonial planners were trying to justify themselves for not making the school the basis of the neighborhood unit. They were trying to hide the truth which was that the colonial government was reluctant to provide educational facilities to all Africans in the city because educated Africans would demand equal rights with the Europeans and thus undermine their superiority. For
this reason literacy education for Africans was not encouraged. The responsibility of providing education to the African population was mainly undertaken by the missionaries who acquired land in the neighborhoods and built semgentised schools.

The point of making the school the basis of the neighborhood unit is to ensure that every child in the neighborhood of school going age can attend the neighborhood school. That is why the area of the neighborhood unit is defined by the maximum distance a child has to walk to school and the population of the neighborhood unit is determined by the number of families required to support one primary school.

Although the colonial planners did not make the school the major element of the neighborhood unit, by 1971 both Mission and City Council schools had been established in the neighborhood units as the following table shows (Table 4.6).

Basing their recommendations on the report of the Committee appointed to review the educational needs among Africans in Nairobi in December 1943, the planners could not foresee the provision of schools as indicated in Table 4.6.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Neighborhood Unit</th>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>Catholic</th>
<th>Protestant</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kaloleni</td>
<td>St. John's (R.C.)</td>
<td>773</td>
<td>517</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1,097</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mbotela</td>
<td>830</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1,196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Canon Apolo (P.)</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>454</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>646</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahati</td>
<td>Morrison (P.)</td>
<td>335</td>
<td>419</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>759</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bahati/Umuru (N.C.C.)</td>
<td>390</td>
<td>323</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>757</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maringo</td>
<td>St. Patrick's (R.C.)</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dr. Krepf (P.)</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>585</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makadara</td>
<td>St. Michael (R.C.)</td>
<td>643</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1,004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jogoo Road (N.C.C.)</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>666</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Martin Luther (P.)</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>616</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1,027</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jericho</td>
<td>Ofuna Jericho (N.C.C.)</td>
<td>477</td>
<td>506</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shule Road (N.C.C.)</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>552</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R.C. = Roman Catholic  P. = Protestant  N.C.C. = Nairobi City Council
According to this table there is at least one school per neighborhood of a population of about 5,000 people and two schools per neighborhood of population of about 10,000 people. On the average there is one school per a population of 6767. This is very similar to the figure of 6124 given by the theoretical study of Queen's Borough, N.Y. by Robert Whitten attached to Perry's monograph. This shows that the primary school is an important element of the neighborhood community even in Africa. Although the schools were eventually provided in every neighborhood unit, they were not strictly neighborhood schools because the selection of pupils to go to any school depended more on their religion than on their place of residence.

Another reason why the planners did not make the school the basis of the neighborhood unit was that urban Africans were not considered permanent inhabitants of the town; they were expected to leave their families in the rural areas while they came to work in the town for short periods only. For this reason the adult male/female ratio was reported to be as high as 5.4:1 and adult/child ratio 10:1 in 1911. Planning residential areas according to the neighborhood unit concept necessitated a change of attitude towards urban Africans whereby they would be considered as permanent urban inhabitants. The neighborhood
unit concept was expected to create a stable middle-class African population by providing family units and social facilities such as schools so that the Africans could bring their families to live with them in town. The planners, however, underestimated the change that would take place in the sex and age structure of the African population between 1948 and 1970. By 1962 the adult/female ratio was 2.48:1 and adult/child ratio 2.11:1. A survey carried out by the Nairobi City Council showed the following ratios in the study area.

**Table 4.7**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Neighborhood Unit</th>
<th>Female/Male Ratio</th>
<th>Child/Adult Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mbotela</td>
<td>100/150</td>
<td>100/133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahati</td>
<td>100/229</td>
<td>100/234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maringo</td>
<td>100/133</td>
<td>100/146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ofafa 1</td>
<td>100/141</td>
<td>100/148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makadara</td>
<td>100/187</td>
<td>100/315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jericho</td>
<td>100/150</td>
<td>No data</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Nairobi City Council, Town Planning Department.
Unpublished data.
By 1971, therefore, almost half of the African population in Nairobi consisted of children under 16 years of age. The schools that had been built by the missionaries to cater for fewer pupils had to be enlarged and more schools built by the City Council as the demand for primary school places increased. Table 4.8 shows the provision of primary schools in relation to the total population of children of primary school age in 1971.

**Table 4.8**

Primary School Places in Relation to the Total Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Neighborhood Unit</th>
<th>Present Population</th>
<th>Children of Primary School Age</th>
<th>Number of Schools</th>
<th>Primary School Places</th>
<th>Excess or Deficit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kaloleni</td>
<td>4,962</td>
<td>747</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1,097</td>
<td>+350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbotela</td>
<td>13,165</td>
<td>1,961</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1,606</td>
<td>-375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahati</td>
<td>11,976</td>
<td>1,802</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1,526</td>
<td>-276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maringo</td>
<td>17,205</td>
<td>2,590</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1,905</td>
<td>-685</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makadara</td>
<td>15,611</td>
<td>2,340</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2,697</td>
<td>+357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jericho</td>
<td>18,295</td>
<td>2,753</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1,540</td>
<td>-1,213</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Nairobi City Council - Town Planning Department. Unpublished data.
This table shows that some neighborhoods like Kaloleni and Makadara have more primary school places than the number of children of school age found in those neighborhoods and the rest of the neighborhoods appear to have inadequate primary school places for their school age population. The reason for this disparity is that children are allowed to go to any school in the city. When the City Council took over the running of education in the City in 1964, it was determined to provide primary education for all children who needed it and could afford to pay the fees. Since many children in Eastlands needed primary education more schools were built whenever there was place and no restriction was made to the school which a child wanted to attend.

The whole point of making the primary school the basis of the neighborhood unit was that it should be used by the children who reside in that particular neighborhood and to ensure that children need not walk more than three quarters of a mile to school. The present policy of allowing children to go to any school in the city rather than being forced to go to the respective neighborhood schools is followed for a number of reasons. One reason is that the schools are very close together and therefore a child in any neighborhood unit has more than two choices.
of schools within walking distance of his home. For instance, a child residing in Upper Jericho (Lumumba) has a choice of up to five schools within walking distance of his home - three in Makadara and two in Jericho itself. Another reason is that most schools in these neighborhoods were built by the different missions as shown in Table 4.5. These schools have now been secularized but they still have a strong missionary tradition. Parents therefore prefer taking their children to schools set up by their respective missions. These former mission schools are on the whole better than newly established City Council schools judging by the results in CPS (Certificate of Primary Education) examinations. Many parents prefer them for this reason.

