HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURES AND SOCIAL RELATIONS AMONG THE LUO OF NDHIWA DIVISION, HOMA-BAY DISTRICT

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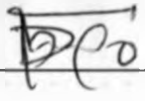

This thesis has been submitted with my approval as the University Supervisor

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ABSTRACT

This thesis concerns itself with the mutual communication between people and their environment; that people influence and are influenced by the built surrounding. The basic argument in the thesis is that several factors influence human behaviour and among these are the physical structures that people construct, the space that these structures occupy and the arrangement of these structures. The ideal typical Luo homestead in Ndhiwa Division, Homabay District is the basis for the thesis.

The population in this study was the typical indigenous polygynous Luo homestead. The homestead was chosen because it was the one most likely to provide answers to the questions raised by the hypotheses in the study.

The basic anthropological data collection techniques were employed in this study which is a qualitative and descriptive one. Also employed was the stratified sampling technique for use in the questionnaire as supplementary to the anthropological data collection techniques.

The manner in which a people construct buildings, perceive and behave in them, and accommodate change is firmly intertwined with their worldview such that any development oriented adjustment can effectively work only if the people themselves see it as useful in improving their day to day life.

Practical physical considerations play an important role in determining choice of site among the Luo, though other factors also have some influence. Building materials depend upon availability and suitability.

In a typical Luo homestead, the design and layout of each structure is contributory to the proper functioning of the total homestead system. A structure ceases to exist once its functions are lost or incorporated into another. Those structures that have functions useful to the system continue to persist in establishment and form, with adjustments to fit in with their expanding functions.

Traditions dictate certain norms of behaviour in society, manifested in material culture. Certain spaces have more value than others.

Regarding buildings, those structures built on valued spaces are relatively more important. Consequently, the owners of the spaces exercise more influence over others. This, in turn, shapes behaviour, makes certain responses and actions possible and thereby shapes social relationships within the limits customs permit.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

Culture may be analytically divided into intimately related material and non-material components. Material culture comprises movable and immovable categories. The former includes buildings, their form and layout, wells, shrines, market places, etc., while the latter consists of dress, tools, baskets, pots, musical instruments and other related items. Beliefs, social organisation , kinship structures, religion, languages, thoughts and ideas, the world view, e.t.c., fall under the non-material component.

The interaction between material and non-material components of culture is a form of mutual communication between people and their environment. Artefacts or objects of material culture are a representation of people's thoughts, perceptions, ambitions, values and visions of the ideal.

Language is one aspect of non-material culture that mutually relates to material culture. Dale(1980:2) says:-

> language has the power to shape reality so that once categories are constructed within language, we proceed to organise the world according to those categories.

Conversely, material culture shapes and adds new vocabulary to

language. When a culture acquires a new artefact for which it has no name this artefact may be designated according to another one in very close resemblance to the new item, or, failing that, a new foreign word is borrowed for the purpose.

One other instance of material-non-material culture relationship is in art. A rock painting of a human being, armed with a spear, pursuing a gazelle communicates to us several things at once. It is the representation of the human thought process. It also communicates to us the possible economic activities of the group represented by the painting. It is symbolic of the relationship between their food getting activities and the level of technology satisfying those activities. It could also represent the kind of sporting activities found in that society. Wagner observes that:

> The evidence of culture ... must lie in human behaviour and in artefacts.
> Internal consistencies within what human beings do and make reveal their culture's pattern. Form, arrangement and like attributes, whether pertaining to assemblages of works, objects or motions, make up a partial sample of a culture, and numerous such samples taken together may document the culture's constituting principles.(Wagner, 1972:4)

These constituting principles partly explain the non-functional differences in similar artefacts found in different cultures and environments. Two cultures, a wide distance apart may have similar artefacts such as spears. The distinguishing items in the objects are in the

decorations on them, which may be the result of a difference in perceptions, values, beliefs and worldview between the two cultures as manifested in the non-functional additions to the objects.

At a fundamental level, this study addresses the dialectical relationship between material and non-material culture. Houses, their design and pattern are aspects of material culture. The way the house is spatially organised, the manner in which it restricts and permits certain behavioural responses falls within the realm of non-material culture.

In this study, we attempt to reveal the factors that underlie the choice of an ideal building site, the processes of house construction and their spatial layout within a typical indigenous homestead within Ndhiwa Division of Homa-Bay district.

Extant literature on indigenous Kenyan homesteads and, where possible, the actual physical studies show uniformity in the design and arrangement of the structures. The form and pattern of these buildings are neither haphazard nor unplanned and are the crystallisation of a variety of influencing factors, choices and the vision that people have of the ideal life.

> The house is a human fact, and even with the most severe physical constraints and limited technology, man has built in ways so diverse that they can be attributed.... to choice which involves cultural values (Rapport, 1969:48)

The house not only has functional utility; it communicates with the user. In attempting to relate to buildings and their surroundings, people shape, restrict and permit certain behaviours within the built environment. The way people socially relate is likewise influenced.

Buildings, their spatial pattern and functions constitute some of the factors influencing social relationships among members of a homestead. These relationships are part of a larger network of relations collectively satisfying people's needs. Thus, any change in the buildings and their arrangement within a homestead lead to adjustments in the relationships between people and their built environment, on the one hand, and amongst the people themselves, on the other.

If social relationships, the design, arrangement and internal partitioning of structures mutually interact, important development related implications can be derived from this relationship. To my knowledge, these implications are yet to be fully explored although they should so as to avoid "...the pathological acceleration of urban 'cell creation' which could put whole societies into a terminal crisis of social and economic disintegration"(Ward, 1979:58).

Rural areas in Homa-Bay District are likely to develop into towns whose houses require proper planning and design. This is where this study becomes relevant as it is hoped that it will provide insights into ways of improving development efforts currently underway in Kenya.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Relatively few studies in Kenya focus on the interrelationships between human settlements and the social relationships amongst the settlers. Most of the studies hitherto carried out are basically concerned with functions of individual structures within a homestead. These include works by Kimokoti(1986;1988), Okiomeri(1987) and Soper(1986).

If these structures served purely material needs, then the expectation would be that each builder would choose a style, materials and spatial arrangements to suit particular constraints provided by the environment. However, this is not the case as seen by the uniformity in choice of materials, design(form) and spatial arrangement of buildings within a compound, which implies that there is an underlying principle by which the built environment exerts some influence on people and their social relationships. Houses do not only shelter people against the elements; they are, among other things, a vital link between people and their environment(cf. Duly, 1979; Denyer, 1978; Ocholla-Ayayo, 1980,1976; Otterbein, 1977;Rapoport 1969,1980). This argument is supported by the variety of houses found in extremes of climate.

Buildings reflect a society's worldview, social organisation and are sometimes the means of defence and reducing unwanted interaction. They

provide cues for appropriate behaviour. Ocholla-Ayayo(1980:21) notes that there is a relationship between the built environment and social relationships among the Luo. There are definite rules of conduct which influence the way people interact amongst themselves and relate to their buildings.

Houses and their surroundings provide cues for behaviour which need to be decoded understood and obeyed(cf. Rapport, 1980). Consequently, people learn who should do what, where, when, with whom and in what context. It follows that accounts of the materials and designs that go into houses are insufficient; there are other principles which contribute to the final form and arrangement that houses take. These need to be considered in conducting studies on human settlements, especially if the results of the researches are to be applied in development oriented change in housing.

While change is both necessary and inevitable, its haphazard occurrence may have disastrous consequences due to the intimate interaction between people and their habitations. Ward (1979:9) observes that the built environment serves human needs while Denyer(1978:4) states specifically that traditional buildings in Africa served the residents' needs far much better than suburban dwellings. Both Wandibba(1988:87) and Wanjala (198:72) voice concern over the proliferation of "modern" architecture and space utilisation without

considering their effects on people, their behaviour and social relationships. Duly(1979:16) argues that the establishment of rows of houses in urban areas "...does not cater for any needs beyond the barest basics required to accommodate an industrial workforce."

The underlying implication here is that change in human settlements may entail either constructive or adverse adjustments in human interaction. It is thus necessary to study the interaction between buildings their surroundings and social relationships such that planned change does not overly disrupt the social fabric.

It is in this light that we would like to answer, where possible, questions such as what factors determine the choice of building site among the Luo of Ndhiwa Division? Do structures have purposes other than sheltering people from the elements? How does the arrangement of buildings within a homestead influence social relationships? How can the answers to the above questions be useful in planning and designing residential houses in the urban areas which are expected to grow in-Homa-Bay District?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

General objective

To investigate how buildings and their surroundings interact with social relationships.

Specific objectives

1. Describe the factors that influence the choice of site.
2. Examine functions of buildings and of space utilisation.
3. Investigate and describe how the arrangement of structures in a homestead influences human behaviour.
4. To find out whether changes (if any) in the arrangement of structures and building materials have any influence on social relationships.

1.4 Rationale of the Study

The United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Henceforth UNCHS, 1990:3) observes that shelter is fundamental to people's physical, psychological, social and economic well being in all countries. Furthermore, human settlements are a direct expression of change and constancy in values, images and perceptions of people. Traditional structures satisfy a people's needs more adequately than urban ones (Denyer, 1978:4; Oliver, 1987:4). Unfortunately, not everyone can nowadays live in those structures. Therefore, alternatives are necessary such that those settlements that are established conform to a people's needs.

This requires thorough understanding of the interaction between buildings and users.

Change in housing design, building materials and arrangement could have adverse effects on the target people if not well planned. According to Wanjala (1987:76)

> Those planners who think they can sweep away traditional modes of shelter will be surprised by the damage such blind change can bring in the relationships between a people and their houses.

Thus, the importance of unravelling the principles underlying the use of the built environment becomes clear. We need this study in a rural setting with a view to adopting the principles for purposes of planned change with as little disruption of the social fabric as possible. It may eventually be useful even in the design of low-cost houses after sufficient cross-cultural studies are done. As such, we require substantial knowledge of how people perceive their environment. Dober(1976:ix) asserts that:

> ...people mentally structure their surroundings. These impressions affect their response to their environment and their behaviour in it. Knowledge of these interactions can be beneficially used by all those shaping human habitations at any scale: a room or a region.(emphasis added)

Human settlements are affected by virtually the entire range of economic and social policies formulated at the national level (UNCHS 1987:73). Investments in human settlements are, therefore, investments in

the development of human resources, the benefits of which accrue not only to individuals but also to the nation as a whole (Ibid:210). This view has been ignored as a result of modernisation theories which emphasise economic development, yet human settlements are so important that

> Inadequate or insecure shelter, wherever it may be, will lead to social and economic instability and hamper economic development (UNCHS, 1987:3).

Rapport (1977:3) argues that the built environment has important effects on human interactions. Its inhibiting effects, under conditions of reduced competence or environmental docility, may be critical. An instance are those built forms which prevent or destroy particular norms of family organisations, prevent the formation of homogeneous groups for mutual help, disrupt social networks or certain institutions and prevent certain economic rituals.

Consequently, change in housing requires that it be gradual such that people are able to cope with it. Disrupting such important facets of society such as social networks could result in an upsurge of social conflict, delinquency and psychological maladjustment as Ward(1979) attempts to show.

By way of summary the three major justifications for undertaking this study were:-

1. Filling the gaps in knowledge concerning housing and,

especially, the functions of the arrangement of houses and ancillary structures within a typical Luo homestead. It is hoped that this study will be of help to architects, development planners and other interested parties in understanding the values and beliefs of the Luo with regard to their settlements.

2. Unravelling the ways in which the built environment provides cues for behaviour and social relationships. This may contribute to the formation of appropriate strategies for planning and development of houses in the growing urban areas in Homa-Bay District. This will hopefully keep at a minimum those changes due to development which interfere with traditional systems.

3. Leading us to dissatisfaction with our current state of ignorance on the subject so as to generate interest in the study of the interaction between people and their habitat. Sufficient studies will enable us to have cross-cultural approaches to the study and application of urban planning in Kenya.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

We shall review the literature in four sections. The built environment in itself is important and deserves attention. Secondly, we shall review how people perceive and interact with the built environment. Next, we examine the relationship between the architectural environment and development. Finally, we deal with changes in built environments and how people have attempted to cope with them.

2.1 The built environment

Mboya's book *Luo Kitgi gi Timbegi* (1967) has detailed the methods used in homestead establishment. It describes such materials used in building as ideal roofing grass, the types of wood and the process of building itself. It likewise pays attention to the patterning and arrangement of individual structures within a homestead. Also mentioned are the rules of space use within a given house. However, the book does not account for non-physical functions of homestead structures.

The book, comprehensive though it is, has a number of shortcomings. It does not consider the subtle differences existing in house

building techniques and partition between various Luo groups. In Siaya District, the second wife's house is to the left of the first's, looked at while facing the main gate. In Homa-Bay, it is positioned to the right [cf. Shipton (1986) and Odak (1986) in South Nyanza and Siaya District social cultural profiles respectively].

Mboya's book assumes uniformity in all Luo customs, which is not the case even among the Luo of Homa-Bay themselves. The Luo currently occupying Homa-Bay mingled with some of the earlier residents and, in the process of gradual adaptation and amalgamation, the present population emerged (Berg-Schlosser, 1984:117). The traditions of the Luo neighbouring other ethnic societies subtly differ from those of the ones inhabiting the interior of Luo-land. However, according to Odak (n.d:18).

