Architectural Metabletica:

Luo Existence from The Ancestral Homesteads to Informal Settlements

Anthony Oduor Ralwala*

Abstract

The first Luo settlements were established at Ramogi Hill, Siaya County, prior to migration of Luo peoples into the rest of Luo land. Traditional governance systems ensured sustenance and thriving of Luo culture and architecture. The disruptive colonial experience was metabletic (highly transformative), inducing acculturation amongst the Luo and entrenching 'alien' institutions in the administrative and economic systems (capitalism). Forced taxation through wage labour initiated rural to urban migration. Pre-colonial egalitarian existence was substituted by societal stratification evidenced by emergence of few Luo elite and proliferation of Luo peasants. While reasons for development of informal settlements in Kenyan cities have been extensively researched by Kenyan academics and international organisations such as UN Habitat, the impact of the 'slums' on Luo culture (traditions and philosophy of life) as expressed in built forms, spatial organisation and spatial experience have not yet been brought to the fore. This paper describes, in outline, the existence of the Luo in informal settlements of Nairobi (Kibera) and Kisumu. Hermeneutic research methods were employed in critical analysis of archival publications and reading of images (photographs and architectural sketches) as socio-cultural texts. Typical housing typologies in Kibera are presented and explicated. The impact of Kisumu 'slums' on the culture of their Luo inhabitants is substantiated. The study established that Luo existence in urban slums was incongruent with traditional Luo culture. Luos in these slums exemplify challenges of modern capitalistic existence. Capitalism disrupted traditional forms of Luo communal dwelling. Individualism has been entrenched. Families have been torn apart. New kinships have been established. However, slums as informal settlements remain the only easily accessible housing for poor urban Luos, who must yield to this new form of existence despite its manifold cultural challenges and constraints. The study recommends slum upgrading through culturally sensitive affordable housing rather than Modernist mass housing.

Keywords: *Hermeneutic, Informal settlement, Interpretation, Kibera, Kisumu, Luo, Slum.*

INTRODUCTION

The first Luo settlements were established at Ramogi Hill, Siaya County, prior to migration of the Luo peoples into the rest of Luoland more than three hundred years ago. Traditionally, the Luo community was governed by the council of elders who included the tribal chief, sub-chiefs of various sub-tribes, and prominent persons like *Jakoth* (rainmaker), *Ajuoga* (diviner, medicine man), *Jagu* (blacksmith) and decorated warriors. The effectively structured and delineated 'top-down' administration system ensured the thriving of Luo culture and architecture through consistent dissemination of community policies and decisions. Architectural typologies such as *Gundni Buche* and *Thimlich Ohinga*, with multiple Luo homesteads therein, were established at the level of settlement in a bottom-up manner.

Metabletica, as a significant paradigmatic shift in the existential dimension, may be perceived as a phenomenological description of man's efforts to cope with changing reality, including changes that emanated from acculturation due to the colonisation by Britain and the simultaneous Christian missionary effort in Kenyan Luoland. Contextual changes in Kenya—due to its evolving political and dynamic cultural landscape—have resulted in traditional, imperial and pluralistic systems of architectural genesis and production. The resulting *metabletic* shifts are manifested, visibly and intangibly, in built forms

Corresponding author:
Anthony Oduor Ralwala, *Department of Architecture, Faculty of Built Environment and Design, University of Nairobi, Kenya.*
Email: ralwalaoduor@uonbi.ac.ke

and spaces, and the manifestations are discernible upon socio-cultural reading of architectural artefacts, as texts, in the cultural landscape.

In order to comprehend the architectural transformations that occurred in Kenyan Luoland, a discussion of traditional Luo governance systems; colonial administration in Luoland; societal stratification that relegated the Luo into the roles of peasant and proletariat; and decolonisation of the Luo, was undertaken to provide relevant context and background, prior to presentation of Luo existence in urban 'slums' of Kibera and Kisumu. Selected examples of past research into the reasons for the existence of informal settlements in Kenya are provided to avoid research duplication and confirm that these reasons are already in the public domain.

THEORY

Traditional Luo Governance Systems

Siaya County, located in Alego area of Luoland, was an important corridor during the great Luo migration into their present territories of Kisumu and South Nyanza (Oloo, 1969). It was here, in Alego, where the first traditional Luo governance systems were established in the first Luo settlement at Ramogi Hill. During Ramogi's reign, social organisation amongst the Luo was based on kinship rather than territorial occupation. After the demise of Ramogi, the Luo community never again enjoyed the presence of a supreme leader (Ndisi, 1974).

The traditional Luo community (tribe) was divided into sub-tribes. The boundaries of each subtribe coincide with the location boundaries that were drawn by the colonial administration (Ndisi, 1974). Each subtribe (*oganda*) occupied a territory referred to as *piny* (region), and was led by a chief (*ruoth* or *wuon piny*) (Oloo, 1969; Ndisi, 1974). Each subtribe was further sub-divided into *gwenge* (Oloo, 1969). Each *gweng* was a "semi-autonomous political and territorial unit" that was further sub-divided into various clans, and was governed by a council of elders known as *jodong gweng*. These leaders were the custodians of the entire clan land. Membership of *jodong gweng* was derived from the heads of all the prominent clan (*dhoot*) lineages in the *gweng*. Clans

were further divided into closely knit ancestral units called *libembni*, with each *libamba* being led by a *jaduong' gweng*. Each *libamba* was also fragmented into segments referred to as *Jokakwaro* (Luo community members with a common grandfather) (Ndisi, 1974). Eventually, the division of *Jokakwaro* yielded 'wuon dala' (the homestead owner).

Collectively, the elders of the sub-tribe and prominent persons, including rainmakers, diviners, medicine men (healers), and decorated warriors, constituted the elders of the territory, also known as *jodong piny* (Ndisi, 1974). A supreme powerful chief (*Okebe*) and a prominent chief (*Ogai*), attained their status through territorial expansion that was the result of intra-tribal conflicts and conquests (Ndisi, 1974). These conflicts provide evidence for the prevalent warrior culture within the Luo community during this period (Mazrui, 1978, 1980). The chiefs were assisted by sub-chiefs, who also delegated duties to the *Ogulmama* (energetic individuals), who traversed the sub-territories while adjudicating minor disputes (Ndisi, 1974). The efficient administration of traditional Luoland lay in the effective structuring and delineation of administrative duties (as demonstrated above), in a 'top-down' system that ensured uniformity of community policy and decisions. These decisions were to be adhered to, from the supreme Chief all the way to the grass roots of the sub-tribe, unlike the coercive decisions of the authoritarian colonial administration that superseded it.

Colonial Administration in Luoland

A dual political system was entrenched within colonial Kenya (Berman, 1977 [1974]), in which the white settlers determined and controlled mainstream national policies. However, they were often vetoed by "London authority", which prevented the Kenyan colony from attaining self-governance that was independent of submission to Great Britain. This led to the evolution of a Kenyan colonial administration that was "an integrated prefectoral organisation", privileging conformity to existing laws (including Crown Land Ordnances). This exhibited conservatism through "resistance to change and innovation" (Berman, 1977 [1974]). This static choice is evident in the preference for architectural forms that had been tried and tested elsewhere (for official functions of the imperial establishment), devoid of innovation

and experimentation. This explains the recourse to neo-classical architectural typologies by the colonial regime, as expressed in built forms in Kenyan Luoland (Ralwala, 2013).