The third reason is class consciousness. Those residents who are well-off prefer sending their children to former Asian and European schools in other parts of the city. This was encouraged after independence in order to break racial discrimination in schools.

If schools are to be made the basis of the neighborhood units, parents must be convinced that a high standard of performance in Certificate of Primary School examination will be maintained in their neighborhood schools. If all schools could be well managed so that the standard of education was high, parents would definitely
prefer their children to go to the nearest school.

4.5. The Provision of Local Shops

The neighborhood unit concept requires that one or more shopping centres adequate for the population of the neighborhood should be provided on the edge of the unit preferably at traffic junctions and adjacent to the shops of the adjoining neighborhoods.

In the study area, many of the shopping centres are found in the centre of the unit together with other public buildings like the social hall and the clinic. Kaloleni, Mbotela, and Maringo have one shopping centre each situated in the centre of the unit. Bahati, Jericho and Makadara have two shopping centres each. The shopping centres of Makadara are situated on the edge of the unit, while those of Jericho and Bahati are found in the centres of the units (Figures 4.2 to 4.7).

Perry felt that if shopping centres were placed on the edge of the unit adjacent to the shops of the adjoining neighborhoods they would offer a wider choice and competition. Although the shopping centres of Makadara were placed on the edge of the unit, they are not
adjacent to the shops of the adjoining neighborhoods nor at traffic junctions. So all the shopping centres in the study area were planned to serve primarily people of the neighborhood in which they are found. For this reason, the same kind of shops are found in each neighborhood as the following table shows (Table 4.9).

This table shows that the most common type of shop found in the neighborhoods is the General Retail Shop. This type of shop sells the type of goods required by the average home for their daily needs, such goods as foodstuffs and toilet goods. The general retail trader can also have an off-licence for selling bottled beer which he finds profitable. The general retail trader in the neighborhood shopping centre charges a bit more for the goods than some of the large traders in the city centre because he purchases smaller quantities of goods and cannot afford to give bargain prices. People who reside in the neighborhoods still prefer to buy these goods at the slightly higher prices because it is more convenient than going to buy in the city centre, especially if they have no private transport and many of the people who live in the neighborhoods do not own private transport.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Neighborhood</th>
<th>General</th>
<th>Butcher</th>
<th>Hotel; Bar Restaurant</th>
<th>Dry Cleaners Tailoring</th>
<th>Whole Sale</th>
<th>Carpentry</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kaloleni</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mtotera</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nkedara</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahanji</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maringo</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jericho</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Report for the Department of Social Services and Housing.
butcher shops. The butcher shops are essential in the neighborhoods because many people do not own cold-storage facilities so they buy their meat whenever they want to eat it. General retail shops and butcher shops are the two types of shops that are absolutely essential to the people who live in the neighborhoods.

The relationship between the population served and the total number of shops can be seen in the following table (Table 4.10).

From this table, average population per general and butcher shop is 823 people. Another popular type of shop in the neighborhoods is the bar. Average population per bar in the neighborhoods is 1927.1.

Since it is the policy of the government to encourage African businessmen, the neighborhood shopping centres provide very good training ground for the emergent entrepreneurs. The traders are small businessmen running the shops mainly as individuals. The business turnover is not large, but there are signs of some traders enlarging their stocks and providing a larger variety of goods. Some traders when they find that they are not doing well in one particular type of business change onto another or give up the business. In future the more experienced African
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Neighborhood</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Total No. of Shops</th>
<th>Population per Shop</th>
<th>Population per General and Butcher Shop</th>
<th>Population per Bar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kaloleni</td>
<td>4,962</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>330.8</td>
<td>551.3</td>
<td>992.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibotjla</td>
<td>13,165</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>692.9</td>
<td>1,097.1</td>
<td>2,194.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hakadara</td>
<td>15,611</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>421.9</td>
<td>578.2</td>
<td>1,561.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahati</td>
<td>11,976</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>342.2</td>
<td>443.5</td>
<td>1,710.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maringo</td>
<td>17,205</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>955.8</td>
<td>1,564.1</td>
<td>344.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jericho</td>
<td>18,295</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>457.4</td>
<td>703.7</td>
<td>1,663.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Average number of people per shop:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>533.4</strong></td>
<td><strong>823.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,927.1</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 4.10.**
TOTAL NUMBER OF SHOPS AND POPULATION PER SHOP
businessmen will probably run fewer larger shops in each neighborhood shopping centre providing a variety of goods. The type of shops will still be general retail and butcher shops. The larger shops will be able to charge almost the same price as in the city centre which will make housewives choose the neighborhood shopping centre most of the time because of convenience.

Bars in the neighborhood shopping centres are preferred by many people in the city because prices charged are lower than those in the city centre. Bars will therefore always be an important component of the neighborhood shopping centre.

In the study area there are several other shopping facilities that compete with the shops in the neighborhood shopping centres. Because of the poverty and unemployment that prevail in this area, many people have turned to trade, legal and illegal, in order to earn their living. There are both licenced and unlicenced hawkers who go round selling all types of goods to the people in the neighborhoods. These hawkers have very attractive terms as they allow payment over a period of time and charge less than in the shops. Markets have been built by the City Council to absorb some of the hawkers and these markets sell the same things as the shops except for vegetables which are to be found in
the markets and not in the shops. Other vegetable stalls have mushroomed in any convenient place in the neighborhoods and these are growing bigger and bigger everyday and selling other goods as well as vegetables. Besides, there are a large number of "home shops". These are residential premises which are used as shops during the day time and as sleeping quarters at night. All these activities constitute the "informal" sector of Nairobi economy.

The bars compete with the illegal brewers who charge less because they use their own houses and do not employ any labour. There are no hotels and restaurants serving food in the neighborhood shopping centres, hotels are found in the markets or tea is served in "kiosks" found at any convenient location in the neighborhoods.

In the planning for the provision of local shops in a new neighborhood of low and middle income people in a city such as Nairobi, all these factors have to be taken into account. For example, the calculation of population per shop does not make sense unless all these other trading premises are considered. Although the development of the "informal" sector should be encouraged, it needs to be guided and legalized so that better economic returns are realized and health hazards avoided. The colonial planners did not
care much about the well being of Nairobi's African population so they did not allow for such activities.

The formation of trading associations seems to be the answer to the problem of the many people in the study area engaged in a variety of illegal trading activities. If for instance, all the "kiosks" owners formed a trading association, they would be able to set up better business than is possible by an individual 'kiosk' owner. With the help of the planning department of the City Council, they would be shown the right places to set up the bigger kiosks. This kind of cooperative development in the urban area would go along way in improving the economic conditions of the urban poor and help to solve Nairobi’s burgeoning unemployment problem.