> Although there may be details of cultural practices based on differences in the regions the Luo occupy, there are several commonalities that can be discerned on detailed examination of individual aspects of their cultural behaviour.

Mboya's book, however, is a very useful source of information that may not be readily available at present, especially in such a comprehensive form.

Andersen's study of Luo architecture (1974) is limited to a few of the many aspects of the built environment, such as building techniques,

settlement patterns, equipment and tools. However, the description of building techniques among the Luo is illuminating. Similar accounts of building processes among the Luo are by Ocholla-Ayayo (1980), Odak(1986;n.d) and Shipton (1986).

Andersen (1974:130) says that the Luo houses are built on the periphery of euphorbia enclosures and outside the inner cattle enclosure called *kul*. The building area for a house is marked by drawing the perimeter using a piece of string attached to a peg in the ground. The house has a cylinder shaped wall on top of which is a cone-shaped roof and a sharp stick(*osuri* at the rooftop (Odak, n.d:4). The materials that go into buildings largely depend on their availability.

In so far as the order of building is concerned, Ocholla-Ayayo(1980:35) observes that:

> The Luo regard the building of a homestead and its houses (*godala*) as a cultural phenomenon...the custom of seniority is maintained in building houses in a village.

Ocholla-Ayayo's observation is also evident in Odinga's autobiography(1967:6-12).

Among the Agikuyu, a new house is usually built when a new family is started(Cagnolo, 1933:53). The old houses are periodically re-built. The man concerned (i.e., the builder) says Cagnolo, invites as many friends as

possible to help him in building, so as to finish the house within a day. Andersen(1976:22) also presents this observation and says that the traditional house was built by the community in a single day, as required by tradition(see also Leakey 1977:130-165).

According to Andersen (1974:84) :

> The Kikuyu homestead is made up of several houses, one for the husband and one for each of the wives. The senior wife's house, which is usually larger than those of the younger wives, follows a strict internal layout and is a model for a woman's house in that society.

Leakey also notes the difference in size between the wives' houses, but goes further than Andersen in that he notes and explains the difference in sizes between "chiefs'" and "others'" houses. He also details the fencing of Gikuyu villages. However, since he was writing about the Agikuyu before 1903, the changes in the fences themselves and in the building materials are not captured. This change has been noted by Andersen (1974:78-84). One interesting phenomenon to note among the Agikuyu is the difference in the mode of fencing villages neighbouring other groups and of those in the interior of Gikuyuland. Muriuki(1978:122) says that the frontier area fences were more elaborate and formidable than those of villages in the interior of Kikuyuland.

Among the Akamba, Hobley(1910:30-33) describes the

measurement, partition and arrangement of their houses before 1910. How the compound was fenced, the materials used in building, the process and form of building houses are also given attention. Lindblom (1910:436-445) further details the ceremonies associated with building the "chief's" house and "others". Both Hobley and Lindblom do not explain the difference in ceremonies associated with building these houses. The relatively common modes of construction, ground configuration and fencing of homesteads are likewise unexplained.

Kalule(1986:49) says that Akamba houses had a circular plan and were known as *Kisukuu*. There follows a detailed description of building materials and their physical functions. Again, this study hardly attempts an analysis of the rules governing the arrangement of the internal plan and the form of these structures.

Mwaniki(1988:110) observes that among the Aembu, there was a conscious choice of building site and materials. Examples are provided of building materials. Mwaniki then describes the processes of building and space use. With regard to space utilisation the family house, which was built before others, was divided into sleeping space for uninitiated girls, storage, cooking and the family sleeping space. This account is useful in that, based on it, analyses of the interaction between space use and social relationships could be done.

The homestead in a monogamous family among the Ameru has four

houses(Wandibba, 1988:82). There is the *gaaru*, man's house, *kiune*, woman's house, *gaaru e ciruji*, uninitiated boy's house and *muthimbere*, girl's house. Young initiated men lived by themselves. No unthreshed grains were allowed into the homestead. The granaries and young men's houses are therefore built outside the homestead. From this account, it would be interesting to learn how the young men living outside the homesteads are related to those people residing within it, and to compare the findings with the relationships between the same parties among ethnic groups such as the Luo, whose young men lived within the homestead.

The homestead among the Turkana comprises a circular thorn fence within which are the goat/sheep pen, *anok*, a sleeping house, *ekai*, the day house for each wife, *ekal*, and the sleeping house for the homestead head *etiam*. These structures serve their purposes well. For instance, the day house is virtually the coolest in the hostile environment in which the Turkana live(Soper, 1985:70). Despite these useful adaptations, Turkana houses have attracted derogatory remarks from outside observers(ibid:71). If the Turkana are forced to change their buildings due to these remarks, the consequences may be adverse. Their architectural environment clearly represents a finely tuned balance between people and nature. This balance is attested to by the fact that new homesteads are not built near water-points, water courses, and regularly used paths. This is to keep away flies, mosquitoes and casual strangers.

The standard monogamous Tugen homestead consists of the *kaa*, the parents house, *signoin*, children's house, *kapnoo* goats shelter, and a granary. A Tugen man, in contrast with the Luo man, establishes a homestead immediately after marriage. If he becomes polygamous then the homestead expands, since each wife must have her own house (Kimokoti, 1986:74). Kimokoti, however, mentions nothing about the relationship between the structures and the residents. If it were addressed, then we could have clarified whether the wives' houses were built on specific spaces or not.

Among the Kipsigis, the favoured building site was usually close to water and on the lee-side of a hill-slope. The doorways to Kipsigis houses faced downslope so as to stop rainwater from getting into the houses (Oliver, 1987:65). Oliver says that the door also faced south such that neither the rising nor setting sun fell on the fireplace. However, Peristiany (1964:158) claims that:-

> About the orientation of the hut, there is only one rule: the door...must always face downhill, if it is built on a hill. If the hut is built on the plains, it should face either East or towards the river. (emphasis in the original)

Oliver agrees with Ochardson (1961:83) on door orientation. Ochardson (ibid) also says that the door should not face the prevailing

wind and rain which is usually from the East.

There is no inaugural ritual when the erection of a house begins. A ***mussongindet*** (man of knowledge) is usually called and he marks on the ground with a small stick called ***kibuti***, a large circle indicating the circumference to be occupied by the building (Peristiany, 1964:154). The process of construction then begins. The Kipsigis house, after building, had a wall made from a ring of posts, daubed with mud and a thatched roof, from the peak of which a narrow pole extended.

Though Duly(1979) claims concern with "the communicative significance of builtform", he largely dwells on the physical description of houses world-wide. Had Duly achieved his stated goal, his book would have been useful with regard to people's perception, on the one hand, and on the relationships amongst people as a result of these relationships, on the other.

Finally, the Banyoro never built their homesteads when something auspicious occurred. Care was thus taken to ensure that no early morning rain fell on the building day. An invasion of red soldier ants, fire in the main hearth going out, a jackal's barking and anyone sneezing when the household head was saying "tomorrow I am going to build a house", were all considered bad omens and their occurrence had to postpone building (Nyakatura, 1974:1).

In this section, we have seen some of the extant literature on the built

environment. Apparently, very little has been done on the non-material functions of homestead structures in typical African villages. This forces us to surmise that shelter was not thought of as important in ethnographic descriptions of African societies by among others, Hobley, Cagnolo and Peristiany, among the Akamba, Agikuyu and Kipsigis respectively.

2.2 People's perception of and interaction with the built environment.

"...Each ethnic group had its own kind of builtform with certain meanings attached to it"(Nderitu, 1990:5). Although we will review studies on man-builtform interaction, this will be at a general level and may not adequately reflect individual ethnic differences. Our concern will be with how people interpret, interact with and are influenced by their built surroundings at a general level.

If human beings have done certain things for a long time, there may be good reasons for it. As structures, houses clearly function as forms of shelter. Less clear, but equally important, are the reasons behind the particular forms these shelters take(Pader, 1993:14). For instance, Andersen attempts to explain why houses in Kenya had a predominantly circular plan with conical roofs. He says that one theory for them is in relation to

> ...space concepts of the man who has encountered only a natural environment,

> the horizon seems round, the sun is round and so on(1974:12).

He personally subscribes to the view that houses were round for practical reasons, that it was the easiest way of setting out a house and that a round house is more solid and can support the roof. His argument is not supported by Ocholla-Ayayo(1980). Ocholla-Ayayo(1980:85) notes that:

> It was thought that circular buildings are not only easy but also the most ancient development. However, the history of architecture has shown that ancient Egyptians did not find it easy to build circular houses and almost all their ancient buildings did not have a circular pattern. The same is true with Chinese ancient architectures which were all rectangular in plan.

He further notes that the traditional round house may be linked to cosmic thoughts; that in the round house, the walls represent the earth the roof the sky(p.62). Rapport (1969), himself an architect, states that:

> "...the reason may well be due to cosmic orientation - a round house cannot be easily oriented...like among the Zulu where orientation is unimportant, round houses were used."

The above quotations are not so much aimed at showing how scholars have tried to explain architectural environments but to show that people have, over the years struggled to relate to, interpret and explain their surroundings. Built environments give expression to and, in turn,

influence social, cognitive and other environments. This is done through distinctions which humans first know, then describe through language and finally, make through building (Rapport, 1980:284,295).

With regard to the relationship between human settlements and social organisation, Oliver(1971:8) notes that village organisation and family relationships might be expressed in the physical disposition of buildings which may themselves be controlled by social hierarchies. He even makes the suggestion to anthropologists, that:

> It would seem that the most valuable contribution that anthropologists could make in the study of African architecture would be to show the relationship between their areas of study and the buildings, villages, communities and the cities in which they take place (Oliver, 1971:8)

This affirms the argument that the relationship between social organisation, social interaction and the built environment is a valuable and important area of study in its own right(cf. Doxiadis, 1976).

According to Frazer (1968:8) no matter where he lives or how, man must juxtapose his dwellings and more specialised structures in some manner. What is important are the choices that are made and why they come about, not whether they are done consciously or with little premeditation. These choices are significant since they are symptomatic of the values and attitudes of the communities that accept the final placement

of buildings. Frazer gives the examples of the Bamileke of the Cameroon grasslands who use their village layout as a visible paradigm of their social systems. This shows how they organise and structure communication such as interaction, dominance, and avoidance. Social systems, therefore, influence the layout of their village and, in turn, the behaviour of residents in the village.

Denyer (1978) observes that the structure of settlement patterns in Africa was determined by kinship ties and that African villages usually expressed the social structure of the group living in them. Like Frazer, she notes that in an ideal situation, all members of one clan would live in a clearly defined piece of territory. Her argument is supported by Odinga's account of his village in his autobiography **Not Yet Uhuru**(1967:6). This brings us to the relationship between the use of space, the built environment and territory.

The definition of space is difficult since different people "see" space differently. At a general level, space is the three dimensional extension of the world around us, the intervals, the distances and the relationship between people and people, objects and objects, and people and objects. Space is therefore independent of shape. It is a more fundamental property of environment than shape, the materials which give it physical expression and other similar characteristics (Rapport, 1980:293)

Hall (1959;1966) attempts to show how different cultures use space.

The study of the relationships between the architectural environment and spatial utilisation has been done especially in **The Hidden Dimension**(1966). Other works on the use of space have also been published. Examples are those by Canter(1976), Ocholla-Ayayo(1980) and Rapport(1980). Though these works have attempted to tackle the issue of space, they have not adequately dealt with direct relationship between space and social interaction, on the one hand, and space and culture on the other. To the author's knowledge, the best analysis of space, culture and social interaction so far has been done by Yamamoto in **Culture Spaces in Everyday Life**(1974). This book incorporates and anticipates the ideas of the other scholars. Thus, it is Yamamoto whom we shall deal with extensively.

In this book, Yamamoto shows that people are space and time bound beings. Being space bound, people try to relate to and explain the world around them.

> In attempting to understand the world we live in, our ancestors segmented and organised the universe in a variety of ways. They tried to organise space as a systematic part of the worldview so that they could explain the obvious and bring closer the unexplained
> (Yamamoto, 1979:7).

Such attempts force people to organise their activities in relation to the space they are in. They carry out activities at certain places at certain

times. Consequently, they behave and act in a certain manner at certain places and times. People act differently in different settings because they make congruent their behaviour with the norms for behaviours in those settings as defined by culture.

Yamamoto further argues that it is not the size of space but its location relative to others that is important (p.1). This implies that the occupant of that space perceived as important by a group or society usually has more authority. Thus, the relationships between this occupant and others is shaped by and revolves around the use of space. Spatial cues may identify setting which become indicators of social positions, ways of establishing group or social identity and ways of indicating expected behaviour.

Since we organise our activities relative to the space we are in, we must learn to behave differently in different spaces. Yamamoto says that the appropriateness of our behaviour (and prior to that, the appropriateness of our sensing, evaluation and judgement) is, for the most part, learnt. This introduces us to the notion of culture since culture itself is learnt. We shall attempt to see the relationship between culture and space concepts.

For our purposes, culture constitutes two major aspects. First, the adaptive strategies for survival, i.e., how people use the available technology to survive. Secondly, culture constitutes that system of symbols, meanings and cognitive schemata transmitted through symbolic

codes. The second aspect is of immediate relevance, though both are quite closely related.

