Actions and interactions: social relationships in a low-income housing estate in Kitale, Kenya

Muller, M.S.

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m.s.muller

ACTIONS AND INTERACTIONS: SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS IN A LOW-INCOME HOUSING ESTATE IN KITALE, KENYA

MARIA S. MULLER

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INTRODUCTION

This study focuses upon social interaction patterns in the Housing Estate of Kitale (Kenya). To concentrate upon one narrowly defined local area, does not mean that one is confined to it in the search for an explanation of the patterns of interaction. Although a large part of the inhabitants' life takes place within the Estate, there are numerous occasions which bring the residents in contact with people in other parts of Kitale. The Housing Estate appears to be a self-contained locality, yet it is not an isolated socio-economic unit. It is an intrinsic part of Kitale Municipality and as such it is subject to the influences which shape Kitale's character. In the present study, therefore, it has been necessary to take account of factors on two levels:

1. the immediate environment in the Housing Estate, that is the physical and economic conditions affecting its residents; and

2. the historical context of Kitale as a whole i.e. as a unit in which social and economic interest groups compete with each other.

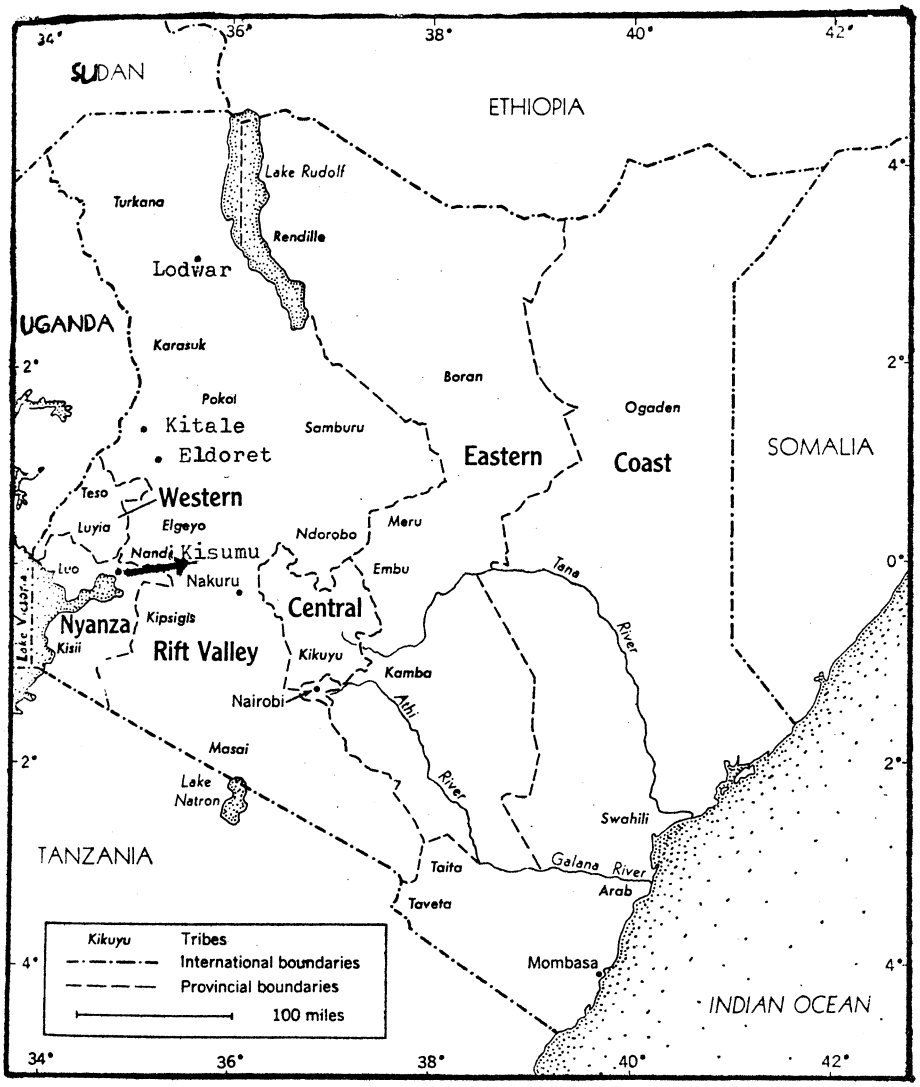
In Part I the historical, economic and social context is outlined, while Part II relates in more detail the effects of the conditions in the Housing Estate upon the inhabitants. Part III deals with social relations as they have been observed by the researcher.