4.6. Conclusion

The application of the neighborhood unit concept has been examined in this chapter with a view to evaluating the first three hypotheses stated in chapter one. In concluding this chapter, a brief attempt will be made to review those hypotheses in the context of the above discussion.
The first hypothesis that neighborhood planning ensures the development of a clean, safe and healthy environment for the residents is true. The neighborhood units are kept clean by the cleansing staff of the Public Health Department of the City Council. An Estates Officer, employed by the City Council, is in charge of the housing environment in his estate and part of his duty is to ensure that the environment is kept clean. The work of the Estates Officer is facilitated by the clear boundaries which identify his area of responsibility. The Public Health Department also ensures the prevention of diseases through immunisations and the care of mothers and children. Cleanliness is emphasised as a preventive measure in the spread of disease. Safety from motor accidents has been achieved by curbing through traffic. The internal roads made narrow to cater for the needs of the neighborhood units only do not carry through traffic. Most of the boundaries consist of wide arterial streets that carry through traffic.

The second hypothesis that neighborhood planning encourages the constant use of the institutions and facilities within walking distance of the home by all members of the family, especially women and children is also true to a large extent. The primary schools are all within walking distance of every home and are constantly used by
the children. It has not been possible, however, to force children to attend neighborhood schools partly because in the past the schools were not made the basis of the neighbor-
hood units; they were segmentised and after independence children were allowed to attend any school in the city to overcome racial discrimination in schools. The shops are also within walking distance of every home and are used by all members of the family. Formal trading activities, however, are having great competition from the informal sector. Because of unemployment, many people in the study area have turned to trade in order to earn a living. Some of these trading activities like running of food 'kiosks' can be a danger to health if they are not practiced under hygienic conditions. Cooperative venture among the traders might be the answer to the problem of trade and unemployment in this area.

The third hypothesis that neighborhood planning helps to prevent crime is only partly true because other factors such as poverty and overcrowding tend to promote crime. There is much overcrowding in the study area and many people living in the area are either unemployed or underemployed. Lack of employment or uncertain employment means that men cannot bring their families to the town.
Absence of family life encourages both men and women to indulge in anti-social behavior.

Despite the shortcomings, there is no doubt that the neighborhood units studied represent a more satisfactory environment than was the case in the old housing estates of the colonial period. The post-independence planners have greatly improved the conditions in the neighborhood units by filling in the gaps left by the colonial planners in the application of the neighborhood unit concept.

REFERENCES

1. It was necessary to divide this material into two chapters because otherwise it would have made a very long chapter.

2. Chapter One of this study.


4. Ibid., p. 97. Perry citing the Committee on School House Planning of the National Education Association.

5. Ibid., p. 98.


12. Werlin, H.H. In his Thesis Problems of Corporation in African Local Politics noted that by 1962, 150,000 Africans were considered landless and that among the Kikuyu 30% were landless and 30% had sub-economic holdings. The average per capita income was £253 in Nairobi and £21 in the rural areas and this difference in income was the major cause of the rural-urban migration.


15. Ibid.


17. Perry, loc. cit.

18. Mumford, L. "In defence of the neighborhood". In Wheaton, Milgram and Meyerson, op. cit. p. 120.


5.1. Introduction

In this chapter an attempt will be made to analyse to what extent the provision of community buildings has been successful in promoting the sense of community among the residents of the neighborhood units. The last hypothesis stated in chapter one that neighborhood planning produces economies of scale by large-scale planning of residential housing will also be examined.
5.2. The Provision of Community Buildings

The neighborhood unit concept makes provision for a community centre which should consist of a primary school, a branch of the public library unless this is included in the school plant, a community building for social, club and indoor recreational activities. Perry proposed that a community building should be combined with the school and should possess an auditorium equipped for stage productions, a gymnasium, a pool and some smaller meeting rooms. "If school, library, community house and church can be grouped around a common in the centre of the unit", said Perry, "that will be the most convenient arrangement for the residents". He added that "the community buildings should have a dignified design and should face a square .... the square itself will be invested with a meaning, a symbolism, more significant than the sum of its parts. It will be a visible sign of unity .... It will function as the place of local celebrations".

Kaloleni community centre is the best example in the study area of a community centre built along the lines of the neighborhood unit concept. It is well described in the report on African housing compiled by G.C.W. Ogilvie, who wrote that:

The centre of the village comprises buildings of communal nature such as African shops, a branch post office,
a small welfare clinic and a social centre in which provision is made for reading, writing, recreation and games, feeding and facilities for occasional cinema shows.

Such buildings face the village green and are separated from the houses by a traffic road in the form of an encircling oval. Radiating from the centre of this oval are roads and paths which tap the housing areas. In addition to the communal centre, provision is also made for children’s playground and shelters, school, playing field, allotment gardens and a bus shelter.\(^3\)

The inclusion of a branch post office, a Superintendent’s office and a small welfare clinic among the community buildings by the colonial planners reveals a lot about their reasons for accepting the neighborhood unit concept as a method of planning. The major reason for accepting the neighborhood unit concept for planning residential areas was that it facilitated racial discrimination. A branch post office was not necessary in every neighborhood unit, but it was provided here so that the Africans could use it and not mix with the Europeans in the post office in the city centre. The clinic was the most important part of the neighborhood community centre. Health services were extended to the African community in the neighborhoods in order to safeguard the health of the European community. The clinic staff were mainly concerned with preventive measures through health education and maternal
and child care. In this way they hoped to prevent ill-health and disease.

The provision of community buildings in the neighborhood units was undertaken by the Municipality and the Churches (Table 5.1). The Municipality has built clinics in every neighborhood unit and social halls in Kaloleni, Mbotela, Bahati and Jericho. Jericho has two social halls. The churches have built community centres in Makadara, Maringo and Bahati. The Municipality built social halls because it was impressed on them during the colonial era, when they were very reluctant to spend any money on welfare facilities for Africans, that:

- The beneficial occupation of leisure,
- the provision of an interest in life,
- the promotion of a sense of community are major social needs in the town as vital as the maintenance of law and order and protection of public health.

Without such services, the native in the town spends his time in discontented brooding or in seeking the undesirable artificial stimulation of drinking, gambling and brothel.  

Activities carried on in the social halls are therefore an indication of "the beneficial occupation of leisure, the provision of an interest in life and the promotion of a sense of community". Social halls were meant to cater for all people in the neighborhood, children, adult men and women. A day nursery school was opened in the premises of each social hall to cater for children. Centres were opened
TABLE 5.1.