The Kenyan colonial Government within Luoland had its headquarters in Port Victoria [Kisumu Town], where regions such as Siaya County were administered from a distance using the 'divide and rule' policy (that employed local Provincial administration, in collaboration with indigenous Chiefs) (Berman, 1977 [1974]). This enabled the colonial Secretariat to focus on the affairs of White settlers and Asian immigrants. While colonial built forms are easily discernible in Kisumu City, their existence in Siaya County is not evident, since the region was only a township. The colonial homes of the White Settlers, with middle-class British heritage, portray "the attitudes and values of aristocratic, organicist conservatism".

The Provincial administration in Siaya County has been described as "an authoritarian and paternalistic guardian" that employed the "combination of co-optation and coercion" (Berman, 1977 [1974]). This ensured that "corrupt and power-hungry" Luo political activists, perceived to be the indigenous Luo elite, were not in physical contact with the largely uneducated Luo populace. Consequently, the architectural contributions of these educated Luo elite remained largely at the individual level (Atieno-Odhiambo, 1974), being a fusion of traditional Luo heritage with modern construction technology. Thus, they could not be diffused to the rest of the Luo natives. This remains the case for urban Luos with origins in Siaya County, exemplified by the Oloo Aringo House in the Brookside area of Nairobi City.

Before the 1963 Lancaster Constitution became operational in Kenya, three types of Local Authorities were present in Luoland, namely: the Kisumu Municipal Authority; County Councils and County District Councils within the Scheduled Areas (focusing only on the White colonial population); and, African District Councils in the African Areas (Reserves), such as Siaya County (within which Siaya Township was located, and this was where direct administration by public officers was the norm) (British Information Services, 1963). The 1963

Kenyan [Lancaster] Constitution divided Kenya into seven main administrative Regions [Provinces], with the Luos being the majority indigenous group in the Nyanza Province, whose headquarters was Kisumu Town [now Kisumu City].

The Emergence of The Peasant Luo Community

The transformation of rural Luoland from a region of self-sufficiency (Ayisi, 1992 [1972])—which exhibited self-sustaining cultural traditions, to a land dominated by peasantry—was the direct consequence of the colonial project. The colonial political system led to the forceful usurpation of the prevalent traditional communal socio-economic system by an "international capitalist settler economic system" (Atieno-Odhiambo, 1974). Consequently, the harmonious rural 'economic-equilibrium' was shattered, leading to widespread economic poverty that created both "rural and urban [Luo] proletariats". The apparently 'impoverished' rural built forms and the makeshift urban dwelling units of the Luo populace residing in informal settlements, in Kisumu and Nairobi, provide direct evidence for this existential metabletic shift.

There were only two ways in which members of the Luo community could participate in the alien capitalistic system: "the sale of labour" and/ or "the sale of agricultural produce" (Atieno-Odhiambo, 1974). The market for the available Luo services and farm produce was White "settler farms and international capitalist plantations", where the Luo experienced a new form of temporary existence divorced from their cultural traditions. Therefore, they neglected their rural homes. This resulted in the deterioration of a rich architectural existence, thereby compromising rural architectural quality, while advancing the 'modern' architecture within these 'labour' farms and plantations.

The Luos became exposed to new economic demands that were hitherto unknown, including "hut and poll tax" that discouraged the building of new traditional huts since this endeavour would attract colonial taxes. This propelled the Luo, forcefully, into employment that was poorly rewarded in terms of wages (Atieno-Odhiambo, 1974). The building materials which were previously readily available and affordable

were now precious commercial commodities. This is the background through which post-colonial Luo vernacular and traditional architecture should be comprehended, prior to imposing 'value' judgements upon it.

The transition from community to individual land ownership yielded "disequilibrium between land and population" (Atieno-Odhiambo, 1974). This, coupled with White settler 'legal' acquisition and annexation of community land, brought territorial expansion strategies of the Luo to a halt. Thus, the Luo were forced to migrate from their rural ancestral homes in search of economic opportunities resulting in depopulation of rural Luoland. These population shifts led to further and more rapid deterioration of traditional Luo architecture.

Biased infrastructural (road and railway network) development, that was skewed in favour of the colonial populace, resulted in "a gross lack of [community] welfare facilities" amongst the Luo, evidenced by the widespread "lack of [health] dispensaries, schools, and water" (Atieno-Odhiambo, 1974). Quality 'modern' existence within rural Luoland, in the absence of these critical supportive architectural institutional typologies and basic needs (except through token missionary effort), was therefore an impossibility. Thus, rural Luo community architecture evolved into 'architecture of peasantry'. This is still evident, even today, within many market centres, such as Ng'iya and Ndere within Siaya County.

RESEARCH METHODS

Interpretation of Luo existence in Kenyan informal settlements was undertaken in a hermeneutic (subjective) manner, consistent with the qualitative nature of this study. Subjectivity often attracts competing viewpoints and these are welcome in the spirit of academic debate. Archival research was undertaken through critical analysis of identified seminal texts pertaining to the topic under investigation. The eco-systemic research method which considers an artefact as an embodiment of ecology of contexts was central to the investigation. The geographical areas of study and study population was the Luo residents of Kisumu 'slums', and Kibera area in Nairobi city. The image, as an artefact and

text, was subjected to socio-cultural reading to reveal underlying meanings within it. Such images included photographs and architectural sketches that depicted Luo existence in urban 'slums'.

The author, as a part-time lecturer at the Department of Architecture at Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology in Kenya, has discussed the reasons for the emergence of these slums extensively with successive third year architecture cohorts in History and Theory of Architecture units. Images from such discussions are presented in this paper. Additionally, images are sourced from the class presentations of the JKUAT cohort. They were derived, by the students, from a research project that was commissioned by the UN-Habitat, in 2013, to undertake the study of dwelling units in the Kibera slums.

Thus, this study will not duplicate past research effort within it, but will only mention pertinent issues briefly. The research gap in relation to these slums is: the impact of these slums on Luo culture, traditions and philosophy of life of the inhabitants. These will be tackled in this study.

RESULTS

The Emergence of Societal Stratification Amongst the Luo

In pre-colonial Luoland, community hierarchy was present, but without entrenched societal class distinctions. Privileged persons enjoyed social status and hierarchy, but mingled freely with the common Luo populace who were considered to be social equals (due to shared common ancestry). However, the colonial epoch created broadened internal distinctions within the Luo community (Atieno-Odhiambo, 1974). These distinctions are outlined in **Table 1**.