Certain spaces are culturally considered the exclusive domain of given categories of people. Any intrusion into them brings discomfort to both the intrudee and intruder. The easiest way to discover whether one is intruding on another's territory is by invading the assumed boundary, which may or may not have explicit markers. For instance, among the Luo of Homa-Bay District, children do not usually enter the sleeping spaces of their opposite relations. While the boundaries may not be explicitly marked, crossing them usually results in tension and discomfort between the people involved. Among the !Kung, it is women who are responsible for building houses. A woman may not wish to build any elaborate structure. All she needs to do in those circumstances is to make an arch using two supple poles stuck onto the ground, curved, and tied together at their intersection. This arch helped the !Kung to orient themselves. They could tell, for instance, the men's and women's sides of the fire (Oliver 1980:23; Rapport, 1980:281). Space use and meanings attached to them is so important to them that it is considered impolite to use the incorrect sides of the fire among the sexes. We see here a relationship between !Kung culture and their behaviour. Pader (1993:114) says of this interaction that:

> Domestic, social and spatial relations are fundamentally intertwined with concepts of ethnic identity as elemental components of social reproduction and the structuration of daily life.

> Each of these components simultaneously affects and is affected by the others.

Culture, therefore, influences the way we use space and subsequently the way that it may determine behaviour and social reactions (cf. Odak, 1986:214). Yamamoto neatly sums up this argument thus.

> The way we look at the environment is not just idiosyncratic and individualistic but is conditioned by the culture of which we are a part. It also depends on our definition of the situation from which we relate to the environment (1979:10)

People's conceptions of and relation to space is so important that physical boundaries are often shaped by social boundaries (Yamamoto. Ibid:16). It follows then, that in a study of man-built form interaction, from a systemic and functional viewpoint, we must constantly keep in mind that the human being is not only a culture conditioned, but also a space bound being.

Space, being so important to people, brings about conceptions of territoriality. Spatial utilisation within a house or building reflects how people demarcate territories within cultures(Hall, 1976). Among the Luo for example, the disposition of individual structures within the homestead was, among other things, a reflection of territoriality with subsequent influence on social relations. For instance, the sleeping quarter was the territory of the house owner. Avoidance relatives to the owner were not allowed, under normal circumstances, to enter this space. Overlooking this

territorial division could have important implications on the relationships amongst these people.

Studies by Bakker and Bakker-Rabdau(1973) have shown that territoriality is intimately related to security. Security in this case is not formidable physical structures but the design of the structures themselves. Newman (1973:187-200) argues that the design of residential houses can and does act as a deterrent against intruders. From a study of residential houses in New York, he concluded that the layout of houses and their design influences the chances of intrusion by criminals. Even in the highest crime prone areas of New York, certain residential houses report fewer cases of break-ins. In those less crime prone areas, poorly designed houses report an almost similar number of burglaries as those that are in the more crime prone areas. Newman postulates that the high incidence of crime in "poorly" designed houses results from lack of distinctive spaces that are defensible. His ideal layout of residential houses somewhat resembles that of the typical Luo residential homestead which has one main gate and an "open space" at the centre. Newman says that their doorways should be oriented towards the open space such that any intruder can be seen and repulsed.

Space, territoriality and defence are closely intertwined. They influence behaviour and social relationships. Since they are related to the architectural environment, it is to the relationship between the built

environment and human behaviour that we must now turn to.

Our behaviour is a product of the physical and social environments which we inhabit, and which provides specific interpersonal cues and behavioural contexts. The architectural environments in which we live circumscribe and, to some extent, determine our behaviour (Baum, 1977:19).

Levin (1971), in a study of the Bakotsi houseform, found that reorganisation of the village layout by German authorities between 1886 and 1914, brought significant changes in social behaviour through frequency of interaction and a wider, regularly communicating community of more distant kinsmen. The built environment and behaviour/social relationships are so intimately intertwined that changes in either form or ground configuration of buildings could result in changes in social interaction.

Johnstone (1973:1) observes that a man is affected and constrained in a variety of ways, one of which is the built environment he creates. This argument is supported by Rapport (1969,1976a,1976b, 1977, 1980). Similarly, Ocholla-Ayayo notes the influence human settlements have on social relationships, especially those between members in avoidance relationships(1980:21,65)

Buildings and their surroundings influence the way in which the chief or a person in authority is related to the 'subjects'. A famous example

is found among the Tiv, whose houses all face that of their chief, which is grander than those of other people. Duly (1979:30) says that the chief's house has to incorporate the imperatives of social distance. If differences of wealth, privilege and status are recognised by a society, sizes of the houses, as well as their location, can be used to physically demonstrate social position, which carries with it a variety of cues of social relationships.

If the built environment, the use of space, territoriality and defence mutually interact with social relationships, then this could have important development implications in Homa-Bay District.

2.3 Human settlements and Development

The global report on human settlements by UNCHS(1987:210) states that though, for economic reasons, human settlements are important, they are balanced by the role they play in promoting social development, improving the quality of life and meeting basic human needs. It argues that the promotion of the well being of people is the concern and purpose of all development efforts. Therefore, there can be no discussion of improving the welfare of human beings without consideration of the way in which they interact. The interaction of human beings takes place in several settings, one of which is in human settlements.

Shelter is more than buildings. Constructing rows of houses in

Ndhiwa Division will definitely alleviate physical housing shortage in the area, but this is not enough. We have to consider the effect it will have on the social relationships among the users. The ideas which culminated into what are commonly known as site-and-service schemes are unlikely to help in the achievement of integrated development in Ndhiwa and are also unlikely to promote the overall well being of the residents. As such, apart from the provision of physical habitations, we should realise that shelter is likely to influence social relations and, subsequently, development.

UNCHS (1990:3) further states that inadequate or insecure shelter hampers economic development. Global shelter conditions are closely linked to the achievement and maintenance of world peace. UNCHS suggests that attention to shelter conditions in the world could lead not only to the reduction of political and social instability but also to an improvement in the status and well being of people. To achieve world peace is in itself great development. If attention to shelter could lead to it, then this is quite important because, while achieving and maintaining world peace, other similarly important goals could be achieved.

In **A New Agenda for Human Settlements** UNCHS (n.d:3), observes that no creative act takes place without being influenced by settlement conditions. Thus, the creation of workable human settlements inevitably becomes an indicator of, a prerequisite for and the objective of social and economic development. As such, investments in human settlements are

investments in the development of human resources. We agree with this argument.

Housing is important in at least two ways: its construction creates massive direct employment and, also, decent housing is related to labour productivity (Macoloo, 1984:9). Markus (1988:7) further states that if basic feelings about a house and its immediate environment are satisfactory, we are able to tolerate a lot stress. If these feelings are not satisfactory, then we feel its effects in other otherwise fulfilling and satisfying aspects of life.

Development, though a value laden concept, needs an integrated approach. Concentration on only the material and economic aspects is inadequate and cannot be rightly described as such. Attention to one aspect does not lead to the achievement of all the goals of development, among which are not only improving the lot of the world's poor but also reducing the gap between wealth and poverty.

We have included the issue of development in our review since it is central to this study for two reasons which are themselves related. This study is informed by a systems viewpoint which urges the integration of aspects which are pertinent in a system. We reduce issues to their basic components to impose some order, not because they are not relevant. Shelter is an integral part of development. Furthermore, one of the objectives of this study is to suggest to development planners that the

design of buildings in itself is insufficient, since there are other factors to consider before intervening in change related endeavours, if such a change is to be considered development.

2.4 Change

There is an intimate relationship between the built and natural environments. To construct a house, people extract raw materials either from the local natural environment or import these from elsewhere...(Odak, 1990:2). Due to a variety of factors among which are the necessity and external influence, people may borrow building materials from an environment external to theirs. However, there is a point beyond which external borrowing may lead to disorganisation of cultural heritage and subsequently, loss of cultural identity.

In the rural areas of Kenya, the notion of development has often meant the replacement of indigenous houses with "new" ones even with no particular technical, economic or environmental justification (Wandibba, 1988:82; Wanjala, 1987:76). It is in these rural areas that we have built environments which reflect the congruence between physical and human systems (Rapport, 1980:289; Soper, 1985:71). Therefore, blind change from the indigenous to the foreign results in erosion of the congruence between buildings, behaviour, social organisation and ultimately social

relationships.

While change is both necessary and inevitable, it must be gradual and adapted to local physical and non-physical conditions. We shall attempt to illustrate how different societies in Kenya have tried to cope with changes in the built environment.

In Kwale District, the former housetypes have been replaced with modification of Arabic architecture, especially in urban areas. This is welcome to the extent that it does not violate physical comfort. However difficulties arise with respect to in-laws. The older generation feels uncomfortable sharing toilet facilities with in-laws even if these are just the outside homestead, and in places hidden from people (Kimokoti 1988:92). This is a problem which could have been avoided by providing separate toilet facilities for in-laws, had this change been planned.

In Busia, in contrast to other parts of Western Kenya, indigenous houses still predominate with minor modifications such as the removal of the stick at the roof apex and addition of small windows (Olenja, 1986:97). This is not because they do not want to change but because, they argue, the human lifespan is short and that some rituals cannot be performed in foreign structures. Among the Iteso, for instance, a widow cannot stay in her late husband's house which implies that it is easier and cheaper to demolish a daub and thatch house than the "modern" permanent or semi-permanent ones. From Olenja's account, we see that planned change in

human settlements may be approached in a different light from the way it could in a society where the widow still retains her house. Haphazard change could result in a significant number of unoccupied houses, considering the shortage of building space and among other resources, which would be an unnecessary loss to people in Busia.

Among the Luo of the former South Nyanza District, traditional houses still predominate. Those that have modern architecture have adapted these to fit their traditions with respect to homestead establishment (Shipton, 1986:86). The rules of space utilisation within the compound and house are still followed. One will easily notice that houses have their main doors opening towards the left as one enters the house. With the door opening thus, the sleeping space is kept dark, such that those visitors who sit to its right do not see what is in the bed space. This is evident regardless of whether there is a physical wall separating the sleeping from the sitting space and whether the house is partitioned or not. Some societies in Kenya have adopted change largely due to external pressure, thereby leading to distinct physically uncomfortable dwellings. This is the case in Marsabit District (Wanjala, 1986). It is, therefore, essential that a study of shelter needs and usage is undertaken to ensure that change conforms to a people's needs, since human settlements contribute towards their overall (people) well- being.

In this section, we have attempted to show how various societies

have adapted to and coped with change. While planned change is not a definite and sure way of solving housing problems, it could prove to be much better than haphazard change.

2.5 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study views the built environment as part of a larger network of factors influencing social interaction. Even development is seen as part of a larger integrated whole. The United Nations looks at shelter as part of a system; other parts in combination with housing, form a larger network of integrated parts...people, habitat and development are part of an integrated whole (UNCHS, 1987:6). Rural housing can thus be regarded as a system, geared towards integrated development programmes in order to provide the desired impact in rural areas (ibid:3). A housing system will perform effectively only if the whole range of interacting conditions is satisfied.

Societal problems are a combination of social, psychological, cultural, emotional and economic factors. The solution of one problem therefore has a lot do with the solution of another (Allen 1978:6, Churchman, 1968:4; Loomis, 1960). The housing problem in many third world countries is part of the general development problems and should be seen as such. There is, thus, a need to employ a theoretical orientation that takes into account the interrelatedness of sets or components which work in concert for the overall objective of the whole.

Social systems fulfils this requirement . We concur with Allen (1978:6) who says that among the reasons why the social sciences have at times failed to solve large social problems are:

1. The failure to realise that social problems must be viewed as holistic problems which cannot be reduced to separate components, which can be measured apart from the whole of which they are a part.

2. That there is a definite lack of integration of the findings of social researches and that these findings usually have no real world application.

2.5.1 Social Systems Theory

We shall attempt to define the concept "systems" then proceed to underline the logic behind systems theory and show how it helps in explaining the issues the data collected has raised.

A system is a continuous boundary maintaining assembly of interdependent, interrelated elements acting and acted upon by one or more inputs. It consists of patterned activities of individuals which are complementary or dependent with respect to their outcome (cf. Kuhn,

1982:21; Allen 1978:22; Buckley, 1967:5, Chorley and Bennet, 1967, Cortes et. al, 1974:ix; Lillienfeld 1978:12).

To grasp the logic of a system one needs to identify its boundaries. Identifying the boundaries of an open system is not easy because of its open nature. As such, the definition of its boundaries is somewhat arbitrary though it should relate closely to reality on the ground.

Basically, a system is goal oriented. Its components work for the overall benefit of the whole. As such, to identify a system and determine its functions, one follows two procedures, which are:

1. Tracing the pattern of energy exchange or activity of people in terms of how it results in some output.

2. Ascertaining how the outcome is translated into energy which reactivates the pattern of activity.

Social systems theory argues that components are interrelated and that change in one will result in change or adjustment in the other. By their very interrelated nature, components of a system adjust themselves to accommodate other components which not only relate to one another but ensure that the system survives.