PROVISION OF COMMUNITY BUILDINGS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Neighborhood Unit</th>
<th>Social Hall</th>
<th>Community Centre</th>
<th>Clinic</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Kaloleni</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4,962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Makadara</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15,611</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Bahati</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11,976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Mbotela</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13,165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) Maringo</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17,205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6) Jericho</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18,295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>5</strong></td>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td><strong>9</strong></td>
<td><strong>81,214</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Community centres were planned to function as social halls, so in each of the neighborhood there is at least a social hall and/or a community centre. The average population served by each social hall or community centre is 10,152 people. The average population served by one clinic is 9,024.
in each social hall for the instruction of women in Domestic Science. Evening continuation classes, adult literacy, indoor and outdoor recreational activities were provided for men.

By 1960 there were three social halls, at Kaloleni, Bahati and Mbotela and below are the activities that were carried on in them for the whole year.

### TABLE 5.2
ACTIVITIES IN SOCIAL HALLS, 1960

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE OF ACTIVITY</th>
<th>KAJOLENI</th>
<th>BAHATI</th>
<th>MBOTELA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cinema Shows</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meetings (including church services)</td>
<td>492</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea parties</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African ngoma</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variety Shows</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boxing tournaments</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exhibitions</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choir festivals</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult literacy</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Club activities</td>
<td>436</td>
<td>298</td>
<td>392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.C.C. election meetings</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police road safety lectures</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.C. Baraza</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dances</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Report for the Department of Social Services and Housing 1963.
The beneficial occupation of leisure was thus provided by cinema shows, African ngoma, variety shows, boxing tournaments and club activities which included indoor and outdoor recreation and dances. Most of these activities were provided on neighborhood basis except for those that took place occasionally and involved competitions such as boxing tournaments and choir festivals.

The provision of a meeting place helps to create a sense of community. Human beings are social beings; they like meeting together in small or large numbers to talk about a variety of subjects. It can be seen from the table on type of activities carried on in the social halls that many meetings took place in the social halls, some of these were church services. Club activities also involve groups of people uniting to form a club and performing an activity thus creating a sense of community. Women formed their own clubs according to their interests based on Domestic Science and were shown cinema shows separately.

During 1972, the following activities were being carried on in the social halls (Table 5.3). Revenue collected from the use of these social halls is also shown.

Social halls were established mainly for recreation, but those in charge of women's, children's and family welfare felt that the African women would benefit from some fundamental
## TABLE 3.3.

### ACTIVITIES IN SOCIAL HALLS, 1972

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CINEMA SHOWS</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jericho</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>712 times @ 20/= 10,840.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahati</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>82 times @ 20/= 1,640.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lumumba in Jericho</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 time @ 20/= 20.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHURCH SERVICES</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lumumba</td>
<td>225 times @ 5/= 2,125.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahati</td>
<td>273 times @ 5/= 1,365.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaloleni</td>
<td>56 times @ 5/= 280.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbotela</td>
<td>512 times @ 5/= 1,560.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jericho</td>
<td>454 times @ 5/= 2,267.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COMMITTEE MEETINGS</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jericho</td>
<td>155 times @ 5/= 775.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbotela</td>
<td>102 times @ 5/= 516.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahati</td>
<td>166 times @ 5/= 832.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaloleni</td>
<td>669 times @ 5/= 3,345.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lumumba</td>
<td>11 times @ 5/= 55.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GENERAL MEETINGS</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bahati</td>
<td>8 times @ 40/= 320.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaloleni</td>
<td>51 times @ 40/= 2,035.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jericho</td>
<td>9 times @ 40/= 360.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbotela</td>
<td>1 time @ 40/= 40.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DANCES</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kaloleni</td>
<td>11 times @ 60/= 680.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbotela</td>
<td>9 times @ 60/= 560.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jericho</td>
<td>19 times @ 60/= 1,120.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahati</td>
<td>3 times @ 60/= 150.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lumumba</td>
<td>5 times @ 60/= 290.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 5.3 (CONTD)

TABLE 5.3 (CONT'D)

PARTIES:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Cost (R)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kaloleni</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1,872.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahati</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>300.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jericho</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>700.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lwumuhu</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>220.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbotela</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>80.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NEGOMAS AND CONCERTS:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Cost (R)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bahati</td>
<td>12.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ADULT LITERACY:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Cost (R)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jericho</td>
<td>222.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Report for the Department of Social Services and Housing, 1972.
education and community development. In 1955, cottage centres were opened in Kaloleni and Mbotela where women were taught sewing, hygiene, child-care, first aid and homenursing. In 1959 Ofafa Training Centre, built exclusively for the use of training women in homecraft, hygiene, child-care and dress-making, was opened. Training of women was also carried on at Kaloleni, Mbotela and Makadara. At the end of June, 1963, Mbotela Training Centre was closed because of low attendances and lack of staff. Other training centres were established at Babati and Jericho. Women made use of these training centres as the following figures for 1967 show (Table 5.4).

Training centres for women were started when many African women were illiterate and lacked formal education. Adult literacy was therefore part of the training. Centres were established in each neighborhood in order to encourage as many women as possible to attend classes. But even so, in some neighborhoods the attendances were so low that the training centres had to be closed. Today, women and men have almost the same standard of education and most of the young people found in town are literate. The courses taken in training centres are rapidly losing the appeal they had on women especially now that women cannot easily obtain employment after finishing their training. Since these training centres offer first class training in simple domestic
### TABLE 5.4.

MONTHLY ATTENDANCE IN TRAINING CENTRES 1967

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Neighborhood Centres</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ofafa</td>
<td>Jericho</td>
<td>Kaloleni</td>
<td>Bahati</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Report for the Department of Social Services and Housing, 1967.
science, it would be a pity if they were to be closed because of low attendances. What the City Council could do is to let the primary schools in the neighborhoods use these facilities. Besides removing the burden of teaching domestic science to girls in schools from the City Education Department, which is not doing it well at the moment, the use of training centres by the schools would bring closer the two departments of the Council and show them one way in which they could work in harmony.

Clinics are provided in each neighborhood unit, where the units are large like Jericho, Maringo and Mbotela, there are two clinics in each unit. The clinic was a community building and was supposed to extend its work into health education and health promotion. It was suggested that social activities such as the vegetable club, the health and beauty class and the intimate chat on family problems could be organised from the premises. Today, health education and health promotion is done by the clinic staff through lectures and demonstrations. The staff, however, has no time to engage in social activities such as the vegetable club and the beauty class.