After independence, some members of the Luo community acquired wealth through political prowess, trade and education opportunities. These individuals and their offspring now occupy the upper echelons of the social strata within the community, having adopted the cultural practices of people

TABLE 1: Biased Strategy of Colonial Governance and Its Effect on The Luo Community

Colonial strategy	Effect of colonial strategy on Luo community, culture, and architecture
Domination	Colonial assertion of "racial, ethnic or cultural superiority", leading to marginalisation of the Luo. Indigenous Luo architecture is perceived as inferior and incompatible with White colonial architecture, due to absolute antinomy as a form of social interaction.
Segregation	Discrimination, enacted through forceful separation of settler and Luo natives, in the course of daily existence; except minimal contact through the missionary effort. Built forms of the settlers are declared out of bounds to indigenous Luos, and this is ensured by colonial "control of the means of [economic] production and distribution".
Tribalization	Colonial exploitation of existing tribal divisions amongst the Kenyan indigenous communities, which was the basis of drawing administrative boundaries by the colonial Secretariat. Tribal suspicions develop, hindering cross-cultural borrowing and diffusion, even in architecture.
Stereotyping	The propagation of stereotypical aphorisms such as "Africans [Luos] are lazy"; non-religious; pagan; technically backward; and primitive. These aphorisms were extended to indigenous Luo architecture, resulting in its condemnation on the basis of these "pseudo-justifications".
Stratification	Enactment of internal social class structure for the Luo due to the community's contact with a "powerful [colonial] capitalist economy". A quintuple class structure was then discernible, presented hierarchically on the basis of power relations as the: bourgeoisie white settler class; white traders engaged in land and mining prospecting; white wage worker and shop keeper; Indian (Asian) trader or shop keeper, in economic competition with the white counterpart; and least of all, "the African peasant and wage-earner". Architecturally, built forms of the last two social tiers are evident within Siaya County, while those of all the five tiers are discernible within Kisumu City.

Source: Adapted from Atieno-Odhiambo 1974

within those tiers and fusing them with Luo cultural traditions. This is evident in 'affluent' post-colonial Luo artefacts.

Decolonisation of the Luo

The onset of decolonisation in Kenyan Luoland occurred in the period immediately after the attainment of political independence from colonial rule in 1963. The objectives of decolonisation overlapped with those of African Nationalism, though each movement retained its own unique approach and identity. Bruce Berman (1977 [1974]) argues that, in Kenya, the colonial administration approached governance from a traditionally conservative perspective, rather than that of a capitalistic bourgeoisie. This approach was therefore distinct from British imperialism. Though contestable, Berman's argument posits that decolonisation signified the end of colonialism, but not the end of imperialism.

Kenyan independence set the stage for changeover of colonial interests to metropolitan ones, through "collaboration with a [sic] emergent indigenous elite" (Berman, 1977 [1974]). This facilitated "the preservation rather than the withdrawal of metropolitan influence and investment". This shift is evident in the continued architectural expressions of multinational and corporate interests within Luoland, with identifiable built forms that capture the efficiency of corporate management and the architectural largesse of international finance (Ochieng', 1995).

These architectural artefacts which embody capitalistic imperialism provide evidence for continued post-colonial cultural dependency (Mazrui, 1977) of the Kenyan Luo. The dependency on Western (European) cultures, both at the economic and political fronts, has occurred with "great consequence for African [Luo] development" (Mazrui, 1977). The merit of

multinational architecture remains questionable due to its promotion of stereotypical and standardised solutions, rather than fostering the evolution of regional built forms. Such artefacts lack congruence with the traditional Luo cultural context.

Effect Of Colonisation and Decolonisation on Domestic Architecture in Luoland

The *metabletic* colonial epoch left an indelible mark, in spatial terms, in the Luo rural and urban environment. The infamous hut tax system (Ndisi, 1974), which was forced upon the Luo by British colonialists, was a significant stimulus that initiated changes within the traditional Luo cultural landscape. These changes catalysed the onset of the destruction of traditional Luo architecture. Thus, a homestead owner had to pay tax for each wife's hut, and this demand strained the traditionally polygamous Luo family structure, forcing many Luo men to 'migrate' to urban areas in search of employment in order to earn money that would enable them to pay tax (Ndisi, 1974), as mentioned previously. Therefore, Luo children of that generation grew up without fatherly input and care, as nobody was present to "give them cultural education as was [the case] in the past". Thus, these children did not see the need for continued propagation of Luo architecture, strictly according to Luo customs, when they themselves became homestead owners.

Christian missionaries, in collaboration with the British colonial administration, were also complicit in inducing architectural metabletic shifts. Previously, in the colonial period, the contribution of Christian Missionaries to cultural (and architectural) development) in Kenyan Luoland was often viewed with disdain, but after the attainment of political independence, a significant shift in attitude occurred, and Christian Missionaries were now "openly praised [even] by [Luo] politicians" (Ndisi, 1974), and contemporary Luo sages. The western missionary effort was an "enterprise that situated itself in opposition to many cultural practices of the [Luo] community" (Atieno-Odhiambo and Cohen, 1989).

James Lucas Oganga (commonly referred to as Jemsi), founded Christian Churches at Nyadhi and Liganua in Siaya County, in the years 1914 and 1917 respectively, without any government backing, or dispensing of material rewards to members of his congregation (Atieno-Odhiambo and Cohen, 1989). Jemsi was the first Luo individual to build his own homestead as a bachelor, in total disregard of Luo traditional customs, thereby attracting both severe criticism and accolades through his architectural innovation. This concept of the new Christian homesteads was then propagated to other parts of Luoland by members of Jemsi's congregation, such as Luo maidens who moved out of Liganua through marriage. Atieno-Odhiambo and Cohen (1989), argue that "the greatest single [architectural] innovation after the building of Jemsi's Liganua church was the establishment of a 'Church Village' known as *laini*" within the Liganua Church compound.

Upon persuasion by Jemsi, his friends and age-mates abandoned their fathers' homesteads and proceeded to construct the laini, as linear rows of rectangular dwelling units. Each of these units was known as *Od Kibanda*. The units stood in defiance of, and as protest against, "the older round huts" (Atieno-Odhiambo and Cohen, 1989), which represented traditional Luo philosophy and customs. Thus, the new Church Village represented "a radical departure from the older and common settlement pattern in Siaya" in which the Christian faithful—propelled by encouragement from Archdeacon Owen of Maseno, Reverend Pleydell of Ng'iya and Reverend George Samwel Okoth—shifted their social focus from the traditional architecture of the clan dwelling units to the new architecture of the Liganua Church linear village homestead layout, which was now considered as the centre of social life (Atieno-Odhiambo and Cohen, 1989).

Some "Christians in Siaya" chose to always "vary the [traditional] protocol" by altering Luo customs and culture whenever the situation suited them, even without citing biblical proof. Thus, their response to prevalent land shortage in Siaya has been through "the transformation of the occupational landscape" (Atieno-Odhiambo and Cohen, 1989), by permitting their sons to cut portions of the traditional euphorbia fence around the homestead, in order to create room for the sons to construct their own houses, with a new gate that is independent of the main gate to the homestead. This 'Christian' homestead then exists alongside some of the remaining 'pure' traditional homesteads, in defiance and outright breach of Luo

customs, which they mostly consider as inferior.

A critical examination of contemporary built forms of the Luo in Siaya reveals the multiple identities that define the 'modern' inhabitants of the region. Two extremes exist, namely: the dynamic, which is perceived as "conspicuous, fluctuating and superficial" (Gosselain, 2000), and therefore ephemeral in its desire for fashion and stereotype- and the static, which is subtle and pervasive, being rooted in traditional Luo culture.

The 'modern' Luo house in quasi-urban areas of Luoland represents an integral synthesis of the traditional Luo homestead, in an attempt to bring the previously separate but complementary traditional typologies in the homestead into one single dwelling unit, and is now an established stereotype. Thus, the separations of dwelling units and spatial interaction prohibitions that were regulated and enforced by Luo customs and norms have been 'trashed' in the new synthesis, and this has often been accompanied by ancestral punishments in the form of *Chira* (Ocholla-Ayayo, 1976), and other incurable diseases such as *Ayaki* (AIDS), which are widespread in Luoland (this is the cultural explanation for these unprecedented occurrences, despite scientific evidence and arguments).