The homestead in an indigenous Luo compound is usually fenced

and this is its physical boundary. We take this as the boundary to our homestead system. The houses and individuals within this homestead are the components within the system. They work together for the overall good of this homestead. Within this system (homestead) are subsystems which are also systems by themselves. For instance, the first wife's house is a subsystem within the homestead but at the same time it is a system in its own right. As such, within the house are other subsystems which work together to ensure that the house functions effectively towards some goal.

A system imports energy from the external environment. This energy refers to people and /or materials other than human beings. The homestead imports energy from the culture of the Luo. This energy comes in terms of the rules for establishing and patterning of structures within the homestead. These energies are the inputs into the system.

These inputs must have a function if they are to be useful to the system. Within the homestead, the rules for patterning and establishing a home in turn provide cues for appropriate behaviour among household members in clearly defined social relationships.

In this study, we want to find out, for instance, how the arrangement of houses and ancillary structures within a homestead influence social relationships. In terms of systems theory, this arrangement forms the input to the system while social relationships are the output. In between these two is the throughput, that is, the processes that bring about these distinct

social relationships. How this influence occurs is looked at in terms of the energies absorbed into the system so as to reactivate the pattern of the system, i.e., the arrangement of structures within a homestead.

Change is looked at in terms of the movement in the direction of differentiation and elaboration; that is, the components within a system multiply or grow with a greater specialisation of functions. For instance if houses are divided into more rooms, then the latter are for specific purposes which initially were subsumed under one room that originally constituted the whole house before division.

We have attempted to define a system and outline its very basic assumptions. We also have attempted to show how this theory is related to the subject of our study and how it will help in explaining our findings. Systems theory is wide and as such some assumptions within it cannot be relevant to our present purposes.

2.6 **Hypotheses**

H_1 Pasture, water and security influence the choice of a building site.

H_2 The functions of buildings determine their establishment and persistence.

H_3 The value attached to the arrangement of structures within a compound influences human behaviour.

H_4 Changes in the arrangement of structures are likely to influence social relations.

2.7 Operational definition of some concepts.

To avoid misinterpretation, the following concepts will be defined.

Household

It is one or more persons who live together and cooperate in a variety of ways in domestic affairs.

Homestead

It is that cluster of houses within a compound. The members in a homestead are usually relatives.

Structures

This refers to both the buildings used for human habitation and those used for other purposes. Structures therefore include the fence, granaries, cattle bomas and the houses used for human habitation.

Builtform

This is the physical response to needs in building.

Built Environment

The atmosphere created by buildings and their surroundings.

Pattern/Arrangement/Configuration

These refer to the way individual structures are allocated particular spatial positions within a compound.

Social Relationship

This denotes the behaviour of a plurality of actors, in so far as in its meaningful content, the action of each takes account of that of others and is oriented in these terms (Lessnoff, 1974:40).

Space

This is the three dimensional extension of the world around us.

Territoriality

In simple terms, this is the use and perception of space.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODS

3.1 Research Site

Ndhiwa Division is within the newly created Homa-Bay District. It borders Rangwe and Mbita to the north, Nyatike and Migori to the south, and Rongo to the east. According to the 1989 population census, Ndhiwa had 143,680 people.

Ndhiwa falls within the lake shore region which is characterised by dry conditions. The area largely grows subsistence crops such as beans, groundnuts, maize, millet and sorghum. Indigenous cattle breeding is practiced in the southern part of the area but this potential for livestock is yet to be fully exploited.

3.2 The People

Ndhiwa Division is dominated by the Luo. The history of the people of Ndhiwa and the whole of the former South Nyanza District is part of that of the Kenya Luo.

There are currently two views about Luo origins, migrations and settlement. The first view propounded by among others, Ogot (1967), holds that the original home of the Luo was somewhere in the southern Sudan from where they migrated southwards into Uganda. They are said to have arrived at the lake Victoria shores around the 16th Century. From

there they spread along the shores to Kisumu and Kano plains. Migration into South Nyanza commenced from these two areas (Ayot,1981). From this account, the arrival and settlement of the Luo across the gulf is a recent phenomenon relative to their arrival and settlement in Siaya and Kisumu.

The second view propounded by Wrigley(1981), briefly states that the original home of the Luo was in central Uganda from where they travelled northwards into Sudan and east into Kenya.

The first view seems more plausible in view of the environmental and economic similarities that exist between southern Sudan and the areas currently occupied by the Luo relative to the environment and economic possibilities in central Uganda.

3.3 The Population

The population or universe in this study is the typical indigenous polygynous Luo homestead. The homestead was chosen because it was the one most likely to provide answers to the questions raised by the hypotheses in the study.

3.4 Sampling Procedure

The basic anthropological data collection techniques were employed in this study which is basically a qualitative and descriptive one (Benard 1988; Dawson, Manderson and Tallo, 1992). Also employed was the

stratified sampling technique for use in the questionnaire as supplementary to the anthropological data collection techniques (Benard, 1988; Pelto, 1970; Prewitt, 1975).

The lottery method (Benard, 1988) was employed to get the administrative locations in which the research was done. Kanyadoto East and West were identified. From these two, four sub-locations were identified on the basis of the number of typical polygynous homesteads available. The sub-locations identified were Kanyikela North, Kanyikela South, Kabura and Kaganda.

Using stratified sampling technique (Prewitt: 1975). 23 questionnaires were administered in Kanyikela south, while 27 were administered in Kanyikela North, both sublocations of Kanyadoto East. Kabura yielded 24 questionnaires while Kaganda yielded 26 questionnaires in Kanyadoto West location. The total number of questionnaires administered was 100.

For purposes of pretesting questions to be administered, the haphazard sampling method was used, where those married adults within a village who lived in polygynous homesteads were interviewed . This method was useful in facilitating adjustments necessary to the questions. It also facilitated the use of the snowball technique (Narrol and Cohen 1976) which helped in identifying key informants. The number of informants interviewed is mentioned under specific data collection methods detailed

below.

3.5 **Data Collection Methods**

The following are the methods which were used to collect data in this study.

a) Use of Key Informants

It was necessary to use key informants who had knowledge on

- Space use and infringement;
- Homestead structures and authority;
- Housebuilding processes and norms;
- Change in builtform over time;

20 key informants were interviewed.

b) Observation

This method was used for collecting data concerning

- Housebuilding processes;
- Order of building houses, i.e., which house is built before others and which follows;
- space within the homestead;

c) Informal interviews

Respondents were allowed, using this method, to talk with minimum interruption so as to get a total picture of the issues in the study. Eighty respondents were interviewed.

d) Structured Interviews

Informants were asked to respond to the same set of questions asked in the same order. The administration of the questionnaire in this formal interview was meant to supplement qualitative data collected through the other methods. 100 respondents were interviewed.

e) Secondary Sources

Library sources were used to supplement information gathered from the field. They were was also useful in finding out whether this information concurred with that already recorded in books and other materials. Two people who are not from the study area also gave information. These were Mzee Zephania Mira(81) of Kanyada Location in Rangwe Division and Frederick Aghan(66) of Nairobi.

3.6 **Analysis of Data**

This study being basically qualitative and descriptive in nature,

heavily relied on qualitative methods (Dawson, Manderson and Tallo 1992; Bernard 1988) of data analysis. Data were indexed then tallied.

3.7 Problems encountered in the Field

The period in which the research was carried out coincided with that of general elections in Kenya. Interviewees were, therefore, difficult to find in their homes during the first one month (December 1992) just before and after the elections on 29th December. The interviwees had to be re-visited until they were found. This resulted in more time being spent in the field than the anticipated 3 months. The fieldwork, therefore, took a month longer.

In the same vein, between December 1992 and the first two weeks of 1993, respondents so engaged the researchers in questions and discussions related to the elections that it took longer than was absolutely necessary to interview one informant, because the discussions also helped to set the climate for smooth interviewing.

CHAPTER FOUR

IDENTIFICATION OF SITE

Overview

The basic hypothesis in this chapter is that the identification of the site on which to build a house is influenced by physical and practical needs. While other considerations have a role in site selection, the prime factors are within the physical environment. In this Chapter, we shall also look at the reasons for establishing a homestead and the initial preparations for building a homestead.

4.1 The Ideal Building Site

The choice of the site on which to build a house was mostly done for practical reasons. One considered, for instance, whether the site chosen could drain rainwater easily. Sites chosen were mostly on raised ground such that water could flow away from the house (cf. Soper, 1986:86). Respondents were asked the characteristics of the ideal site. Table 4.1 below shows the frequencies and percentages of their choices. Some respondents gave more than one response:

Choice of building site

Characteristic	frequency	percentage
On raised ground	67	33.5
Facing slopes/rivers	0	0
With ample pasture	57	28.5
Near other settlements	46	23
Proximity to building materials	20	10
Area near arable land	58	29
With visibility (where enemies could be seen approaching)	27	13.5
TOTAL	**275**	**200**

From the above frequencies and percentages, one can immediately discern that of utmost importance in the choice of the site are practical considerations. For instance, security was achieved in two ways. New homesteads were established near other settlements such that people could easily be mobilised in cases of danger. This mobilisation is known in Dholuo as *yuoro*. The second way was through visibility. People preferred a site where they could see enemies from afar to facilitate organisation of

defensive measures. Other ways of ensuring security will be discussed in a later section.

The past economic activities of the Luo included cattle husbandry. This can be evidenced from the 57 responses which mentioned ample pasture. However, the current economic activities include very little cattle keeping (i.e., in Ndhiwa Division, people do not entirely depend on cattle keeping).

Agriculture, especially that which involves staple crops such as maize and beans, is practised in Ndhiwa Division. In the past, the Luo also practised some agriculture such that it was advisable to choose a site that is near arable land.

On the whole, practical considerations are significant in the choice of site.

4.2 Why establish a homestead?

Establishing a home is a symbol of independence from the parents. Once a homestead is established, an individual joins the ranks of elders. His parents' influence on him becomes generally minimal. Ocholla-Ayayo(1980:63) asserts that:

> During their stay with the parents of the husband and a long time after they set up their own home, the couple will be under some indirect authority of the father. The relationship begins to relax after the first son or daughter marries, when the couple are

> not regarded as young any more. This takes place after the new family has built their own homestead (emphasis added)

According to 18 of the 20 key informants, having one's own homestead provided the freedom necessary for one to chart one's own course in life within the specified norms of the Luo. One informant, Robert Seda Oring'o, 40, a very intelligent and knowledgeable person of Oridi village, argues that parental influence can be seen in two ways related to door orientation. The first way is by the orientation of the door to the *simba*, the bachelor's quarters, which faced the centre of a homestead. This, according to him, symbolised that its occupants were still under parental direction. Secondly, when a new homestead is established, its gate should not face that of the homestead from which the builder comes. This shows that the new builder can now chart his own course in life.

One could participate in activities previously impossible once one had one's own homestead. For instance, one could ritually cleanse oneself and members of one's immediate family. This kind of cleansing(known generally as *liswa*) was believed to be effective when done within one's homestead. Samuel Owour Odida, 56, of Kabura North sub-locations says:

> *Ng'a maduong' ok nyal tieko chike mag dala e dala wuon mare, kata timo liswa moro*

This translates to "a grown up person cannot perform rites connected with a homestead in his father's homestead". A similar argument was raised by Mzee Elijah Orwe, 65, of Otange in Kanyikela south sub-location.

In the past, leadership positions were the preserve of elders. Elders in this sense were those who had homesteads with children and dependants. The elders' ability to manage their homesteads was construed as a prerequisite for leadership. Since one cannot be counted as an elder if one did not have one's own homestead, however old one may be, one could not get certain leadership positions, especially those which involved the making of serious decisions. In this regard, Ocholla-Ayayo has this to say:

> The Luo regard the building of a homestead and its houses (*godala*) as a cultural phenomenon...The custom of seniority is maintained in building houses in a village(Ocholla-Ayayo, 1980:35)

Respondents confirmed Ocholla-Ayayo's assertion. It was necessary for a person to build his own home so as to "pave the way" for his younger brothers according to 55 respondents. In the same vein, a person's children were not expected to get married while they were in their grandfather's homestead. Other informants (62) explained that it was a taboo for cattle meant for bridewealth to come into or get out of the grandfather's *boma* on the day of payment. Odak (n.d:2) adds to the informants explanations by stating that:

> ...the girls had to be married from their own father's homestead and not grandfather's. This is why it was important for a man with children to move into his own homestead. Even the son had to build his own *simba* in his father's homestead and not the grandfather's.

Complications arose when a man, who had children of marriageable age, died without his own homestead. For one, the children could not build their *simba* in their grandfather's homestead. Again they could not build before their father had a homestead of his own.

It is for the above reasons that people strove to have their own homesteads once they had a son who could participate in the processes of moving out. Establishing a home marked a very important transition in one's life and was, therefore, considered very necessary. It marked some sort of ordered disintegration of the system into constituent parts which not only became systems in their own right but also ensured the expansion of the former parent system.

4.3 **Qualifications of the builder**

One criterion was that one had to be married, according to 160 out of 200 informants. He also had to have a son. Exceptions to this rule occurred when the person was to be a given a leadership position. In this case, the important criterion was that he had to be married. The case for the exceptions was mentioned by Robert Seda(40), Nashon Oure (71), both

of Kanyikela North, Samuel Odida (56), of Kabura North and Festo Abongo(62) of Kaganda Sub-location.