One of the main conclusions of this study is that inhabitants of this low income Housing Estate in Kenya are sensitive to the same kind of spatial characteristics of housing as are people living under similar conditions in other societies. Both their economic and housing circumstances impose a strain on daily life. The inhabitants react to these circumstances by developing patterns of expectations and behaviour vis-à-vis their neighbours which resemble those of their counterparts elsewhere, despite the cultural and economic differences between societies.

Pressure to conform to expectations is exerted within the neighbourhood, not within the Estate as a whole. Although the neighbourhood is an important social grouping in daily life, it is not a closed or cohesive unit. Definite preferences for particular persons within the neighbourhood are expressed, and these appear to be a reflection of the economic and ethnic configuration of Kitale as a whole.

The research was done during a period of 18 months between July 1969 and January 1971, while I was living in Kitale's Housing Estate. From January 1971 to August 1972 I lived in Kampala (Uganda) but I made several trips back to Kitale to complete and clarify the information gathered previously. Kitale was originally chosen as location of research because it met the requirements of another study, which a member of staff of Makerere University, Kampale, wanted to carry out and which dealt with the adaptation to urban life of blue and white collar workers. I was supposed to organize this survey for him and at the same time to carry out my own research in conjunction with the major survey. The larger study was called off, however, some time after I had settled in the town.
During the fieldwork period my research interest widened. If at first I concentrated on the social mechanisms used by unmarried mothers in order to cope with the problems of life, I later shifted my interest to daily problems surrounding women in general. The earlier interest determined the localities of the Estate where my survey was held: two localities where single women were living.
I was unable to write up my research material immediately following the fieldwork due to other professional commitments. Though I realize that certain aspects of the analysis and theory are not as complete as could be, I felt it incumbent on me to complete the reporting on this study as soon as possible in order to make my data available within a reasonable period of time.

PROVINCES AND MAIN TOWNS OF KENYA



PART I: THE SETTING

CHAPTER I: KITALE

a. Origin and population

Kitale is situated in one of the most outlying corners of the former White Highlands, which range from Machakos in the East, 30 miles south of Nairobi, to the area around Kitale in the western part of Kenya. This area, Trans Nzoia District, was attractive to British settlers, because of its pleasant climate, at an altitude of 6220 feet at the foot of Mount Elgon, and the fertility of the soil. Yet, at a distance of over 200 miles from the capital and being off the main communication routes, the process of settlement was slow to start and never gained the momentum of other settler towns. (1)
Kitale developed in response to the needs of the widely scattered European farmers' community which arrived in the area from 1910 onwards. In 1920 administrative control was established with the appointment of a District Commissioner and an African settlement of farm labourers and domestic servants grew up at a respectable distance from the offices. Somali cattle traders and Asian general merchants followed soon; one gable in the former Indian Bazaar is dated 1923. The District was settled with European farmers in two immigration waves through the Soldier Settler Schemes which the British Government initiated after both World Wars. According to early settlers, the area was "empty" when they arrived. (2)
As the only urban centre in Trans Nzoia District, Kitale performs certain administrative, commercial and social functions for the surrounding agricultural area. Since its importance never extended far beyond the boundaries of this former White settler area, its prosperity fluctuated with the political and economic developments in the District. The opening up of the Highlands to African and Asian farmers in 1960 (3) and the consequent departure of many European settlers certainly had a great impact on the political and economic trends in the town itself. Kitale was accorded the status of Municipality in 1948, being at that time the smallest of the five Municipalities in the country. (4)

Kitale's population amounted to over 11,000 in 1969. (5) It had grown by only 2,000 people since 1962, but at least it did grow. The population of Eldoret, the nearest other major European settler centre declined during the same period, mainly as a result of the exodus of Europeans and Asians. (6) The changing composition of the population was a consequence of Kenya's attainment of Independence (December 1963), since some settlers could not accept an African Government and the farms of many others were bought out by the Kenyan Government. (7)

Table I.1. Population of Kitale Municipality in 1948, 1962 and 1969[x].