Church community centres were set up in the neighborhoods where there were no social halls. Their aim was "to
establish family life which had been in danger of disintegration from the emergency and the system of migrant labour and to develop a spirit of neighborliness among Africans who were no longer bound together by the ties of family, clan or tribe. They aimed to reach all members of the family, the adults, the young people and children of both sexes. The church community centres were therefore to perform the same functions as the social halls.

Activities in church community centres at Bahati, Maringo and Makadara are similar to those carried on in social halls except that church community centres are also concerned about the spiritual needs of the people. Also church community centres work with the people and try to provide them with what they want. In the past the emphasis was on recreation, but today it has changed to education. Courses in typing, book-keeping, domestic science for girls are common activities in all community centres and now the trend is to build hostels for girls and boys in these community centres. The community centres do not operate on a neighborhood basis since they are not found in each neighborhood.

Having looked at the various activities that take place in the social halls and community centres, the author will now show whether these activities have succeeded in
promoting a sense of community among the residents. The author will also point out how administrative measures can encourage and facilitate social unity and social vitality.

5.3. The extent to which the provision of community buildings has succeeded in promoting a sense of community among the residents.

5.3.1. Importance of Leisure Activities

The colonial planners hoped to promote a sense of community largely by providing leisure activities. Social halls were consequently built with facilities for indoor games and space was provided outside for outdoor games. Leisure activities were also supposed to allay discontent and to control possible outbreaks of disorder.

Today the most popular indoor games are boxing, karate and weight lifting. These games are played mainly by the youth of ages between 18 and 35 years. They like these games because they teach them self defence and keep them fit. The City Council takes great interest in boxing
and provides qualified coaches. Other indoor games that take place in the social halls are badminton, table tennis for younger people and cards and 'ajua' for old people.

The most popular outdoor game is football. There are football clubs in Kaloleni, Mbotela and Jericho. Bahati, a predominantly Kikuyu area, has no football club.

Besides games, drama is another activity that takes place in social halls. Taumi drama club of Bahati is the most successful. It was given much help by volunteers from Denmark in 1965 and has performed many plays ever since.

At one time day dances known as 'boogies' were very popular in the social halls but these were banned by the government. It was claimed that students attending these dances neglected their studies and that though the dances were supposed to be for young boys and girls, some irresponsible older men used to attend them with bad intentions.

The study of the leisure activities in the social halls revealed the following shortcomings. Only a small proportion of neighborhood population partakes in leisure activities. Rooms provided in social halls cater for small numbers of people - committee rooms 40 people, games rooms 60 people, TV rooms 100 - 150 people and main halls 200 - 300 people. TV rooms are usually packed full and some people stand outside when there is a good programme on. Main halls are fully packed when the cinema shows are on. Participants
in the different games are mainly young males and they do not normally exceed thirty.

The organization of games is done by a sports committee which includes among others the Assistant Welfare Officer and the Councillor of the ward. Each game has its own officials who are responsible for recruiting members and looking after equipment. Successful games like boxing have qualified coaches who help to give members an interest in the game.

The problem in using games for promoting unity is that the members for each game are few and they are not constant. The numbers, however, could be enlarged by providing qualified coaches and if the games were interesting more people would be encouraged to attend regularly.

Drama clubs could also be used for promoting unity by getting people who are knowledgable to organize and by encouraging African drama. Drama appeals to many African youth and it could be used to teach the public at large African culture and African values. Traditional dances could go hand in hand with drama as a means of promoting African culture. African culture could very easily be cultivated in the neighborhoods because of the inter-mixture of tribes. People in each neighborhood regardless
of tribe, religion or class could be encouraged to bring
forth their different cultures to be formed anew into a
common African culture. Functions could be organised for both
the adults and the youth together on a neighborhood basis
so that the young can learn from the old. All these requires
a mature enlightened Welfare Officer who understands the
needs of the community and who can plan for the aim of
achieving social unity.

Activities in the social halls are mainly attended
by the youth most of whom have been born in Nairobi. They
all understand and speak Kiswahili and have no strong links with
their areas of origin. It is convenient for most of these
young men to attend activities in social halls in the neighbor­
hoods in which they reside unless one is not found there.
One can therefore discern some sense of community developing
among these urban youth. For instance, when inter-hall
competitions are held, it is important to identify oneself
with a particular hall and thus a particular neighborhood.
Since the number of youths in the neighborhoods is almost
half the number of adults (Table 5-5) the feeling of a
sense of community among the youth reflects quite favourably
on the whole community.
TABLE 5.5

CHILD/ADULT RATIO IN THE NEIGHBORHOODS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Neighborhood Unit</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Adults</th>
<th>Child/Adult Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bahati</td>
<td>4,211</td>
<td>7,619</td>
<td>1.1/1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaloleni</td>
<td>2,130</td>
<td>2,657</td>
<td>1.1/1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jericho</td>
<td>7,883</td>
<td>10,103</td>
<td>1.1/1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbotela</td>
<td>4,898</td>
<td>7,990</td>
<td>1.2/2.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 1969 Census

5.3.2. Importance of Meetings

The main reason for building social halls, however, was to provide a meeting place for the people in the neighborhood. It was hoped that by meeting together the residents of the neighborhood would come to consider themselves as members of the same community. There are three types of meetings that take place in the social halls: committee
meetings for a few people, maximum of forty; general meetings for a large number of people for which permission must be granted by the provincial commissioner; and lastly church services.

There are many committee meetings but these are mainly on tribal basis and they discuss the welfare of the home district rather than the welfare of the neighborhood. There are also many church meetings and these are also concerned mainly about the welfare of the people in the whole city rather than the neighborhood.

General meetings are either political or called by the Councillor to discuss the affairs of the neighborhoods. Of all these meetings general meetings called by the Councillor are the ones that can be used specifically to promote a sense of community among the residents of the neighborhood. Unfortunately they are only called before elections and the residents know that whatever is being said is being said to get whoever is contesting in the Council. Once these Councillors are in the Council, no more meetings are held and they lose contact with the electorate. A well-meaning councillor could do much in promoting a sense of community among the residents in his neighborhood by holding regular meetings and discussing with the residents about their needs and problems.
5.3.3. Importance of Other Factors