Though informants did not mention what happens when a man had no son, Odak (n.d:3) says that if he had no son, the builder had to have daughters of marriageable age. Informants who answered this questions said the son was important because it is him who actually participates in some of the building processes.

A person could only have a homestead after his elder brother. The former could not himself establish one until this elder brother had "paved the way" for him by establishing a home.

4.4 Preparations and processes of building a homestead

When a person felt ready to have his own homestead, he first consulted his father. They discussed the matter and he was shown the best site on which to build.

Once a site had been firmly identified, the builder, and sometimes a few of his agemates, started cutting down and gathering materials for building(cf. Mboya, 1967:61). These were stored at a place away from the actual site lest someone tampered with both the site and materials.

On the morning of the building day, the father, or someone classified as such, woke up early, went to the builder's *simba* and tapped at his door with his stick. Josephat Adela, 65, says that when the prospective builder

came out, they did not talk or exchange greetings. The father led the way to the appointed site, followed by the builder, his wife and eldest son. However, according to Odak (n.d:3)

> The son would lead the way followed by the father, who carries a spear or machete. Behind them would be an elder who follows them carrying ritual preparations, *bilo*, for driving away evil spirits. On nearing the site, the walking positions would be changed to allow the elder to lead the way. The aim is to ensure that the old man is the first person to step on the site.

Two issues are raised by this quotation. No mention of the first wife is made in it. Mboya(1967) mentions this woman but goes no further in detailing her role in the building process. Robert Seda, 40, says that it is the builders wife who carried the twig of fire from the old homestead to the building site. However, his assertion was not confirmed by any other informants. Apart from Mr. Seda, 17 of the 20 key informants just mentioned the performers in the initial house building processes as the elder, the builder and the eldest son by the first wife. From the evidence by the quotation and other informants, the wife's participation in the initial processes of building a homestead was minimal, if at all.

The second issue raised by the quotation is the walking positions of these three people, i.e., elder, builder and son. There is no evidence from informants which confirms that the son leads part of the way. However, it

would be presumptuous to dismiss the observation that the son leads part of the way because informants may have been describing only the part that the elder led. Alternatively, in view of the importance attached to the elders reaching the site first, they did not think it important to mention the details of the procession . This issue needs further research.

The party had to pass through the official gate (*rangach*) while going to the site, signifying the beginning of partial independence from the parents and a new life for the builder and his family. They carried with them the following items- *sigol*(quails' basket), an axe, a cutlass, cowdung, *opea*(immature termites) *modhno* grass, a spear, a rotten/bad egg, fire and a cock(cf. Mboya, 1967).

On reaching the site, the elder tied the *sigol* (inside which were the bad egg and termites) to a stick stuck on the ground, with some of the *modhno* grass. This process known as *tudo lum*, symbolically releases the builder and gives him his independence. Immediately afterwards, the builder tied the cock to the stick on which is the quails' basket. This procedure was followed by spearing the ground, with the sharp end of the spear facing the sky. Fire would be lit by the builder at a place specified by the elder. These details were supplied by among other wazee, the late Osinde Anjeyo, 76 (who passed away two months after my field work), and Alila Kongo 65+ (see also Mboya 1967 and Odak n.d).

The process of *nyono ot* followed afterwards. Josephat Adela 65+,

says this process included" making the first mark on the site of the house". Measuring of the house was done during the process. More of the *modhno* grass was planted on the future compound. Some cowdung was also put on the site. It is at this time that people invited to help build the house started arriving. Since they were not officially expected to know the actual building site, they must have got their bearing from the crowing of the cock, and the smell and site of the fire lit near where the construction was to take place. These people, says Elkana Agola, 68, did not include any in laws to the family of the builder. The elder did not physically participate in anything after *tudo lum* and *nyono ot*.

All materials used in building had to be absolutely new, i.e., they had to be those that had never been used before, This is because, says Z. Adede, 85, it signified the beginning of a new life which should not be tainted with the past. While Mzee Adede says that everything had to be new, other informants, notably Yustino Ogutu who is in his early 90's says this requirement was only necessary for the first house built, i.e., the eldest wife's house. Others could be built using recycled materials. Mr. Ogutu's argument does not seem plausible in view of the importance attached to the beginning of a new life. However, I personally observed materials, notably used posts, being used in building a new home. The answer given upon enquiry was that the builder could not afford all new materials since getting building materials costs money these days. From this answer I

concluded that financial constraints may have brought about changes which in the past were unacceptable.

No material was supposed to be carried away from the building site. Similarly, nothing unnecessary was to be brought to the building site. To ensure this end, the father, children and other interested parties watched unobtrusively to ascertain that nobody left with or brought in anything. There was fear that people with evil intentions could harm the builder using materials from the old building site, according to Okech Oliech, 70. The measures taken could not possibly have prevented anyone with real evil intentions from carrying something into the site. In my opinion, something could be carried in a person's clothes and be deposited at the site at an opportune time. As such, if anyone carried what could be described as magical portions to the site, then it is the other measures taken against such occurrences which may have been effective. Such measures include the rotten egg and ritual preparations from both the diviner and elders.

Actual construction started after the builder's agemates arrived. A person had to complete constructing the main house (the first wife's house) within a day for several reasons. The establishment of a home was a symbol of partial independence which had to be exercised immediately. The builder, in respect for the above reason, was required to spend the first night in his own house. If it was not complete, then he would be at the

mercy of the weather for the duration it took to complete building the house. He was not allowed to go back and sleep in his fathers compound from the moment he started building. Ocholla- Ayayo (1980:63) states that:

> Once a married couple have been assigned to the new homestead, *the head of that newly built homestead cannot come back to live in his father's village*(emphasis added).

Elkana Agola, 68, and 13 of the 20 key informants say that it is not only the builder who cannot go back but even the fire cannot be re-lit using more cinders from the old homestead once the builder has passed through the gate to go and establish his own homestead.

The building of a homestead marked a major transition in the builders life. It also marked the disintegration of the system into constituent units/subsystems. As such, he disturbed this transition by going back to sleep in his father's homestead once he had one of his own.

If he did not sleep in the house on the first night after building it, and another person or animal slept there before him, the house had to be destroyed as it had already been made dirty/impure. Nothing animate was allowed in the house before the owner. Mzee Zephania Mira, 81, says that this was evidenced by the norm that required the builder to throw a small bundle of grass on the roof once it is put up. If a bird landed on the roof before grass being thrown on it, then the house was tainted and had

therefore to be destroyed, adds Mr. Mira. In this Chapter we have seen that practical considerations were primary in the choice of site and there were specific reasons why one had to have a homestead. We have also described the initial housebuilding preparations and processes. From the data, our hypothesis that pasture, water and security influence the choice of site has been supported.

CHAPTER FIVE

ESTABLISHMENT, FUNCTIONS AND PERSISTENCE OF HOMESTEAD STRUCTURES

The basic hypothesis in this chapter is that the establishment and persistence of any given structure depends upon its functions within a homestead and that if these functions are incorporated into another structure, then the original structure ceases to exist. We shall describe the significance of some materials used in the housebuilding process, the arrangement of structures, their functions and their persistence.

5.1 Significance of some materials used in the initial house building processes

Since the most important part of the initial house-building processes is *tudo lum,* which involves tying the quails basket on a stick using the *modhno* grass, we shall start with the items put in the basket. Mr. Robert Seda, 40, says that the *opea* (termites), signify first the regeneration of people. The Luo wished to have many offspring and the *opea* were thought to help. Mama K Ayodo,65+ says

Opea poro dongruok mar dala
(*opea* symbolises the growth of a homestead)

The termites were also significant because they portrayed the builder's wish

to have wealth in terms of children, livestock and crops. Mboya(1967:54) also expresses the same observation. Omolo Otipa, 65+, asserts that:

Tong mofuo mio pach n'gato
maricho fuo ka ton'g no

Literally(Bad eggs make an evil minded person's thoughts go bad)

Modhno grass was planted on the compound to make the home spread as the grass does. Luo attachment to posterity is also evident here. The basic functions of the *opea* and *modhno* were almost similar. The use of two items with virtually overlapping functions strengthens my view that so much importance was attached to new generations that one item was not deemed sufficient in expressing this desire.

According to 78 of the 200 informants, the cowdung was meant to signify wealth in terms of livestock that every builder wanted in his compound. That is less than half the informants mention the function of cowdung (78/200). Attachment to livestock seems to be a relic of the Luo past when keeping livestock was the major economic activity. The significance of livestock seems to have waned with time. Other informants (52 out of 200) did not specify the kind of wealth cowdung was meant to signify. It would therefore be safe to conclude that cowdung, while signifying wealth, may not currently be specific to wealth in terms of

livestock, but ot wealth in general.

The spear had dual functions. One was to show, by the act of spearing the ground, that the homebuilder had claimed that territory as his. This spear was also used as a weapon for both defensive and offensive purposes. Shem Nyanjwa, 57, says that the spear was also a symbol of manhood. There is no evidence both from the field and relevant literature which confirm Mr. Nyanjwa's assertion. The axe was the one which, according to Mboya (1967:3), was used by the eldest son to cut the stick on which the *sigol* was tied. I did not find any evidence both from informants and observations, that it was a requirement that the son cuts this particular stick. However, the informants were almost unanimous(178/200) that the son, by the act of carrying the axe, "carried" the name of the family of the builder.

Mzee Okech Oliech, 70, says that the axe, which had to be new, was the one which, from the time of building onwards, would be used to satisfy domestic needs. This was because it was considered inappropriate for members of a newly established home to go borrowing an axe from neighbours. The cutlass had similar purposes, both physical and non-physical, to those of the axe, only that the axe was used for heavier jobs.

The fire signified the presence of human habitation in the new homestead and the builder's newly found independence. This is why it was so important that the fire did not go out before completion of the main

house, according to Robert Seda, 40, the late Osinde Anjeyo 76 and Elkana Agola, 68. The late Anjeyo asserted that:

> *en kwero dok omo mach e dala wuoro. Ma nyalo kelo masira*

(It is taboo to go back to one's father's homestead for more fire. This might bring disaster). No one from the home being established was allowed to get any more fire from the compound of the parents of the person establishing a new home after leaving that compound.

The cock was meant to scare away evil spirits. Its crowing was deemed to be an effective deterrent against any evil spirits around the new compound, asserts Mzee Z. Mira, 81. Another very knowledgeable informant ,Mama Rosa Boi, suggested that the cock was also meant to alert neighbours that a new territory had been demarcated by the builder. Lastly, the cock also signified the presence of human beings (Mboya, 1967:53).

It can be seen, from the significance attached to these items, that the establishment of a house was, among the Luo, more than just provision of physical shelter..."(E)stablishing a new home, other than father's homestead, is a very serious affair that has to be preceded by careful preparatory stages..."(Odak, n.d:3). Rapport (1980:46) supports this argument by observing that "the house is an institution not just a structure, created for a complex set of purposes".

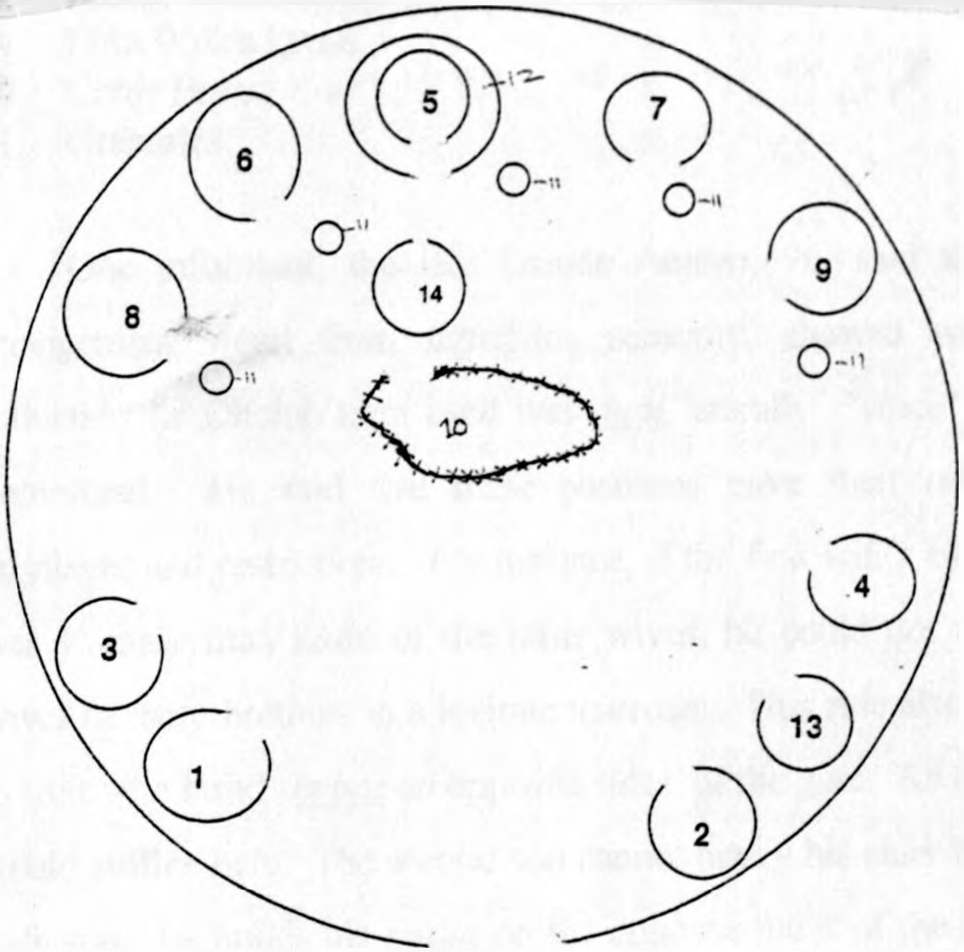
5.2 Spatial arrangement of homestead structures

Informants were asked whether the Luo had a specific way of arranging their houses within a homestead. There was a specific pattern the houses took within a homestead according to 162 out of 200 (81%). Others (3%) or 6 said they knew of no such pattern. The respondents who said there was a specific plan were asked what this arrangement signified. The answers are tabulated on Table 5.1. Figure 5.1 shows a simplified diagram of the plan the houses took within a homestead.