	1948		1962		1969	
	no.s	%	no.s	%	no.s	%
African	4,344	69	7,000	75	10,166	88
European	666	10	238	3	165	1
Asian	1,314	21	2,065	22	1,240	11
Total	6,324	100	9,303	100	11,571	100

[x]Kenya Population Census

The ethnic composition of the African population reflects the fact that the town developed in an area where no permanent settlement existed prior to European occupation; no group forms a clear majority. Although the Luhya, whose homeland starts around 40 miles west of Kitale, constituted 50% of the population in 1969 (while it had only 32% in 1948), they recognize internal distinctions among themselves, based upon social and linguistic differences. These distinctions are overlooked on the national level, but they do play a role in the social and political alliances in Kitale itself. The Kikuyu form the next largest group, comprising 20% of the African population in 1969. As their homeland in Central Province is over 100 miles away, the Kikuyu are considered "strangers" in Kitale. Their growth in numbers is of fairly recent date, since they formed less than 1% of the African population of Kitale in 1949, and 17% in 1962. Since 1948 the Luo have constituted a stable 12% of the town's African population. The remainder of the population is made up by various groups, none of which have formed at any time more than 5% of the African inhabitants. (8

Table 1.2. Composition of African population of Kitale in 1948, 1962 and 1969.[x]

	1948		1962		1969	
	no.s	%	no.s	%	no.s	%
Luhya	1,389	32	2,910	42	5,251	52
Luo	522	12	857	12	1,175	11
Kikuyu	--	--	1,201	17	2,055	20
Kalenjin	--	--	69	1	485	5
Gishu	696	16	871	12	568	6
Others	1,737	39	1,092	16	632	6
Total	4,344	99	7,000	100	10,166	100

[x]+ Kenya Population Census

The town is laid out in four sections: the former European, Asian and African residential areas and the administrative/commercial centre. The residential areas are separated from each other by forest reserves, originally planned for "health reasons". The African area which is at present the Housing Estate, is linked with the centre of town by a long, single line of small shops, duka's, which were originally owned by Asian traders. Since 1969 ownership of these shops has been taken over by Africans.

c. Ethnic boundaries

There is a tendency in Kitale, as in the rest of Kenya, to explain all political and economic developments in terms of ethnic alliances. Similarly, in interpersonal relations people tend to perceive each other in the first instance as members of ethnic groups, and on this criteria initial "decisions" about the desirability of certain forms of interaction are made.(9) A condition for the validity of this process of perception in terms of ethnic groups is, that the boundaries of such groups are clearly distinguishable. This would mean that from whatever point of view the ethnic group is defined - be it political, economic, or cultural - it should be clear which individuals are included and which ones are excluded. If this condition is not fulfilled the perception of social events and individuals solely in terms

of ethnic groups does not conform to reality. Nevertheless it is used to explain reality and in turn gives rise to particular behaviour. The boundaries of ethnic groups in East Africa are not clearly distinguishable. They are subject to different interpretations because of the basic ambiguity of the concept "ethnic group" or "tribe". The so-called unity of this group, which administrators, anthropologists and the people themselves claim to exist, is of very recent origin and is still difficult to define. Only in the 19th century under colonialist pressure many of these so-called tribes were formed from a large number of small independent groups.(10) The Luhya in western Kenya, for example, are made up of a number of groups, among which the Bukusu form the single largest one. Moreover, the Bukusu recognized "originally" only the extended family compound as the social and territorial unit. Alliances between compounds were made in times of war, but no permanent organization followed.(11) It was the colonial administration which imposed a central organization upon the Bukusu by the appointment of the first Chief.(12)

The Luhya groups though of heretogeneous origin and separated in administrative units (locations), recognized their cultural and linguistic affinity. Their leaders formed the Abaluhya Welfare Association in 1940 in order to press their demands upon the colonialists.(13) Branches of the Association were established in many areas: e.g. in Trans Nzoia in 1944. Luhya unity seems to be a reality these days, but it is not an absolute unity. Sub-group associations may flourish in towns without reference to the parent association.(14) At times people may identify themselves as members of a particular sub-group rather than as of the Luhya group.

The difficulty in correctly perceiving a person in ethnic terms is enhanced by the impossibility of defining clear cultural exchange between neighbouring groups and sometimes, historical circumstances, even distant groups resemble each other in significant aspects. Again this can be illustrated by reference to the Bukusu. Long ago, according to legend, a group split off from the Bukusu, travelled westwards and settled in the region of Mbale, Uganda, about 100 miles from Bukusu homeland. Although the descendants, the Gishu, are now a separate ethnic group, their language and several other social features are still so similar to those of the Bukusu that both groups feel

very close to each other and intermarriage does not give rise to any problem. This is in contrast to the feeling of mistrust which exists between the Bukusu and Maragoli who are both officially classified as Luhya. Their language and kinship structure are so different that frequent and intense social interaction is rare.
It will be shown in the next section that as a result of the recent identification of economic conflict with ethnic conflict, there is a heightened awareness in the Kitale area of ethnic belonging.(15) The Kikuyu, a group with which the Luhya had no historical connection, became sharply defined in ethnic terms because of their successes in the struggle for resources. This local struggle is a counterpart to the competition for positions of power at the national level.

d. Conflict over Kitale

In recent years four major conflicts of an economic and political nature have occurred in Kitale which were fought along ethnic lines.