The *Duol* or *Abila*, as the traditional hut which was the masculine domain of the homestead owner, has now been replaced by the owner's study room in the 'modern' house, and this has been attributed to the shift from polygamy to monogamy by most Luo men, which has in turn relegated the previous traditional functions of the *Duol* into obsolescence (Lang'o, 1997; Miruka, 2001). Similarly, the cattle kraal (*kul dhok*) has been replaced by the garage, since the prestige and perception of wealth that was previously associated with huge numbers of livestock in traditional Luo societies has been replaced by the number of 'high end' cars that affluent Luos possess, and 'store' in their houses.

For the Luo elite, the modern house represents a more prestigious existence compared to the traditional system of dwelling. This is due to the widespread

belief that "a decent permanent house is an indicator of wealth" (Onyangoh, 1990). The huge premium that is placed upon land in 'urban' areas of Luoland also implies that the construction of modern dwellings that are extensively similar to the traditional Luo homestead is practically impossible, a *priori*, due to the implied prohibitive costs. Thus, their best response has been to construct an integrated house, but with separate roofs for the main existential domains, in order to "signify that they are separate units" (Onyangoh, 1990). Domestic staff quarters (DSQ) and the guest wings within such houses are, however, built as detached units with their own separate and individual access. Nevertheless, no attempt has been made to achieve a distinct visual expression for the *Simba* (unmarried son's hut), and this may be attributed to the abandonment of warrior culture by the Luo. Young Luo men are no longer community warriors.

Luo Existence in Urban 'Slums'

Although the word 'slum' is perceived to be derogatory in mainstream academia, it will be employed in this study. Albeit the fact that these slums should actually be referred to as informal settlements, the term 'slum' is not intend to slight the slum inhabitants who are members of the Luo community, which the author proudly identifies with. A significant proportion of Kenyan Luos live in the informal settlements of Kisumu and Nairobi. In fact, the Luos are, by far, the dominant ethnic community in all the slums of Kisumu, and in the Kibera slums of Nairobi. **Figure 1** shows the Luo dwellings in Kibera slums. Kibera is not a homogeneous settlement in terms of materiality, planning and built forms.

FIGURE 1
The dense expansive Kibera slums of Nairobi
Source: JKUAT Cohort* 2015

* 2015 Third year architecture cohort, JKUAT, Kenya

The reasons for the emergence of these slums have been extensively researched and are widely known in Kenyan academia. Organisations such as the United Nations Habitat (whose global headquarters are in Nairobi, Kenya), have actually sponsored multiple research projects focusing on the reasons for the proliferation of the slums, and solutions for improving the quality of dwellings within these slums. This is evident in the multiple slum upgrading efforts that have been initiated and taken to completion. The output and outcomes of such research is in the public domain in Kenya, and is readily available for public consumption. Studio projects of architecture students have reiterated the reasons for the emergence of these slums, and proposed sensitive solutions for improvement of quality of dwelling within them.

It must be emphasised that these slums have been built on the basis of commercial speculation by both Luos and non-Luos. However, their Luo inhabitants have determined the spatial organisation and utility within them. Within these slums, there are a few 'good houses' that are occupied by the well-to-do Luos. These Luos live here, despite their wealth, because they are slum landlords; or because they are in charge of major commercial activities in these slums; or simply because they crave the comfort of traditional communal existence that is absent in upmarket residential estates, but is widely prevalent within these slums.

The challenges of dwelling in these slums are the result of poor public infrastructure and lack of social amenities. **Figure 2** depicts the linear organisation of Kibera slum due to the railway line. **Figure 3** shows a rich mix of spontaneous activities (such as trading and search for water) and social interaction along the pedestrian pathways. Pedestrian pathways cannot accommodate vehicular transport, including ambulances during emergencies. The lack of sewerage facilities and sufficient public toilets (latrines) has led to raw human waste being spewed into public thoroughfares. Schools and hospitals are sparse. The makeshift dwelling structures in these slums do not perform adequately with regard to protection from vagaries of weather; user requirements; sound insulation; and fire resistance.

Recycled corrugated iron sheets are used for walling and the dwelling units are embedded in garbage where children play, oblivious to the possible health hazards (**Figure 4**). The high density of dwelling, anthropocentric scale and mono-pitch corrugated iron roofs are evident, as shown in **Figure 5**. Although the structures are rudimentary (makeshift collage assemblage), their scale is anthropocentric. This is consistent with the scale that was observed in traditional Luo architecture. Life in these slums has a characteristic richness that is absent in upmarket residential estates of Nairobi and Kisumu. The proximity of dwelling units in these slums ensures the practice of communal sharing amongst their inhabitants, including the exchange of food and other basic items. This recalls the communal existence that prevailed in Luo traditional architecture. Moreover, the slum inhabitants portray a collective destiny. Social security is enhanced by the fact that everybody knows their neighbours through daily social interaction, unlike in upmarket residential estates. A stranger in these slums would be immediately recognised by the inhabitants, who draw comfort from their common ethnic identity as proud members of the Luo community just like in the pre-colonial period.

Evidence for the thriving social existence in these slums is readily available to the discerning eye. The urban trade thoroughfares are also the main circulation spines. These are vibrant social spaces where food vendors, makeshift restaurants, carpenters, boda-boda cyclists, water vendors, hair dressers, tailors, second-hand clothes vendors, cinema kiosks (commercial TV and video outlets) and talent academies are located. The thoroughfares, as social spaces, are enriched by spontaneous performance activities, including; street comedians, public preachers, political gatherings, and promotion of commercial products, as well as HIV/AIDS awareness campaigns. The slum thoroughfare seems to have replaced the traditional Luo homestead courtyard (*Lar*), as a place of performance. The new *Lar* is no longer semi-enclosed, amorphous and porous in composition like its traditional counterpart. It is now directional (linear, as well as curvilinear), and narrow in form.

FIGURE 2
The railway line cutting through Kibera slums
Source: JKUAT Cohort 2015

FIGURE 3
A pedestrian pathway in the Kibera slums
Source: JKUAT Cohort 2015

FIGURE 4
Makeshift structures in Kibera slums
Source: JKUAT Cohort 2015

FIGURE 5
The mud-plastered wooden skeletal structures of Kibera slums
Source: JKUAT Cohort 2015
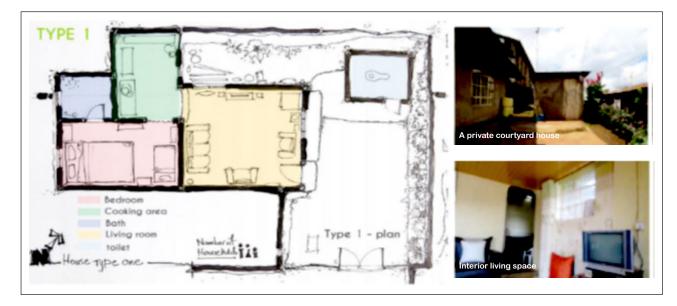
Typical Housing Typologies in Kibera and Kisumu Slums

Figures 6 to **15** represent the various typologies of dwelling units, and sketch plans of their neighbourhood contexts, within the Kibera slums of Nairobi. Such units are also typical in the slums of Kisumu. Commonalities and distinctions are evident in these typologies. **Figure 6** illustrates the spatial organisation within a 'good house' in Kibera slums, confirming the social status of the most affluent occupants in these informal settlements. An external pit latrine is included in the compound. This indicates the absence/inadequacy of sewerage services in these slums. The 'poorest' dwelling unit is shown in **Figure 8**. This 'spartan' dwelling unit is accessed from a very narrow and 'congested' interior pathway. **Figures 10** and **12** also exemplify affluence. The semi-public internal courtyards in these 'homesteads' are reminiscent of transition within the traditional Luo *Lar* (courtyard). Landlords co-exist with tenants in these 'homesteads'. However, the landlord units are still superior to the tenant units, exemplified by separation of main living spaces from the sleeping quarters.