Another factor that may have hindered the development of the sense of community is the high extent of residential mobility in the neighborhoods. In the past the mobility within the low-income housing estates tended to be very high because as the better paid people who lived in these neighborhoods moved to better houses outside the study area, the lower paid ones moved in to take the houses. More recently, however, with the rising cost of everything, people who moved out of the estates have wanted to come back because of almost double rise in the rent in the better houses. The residents of the neighborhoods in the study area have become more or less permanent and would not let go their houses even if transferred to other towns. People in the low-income and middle-income group find that this is the best area in which they can live according to their means and so quite a considerable number especially in the older neighborhoods of Kaloleni, Mbotela, Bahati and Ofafa have stayed there for at least five years. Although the housing units are small, they are in permanent material and the rents are reasonable as Table 5.6 shows. Although the residents of these neighborhoods have been made to stay there for a long time by circumstances beyond their control, their staying together for a long time has helped them to form communities based on their common needs and problems.
### Table 5.6

SIZE AND RENT (OLD AND NEW) OF HOUSING UNITS IN THE NEIGHBORHOODS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Neighborhood Unit</th>
<th>Year(s) Built or opened</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Total Units</th>
<th>Total Rooms</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Old Rent</th>
<th>New Rent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kaloleni</td>
<td>1943</td>
<td>1 rm</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>43/=</td>
<td>57/=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 rm</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>60/=</td>
<td>78/=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 rm</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>582</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>75/=</td>
<td>95/=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 rm</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>90/=</td>
<td>114/=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahati</td>
<td>1954</td>
<td>1 rm</td>
<td>1,965</td>
<td>1,965</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>39/=</td>
<td>49/=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbotala</td>
<td>1954</td>
<td>1 rm</td>
<td>939</td>
<td>939</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>39/=</td>
<td>49/=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ofafa l</td>
<td>1954</td>
<td>1 rm</td>
<td>1,324</td>
<td>1,324</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>39/=</td>
<td>49/=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maringo</td>
<td>1958/9</td>
<td>2 rm</td>
<td>1,378</td>
<td>2,756</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>103/=50</td>
<td>129/=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 rm</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>120/=</td>
<td>160/=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jericho</td>
<td>1962/3</td>
<td>2 rm</td>
<td>332</td>
<td>664</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>88/=50</td>
<td>107/=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 rm</td>
<td>2,360</td>
<td>4,720</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>106/=</td>
<td>129/=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 rm</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>936</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>143/=50</td>
<td>160/=</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


R = rental
5.3.4. Importance of the Community Centres

The municipality, besides providing social halls, also assisted in the establishment of community centres by religious bodies. Community centres are found in Makadara, Bahati, and Ofafa Maringo. The Prebysterian church which runs Bahati Community centre is to establish another community centre at Makadara. A third community centre is to be established at Makadara by the African Brotherhood Church. There are also two community centres at Jericho run by the Anglican Church and the Catholic church. Previously the community centres at Ofafa, Bahati and Makadara were run by funds and staff from overseas. This has been discontinued. The community centres today rely on local funds and local staff.

Community centres from the beginning have tried to offer more than just recreation to the residents. They wanted to stabilise labour by offering courses such as carpentry and typing to those who could not get regular employment because of lack of training. They tried to give to the people what the government could not. The National Christian Council of Kenya has been very active in trying to create employment by the establishment of cottage industries in the community centres.
The people who take advantage of courses offered in the old established community centres of Bahati, Ofafa and Makadara come from all over Eastlands and even further, but the newly established community centres intend to serve the neighborhoods in which they are situated. The community centres could go a long way in promoting a sense of community among the residents because they, more than the social halls, meet the pressing needs of the people by offering employment and training for school leavers. Many of the Welfare Officers interviewed felt that if the social halls could offer vocational training and employment through cottage industries they would be more appreciated by the residents than when they offer recreational activities only. The present community centres, however, have not been successful in promoting a sense of community among the residents of any one neighborhood because they do not concentrate on a particular neighborhood.

5.3.5. Importance of Women's Training Centres

It has been said that women and children make more use of the facilities provided on a neighborhood basis because they are less mobile. Training centres for women were started in the neighborhoods in the social halls to
Teach general household management. The aim of the training centres was to offer fundamental education and community development among women in each neighborhood. Cooperative efforts were to be encouraged as well as interest in community needs and village work. Today, training centres are found in Kaloleni, Bahati, Jericho and Maringo where women attend classes everyday. During the colonial period the attendances were high because women lacked fundamental education and were getting it from the training centres. Today the attendances are going lower and lower because many girls are taught in school and the courses offered in training centres do not readily offer opportunities for employment as before.

As stated before the role of the training centres could be enhanced if they extended their services to the primary schools. The training centres have very good facilities for teaching home science by the staff provided by the City Council. These facilities are not being used to the maximum because most of the women who are working have no time to use them even if they wanted to and the other women are not prepared to waste time on something that will not get them employment. If the schools used them, these facilities would be used to the maximum and the Education Department would certainly appreciate the service.
5.3.6. The Clinic as a Community Building

Another community building where women meet is the clinic. Maternal and child care clinics are found in every neighborhood unit. The colonial administration provided for clinics in order to prevent disease which could spread from the African residential area to other areas in the city. Each clinic serves a population of about 9,000 people and concentrates on preventive medicine such as immunisations, family planning, lectures and demonstrations and ante and post natal examinations.

The clinics more than any other community buildings serve the neighborhoods in which they are found. The Public Health Department of the Nairobi City Council ensures that only the residents who live in the neighborhood in which the clinic is found attend that clinic. The staff does not only talk to the women in the clinic while giving lectures and demonstrations (Table 5.7 and 5.8) but they also visit them in their homes. The women who attend clinics are able to discuss their problems within the clinic as well as in their homes. The clinic is thus used both for the provision of health and health education.
### TABLE 5.7.

**ATTENDANCES IN CLINICS IN 1973**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Jericho</th>
<th>Ofafa</th>
<th>Mbotela</th>
<th>Nakadara</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Children's Clinic</td>
<td>23,913</td>
<td>13,734</td>
<td>10,506</td>
<td>9,929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women's Clinic</td>
<td>32,207</td>
<td>30,206</td>
<td>19,247</td>
<td>18,085</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 5.8.

**ATTENDANCES IN CLINICS IN 1964**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Jericho</th>
<th>Ofafa</th>
<th>Mbotela</th>
<th>Nakadara</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>7,704</td>
<td>11,356</td>
<td>10,137</td>
<td>6,249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>6,382</td>
<td>5,433</td>
<td>4,011</td>
<td>4,500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comparison of the attendance figures in these two tables show that there has been a large increase in attendances from 1964 to 1973 particularly in the women clinics. The reason is that more women are living in the neighborhoods and more are free to come from the rural areas to use the facilities in the town. The high attendances also show that the clinics are constantly used by women and children.