1. When in October 1959 the White settlers had to relinquish their exclusive occupation of the Highlands, only one aspect of the land problem was solved. The next issue was how to reconcile the claims of various ethnic groups to the exclusive right to settle in a particular part of the Highlands. In some cases there was no doubt about the traditional ownership of an area, but in other cases, especially at the borders of "Native Reserves", several groups disputed each other's claims. Kikuyu and Kalenjin, for example, were contestants in the area between Nakuru and Eldoret,(16) while Trans Nzoia District was disputed by Luhya, Kalenjin and Kikuyu. These three groups form together the majority of the population in this District, with the rest of the African population divided among several small groups. Both Kalenjin and Luhya claimed that the Kitale Corridor had been part of their respective homelands since time immemorial and each desired exclusive rights to it (17). The Kikuyu, on the other hand, stressed that Kenya had become a modern nation in which no "tribal reserves" were recognized and that everybody had the right to settle in Trans Nzoia. The Kikuyu were foreigners in the District. First brought there as farm labourers by a White settler in 1928, they had all been repatriated in the first years of the Emergency, from

1952 onwards. Towards the end of the Emergency (1959) the Government brought them back to the District in large numbers because of a severe shortage of farm labour, thus causing a sudden large influx of people who were clearly distinguishable linguistically and culturally. By 1962 Kikuyu already formed 17% of the African population in Trans Nzoia, whereas in 1948 they constituted only 4% of the African population.(18)
The Kikuyu, pressed by severe land shortage in their home areas, were allowed by the colonial administration to take part in the Trans Nzoia settlement schemes. Such schemes were to be established from 1961 on former European farms in the Highlands as a measure to distribute the land among Africans.(19) One of the regulations for the settlement administration was that farm labourers who had been for four years or more on the farm had priority claims to plots in the scheme established on that farm.(20) This regulation has greatly benefited the Kikuyu and may have been one of the reasons for their numerical predominance in the schemes established initially in Trans Nzoia. Closely related to the economic aspects of their presence was the fact that the Kikuyu were one of the main groups supporting KANU (Kenya African National Union), while Trans Nzoia was a stronghold of the opposition Party KADU (Kenya African Democratic Union).(21)
The growing number of Kikuyu in the Kitale area which was considered a political and economic threat by the other ethnic groups was an important issue in the local campaigns in the general election years 1961 and 1963.

2. The so-called "Kitale issue" is a well-known and recurring issue in Kenyan politics.(22) In the early 1960's it formed part of the constitutional battle raging between KANU and KADU regarding the relative strength of Central Government versus Regional Assemblies. At the second Lancaster House Conference (1962) the principle of regionalism had been reluctantly accepted by KANU, although some problems about the exact boundaries of the regions had remained unresolved. A Boundary Commission was to make recommendations about disputed areas, such as Trans Nzoia. This District had always been within the boundaries of Rift Valley Province and the Kalenjin in particular wanted to see the continuation of this state of affairs.

Kitale, however, was also claimed by the Luhya who envisaged this town as the capital of Western Region. Frequent fights ensued between Luhya and Kalenjin in the border areas, in which both political and land rights were at stake.(23) Although Kitale was allocated to Western Region by the Boundary Commission, this recommendation was never put into effect.(24) The course of events which made the Kalenjin victors, severely strained relations between them and the Luhya, both on the local level as well as on the national level, where they were major partners in KADU.
The above mentioned conflicts between Luhya, Kikuyu and Kalenjin occurred during the few years preceding Independence. The antagonisms were expressed in the burning of property both in town and in the farm area and in the heated atmosphere surrounding football matches, which frequently erupted in mass demonstrations and fights between the ethnic groups. (25)