Figures 6 and **10** indicate that urban agriculture is a key economic activity within such slums. The activity is conducted in many small gardens. Poultry are also kept within these 'homesteads', sometimes within the dwelling unit itself, and this recalls the traditional practice in *Od Mikaye* (first wife's hut), where
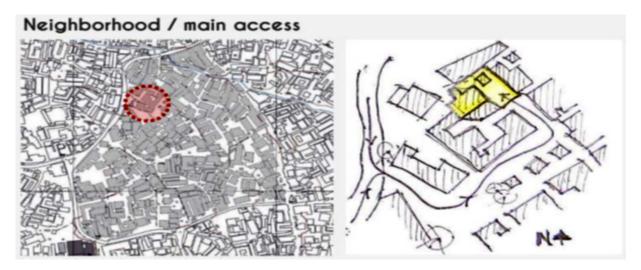
vulnerable animals were kept.

The practice of urban agriculture in these slums, by the Luos also results from colonially introduced capitalism in Kenya. However, the practice also demonstrates the desire of the Luos to continue the economic practices within the traditional community in an urban setting. **Figure 14** demonstrates the spill-over of indoor activities, such as cooking and storage, to the outdoors, and this recalls the fact that most activities in the traditional Luo homestead actually took place in the outdoors, within the homestead *Lar*. **Figure 14** also indicates that some dwelling units are now accessed from a corridor that serves as an indoor street, providing opportunities for social interaction amongst neighbours. The corridor is a semi-public transition space.
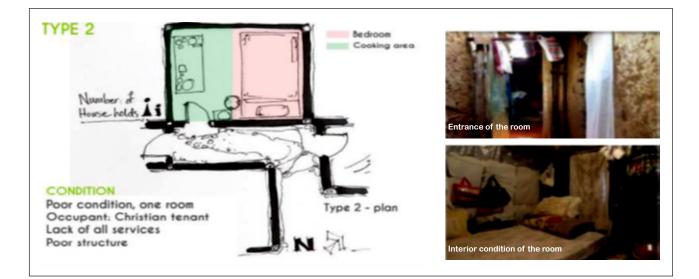

FIGURE 6
Typology 1 of slum dwelling in Kibera
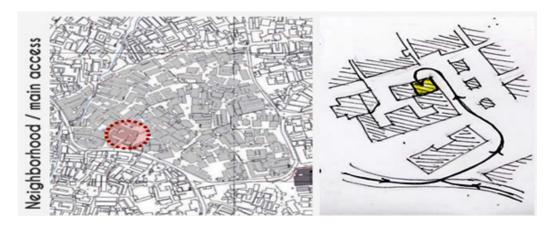**Source:** JKUAT Cohort 2015

FIGURE 7
Neighbourhood map of Typology 1 of slum dwelling in Kibera
Source: JKUAT Cohort 2015

FIGURE 8
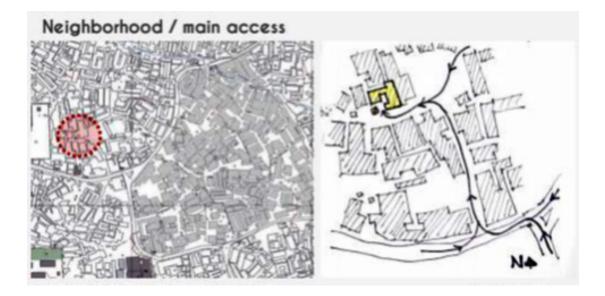Typology 2 of slum dwelling in Kibera
Source: JKUAT Cohort 2015

FIGURE 9
Neighbourhood map of Typology 2 of slum dwelling in Kibera
Source: JKUAT Cohort 2015

FIGURE 10
Typology 3 of slum dwelling in Kibera
Source: JKUAT Cohort 2015

FIGURE 11
Neighbourhood map of Typology 3 of slum dwelling in Kibera
Source: JKUAT Cohort 2015

FIGURE 12
Typology 4 of slum dwelling in Kibera
Source: JKUAT Cohort 2015

FIGURE 13
Neighbourhood map of Typology 4 of slum dwelling in Kibera
Source: JKUAT Cohort 2015

FIGURE 14
Typology 5 of slum dwelling in Kibera
Source: JKUAT Cohort 2015
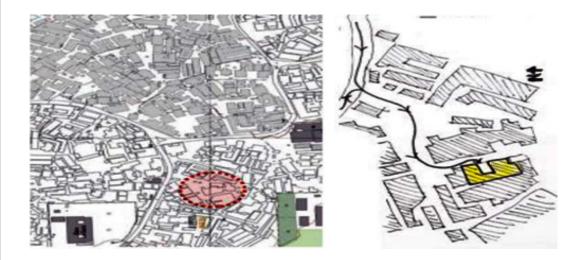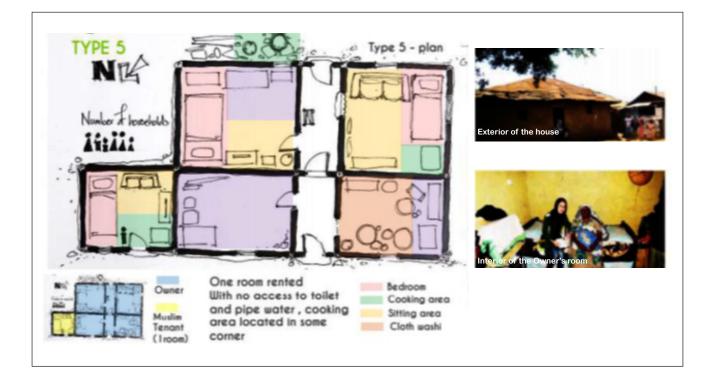

FIGURE 15
Neighbourhood map of Typology 5 of slum dwelling in Kibera
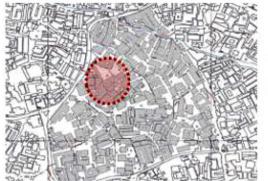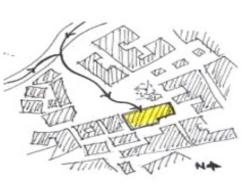**Source:** JKUAT Cohort 2015

Figures 6 to 15 confirm that the dwelling units within these slums exhibit variety, which promotes individual identity. This is unlike the standardised town houses that characterise many middle-income estates in the urban neighbourhoods of Kisumu and Nairobi.