5.3.7. Role of the Social Workers

The planners provided facilities in the neighborhood units which were expected to promote social unity and social vitality. The municipality and the religious bodies have employed social workers whose job is to organize the people into social groups so that they can lead better lives. Unfortunately social workers in the neighborhoods deal mainly with the destitutes. The most successful social group today is found in Bahati and was started off by volunteers from Denmark. They started with a small capital of about 200/= and after two and a half months they had made over 1,000/= worth of handicrafts. By 1971 there were fifteen women who earned a total of 10,581/=.

Social groups like this one could be organized in every social hall by the social workers. Social workers
usually get provisions for the needy and some money from the municipality and other voluntary organisations but these are usually distributed to the needy as they come. A better method should be found of dealing with the needy and the formation of social groups seems to be one way.

The Social workers could also incorporate the work of the Field Nutrition Scheme and take the responsibility of finding out the cases of malnutrition and kwashiokor and giving out milk. The present system whereby the Field Nutrition scheme is treated separately and separate staff employed for this purpose is a waste of both money and staff. The method of distributing liquid milk to children outside social halls is colonial and should be stopped. Instead powder milk should be bought and kept by the social worker who should know best about the needs of the community.

5.4. Economic advantages of neighborhood planning

The main economic advantage of neighborhood planning is the economies of scale gained by large scale planning of residential housing.

The colonial administration by building African
housing on the neighborhood unit concept was able to save money by the construction of single-storey terraced houses with communal latrine and washing facilities. The cost of construction, however, was higher than it should have been because of the colonial policy of building African housing on Crown Land which happened to be on black cotton soil. The presence of black cotton soil made the foundation work expensive because the cotton soil has to be completely removed in order to lay the foundation on the hard rock below. The building of single-storey houses was also slightly expensive on land and services but the double-storey houses could not be built without the installation of a main sewerage. The colonial administration before 1958 catered mainly for bachelors although it was stated that the units should be capable of being converted from "bachelor" to "family" quarters at little or no expense. It was realized that ultimate saving would be achieved if latrine and washing facilities were provided on a family basis.

Neighborhood planning made the colonial planners re-consider the construction of single-storied houses in straight lines for they presented a monotonous and unattractive environment. The planners realized that by grouping different units together and by slight variations in the plan, monotony could be avoided. The planners also thought of introducing
double—storey buildings which would produce a more pleasing architectural effect. Two—storey development could also allow for an increase in population density where land was scarce. It was now the duty of the planners to convince the government and the municipality to install a main sewerage to enable this kind of development to be feasible.

The colonial administration was not able to install a main sewerage in the old neighborhoods of Kaloleni, Bahati, Mbotela, Nakadara and Ofafa I but this was done soon after independence. In the newer neighborhoods of Jericho and Ofafa Maringo, however, the colonial administration planned comprehensively and installed a main sewerage and therefore double storied houses were built forming a more attractive environment. The housing units were built for family rather than bachelor accommodation but families could let one or two rooms to lodgers thus reducing the rent payable by the main tenant. The layout provided for individual flush toilets and individual gardens for each house. The houses were grouped in such a way that there was provision for open spaces surrounded by groups of houses to encourage the atmosphere of communal life. Although the rents for these houses were slightly higher than for the housing units in the older neighborhoods, people were prepared to pay these because of the good houses and facilities like electricity and water in the houses.
The colonial administration thus achieved economies of scale by large-scale planning of residential housing.

5.5. Conclusion

This chapter, like the fourth chapter, has examined the application of the neighborhood unit concept with a view to evaluating the fourth and fifth hypotheses stated in chapter one. In concluding this chapter therefore another brief attempt will be made to review these hypotheses in the context of the above discussion.

The above discussion has concentrated on evaluating the hypothesis that neighborhood planning helps to create a sense of belonging to a community brought by face to face contact. The evidence available indicated that the provision of community buildings such as social halls, community centres and clinics in which various social activities take place cannot be used very successfully as a base for promoting a sense of community. However, social activities can be used to provide an interest in neighborhood life which may gradually and eventually lead to the promotion of a sense of community. It is important to remember that "the development of a community cannot be promoted successfully from outside or imposed by authority from above; it is
product of the uniting in a common enterprise of both statutory and voluntary effort". The statutory authorities help the development of a community by creating an adequate physical structure and providing adequate social amenities but it is only the people who can make the most contribution to the "full and satisfying life" in the community. But before the people can make this contribution, they need to be guided in the right way by leaders who are well-informed and dedicated to their course. It is therefore important to engage and encourage the right type of local leadership to take up responsibilities in the neighborhoods.

The economic advantage of large-scale planning of residential housing must be emphasized as an important consideration in evaluating the neighborhood unit concept. In a developing country, where financial resources are limited, methods of planning that maximise the uses of limited resources should be encouraged.

REFERENCES

1. Perry, op. cit. p. 102.

2. Ibid.


CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

6.1. Introduction

The general objective of this study, as stated in chapter one, was to review the neighborhood unit concept as it has been utilised for planning residential areas in the city of Nairobi. The neighborhood unit concept is essentially a western concept and therefore it is important to review its application to a non-western city. The specific objectives of undertaking this study were to examine the theoretical weaknesses in the concept as well as shortcomings in its application in the city of Nairobi. Attention was focussed on examining the role of the neighborhood centre as an organising node for the neighborhood.

6.2. Application of the Neighborhood Unit Concept in a Non-Western City
to planning the African residential areas in Nairobi has been quite successful in creating a clean, healthy and safe environment for the residents of the neighborhood units. This is because the neighborhood units were planned by the City Council which takes good care of both the houses and the physical environment.

The City Council has been also successful in maintaining health standards by operating clinics in every neighborhood unit which deal mainly with preventive medicine. Immunisations and health education are emphasized in the clinics in order to prevent the occurrence of disease.

The neighborhood unit concept has also been successful to a certain extent in maintaining street safety in the neighborhoods by curbing through traffic. It has not been possible, however, to maintain street safety in the whole of the study area because a major highway, the Jogoo Road, forms the boundary of several neighborhood units. This busy highway should, if possible, be re-routed to avoid passing through this very densely populated residential area. It should follow the boundary between the residential area and the industrial area.

One of the major failings in the application...
of the neighborhood unit concept in Nairobi has been caused by the rapid rate of urbanization which was not envisaged by the colonial planners who planned and built the neighborhood units. The neighborhood units were originally planned for small populations of between 3,000 and 10,000 people yet today there are many more people living in these areas than was planned for. One serious consequence of this is overcrowding with a large number of inhabitants who are either unemployed or unemployable. Because of overcrowding, many people are forced to leave their families in the rural areas. Absence of family life, besides defeating the main social aim of neighborhood planning i.e. the creation of a stable community, also encourages other social evils such as crime, juvenile delinquency and prostitution. It is therefore important to review the application and relevance of the neighborhood unit concept to see how it can be modified to suit conditions of rapid urbanization.