3. The competition over land has not come to an end. At present it is mainly the Luhya and the Kalenjin who compete for the large farms in the Kitale area as they come up for sale. It appears from table I.4 that the Kikuyu and especially the Kalenjin have gained numerical strength in Trans Nzoia District since 1962 and some people think this trend is continuing. But Luhya groups also compete for land among themselves. A popular strategy these days is to form a "company" with capital consisting of participants' contributions. When a farm is purchased by a "company" it is settled by the peasant-participants, each of them being allocated a small plot for subsistence farming. The remaining farm land is used for large-scale commercial farming, with each of the participant families bound to provide a certain amount of labour. Problems occur when the purchased farm is not large enough to accommodate all the participants in such a way that the farm remains a viable enterprise.
There is one particularly large Luhya company which was established in 1970 after it had become clear in the general election of 1969 how strong the Kalenjin had become in the District. The so-called "Kalenjin-candidate" for the parliamentary seat of Kitale East had gained a much larger following than was expected. Mr. Muliro, the veteran politician of pre-Independence days, won with a majority

of 1000 votes only. Mr. Muliro, who could always count on the votes of his own group, the Bukusu, had for a long time not been sure whether he would win the support of other Luhya groups as well. But when the rumour spread that if the Kalenjin won, all Luhya would be chased from the District, Muliro's position was definitely strengthened among all Luhya groups.
In 1972 it was obvious that the number of participants in this particular Luhya company far exceeded the plots available on the purchased farms and allegations were made that one Luhya group were favoured. There were fights on the farms between Bukusu and Maragoli, both of which are Luhya groups. They were both dissatisfied with the allocation of plots and in both cases their property was burnt down. Once Luhya unity had successfully asserted itself against the challence posed by the Kalenjin, long-standing mistrust among the Luhya themselves could rear its head again.

4. A final issue concerned control over the national and local trading system. The fact that Independence did not bring about changes in the commercial sector as far as ownership was concerned, was a great disappointment in Kenya.(26) The Government decided to speed up the process of Africanization into this sector by the introduction of the Trade Licensing Act in 1969, which laid down the urban areas and specified the goods in which non-citizens would be allowed to trade.This act was aimed at the Asians, the majority of whom were non-citizens and who were consequently to loose their businesses.(27) A few towns, i.e. Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu, Thika and Eldoret, were classified as general trading areas, where non-citizens were allowed to trade, but the case of Kitale was again the subject of dispute. Originally classified as an area closed for Asian traders, the impending changes sparked off disagreement between local traders.

Table I.3. Population of Trans Nzoia District in 1948,1962 and 1969.[x]

	1948		1962		1969	
	no.s	%	no.s	%	no.s	%
African	61,424	99	94,797	96	122,388	98
European	614	1	1,320	1	668	1
Asian	54	0	2,136	2	1,294	1
Total	62,092	100	98,253	99	124,350	100

[x] Kenya Population Census.

Table I.4. Composition of African population of Trans Nzoia District in 1948, 1962 and 1969.[x]

	1948		1962		1969	
	no.s	%	no.s	%	no.s	%
Luhya	30,678	50	47,773	50	58,601	47
Kikuyu	2,219	4	11,830	12	17,625	14
Kalenjin	5,123	8	6,563	7	13,589	11
Others	23,404	38	28,631	30	32,573	27
Total	61,424	100	94,797	99	122,388	99

[x]Kenya Population Census.

Some of them tried to get this decision reversed with the argument that it was for the benefit of the town as a whole. They predicted a serious loss of municipal revenue as a result of the departure of the Asians. Other leaders managed, however, to convince the National Assembly that Kitale should remain closed for non-citizens. It is widely assumed that the Luhya leaders fostered the hope of settling once and for all their claim to "ownership" of Kitale by taking over the economic control of the town. They had already won political control in the Council elections in 1968. However, contrary to all expectations, the Luhya were slow in taking up the new business opportunities.

In contrast the Kikuyu were quick to act and between 1969 and 1971 a situation developed in which the Kikuyu obtained 40% to 50% of the trade licenses issued in town.(28) This is far in excess to their numbers, i.e. 20% of the Kitale population in 1969. Their dominance in the local commercial sector, together with their political and economic powers on the national level, makes the Kikuyu in Kitale a mistrusted group.

None of these economic conflicts have been settled: individuals and companies are still striving to improve their position, which is relatively easy as long as new positions within the structure are falling vacant. White settlers are still being bought out by the Government and each year a few more Asian traders are told to go. It is said in Kitale that companies are not only formed to assist

members of their ethnic group to acquire land or businesses, but also as a means to counteract expansionist tendencies of other groups.(29) These economic conflicts couched in ethnic terms give rise to intensified perception in ethnic terms, which in turn leads to a more marked tendency for interpersonal interaction and group formation on an ethnic basis.