The Impact of Kisumu Slums on the Culture of Luo Inhabitants

Most informal settlements of Kisumu County are located on the outskirts of Kisumu City. These include Kibos, Bandani, Obunga, Manyatta, Nyamasaria, Nyalenda and Pandpieri. Within Kisumu City, slums are almost non-existent, except in areas such as Kaloleni (Gikonyo, 2015). Major roads and railways separate these slums from Kisumu City itself. This physical separation has cultural implications as the slums act as a buffer zone between the completely urban Kisumu City and its rural hinterland. Thus, the inhabitants of these slums are urban dwellers, but their existence is also influenced by their relative proximity to the rural areas. These slums occupy a larger area in comparison to the area occupied by Kisumu City. The large expanse of Kisumu slums indicates that the majority of the Luo community in Kisumu County live in dwelling units within these slums. As mentioned previously, the slums of Kisumu have been extensively studied. Examples of such studies include: *Situation analysis of informal settlements in Kisumu* (UN-Habitat, 2005); *An enumeration and mapping of informal settlements in Kisumu, Kenya, implemented by their inhabitants* (Karanja, 2010); *Factors affecting community action and upgrading programmes in Kisumu low-income residential settlements* (Chessa, 1984); and *An investigation into the challenges facing implementation of slum upgrading programmes: A case study of Manyatta, Kisumu County* (Gikonyo, 2015); to mention but a few. Unlike past research, this study focused on the impact of these slums on the culture of their Luo inhabitants. **Figures 16** to **21** provide evidence for cultural commonalities and incongruence between traditional built forms and slum dwellings.

Figure 16 shows an advertisement in Manyatta indicating the entrenchment of speculative build in Kisumu slums. Dwelling units are now containment vessels that harbour flexible anonymous spatial organisation. Growth in the slums is addressed through incremental attachments to existing units

in a crude rudimentary manner. Traditional system of communal maintenance of housing is evidently absent. The slums have imposed individuality amongst the Luo inhabitants, resulting in ad hoc self build according to personal requirements, as shown in **Figure 17**.

FIGURE 16
Vacant slum house in Manyatta
Source: Author 2017

FIGURE 17
Slum houses in Baraka, Manyatta Estate, Kisumu
Source: Author 2017

Narrow pathways between dwelling units are used for multiple purposes: transition, children playground area, clothes drying, and social interaction. An example of this is shown in **Figure 18**. Spatial constraints impose new ways of conceiving and using space, which are alien to traditional Luo culture. There is a lack of transition space or a boundary between the building and the street, denying the occupants the requisite vital privacy (**Figure 19**).

FIGURE 18
Slum houses in Kasule, Manyatta Estate, Kisumu
Source: Author 2017

FIGURE 19
Slum house in Ragia, Manyatta, Kisumu
Source: Author 2017

Row housing, evidenced in Gessoko houses in Manyatta slums (**Figure 20**), is alien to the courtyard communal existence that was characteristic of traditional Luo architecture. However, the sufficiently large open space in the foreground permits social interaction amongst the occupants. In the Manyatta Love Bar area, the houses are an indication of the entrenchment of social stratification in the slums (**Figure 21**). This disparity was downplayed in Luo traditional architecture because dwelling units were similar in form and appearance, irrespective of the owner's social status.

The typical jobs of Luo slum dwellers are both formal and informal. They are employed as clerks, construction workers, drivers, watchmen, cooks, waiters, petrol station attendants, and office

messengers (Chessa, 1984). They are also artisans, tailors, preachers or in self-employment. Most of these jobs are menial and the meagre income enables them to live in slums where rents are not cheap, but are relatively low. The lack of economic opportunities has led to the destruction of both individual and community pride that was evident in the traditional set-up (Nyadhi, as ceremoniousness). This is reflected in the crude rudimentary nature of the dwelling units. In these slums, some 'rich' Luos take the opportunity "to conduct business that would otherwise be prohibited in planned residential estates" (Chessa, 1984). The high density of the dwelling units acts as a camouflage for such businesses.

FIGURE 20
Gessoko houses in Manyatta slums, Kisumu
Source: Author 2017

FIGURE 21
Good houses at Manyatta Love Bar, Kisumu
Source: Author 2017

The 'rich' Luos are landlords whose superior houses inspire the many Luo tenants, living in cramped and crowded 'shacks', to also engage in crime in an effort to uplift their social status. Thus, the slums encourage the Luos to participate in criminal activities; unlike during Luo existence in the pre-colonial period. The slum dwellers exhibit a new form of 'family unit' that is antithetical to the traditional Luo family. This is evident in Nyalenda and Pandpieri slums where a typical household consists of "people who are living together, eating together and sharing expenses for the upkeep of the household" (Chessa, 1984). However, these occupants are not members of the same primary family despite their 'kinship ties'. While this indicates that the extended family unit exits within these slums, the spatial organisation within the unit does not reflect the composition of such a household. Age and gender disparities are not catered for.

The 'head' of such a household is the individual who takes vital decisions regarding the dwelling unit. In the traditional set-up, such decisions were taken by the homestead owner (the occupant of the *Duol*), who was the oldest and most respected due to his age. However, in these slums the household 'head' is the occupant with the greatest income. Seniority is no longer determined by age, but by money. This is reflected in the nature of household items which reflect the status of the 'head'. Interior spaces within the 'shacks' must cater for new tastes in the form of TV sets and stereo systems for music. Such items attract neighbours who then come to spend the early part of the evening with the household occupants. This strengthens friendships amongst slum dwellers. Such gatherings are a continuation of the traditional sessions that took place within the *Duol* on most nights.

Parental participation in conjugal activities disrupts the spatial organisation within these single room units because they pose severe challenges to the occupants. Due to the requisite privacy, older "children are forced to find alternative places to sleep, either with friends or relatives" (Chessa, 1984). Alternatively, such children are forced to sleep "in the same room under [an] atmosphere of high tension". Thus, Luo customs, prohibitions and norms, which were enforced by spatial segregation, are now violated. This imposes a sense of guilt on such parents who have to

continuously face their older children with shame. Thus, the quality of life of these Luos is compromised by economic hardships which continue to generate stress and tension within these households.

Further disruption of the family unit arises from the fact that "the burden of maintaining big families in urban centres is enormous" (Chessa, 1984). The traditional Luo family was polygamous and some of the Luo men in these slums have continued with this tradition. However, the slum dwellers have re-interpreted the concept of polygamy through an architectural solution that forces "the wives to take turns at visiting the husband" in the slum (Chessa, 1984). The rest of the wives remain in the rural homestead during such controlled visitations. Thus, the slums have established vital links with the rural 'hinterland'. Such wives participate in agricultural activities and micro-businesses that generate income and provide farm produce to support the homestead owner within the urban slum. However, the slums also provide 'rogue' husbands with an easy opportunity to establish new relationships with other women within these slums, due to the high density and close proximity of dwelling units. This leads to the spread of HIV/AIDS amongst the occupants. However, the slum dwellers often think that this disease is the Luo *chira*, an incurable disease that arose from non-adherence to Luo customs and philosophy of life. Thus, they blame their existence in these slums for not permitting them to conform to the requirements of Luo culture.