For instance, under the existing circumstances of rapid urbanization, bigger neighborhoods should be planned for, with a population of at least 10,000 people. A population of 10,000 people would require two schools, two shopping centres, one social hall and one clinic, as shown in the diagram below (Figure 6.1). Extra space should be allowed for in each neighborhood for other purposes that are not
FIG. 6.1, A CLUSTER OF NEIGHBOURHOODS
realized when the neighborhoods are initially planned.

It would seem that overcrowding in the neighborhood units has been caused by the post-independence policy of the City Council of building more tenant purchase schemes than rental schemes. During the post-independence period, 44.9% of the housing schemes built by the City Council have been tenant purchase compared to 38.9% rental and 16.1% site and service. Although the City Council spent 48.0% of its income on housing between 1964 and 1970, 2/3 of the total capital expenditure was spent on tenant purchase schemes. Most of the low-income group cannot afford tenant-purchase housing; this is why there is overcrowding in the rental housing units built before independence because they are preferred by lower income group than those constructed since independence. There is a strong case therefore for constructing more rental schemes for the large number of low-income people based on the neighborhood unit concept.

The main weakness of the concept seems to be making the primary school the basis of the neighborhood unit. In the study area, to begin with, the school was not made the basis of the neighborhood unit. Eventually, however, schools have been established at the rate of one school for a population of 6,000 people. Some of the neighborhood
units studied have two schools and some have only one school. It is not possible to ensure that children attend neighborhood schools because of historical factors as already explained in chapter four. Although the provision of schools is very important to the community, it should not be emphasized as the criteria for determining the size of the community.

The study also revealed that although constant use is made of shopping centres which are mostly located in the centre of the unit, it is not easy to determine the right number of shops required per given population because of the large number of informal trading activities in the area. At the moment, no records are kept of these informal activities because they are classified as illegitimate-trading activities. If shopping centres could be located on the periphery of the neighborhood, adjacent to the shops of other neighborhoods (Figure 6.1) this might encourage a more orderly development of 'informal' sector in the larger shopping district. Informal activities should be legalized because they are important in solving the unemployment problem and for providing services to the people.

Although there is a large variety of social activity in the neighborhoods, the findings of the study indicate that, they have not succeeded in creating a sense of community among the residents. The main factor hindering
the development of the sense of community in the neighborhoods seems to be the lack of proper local leadership. The residents seem to appreciate those social activities that are economically productive. For that reason such activities as vocational training should be encouraged and qualified personnel engaged to develop them.

Finally, large-scale planning of residential housing has managed to produce a large number of houses for the low-income group. 92% of the housing in the study area is appropriate for the three lowest groups in Nairobi earning up to £300 per annum. Although the building costs have risen since independence, the City Council should find means and ways of building low-cost housing by emphasizing the provision of minimal accommodation for the low-income group plus other social facilities such as schools and clinics.

If the government is committed to its obligation "to ensure equal opportunities to its citizens, eliminate exploitation and discrimination and provide needed social services such as education, medical care and social security" it should consider the application of neighborhood unit concept in planning. The policy of mobilising private capital for low-cost housing stated in Sessional Paper No. 5 of 1966/67, that:
The mobilisation of private capital for low-cost housing will be encouraged and the site and service projects will be a significant part of the housing programme.\(^5\)

will not result in the construction of a large number of houses at cheap rents, particularly for the low income people who need them. In addition, the site and service schemes have not been successful in providing a clean and healthy environment for the residents. For instance, according to a study carried out by the Housing Development Research Unit of the University of Nairobi, the residents of the Kariobangi site and service scheme complained of the following:

- Dirt and rubbish
- Rents high and houses poor
- Toilets and washing facilities bad
- Poor security
- Poor bus service
- Rats
- Lack of street lights etc.\(^6\)

There has also been a tendency in the implementation of site and service schemes to provide the sites and not the services. The government should therefore reconsider the policy of mobilising private capital for low-cost housing. The author feels very strongly that private capital should be mobilised for medium and high cost housing rather than low-cost housing. The money that the City Council gives
to individual plot holders in the site and service schemes should be used by the City Council to build rental housing based on the neighborhood unit concept. In this manner, more houses will be constructed quickly and at cheaper rents and the environment will be maintained better.

The neighborhood unit concept is particularly useful in planning residential areas in non-western towns such as Nairobi because most of the towns are relatively new and land is available for new developments. In addition because of the rapid rate of urbanization the neighborhood unit concept provides an economical and aesthetic method of planning residential areas for a large number of people quickly. Since most of the urban dwellers in Nairobi earn less than £300 p.a., if left to fend for themselves as far as housing is concerned, they will only manage to build slums. In order to prevent the creation of slums, the government should concentrate on providing a good housing environment for that section of the community which cannot afford to do so. The problem of limited financial resources can be overcome if more research is carried out to find out ways of reducing the cost of house construction.

The author of the neighborhood unit concept
emphasized that it was only a set of guidelines to be used by planners in the preparation of development plans. As such it is very flexible. This flexibility is a great advantage because the concept can be adapted to any kind of conditions in any part of the world. The application of the concept to Nairobi has demonstrated how it was adapted to conditions in a non-western city with quite good results.

6.3. Proposals for further research

Further research is required to determine such questions as the size of the neighborhood unit in terms of area and size of population. What amount of isolation should be accorded each neighborhood unit? To what extent should neighborhoods overlap? What kind of neighborhoods should be formed in terms of housing types and social and economic classes? If neighborhood units have to establish some kind of identity, they should be separated by open space. In the study area, the neighborhood units are so close together that it is difficult to make them function as separate neighborhood units. Maybe the
construction of four neighborhood units each consisting of a population of 5,000 people could function as a cluster of neighborhoods sharing a common shopping centre and other facilities meant for a large community. This cluster of four neighborhoods could then be visibly separated from other clusters by open space.

The most important area of research, however, is on social development. Social development is defined by Broady as "administrative processes and policies which are designed to make the best use of human resources." The author of this study feels that more use could be made of the study area as a laboratory for testing social processes and policies. Social surveys and opinion polls could be conducted to determine the extent of social unity and factors that hinder or encourage it. The role of the voluntary organisations in the area could be examined to determine to what extent the voluntary organisations can carry out the work of social welfare. The responsibility of the different leaders such as the members of parliament and the councillors could be analysed to see how the leaders can work together for the benefit of the people they are supposed to represent.
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