CHAPTER II. THE HOUSING ESTATE

a. Physical features and economic activity

The Housing Estate was established on the site of the first African settlement. The oldest section was built in the late 1940's to house Government employees. In the late 1950's the Municipality undertook a long-term housing programme which gradually removed all the inhabitants of shanty dwellings to the modern buildings of the Estate. From owner-occupiers the people became rent-paying Council tenants. Over the years, several localities were built which are distinguishable by name, size and internal design of living unit, type of water supply and toilet facilities, by their reputation and to a certain extent by the socio-economic characteristics of the inhabitants.

The oldest localities, with a minimum of amenities, are Government Quarters and Machinjoni ("near the slaughter house"). The first one provides 'job-tied' housing for 18 unskilled Municipal employees, for which the Council pays the rent.

Some of the largest employers in town have helped to finance the building of some of the other old sections of the Estate. They now have exclusive rights to house their own employees in those localities. There are quarters for East African Power and Lighting Company personnel for the Kenya Farmers Association, Kenya Co-operative Creameries, Post Office, Hughes Ltd., and Gailey and Roberts. All these localities of 'job-tied' housing are situated together and are of a type of building which was still considered acceptable in the mid-1950's. All facilities are shared by many households.

Shauri Moyo ("heart's desire") was started a few years later. Although a house consists of only one room there is a partition between the kitchen area and the main part of the room. All toilet and water facilities are still placed in one section and shared by several households. But the household/facility ratio is much lower and the standards of provisions are higher than in earlier constructions, i.e. only four households per water tap and shower, and two households per toilet. In contrast to the earlier designs these are flush-toilets and can be locked by the two designated households. There are 96 dwelling units of this type. The rent went up in 1970 from Shs 65/- to

Shs 70/- per month. Next to Shauri Moyo is the clinic which is operated on a daily basis.

Bondeni ("low-lying place") was the first locality to have individual and internally connected water and toilet facilities and the first to have dwellings of 2 rooms with a separate kitchen. Double storey blocks have been constructed here. The rent for the dwelling unit went up in 1970 from Shs 105/- to Shs 115/- per month. Situated in the middle of the Estate, it houses over half of the Estate's population with over 500 households.

As one of the first local authorities in Kenya, Kitale had established its old people's home in 18 houses similar to those of the old Government Quarters. Most of these one-roomed houses are shared by two or three unrelated old people. Called Bahati Home, it is a "blessing" for its inhabitants.

Adjacent to Shauri Moyo is the latest (at the time of fieldwork) locality in this part of town: Munubi was completed in 1967. The ten one-family houses are all of them self-contained as far as toilet and water facilities are concerned and have two spacy rooms in addition to a large kitchen. They form, with their individual gardens neatly laid out, a novelty for Council houses. The monthly rent was Shs 200/- in 1970. This locality is different from its neighbours, in that rent is payable at the Municipal Council's main office in town instead of at the Rent Office in the Estate.

One of the important differences between the houses in Munubi and those in Bondeni is the internal lay-out of the dwellings. In both cases the dwelling unit consists basically of two rooms, but while it is possible in Bondeni to have two different households in a dwelling with a minimum of inconvenience to each (the entrance is through the kitchen), this is hardly possible in Munubi, where the second room can only be reached through the front room. The high rent, therefore, must be borne by one household only.

Shauri Moyo is perhaps one of the most attractive parts of the Estate because the very large space in between the rows of house-blocks make it a very quiet area. Some teachers and clerks live here, but also unskilled workers, who can afford the rent through pooling the resources of all the working members of the household.

As shown, the building programme has been increasingly characterized

by an emphasis on high standards. This led to an increase in house rent. Consequently, the lowest-income group can now no longer afford to live in the Estate and finds cheaper accommodation in the mud- and-wattle houses erected on adjoining private farms. The owners of these farms, which are situated just outside the Municipal boundaries, are not bound by the strict building regulations of the Council. During 1970, the last of the really cheap Council houses (built of mud and wattle and with thatched roofs, for a monthly rent of Shs 25/- only) were demolished and replaced by three-roomed "modern" houses.