The slums have also inculcated a sense of individuality in their Luo occupants. The building and maintenance of dwelling units in these slums is no longer a free will communal affair that was characteristic of Luo traditional architecture. It is now an activity that is based on capitalistic commerce (speculation and hired unskilled labour). Examples of individual architectural input by the slum inhabitants include: superficial surface renovations of walls, roofs and floors; fencing of compounds by the Luo 'elite' in these slums; introducing temporary interior partitions in the dwelling units using cardboard and curtains to promote visual privacy; and constructing an external veranda to "conduct small businesses in or around the house" (Chessa, 1984). Despite these individual efforts, space within the single rooms remains inadequate for the personal requirements of

the occupants. Thus, "a father is forced to spend most of his time outdoors rather than with his family in a cramped room" (Chessa, 1984).

Some of the dwelling units are headed by Luo women who often brew illicit liquor. These women have several children that are born out of wedlock. The small size of the dwelling unit does not provide adequate shielding of the children (of these Luo business women) from the proceedings during these liquor drinking sessions, as well as the commotion and violence that it often generates. The spatial organisation in their dwelling units accommodates storage of the liquor, as well as 'congested' seating of Luo alcohol addicts, who include unemployed youth that form the majority of the slum population. The lack of the elderly Luo population in these slums denies such youth the vital influence of their sage wisdom. Thus, acculturation of such youth is made quite easy by the lack of cultural anchor. Individuality also results in the lack of attachment to a given locality by these youth, which is evident during frequent "change of residence within the same neighbourhood" (Chessa, 1984).

Slum landlords have also contributed to the breakdown of Luo culture in these slums. These landlords "often specify conditions which must be met by tenants", exemplified by renting out dwelling units to unmarried persons, and in rare cases only permitting elderly couples. The inadequacy of these slum dwellings becomes evident "when cooking is done in the same room" using kerosene fuel rather than traditional firewood. The space becomes very smoky and uncomfortable during cooking activities. This is unlike in traditional Luo huts which had a space between the ring beams and the roof. This space allowed ventilation of the hut through aerodynamic wind action, and it was also for ancestral communication. Thus, the construction of built forms in these slums does not permit continuity of Luo culture because Luo ancestors cannot 'visit' the inhabitants during the night. Moreover, the traditional privacy that was accorded to cooking as an activity that was exclusively performed by women is absent in these slum dwellings, because all persons who are present in the single room become witnesses to such activities.

DISCUSSION

The methods of hermeneutic research and interpretation that were utilised in this study enabled the author to employ close reflection on the manner in which Luos existed in pre-colonial and colonial periods in the rural setup, and currently in urban 'slums'. This self-reflexivity yielded relevant subjective interpretations pertaining to Luo architecture, and these are "intended to be suggestive rather than exhaustive" (Atieno-Odhiambo and Cohen, 1989). This approach was fused with Clifford Geertz's description of "culture as texts", in which traditional and contemporary existence of the Luo community were 'read' (Marcus & Fisher, 1986) to expose the underlying meanings in traditional Luo built forms and spatial organisation.

Issues of architectural science were deemed to be incompatible with the qualitative methodologies that were employed in this study. Scientific approaches are nomothetic, focusing on "the broadest generalizations" (Rapoport, 1976). These approaches are not suitable for research in design disciplines such as architecture which is ideographic, "because they are concerned with the subjective experience of the environment", through "stressing the uniqueness of each case" (Rapoport, 1976). These proclamations validate the hermeneutic approach that was applied to the explication of Luo existence in urban 'slums' in this study.

Architectural design, whether with or without architects, should be seen as a choice-making process which is informed by "certain norms, beliefs and assumptions" (Rapoport, 1976). These choices as 'possibilism' or 'probabilism', are revealed by the built environment which makes "visible certain ideal, conceptual spaces, whatever names these are given" (Rapoport, 1976) by the community in question. For the Luo community, the physical environment provided "clear and consistent choices" that demonstrated a sustained and "better fit between physical and conceptual space", and this ensured "better congruence between the built environment, culture, behavior [sic] and communication" (Rapoport, 1976) in the pre-colonial period. This enabled traditional Luo architecture to thrive. Thus, the infusion of "the qualities of traditional [Luo] houses into modern housing" (Andersen, 1974) within urban areas in

Luoland will greatly improve the quality of urban housing in Kisumu slums, as informal settlements. The Kibera slums may be difficult to deal with in that regard because of the multiplicity of cultures that occupy the same space within the informal settlement. An architectural response that takes into account the traditional built forms and spaces of all the tribes in these slums is most likely to be successful.

The scarcity of land in these slums, coupled with the underlying question of land ownership and tenure, are challenges that must be addressed prior to the implementation of lessons from traditional Luo architecture into modern housing for poor Luos. The inclusion of stakeholders, such as the Kenya Government, UN-Habitat and Non-Governmental Organisations, will be required to secure land and provide financing for such an undertaking. The indispensable logic within Luo traditional architecture, and that from the traditional architecture of other communities in these slums, such as the Kikuyu, Kamba and Luhya, can even be extended to "the design of towns, settlements and houses within [any] African [and especially Kenyan] context" (Andersen, 1974). However, the converse is also true, as "ignoring people's culture" has the potential to "inhibit sustainable use" of built forms within urban environments (Abonyo, 2005).

The Luos in urban slums of Kisumu and Nairobi exemplify the challenges of modern capitalistic existence. Capitalism disrupted traditional forms of Luo communal dwelling in a *metabletic* manner. Individualism has been entrenched and families have been torn apart. New kinships have been established in urban 'slums' as an 'impromptu' response to the confluence of multiple Kenyan tribes in cities and towns, with each tribe boasting of its unique identity and achievements. The emergence and propagation of Kisumu and Kibera 'slums' cannot be described as a single-handed effort of the Luo community, despite the fact that Luo persons live in these informal settlements. Landlords (both of Luo and non-Luo origin) have commissioned the building of dwelling units in these slums in a speculative manner. Some of these units, as structures in these 'slums', are a crude collage assemblage of rudimentary 'scavenged' building materials. However, the majority of the houses in these slums are mainly built out of wooden poles, as

skeletal structure, with mud infill walls that are rarely plastered. Iron sheets sourced from formal building markets are used for roofing the dwelling units. Thus, the materiality of the majority of these slum houses is not different from that of transformed houses in the rural areas. Unlike traditional dwelling units of the Luo that had thatched roofs with mud and cow dung plastered internal and external walls, the built forms in these 'slums' perform very poorly with regard to: protection from the vagaries of weather; acoustics and privacy requirements; and, accommodating requisite functions (family sizes, spatial adjacencies and separation). Moreover, upgraded settlements have not been able to respond effectively to cultural conflicts and challenges of Luo urban existence.

The slum tenants, who are mainly economically challenged Luos, have no say in the evolution of architecture in these 'slums', unlike in their traditional rural homesteads. However, there are many accomplished Luos with thriving careers in Kenya. These include politicians, academics, medical doctors, lawyers, civil servants and those in private enterprise. Such persons continue to initiate construction activities in Luoland through investments in real estate (modern homes, hotels, schools and industries, to mention but a few). These Luos should not shun other members of the community who exist in urban slums. The speculative build that is propagated by slum landlords (slumlords) is driven by commercial or capitalistic considerations, rather than the desire to provide housing for poor Luos. Indeed, design issues, including interior organisation of dwelling units in these slums, are very complex and pre-determined by the opaque nature of land sub-division and spontaneous ad hoc land allocation or land transfer practices.