Table 5.1 **Significance of homestead structures' spatial arrangement**

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Signifies order of seniority within the homestead	88	44
It is the Luo custom(*Chik Luo*)	42	21
No response	38	19
Don't know	32	16
TOTAL	**200**	**100**

FIGURE 5.1 Simplified plan of a typical Luo homestead



KEY

1. Eldest Son's *Simba*
2. Second Son's *Simba*
3. Third Son's *Simba*
4. Fourth Son's Simba
12. *Agola*
13. *Siwindhe*
14. *Abila*
15. Fence

5. Eldest Wife's house
6. Second Wife's house
7. Third Wife's house
8. Fourth Wife's house
9. Fifth Wife's house
10. Cattle Boma
11. Granaries

One informant, the late Osinde Anjeyo, 76, said that this arrangement, apart from signifying seniority, showed who had influence(the Dholuo term used was *duol*, literally "voice") in the homestead. He said that these positions gave their occupants privileges and restrictions. For instance, if the first wife's eldest son was younger than those of the other wives, he could not take the wives of these brothers in a levirate marriage. This rule also applies to sons who build *simbas* on opposite sides of the gate. An example would suffice here. The second son cannot marry his elder brother's wife since he builds his *simba* on the opposite sides of the gate(see figure 5.1). A discussion of the impact of and influence the positions of houses gave the occupants will be presented in the next chapter.

5.3 Functions of some homestead structures

5.3.1 The Fence(*Chiel*) and the gate (*Rangach*)

These structures had both non-physical and physical functions. In

the past, security was an important consideration in homestead establishment. Fences were thus constructed in such a way that getting in through them was difficult. The gates were the only simple access into the homestead. Once the gate was closed at night, access into the homestead became even more difficult. The past fences are as described by C. H. Stigand (Andersen, 1976:130) consisted of:

> Circular earthwork walls of red mud enclosing a group of huts. Outside these walls is planted a thick ring of shaky tendrilled euphorbia, the branches of which interlace and form an effective barricade.

Andersen (ibid) says that remnants of the earliest settlement he had seen were encircled by a deep moat.

According to Mzee Jeconia Opino, 65, houses were oriented in relation to the gate. Odak(n.d:4) says that:

> The importance of the first house (the eldest wife's) is that it determines the position of the gate and of the houses to be built within a homestead.

The argument whether it is the gate which determines the position of the house or the reverse would be circular since it in reality depends on one's theoretical perception of which of these two structures comes before another.

The *simba* were built in relation to the gate and in order of birth of

the sons to each wife. Looked at from the inside of the compound, the eldest wife's first son's *simba* was built to the right of the gate. The main house was built directly facing the gate but furthest from it in such a way that, from outside the homestead, it was the house which was directly in line with the gate.

When the sons start establishing their homesteads, everybody involved in the initial process of moving from the old homestead had to pass through this gate as mentioned in 5.3.1 above. The gate also determined where the sons would establish their homesteads. The eldest wife's first son had to have his homestead built to the right of his father's gate, but not necessarily near it. In fact, Elijah Orwe, 65+, of Otange village, Kanyikela south sub-location says that the distance from the original compound to this homestead hardly mattered.

However, regardless of the importance attached to the gate and fence, I personally saw very few fences in the field. Without a fence a gate would be superfluous. So there were equally very few gates observed. The general lack of fences makes cleansing i.e., *liswa* difficult. Ideologically, the fence demarcated the compound from outside such that, when *liswa* was performed, it would be within and around the compound. Further research is needed in order to find out exactly the relationship between the fence and *liswa* and what happens in cases where a homestead has no fence.

5.3.2 **The *Agola***

This is the space between the inner and outer walls of the wives' houses. The outer wall was stronger than the inner one. The former was for keeping out hyenas and other animals which eat livestock.

It is in the *agola* that chicken, kids and lambs were kept. The *agola* was also used as a kitchen and storeroom. Odak(n.d:4) summarises the functions of the *agola* thus:

> The internal functional division of the house therefore includes one room with an outer enclosure(*Agola*) for keeping calves, goats, sheep and chicken at night and for cooking, grinding grain as well as the firewood, water and cooking pots.

Andersen's (1976:139) description of the functions of the *Agola* is consistent with Odak's observations and data from the field.

5.3.3 **Granaries, cattle bomas and sheep pens**

Apart from the physical functions, these structures had other non-physical uses. The granary signified that the woman who had one grew her own crop and cooked in her own house. If it was a daughter-in-law who had a granary, then it showed that she did not share cooking with her mother-in-law. Odinga(1967:11) confirms this function by asserting that "women were the custodians of the granaries".

A few (8) informants out of 200 stated that the male homestead head was not usually buried as long as there was no granary in the homestead. They could not explain why this was the case. Subsequent research did not reveal any relationship between the granary and burial of the homestead head.

Livestock meant for bridewealth were untied directly form the cattle boma on the day they were taken to the bride's family. According to 11 out of 200 informants, people could sleep in the goat pens *(abila)* when there was not enough sleeping space . I did not find any evidence to support this claim and, furthermore, people could always sleep in other homesteads as long as they knew one another and were not in an avoidance relationship.

5.3.4 The grandmother's house (*siwindhe*)

Though known as the grandmother's house, the *siwindhe* was an institution and a system in its own right. Firstly, the grandmother or *pim* was not necessarily a biological relative of those with whom she lived (cf. Cohen and Atieno Odhiambo, 1989:93). It is in the *siwindhe* that knowledge was imparted to the young ones. This knowledge was wide and far ranging and was imparted through stories and verbal instructions. Cohen and Atieno-Odhiambo(Ibid) state that

> The interior of the *siwindhe* is recalled by those who experienced it as a structure of transition from infancy to

maturity. It was within the *siwindhe* that much of the critical social intelligence was imparted by the *pim* to those with little experience or knowledge of it(Cohen and Atieno Odhiambo, 1989:93).

Oginga Odinga, who experienced the *siwindhe*, writes of it thus:

> Young boys and girls slept together in their grandmother's houses, and were told stories of the past(1967:10)

5.3.5 The *simba*

The *simba*, bachelors' quarters/boys' dormitories, were situated immediately next to the gate and on both sides of the gate.

Informants were asked what the functions of the simba were. The following responses were gathered (Table 5.3.5). Please note that the question was open ended and some informants gave more than one response.

Table 5.3.5 Functions of the *Simba*

Responses	Frequency	percentage
Occupants of the *simba* are the guards to the homestead	40	20

Gave privacy to bachelors	70	35
Courtship was done in the *simba*	80	40
Visitors could sleep in the *simba*	128	64
TOTAL	**298**	**159**
	n=200	

Their position next to the gate was convenient because the *simba* occupants were considered guards to the homestead. Any intruder would first be heard or noticed by the "guards". In the pre-colonial period, this was a relatively easy task because of the nature of the fences then. Therefore, once the gate had been closed, any intruder had only the gate to pass through.

According to Robert Seda, 40, and Elija Orwe, 65+, the building of the *simba* symbolically showed the maturity of the sons. In respect for their maturity, they had to have their own quarters. Maturity resulted in the need for privacy. Z. Mira, 81, says that in the simba, the sons could freely discuss their daily experiences and advise one another without the risk of being intruded upon by people for whose ears the discussions were not meant.

Courtship was done in the *simba* under the watchful eye of a *pim* (an

old woman past menopause). Relationships which could result in marriage were strengthened in the *simba* through *tero budho* whereby girls went visiting their boyfriends in their quarters between dusk and midnight. According to Odinga(1967:10):

> The older boys went to sleep in the *simba*, a dormitory built near the gates by the grown-up boys who were yet unmarried. Boys grown too big to live in the houses of the old women (*siwindhe*) stayed in the dormitory house and these became acquainted with girls from other villages, and had dances at night.

Mama Sarah Ajwang, in her early 70's , says that since the *simba* has relatively less taboo placed on it(in her words "*simba onge kwero modhuro*"), visitors could sleep in there. She gives the exceptions of the fathers-in-law to the *simba* owners. These persons could not use the *simba* as accommodation.

5.3.6 **The man's house (*abila*)**

This house was situated at the centre of the homestead almost next to the cattle boma (cf. Odak, n.d:4). Responses as to the functions of *abila* from the 200 respondents were as follows (table 5.3.6). Please note that this question was open ended and informants sometimes gave more than

one response.

response	frequency	percentage
Entertaining own visitors	92	46
Sleeps in it if there is reason for not sleeping in any of his sorrow houses	82	41
He can discuss secrets with spiritual and sons without disturbance	140	70
Into these with unmarried sons	50	25
Central position for monitoring events within homestead	30	15
TOTAL	194 (n=200)	107

If the man was a modernisation, like Mzee Mira, 81, it was in the ghilo that consultations were done. The need for privacy is also evident in the building of the ghilo. Just like in the ghilo, the mama ghilo was his

Table 5.3.6 *Abila* functions

response	frequency	percentage
Entertaining own visitors	92	46
Sleeps in it if there is reason for not sleeping in any of his wives' houses	82	41
He can discuss secrets with agemates and sons without disturbance	140	70
Eats there with unmarried sons	50	25
Central position for monitoring events within homestead	30	15
TOTAL	394 n=200	197

If the man was a medicineman, like Mzee Mira, 81, it was in the *abila* that consultations were done. The need for privacy is also evident in the building of the *abila*. Just like in the *simba*, the man's *abila* was his

private space and, as such, he could regulate the flow of interaction as possible within the confines of the cultural norms governing politeness.

Regarding the *abila's* functions, Odinga's autobiography again provides us with a neat summary(1967:9):

> The women were ready with the food about seven o'clock and the elders sat in their respective offices to be served with it. Children from each hut had to carry the food to the elder and this was the time that the sons joined their fathers to enjoy the food prepared in the various huts.

Another addition is needed regarding functions of the *abila*. Mzee A. Mira says that among the reasons why a man could sleep in his *abila* was the requirement that elders engage in no sexual relationships on the day prior to important ritual observations such as praying for rains or preparations for war.

5.3.7 **Some obsolete structures**

Some structures already discussed are not built anymore because their functions have been incorporated into other structures. One of these is the *agola*. Separate kitchens which also serve as stores are now being constructed. We see here an expansion of the system through specialisation and differentiation of functions (cf. Shipton, 1986:88)

The *siwindhe* is another of the currently obsolete structures. According to Cohen and Atieno-Odhiambo(1989:94):

> Before 1930, there may have been thousands of *siwindhe* in Western Kenya. But after 1930 there were few. Kisumu, Nairobi and Mombasa, along with both rural and town schools, promised greater opportunities for nurturing the young....

The functions performed by this structures are now done mostly by schools and other similar institutions.

There are not many people who own livestock in Ndhiwa Division. Diversification in economic activities has partly led to adjustments in the Luo perception of wealth. As such, the cattle *boma* is also becoming an obsolete structure. Again security has become relatively more assured such that those people who own livestock tie these to sticks stuck into the ground without necessarily having a *boma* built for them as the case was previously.

The homestead is becoming smaller because the bachelor's quarters are not as many as in the past. Since an increasing number of children are working or schooling away from their home areas, they usually share their elder brother's *simba*. One *simba* serves the purposes of all others since the young men working away from the home come home on leave only once a year, whereas the students have only three months vacations when they come home. However, it should be stressed that the *simba* institution is still in existence, only the necessity of having many *simba* is not as pressing as was the case previously.

From the data gathered in the field and from other relevant literature, we have seen that each structure within a homestead must have a function. Once the purposes for which the structure was built are either incorporated into another or cease to exist all together, the structures are not built anymore. From the above data we see that our hypothesis that the establishment and persistence of homestead structures depends upon their functions has been supported.

CHAPTER SIX

ARRANGEMENT OF STRUCTURES AND BEHAVIOUR

The basic argument in this chapter is that the spatial position of a structure, and the importance attached to it, gives its occupant influence over other household members. This dictates behaviour and shapes social relationships. Baum (1977:2) argues that just as climate and the terrain of the land restrict behaviour and suggests specific modes of adaptation, the buildings and spaces of the architectural environment likewise restrict behaviour and make certain responses more likely. We attempt to illustrate this argument in relation to structures such as the main house, the *simba* and the *abila*.