Three religious centres, an Anglican Church, a building of the Salvation Army and a Mosque were built just outside the residential part of the Estate. The old Mosque, dating from the 1920's and which was in the centre of the African settlement, was abandonned a few years ago. In addition, the Quaker community of Kitale managed after many years to collect enough funds to erect its own building: it was consecrated in 1970.
Two primary schools are located at the outskirts of the residential part, each surrounded by large playing fields.
In the middle of the Estate is the Social Centre consisting of a Social Hall, used for meetings and dances; a nursery school; the offices of the Social Welfare Officer, the Estate Supervisor and the Rent Clerk; and finally the Municipal Club, where locally brewed as well as bottled beer is sold.(1) There are two small shopping centres on the Estate, one dating from 1955, the other from the late 1960's. It was possible to acquire plots and premises on a tenant-purchase basis, with the result that some of the present traders do not pay rent to the Municipal Council but to private owners. With the exception of a few butcheries and a tearoom, all the 35 shops are of the general trading type, without specialization. No other economic activity is allowed on the Estate, not even hawking. The market is near the centre of town, two miles away from the Estate. In most localities, there is a fair amount of space between the buildings, so that one does not get the impression of being in an over-crowded area. It offers a lively picture, with people walking around and women chatting and performing all kinds of domestic chores in front of their houses. The busiest time of the week is

Sunday afternoon, when almost everybody is walking or sitting outside and when there is a constant "buzz" of voices in the air.

b. Bondeni and Machinjoni.

The localities where most of the research work was conducted are Bondeni and Machinjoni. These localities had originally been chosen for more intensive work because unmarried mothers - my first focus of research - were only living in these parts of the Estate. The rent levels were lower than elsewhere: the Machinjoni houses had a rent of Shs 30/- or Shs 50/- per month; the Bondeni rooms had a rent of Shs 55/- or Shs 60/- per month. The rents varied with the size of room or house. The rent of the whole two-roomed dwelling was Shs 115/ An earlier survey had been carried out in these two localities as well and reference will be made to that where appropriate.

Bondeni was built between 1960 and 1964 and consists of 26 two-storey blocks each with eight living-units (two rooms, kitchen and toilet/shower), interspersed with 12 single-storey blocks, each with three similar units and six single-storey blocks with two such units. The double-storey blocks have an outside staircase leading to the access balcony of the second storey. Only the larger room in each living-unit has a back door; the other door, as well as the door of the smaller room leads into the kitchen. Although each unit was meant to be occupied by one household only, the amount of rent was prohibitive for the majority of tenants. Consequently, the authorities decided to rent out the two rooms separately, thus being forced to adjust a high housing standard to harsh realities. Although the official total number of living-units is 256, 512 households soon occupied this locality. At present two households must share a kitchen and toilet, which can be a source of serious friction. Some of the better-off households also rent the second room in the house, when it falls vacant, so that the number of tenants in Bondeni may vary from month to month. At the time of survey there were 505 tenants: 498 households in one room and seven households in two rooms. Machinjoni is an older locality dating from the mid-1950's and consisting of 12 blocks of back-to-back rooms. Each room is the

equivalent of a house. Two sets of communal taps, latrines and showers serve the whole locality of 96 households. Machinjoni has a more peaceful atmosphere than Bondeni: there is less noise and less fighting than in the other locality. As a result the people of Machinjoni like their locality because of its pleasant social atmosphere; they feel they have friends around them. In contrast, the people of Bondeni rarely express a general appreciation of the people around them.

The rooms in either locality are not particularly large, but the size of the households occupying these rooms varies considerably.(2) One may find a man alone or with a couple of children in one room, and next-door to him a household of nine or twelve people, living in a single room. On the other hand, some households are renting two rooms instead of one. They may feel obliged to do so because they have a higher social status than their neighbours, or because of their particular household composition. Grown-up children, for example, are not allowed to sleep in the same room as their parents, and thus alternative accommodation must be found for them.

Usually rooms are so packed full with beds, chairs and boxes that one has to manoeuvre skillfully between all these obstacles. Curtains hide beds from the common living area. The only door in the house, leading outside, is usually left open in order to let in daylight and to provide some ventilation, since the windows are too small or covered by shutters or curtains.

It is so unusual to see a closed door during daytime that it is often taken to be a sign that those inside do not want to be disturbed, and a visitor would hesitate to knock. But whether the door is closed or not, the world cannot be shut out; the walls are so thin that everything that happens in the neighbour's house can be heard. Discussions and jokes can be shared as if walls do not exist.

c. Ethnic group membership.

A sample of households was selected, consisting of 30 households in Machinjoni and 61 households in Bondeni. The details of this sample, including the number of respondents for different types of survey questions, are discussed in the Appendix.

At least six ethnic groups are represented in this sample. The Luhya constitute just over 50%, which is the same proportion as in the total Kitale (African) population, and are internally subdivided into at least nine different sub-groups . The next most numerous group are the Luo with about 20%. Few Kikuyu live in the Estate, although they form 20% in Kitale as a whole. This is partly due to the fact that many Kikuyu occupy clerical and supervisory jobs with higher salaries and higher prestige than is usual for the Estate. They prefer to rent rooms in other parts of the town, such as the former Asian quarters.