Luos, who are slum landlords, can support sensitive architectural synthesis that resolves spatial needs from the perspectives of user requirements, and contextual culture, through public participation by resident elders of the Luo community, when developing new dwelling units in these slums. This shift will result in meaningful spatial organisation and built forms that can be distinctly identified with Luo vernacular architecture. Dominance of alien taste cultures and fascination with foreign aesthetic systems on the basis of mistaken superiority of Western architectural

solutions should not be perceived as progressive by the Luo community.

Currently, there are no slums in Siaya County. As Siaya CBD continues to grow, inevitably, the emergent urbanisation should continue, hopefully, on a scale that does not dominate the surrounding homesteads and villages, in the manner that Kisumu CBD dominates its hinterland. The symbiosis between Siaya CBD and its peri-urban area should not be lost, if Siaya CBD is to remain distinguishable from the centres of other modern Kenyan cities and towns, like Nairobi and Kisumu. Urbanisation in Siaya should not be based on rapid mass transit networks, mass housing of the population in close proximity to the CBD, and the presence of multi-storey office buildings. At present, the pace of urbanisation in Siaya has permitted traders, clients, suppliers and other users of urban space to form a closely knit community. Transportation within the County is mainly through bicycles and motor cycles (*boda boda* riders). These beneficial relationships have prevented the proliferation of slums in Siaya County. The adoption of the principles of 'new urbanism' by Siaya County Administration will enable continuity of the harmonious co-existence, which should not be lost as the pace of urbanisation increases.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The study described traditional systems of Luo governance to highlight the differences between them and the strategies of the colonial administration, which led to the establishment of societal stratification that condemned the majority of Luo peoples into the peasant and proletariat tiers of these strata. Despite the noble attempts of decolonisation in Kenyan Luoland, the entrenched post-colonial politico-economic systems of governance created widespread economic hardships for the populace. The study established that Luo existence in slums was indeed largely incongruent with traditional Luo culture. However, these slums, as informal settlements, remain the only easily accessible homes for the majority of poor urban Luos, who have no option but to surrender their destiny to this new form of existence, despite the manifold cultural challenges and constraints.

This study acknowledges that Luos cannot evolve their 'future' architecture independently from the 'progressive' forces of modernisation and globalisation. However, they must take cognisance of the inherent ambiguities of modernity. Luos must realise that progress cannot be achieved at the total expense of Luo culture. Luo architecture cannot embrace technological advancements at the total expense of local craftsmanship and building traditions. Moreover, Luos should not uncritically adopt uniform (standardised) aesthetics that do not cater for individual expression in architecture. Huge or expansive buildings (Modernism and its mass housing solutions) that promote collective dwelling without accommodating individual differences and expression of cultural identity should not be established in Kenyan Luo land.

Culture is a dynamic concept, and whenever cultures interact or intersect, they must fuse or evolve, resulting in the adoption of new cultural practices and technology. This leads to the production of new architectural artefacts. Luos are part and parcel of the wider world community and not a segregated group. Luo craftsmanship and building organisation must be allowed to change progressively and adapt to the new technological, geopolitical and economic contexts that Luos find themselves in. Architectural change in Luo land must be based on informed continuity of positive cultural practices, rather than complete abandonment of Luo culture.

Slums as informal settlements are spontaneous areas that cannot be designed by architects, but are a product of forces outside their realm, as outlined previously. Their proliferation is driven by commercial interests, and lack of affordability of good adequate housing by the poor urban dwellers. Therefore, there is an urgent need for practicing architects in Kisumu and Nairobi to acknowledge the existence of challenges identified in this study, and respond to them through providing new interpretations in the form of innovative affordable slum upgrading architectural solutions, that provide new models of modern urban dwelling, which are imbued with the known virtues of traditional existence, in a holistic manner. The move from the slums to the upgraded housing units will provide the means of resolving the various cultural conflicts that Luo inhabitants of these slums constantly encounter,

and continue to endure in their daily existence.

CITED REFERENCES

Abonyo, D.A. (2005). *Cultural aspects of housing: A case of the Luo in Kisumu Town, Kenya.* Paper presented at XXXIII IAHS World Congress on Housing Conference, September 26-30, 2005, Pretoria, South Africa. Retrieved March 17, 2015 from www.repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/10298.

Andersen, K.B. (1974). *A study of the housing and settlement patterns of rural Kenya.* University of Nairobi, Nairobi.

Atieno-Odhiambo, E.S. (1974). *The paradox of collaboration and other essays.* Nairobi: East Africa Literature Bureau.

Atieno-Odhiambo, E.S. & Cohen, D.W. (1989). *Siaya, the historical anthropology of an African landscape.* Ohio: Ohio University Press.

Ayisi, E.O. (1992 [1972]). *An introduction to the study of African culture.* Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers.

Berman, B.J. (1977 [1974]). *Administration and politics in colonial Kenya* (PhD dissertation). Yale University, USA.

British Information Services. (1963). *Kenya.* London: Reference Division, Central Office of Information.

Chessa, S.R. (1984). *Factors affecting community action and upgrading programmes in Kisumu low income residential areas* (Master of Arts thesis). University of Nairobi, Nairobi.

Gikonyo, J.M. (2015). *An investigation into the challenges facing implementation of slum upgrading programmes in Kenya: A case study of Manyatta, Kisumu County* (Research Project, Diploma in Housing Administration). University of Nairobi, Nairobi.

Gosselain, O.P. (2000). Materializing identities: An African perspective. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory.* 7(3), 187-217.

Lang'o, D.B. (1997). *Household structures and social relations among the Luo of Ndhiwa Division, Homa-Bay District* (Master of Arts thesis). University of Nairobi, Nairobi.

Marcus, G.E. & Fisher, M.M.J. (1986). *Anthropology as cultural critique: An experimental moment in the human sciences.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Mazrui, A.A. (1977). *Africa's International Relations.* Colorado (USA): Westview Press.

Mazrui, A.A. (1978). *Political values and the educated class in Africa.* Los Angeles: University of University of California Press.

Mazrui, A.A. (1980). *The African Condition: A political diagnosis. The Reith Lectures.* London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd.

Miruka, O. (2001). *Oral literature of the Luo.* Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers.

Ndisi, J.W. (1974). *A study in the economic and social life of the Luo of Kenya.* Uppsala (Lund): Berlingska Boktryckeriet.

Ochieng', W.R. (1995). Structural & political changes. In W.R. Ochieng' & B.A. Ogot, (Eds), *Decolonization and Independence in Kenya.* Nairobi: East African Education Publishers.

Ocholla-Ayayo, A.B.C. (1976). *Traditional ideology and ethics among the Southern Luo.* Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies.

Oloo, P.A. (1969). *History of settlement: The example of Luo clans of Alego (1500-1918)* (Bachelor of Arts dissertation). University of Nairobi, Nairobi.

Onyangoh, C.O. (1990). *A study of the persistent existence of traditional housing in North Alego location,*

Siaya District (Bachelor of Arts (Land Economics) Project Paper). University of Nairobi, Nairobi.

Ralwala, A.O. (2013). *Towards a relevant framework for establishing the semiology of architecture in Kenya required for architectural dialogue in the creation of a critical regionalist Kenyan architecture* (Master of Architecture dissertation). University of Pretoria, South Africa.

Rapoport, A. (1976). 'Sociocultural aspects of man-environment studies'. In *The mutual interaction of people and their built environment*. Paris: Mouton.