> It is not the size if the space but its location relative to others that is important (Yamamoto, 1979:1;cf.Buttimer, A and Season, D.,1967).

While the first wife's house (henceforth the main house), her first son's *simba* and the *abila* may not be big in size, there is more importance attached to their locations relative to others. Thus, the occupants of these houses have relatively more influence on other household members. We shall attempt to show, through examples, how the locations of these structures bestow upon their occupants relatively more influence than others, thus shaping behaviour.

6.1 The main house and the senior wife

The first wife *(mikaye)* has certain responsibilities over and above

those of the other wives. For instance, she is the one with whom a homestead builder (*jago ligala*) performs the rituals undergone prior to and after finishing building. According to Mzee Zephania Mira, 81, the *mikaye* was the partner "with whom he went with up to the grave". She was a *jawouth*, literally "one with whom one travels". As such, he says, the two were expected to consult one another on important matters affecting the homestead. Mr. Mira's argument is supported by Mboya (1968:63).

Mikaye was supposed to be consulted by the other wives. It is important to note the location of the other wives' houses relative to hers, and its significance. According to Robert Seda, 40, the second wife's house was positioned to the right of the main one which signified that this second wife (known in Dholuo as *reru*) was *mikaye's* helper - somebody who "shares the burdens" of the *mikaye*. The third wife's (the third wife is known as *nyachira* in Dholuo) house was positioned to the left of the main house to "keep her and *reru* away from one another". This is because of the rivalry between co-wives, known in Dholuo as *nyiego*.

These two women looked upon *mikaye* for any advice that may be needed. By virtue of the locations of these houses, and the importance attached to them, there was already in place a hierarchical relationship amongst the wives.

When the husband died, he was buried next to the main house,

slightly in front and to its right. This was the position of honour for burying this individual. I personally witnessed this phenomenon during the burial of Osinde Anjeyo. Again the rituals related to the burial relied heavily on the *mikaye* (see Mboya's 1967 chapter on death and burial). The responsibilities of the *mikaye* enabled her to have influence over other household members. This influence had a subsequent effect on the way the household members related to her and their behaviour towards her.

There was some order which was followed during cultivation, planting and harvesting. The *mikaye* was expected to be the first to plant (*golo kodhi*, i.e., to take out the seeds for first planting). This first planting was accompanied by rituals in which the *mikaye* was expected to participate. This observation was made by 17 out of the 20 key informants. To further emphasise this argument, Odinga(1967:12) writes:

> ...the first wife of the head of the village was the woman who gave the signal to bring in and store the harvest. No one was permitted even to husk the maize the land or bring it for cooking *before* the chief elders' wife had *cooked the new season's maize* and eaten it in *her house*(emphasis added)

It is in the *mikaye's* house, says Shem Nyanjwa, 57, and 122 of the 200 responses, that most guests, who do not have a specific person they want to visit, are hosted, and fed, though they may not sleep in it. In the

same vein, ritual cleansing meant for the good of the whole homestead was done in her house, according to Mr. Yustino Ogutu, 90+.

The *mikaye* exerted considerable influence on the course of events within a homestead by virtue of the importance attached to the location of her house. This influence somewhat determined her relation with her husband, co-wives and the children within the homestead. This explains why two informants Alal Saoke, 75+, and Okech Oliech, 70, stressed that she was the head of the homestead, an arguments supported by Mboya(1968:63) who asserts that nothing happened in the homestead without the knowledge of the *mikaye*. Apart from the *mikaye*, we see here the importance of women in Luo society. Odinga sums it up by writing that:

> The clans were named after women in recognition that they are the mothers of the children and thus the founders of the clans(1967:11).

6.2 The *abila*

This is the man's day house. It is located near the centre of the homestead. Its central position enabled the man to monitor events in the homestead.

The man ate in the *abila*. He also entertained his visitors and held discussions with his sons, wives and agemates in the *abila*.

According to Wazee Camlus Buga, 65+, Alila Kongo, 65+, and

Oyoyo K'ochola, 65+, if anybody within the homestead wanted to consult the man, the *abila* was the appropriate venue, because the man could devote all his attention on the issue at hand without the interruptions which go with his position as "overseer".

The *abila's* central position enabled the man to monitor events in the homestead and arbitrate on issues requiring his attention without favour since, according to half of the key informants, his judgement delivered in any of the wives' houses could be biased by the place it was passed.

The *abila* and its central position bestowed upon the man considerable influence over other members of a household especially since consultations and discussions were conducted in it. Other household members looked upon the house as the centre where decisions could be "impartially" made and all attention devoted to their problems when discussions are conducted in it.

6.3 The eldest son's *simba*

The first son's *simba* also had important functions which partly determined the nature of the relationship between its owner and his brothers. This was the house the younger sons slept in before they built their own. This put them in a somewhat vulnerable psychological position because of their state as "dependants" who rely on another for accommodation.

The space that the *simba* occupied relative to others vested

responsibilities in the eldest son over and above those of other brothers. The importance of this son in Luo tradition is shown by the respect accorded him. For instance, even if this son to the *mikaye* was younger than those of other wives, he was the one who married before others. This marriage was to "pave the way" for the other brothers to marry. If the *mikaye* was still of childbearing age but had no son, the other sons were obliged to wait, for it could be possible for her to get one before menopause.

The eldest son had to be the first to establish a homestead. According to Abongo Mota, 61, Robert Seda, 40, Mama Rosa Boi, 83, and Z. Adede, 85, if ritual cleansing for the good of all brothers was to be conducted after all the sons had already established their own homesteads, the former took place at the eldest son's homestead because of his seniority. This is

It is imperative that he be physically present during the burial of his parents as he is expected to perform certain rituals on the day prior to close relatives' dispersal to their respective homes(cf. Mboya's chapter on death and burial).

The social relationships created by the space within a homestead partly derive their energy from the system of symbols and meanings within Luo society. These inputs (symbols and meanings) in concert with practical physical needs provide cues which are developed and adapted to

ensure the continued survival of the Luo society. The *abila* is for instance, provided a central position within the homestead system as a meeting point where discussions and decisions take place. We see here a relationship between the *abila's* central position, the value attached to it and the influence its owner has over others within the system.

It is not only the positions that are important but also the value attached to these spaces and on their owners. The occupants of these spaces therefore relate somewhat differently to others. For example, the relationship between the second and third sons, in an ideal situation is different from that between the first and second.

Mzee Okech Oliech, 70, says that the positions of influence that these occupants have may occasionally be maliciously used to ensure the "downfall" or "failure" of a homestead. (His term translated as downfall was *thirno*). He says that the eldest son may decide not to build a *simba* marry and establish his own homestead so as to block his younger brother from doing the same. In such cases, says Mr. Frederick Agahn, 60, the easiest recourse would be for the younger brothers to move and establish their own homesteads at or near the village of one of their father's brothers or similar close relatives. Another option would be to go ahead and build where they are supposed to, except that their eldest brother may not enter those homesteads.

In this chapter we have seen that the value attached to space and its

occupants shapes behaviour and the kind of relationships that these occupants have with other household members. This relationship is seen as part of a larger system of social relationships among the Luo, the cues for which are provided for by the energies derived from Luo traditions. From this chapter our hypothesis that the value attached to spatial positions influences behaviour has been proven.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CHANGE AND PERSISTENCE

The basic argument in this chapter is that changes in the arrangement of homestead structures could result in adjustments in social relations. We need to know what general changes have occurred before focusing on whether changes in the arrangement of structures have taken place, and if so, whether they have in any way influenced behaviour and social relationships. Those changes which are said to have occurred but were not actually observed will be mentioned with this precaution in mind.

7.1 House building norms

Respondents were asked whether there are norms of home establishment that are still followed since the advent of foreign builtforms. Out of 200 respondents, 120(60%) said that there were norms still adhered to, 72(32%) said there were no norms still followed while 8(4%) said they did not know. Those for whom there were still rules followed were asked which rules these were. Some informants gave examples of more than one rule or norm still observed as shown below (table 7.1)

Table 7.1 Persistence of home establishment rules

Rules/Norms	frequency of response	percentage
Builder must be married	58	29
Building of homesteads must follow birth order	56	28
Arrangement of structures within homestead still the same	60	30
The "father" must participate in the process	40	20
TOTAL	214 n=200	107

Apart from the insistence that the father or anybody classified as such must participate in housebuilding processes (which I did not observe) the three other norms were verified through observation and questioning. I could not personally establish whether the father participated since this

procedure began at dawn. Furthermore, the actual date of building was not disclosed to non-members of the builder's household. As such I usually found the processes I witnessed going on. In four of the nine cases of building I witnessed, it was the builder's agemates whom I saw.

7.2 Change in the builtform

It is in building materials that there have been significant changes. In the pre-colonial period, thin straight poles were put into a circle dug on the ground. Three or four horizontal rafters were tied around this wall of sticks at the bottom, middle and the top (where the wall ended). A mixture of earth and ashes was then used to daub these sticks. This information provided by Omollo Otipa, 65+, is consistent with Shipton's observations(1986).

The procedure which replaced the above involved digging individual holes for poles which were much thicker. These posts were more widely spaced than in the previous method. The number of thin rafter tied horizontally to these posts increased compared to the previous method.

The second method was also employed when building square or rectangular structures. Initially, the roofs to houses were thatched with grass. With the onset of rectangular buildings, corrugated iron sheets could now be used instead of grass, while retaining the rest of the materials for the walls. These walls could be cemented on both sides to give them a

look similar to those houses made from bricks and mortar. However, the buildings most prevalent in Ndhiwa are those which have not been cemented. Hauge(1974:14) adds that the square and rectangular forms of buildings started appearing in Luoland between 1940 and 1950 as churches and commercial houses. Gradually, residential buildings took the rectangular form.

Rectangular structures have enabled people to use walls to partition off different rooms in a house. However, the sleeping area is still to the left as one enters the house.

While informants stressed the importance of the *simba*, their number per homestead has reduced compared to the pre-independence and immediate post-independence period. It is, therefore, not unusual to find only one or two *simba* in a homestead while the mature and married sons number more than two. There are several reasons for this phenomenon.

The *simba* is not used all year round by those engaged in formal employment outside their homes. They, thus, delay building this structure for as long as they can. Those young men who stay within their home areas usually build their *simba* much easier.

Currently, building materials have to be purchased due to their scarcity, resulting from insufficient forests from which to cut poles and other materials. In case one wants to construct a *simba*, one has to have plenty of money. People, therefore, feel that it makes more economic sense

to build only one or two *simbas* to serve all brothers.

Mzee Okech Oliech, 70, attributes the few number of *simba* to "laziness and irresponsibility" among first borns in Ndhiwa Division. He says that these sons delay building *simbas* and establishing homesteads for so long that the younger brothers sometimes marry without having built *simbas*. This creates, thereby creating problems because the sons cannot sleep in their parents' houses once they have married, even if the latter are big and spacious.

7.3 Change in Location of houses within the homestead

There has been no significant change in arrangement of structures within a homestead. The rules governing the patterning of houses within a homestead are still adhered to, a phenomenon I personally observed.

Our hypothesis was that change in arrangement of houses could result in behavioural change. This hypothesis could not be proved since the changes have not been observed.

The change observed was in the proximity of buildings. For reasons detailed in 6.3.3 above, the cattle boma is rarely evident in homesteads. One, therefore, finds the houses built so close to each other (this is especially evident in the distance between the wives' houses and the *simba's*) that part of the space formerly allocated to the cowshed is filled up.

Adjustments in social relations have occurred in other forms. For instance, according to 14 out of the 20 key informants, grown up children may now enter their parents' sleeping quarters, but cannot sleep on their bed. A married daughter may lay her child to sleep on her mother's bed. These two (mother and unmarried daughter) were formerly restricted by many taboos, some of which are mentioned by Odak(n.d.:5) according to whom

> a... daughter whose teeth have been extracted (between the ages of 14 and 15) is not supposed to open the door of ...her parent's house if the latter are still living together and sharing a mat(bed) as a man and wife. Nor should a couple's grown up child spend the night in their house or step into *kachiena* side of the house where the bed...is located.

Married daughters were formerly not supposed to enter their mothers granaries. This rule has been relaxed. One explanation for such relaxation concerns the change in economic positions of these daughters, some take more interest in providing economic assistance to their natal homes than in the past. I witnessed a house being constructed for a woman using funds provided by her daughter.

Turning to theoretical factors which lead to persistence in arrangement of structures, Pader has this to say:

> Domestic, social and spatial relations are fundamentally intertwined with concepts of ethnic identity as elemental components of social

> reproduction and the structuration of daily life(Pader, 1993:114).(Emphasis added)

Pader further argues that changes of the house interact with social changes as part of larger systems of meaning. So long as the Luo culture maintains their shared and accepted customs, changes are likely to occur at a very gradual pace (cf. Ocholla-Ayayo, 1980:22; Wagner, 1972:4)

Rapport summarises the reasons for persistence of certain forms of buildings, especially those he describes as primitive and vernacular, as follows:

> Given a certain climate, the availability of certain materials, and the constraints and capabilities of a given level of technology, what finally decides the form of a dwelling and moulds the spaces and their relationships is the vision that people have of ideal life. The environment sought reflects many socio-cultural forces, including religious beliefs, family and clan structure, social organisation, ways of gaining a livelihood, and the social relations between individual(emphasis added).

The persistence of spatial arrangement of houses among the Luo must therefore be explained in terms of the socio-cultural forces which help them relate to their environment. This is because physical limitations, similarity in climate, the availability of materials and other related factors

still provide people with choices such that even in environments where all or most of these factors are similar, we still find wide variation in builtform and space use.

7.4 Reactions to change

Respondents were asked whether they thought the *kibanda* (rectangular houseform) was better than the cylindrical one and 106 thought it was better, 82 thought it was not while 12 did not know. Arguments for the *kibanda* were that it is more spacious, could be roofed with both grass and corrugated iron sheets and that it could be divided into rooms, thereby providing users with privacy.

Those who did not think the *kibanda* was better and who were mostly 50 years and above, said the cylindrical structure is longer lasting and warmer than the *kibanda*. They also argued that putting the *osuri* (a pointed stick at the roof apex) was difficult on *kibanda* roofs. An informant, Mzee Josephat Adela, 65+, was vehement about the *osuri* saying that:

> *Ngato ok di ng'e ka jaduon'g nitiere kata osenindo* (One cannot tell whether the man is alive or dead)

The *osuri* is, however, still put on roofs which have the conical shape. I also saw some corrugated iron sheet roofs with the *osuri*.

7.5 Land Scarcity

There are currently people who do not own enough land on which to build. In such cases, a son who wants to establish a homestead either buys his own land or builds on a portion of his father's homestead.

If the second option is adopted, the main door to the son's homestead has to face away from the compound, and a fence constructed around it to signify that the homestead is separate from and not under direct influence of the father's.

The findings with regard to change confirm Shipton's observation that in South Nyanza (from which Homa-Bay was curved) those people who have adopted modern architecture have adapted these to fit with their traditional norms with respect to homestead establishment.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

There is an intimate and dialectical relationship between material and non-material culture. Human settlements fall within immovable material culture objects in most societies. While environmental constraints may restrict the choices in builtform and space use, human settlements are the direct result of choices made by the users, in keeping with their traditions and visions of the ideal life.

The manner in which a people construct buildings, perceive and behave in them, and accommodate change is firmly intertwined with their worldview such that any development oriented adjustment can effectively work only if the people themselves see it as useful in improving their day to day life.

Practical physical considerations play an important role in determining choice of site among the Luo, though other factors also have some influence. Building materials depend upon availability and suitability.

In a typical Luo homestead, the design and layout of each structure is contributory to the proper functioning of the total homestead system. Once a structure loses its function altogether or these functions are incorporated into another structure, then this structure ceases to exist. Those structures which have functions useful to the system continue to persist in

establishment and form, with adjustments to fit in with their expanding functions.

Traditions dictate certain norms of behaviour in society, manifested in material culture. Certain spaces are more valued than others. With regard to buildings, those structures built on valued spaces are seen to be relatively more important. Consequently, the owners of the spaces they occupy exercise more influence over others. This, in turn, shapes behaviour, makes certain responses and actions possible and thereby shapes social relationships within the limits customs permit.

In view of the variety of choices made possible by the environment and other physical factors, change and persistence is largely dependent upon the values attached to the traditions and the ideas of ideal life that people have. As such, patterns are maintained as long as the culture maintains the tradition. Once a culture loosens the tradition, there can no longer be a reliance on the accepted norms of the past and borrowing begins(cf. Ocholla-Ayayo, 1980:22).

Since human settlements have an intimate relationship with peoples' traditions and customs, modern architecture in development should be oriented to the background, attitudes and ideals of the people in question. This is because people tend to use modern architecture based on foreign standards, according to their perceptions of the ideal.

If ,therefore, architecture fails to address issues such as the nature

and frequency of social interactions demanded by a given people, crowding and stress may occur, regardless of whether the buildings have a lot of space or not.

Opon(1992/93:109) identifies the following issues as important in planning, design and implementation of modern architecture in local environments. We shall quote him at length since he crystallises the findings of the study just as precisely. He states that:

1. Buildings should satisfy functional demands
2. Buildings should satisfy and respond to psychic needs of societies vis-à-vis the utilitarian requirements.
3. The form of buildings should portray in image, the meaning to the user and observer.
4. Though cultural aspects and norms cannot be totally reviewed, they should be revisited to achieve a marriage between past and present, i.e., continuity and change.

From the data gathered in the field, the analysis and conclusions reached and by virtue of scarcity of space, the buildings which could be established in residential areas of Ndhiwa Division could incorporate the three important houses in a homestead, that is, the main house, the *abila* and the *simba*. The design of the houses could be in such a way that the

important parts of a typical Luo homestead are incorporated while retaining the basics of conventional, popular urban designs.

As such, the form the houses could take would include the main house within which is the *abila*, a *simba* and another structure to serve as both a staff quarters and separate wing for guests who are in avoidance relationship with the house owners. The cowshed could be seen as a garage. It is important to note that while the main house, *simba*, *abila* and guest wing can be joined, their roofs must be separate to signify that they are separate houses.

Another important issue to note is the incorporation of the *abila* within the main house. If we look at the functions which the *abila* used to serve, we see that the most important one was discussing secrets without interruption.

A separate room (built with some measure of sound proofing) or a study, as it is commonly known, can be created within the main house to serve the purposes of the *abila*. Since there is an increasing tendency towards monogamy, the *abila's* function as an office for monitoring events in the homestead is becoming obsolete. Again, those decisions which were deemed impartial when made in the *abila* as concerning co-wives, can have no basis as men are increasingly becoming monogamous.

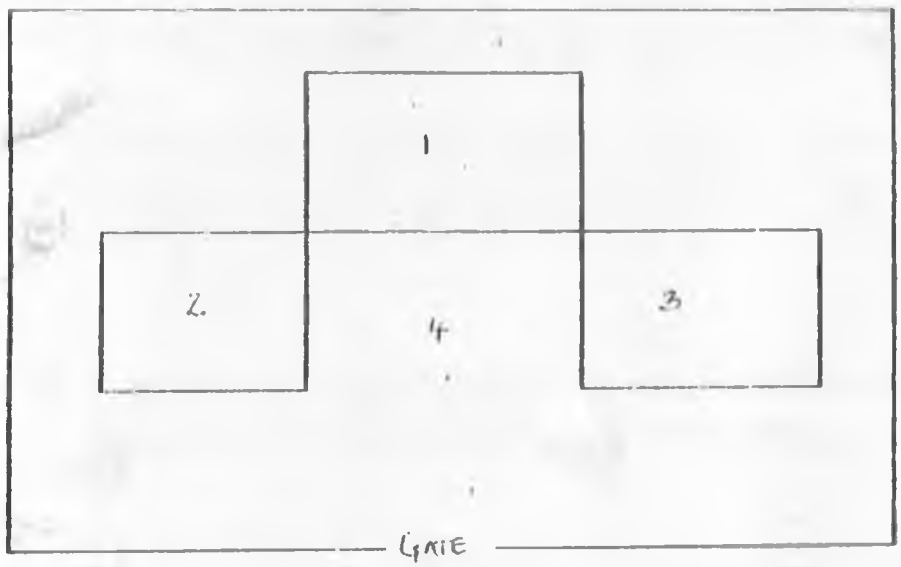
The other reason for including the *abila* within the main house is that this trend has already started in Ndhiwa and is apparently gaining

acceptance. I saw two houses whose owners had built their *abila*/studies within the main house. Six other cases were mentioned by informants but these were not within the study area but elsewhere within Ndhiwa Division. Of the two houses with *abila*/studies within them one belonged to Mr. Elkana Agola's in Olasi village, North Kanyikela sub-location while the other was owned by Mzee Z. Adede in Rapedhi village, North Kanyikela. While the two houses seen and the six mentioned may not imply general acceptance, my contention is that the functions of the *abila* which were important in polygynous homesteads can be incorporated into the main house of a monogamous homestead without contravening the cultural norms.

Building costs, which may be higher in this design than in the conventional urban designs, will be in servicing and services, such as plumbing and electric installations (Opon, personal communication).

Below (Figure 8.1) is an impression of the idea of the house in question.

Figure 8.1 An impression of the house incorporating ideas from the typical Luo homestead.



KEY

1. Main house incorporating *abila*
2. Young men's room i.e, *simba*
3. Guest wing/Servants quarter
4. Front compound and car park(similar to cowshed)

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APPENDIX 1

LIST OF KEY INFORMANTS

1.	Robert Seda Oringo, 40, Male	Kanyikela North Sub-location
2.	Samuel Owuor Odida, 56,	Kabura North Sub-location
3.	Elijah Orwe, 65+	Kanyikela South
4.	Nashon Oure	Kanyikela North
5.	Festo Abong'o, 62	Kaganda Sub-location
6.	Rosa Boi, 83	Kanyikela North
7.	Josephat Adela, 65+	Kanyikela North
8.	Oginde Anjeyo, 76	Kanyikela North
9.	Alila Kongo, 65+	Kanyikela South
10.	Elkana agola, 68	Kanyikela North
11.	Zephania Adede, 85	Kaganda Sub-location
12.	Yustino Ogutu, 90+	Kanyikela South
13.	Okech Oliech, 70	Kanyikela North
14.	Shem Nyanjwa, 57	Kaburu
15.	Sarah Ajwan'g, 70's	Kaganda
16.	A Saoke, 75+	Kaganda
17.	Camlus Bugu, 65+	Kabura
18.	Oyoyo Ko'ochola, 65+	Kabura
19.	Omolo Otipa, 65+	Kanyikela South
20.	Abong'o Mota, 61	Kabura

APPENDIX II

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. **AREA**

   (i) Location
   (ii) Sub-Location
   (iii) Village
2. Sample number.....
3. Date
4. Time commence: end
5. Name Sex Male Female
6. Is your age between
   0-10
   11-20
   21-30
   31-40
   41-45
   46-50
   51-55
   56-60
   61-65
   65 - and above
7. Do the Luo choose an ideal building site? Yes No (Tick the applicable)
8. If yes, which is this ideal site? Please check as many as applicable.
   - on raised ground - with ample pasture
   - facing slopes/rivers - near other settlements - other (specify)
9. Which house is built before others?
10. Why is it built first?
11. Why were these structures round in plan?

USE OF SPACE

12. Is there a particular way these structures were arranged within a compound? Yes No (Tick the applicable)

13. If yes, what does this arrangement signify?

14. Do the houses, especially the wives' houses differ in size?

    Yes No (Tick the applicable)

15. If, Yes why is this so?

16. Please check where the following spaces are within a house
    (a) Sleeping space
    (b) Living space
    (c) Cooking space
    (d) Storage space
17. Why was there partitioning in this manner?

18. Were there people not allowed into some of these spaces (Tick the applicable)

    Yes No

19. If yes please check who was not allowed in the following

    (a) Sleeping space
    (b) Living space
    (c) Cooking space

(d) Storage space

20. Explain reasons for this restriction

FUNCTIONS OF HOMESTEAD STRUCTURE

21. Please check the functions of the following structures.

STRUCTURE FUNCTIONS

	MAIN	OTHERS (SPECIFY)
Fence		
Granary		
Cattle		
Goat/Sheep Pen		
Man's House		
1st Wife's house		
2nd Wife's house		
3rd Wife's house		
Grandmother's house		
Grandfather's house		
Others (Specify)		

CONTROL AND DISTRIBUTION OF RESOURCES

23. Please check who owns the following items

(a) Land on which homestead is built

(b) The homestead

(c) The livestock

(d) Farming land

24. Are these owners allowed to dispose of their property as they wish? (Tick the applicable)

Yes No

For the males

25. Do you help in farming?

26. Do your wives dispose of the products from the land as they wish? (Tick the applicable)

Yes No

27. A part from farming do your wives have any other source of income?

28. If yes, which are these?

For the Female

29. Which property do you own in this homestead?

30. Can you dispose of it as you wish? Explain

31. How often does your husband help you out in your farmwork? (Tick the applicable)

    7 days a week
    5-6 days a week
    5-4 days a week
    1-2 days a week
    Not at all

INHERITANCE OF WEALTH

32. Is there a method followed when distributing wealth to the sons? (Tick the applicable)

    Yes No

33. If yes, which method is this?
34. Why should there be a method?
35. If no why?
36. Please rank order who inherits the most to the least amongst the sons.

    (a) Ist son to Ist wife (b) second son to 1st wife

    (c) 1st son to 2nd wife (d) 2nd son to second wife

    (e) 1st son to 3rd wife (f) 2nd son to 3rd wife

37. Please rank order which wife gets the most inheritance wealth to the least.

(a) 1st wife (b) Second wife (c) Third wife

(d) Any other

CHANGE

38. With the advent of modern buildings are there rules of establishing a home that are still being followed? (Tick the applicable)

Yes No

39. If yes, which are these?
40. Have the changes in some of these rules affected people's way of life?(Tick the applicable)

Yes No

41. If yes, how have they affected their way of life?

42. Do you think contemporary (kibanda) architecture is better than the traditional?(Tick the applicable)

Yes No

Explain the reasons why this is so

YES	NO

44. Is your homestead adequate for your needs?(Tick the applicable)

    Yes NO

45. Why? Explain

46. How else do you think this homestead would have served your needs?

Thank you for your cooperation.