Table II.1. Ethnic group membership of male household heads, their first and second wives and of women household heads.

	Luo	Luya	Kikuyu	Teso	Gishu	Other	Total
Men	19	47	4	2	4	4	80
Women	13	35	9	1	5	1	64
Total	32	82	13	3	9	5	144

Table II.2. Ethnic group membership of male household heads by locality.

	Luo	Luhya	Kikuyu	Other	Total
Machinjoni	5	18	1	3	27
Bondeni	14	29	3	7	53
Total	19	47	4	10	80

d. Household composition

The average household consists of four individuals. There is no difference in this respect between the two sample areas, but large variations in the size of individual households were found to exist. Whereas 49 out of 91 households have three or less members, there are also households with more than eight members. One third of the households contain no children at all, while about 50% have between two and eight children. There are no persons over 60 years of age. 42% of the sampled population are adult women, which is slightly more than the 38% of Kitale for the total adult population. It is

interesting to compare this figure with the population composition in Nairobi and in Mathare Valley, a squatter area in Nairobi. The adult population of Nairobi as a whole consists for 39% of women, (1969 Census), but for Mathare Valley this increases to 66%.(3) The explanation for the high degree of similarity between Kitale and Nairobi in this respect lies in the fact that these towns offer few opportunities to uneducated women to earn an income additional to that of the husband. As non-contribuants to the urban household income, women are more usefully occupied at the rural home of the family. In Mathare Valley on the other hand, there are plenty of income opportunities for women. Most of these are illegal and therefore carry a risk,- activities such as beer brewing and selling - but the chance of detection is less in the vast squatter settlement than in the more strictly controlled Housing Estates.
The type of house rented does not depend on the size of the household, but rather on the capacity to pay rent and consequently one finds very large households occupying a one-roomed house,

Table II.3. Number of persons per household in Machinjoni and Bondeni

	1	2-3	4-5	6-7	8-¼	10/11/12	Total
Machinjoni	1	15	7	1	4	2	30
Bondeni	9	24	14	8	3	3	61
Total	10	39	21	9	7	5	91

Median: 3.8

Among the 91 households in the sample 47 (52%) consisted at the time of interviewing of a nuclear family of husband and wife, with usually at least a few of their children.(4) In three of these households there were two wives of the same husband staying together. Sometimes this was only a temporary arrangement which occurred when one wife had come from the village, while the other had not yet left in town, but in other cases the two wives lived permanently with their husband in the one room. This is a totally different arrangement from that pertaining in the rural area where each co-wife has at least her own hut. Only nine men lived completely alone, although some of them had their families at home. Of all the male household heads, eleven were not married: they were either bachelors, divorced or widowed.

Of the eleven women who were household heads, only one lived on her own; the others stayed with children, relatives or friends.

Table II.4. Household composition of households headed by males.

Husband and wife(wives) with or without children	50
Man and children, with or without relatives	13
Man and other combinations of co-habitants	7
Man alone	9
Not stated	1
Total	80

In 52% of the households interviewed (46 cases) relatives were found to be present.(5) Some of these relatives are permanent members of the household, e.g. younger brothers or sisters of the husband or wife, which had been sent to town to be educated or to be fed and clothed as their own parents could not afford to do so. In some cases these young siblings had been sent for with the specific purpose of looking after the younger children of the host.
Other relatives came only for a short period, i.e. to pay a visit, to look for work or to ask financial assistance. There was no apparent prevalence of either the wife's or husband's relatives or of adults over children.
To illustrate the type of household arrangements, the following examples are listed.

Examples

a) An unmarried girl shares the house with her unmarried girl-friend. Recently a female cousin of one of them has come to pay a visit; she intends to leave after approximately one month.

b) An unmarried woman has her last-born child with her; three of her own younger brothers, going to school in Kitale, are staying with her. She pays their school fees. Two of her own children (not yet of school age) are looked after by her parents in the rural home.

c) A husband and wife have offered accommodation to two young men: one is the husband's younger brother whose school fees are paid by his own father. The other young man is a cousin who has come to look for work.

d) An older relative of a married woman has come to look for a job. He intends to stay for several months with the couple.

e) A young man, his wife and child are staying with his sister and her husband and four children. Because they have been unable to pay rent, the Housing Supervisor has locked them out of their house.
f) A wife has asked her young cousin to come and live with her family in order to assist with her small children.

It may seem remarkable in the light of other urban studies in East and South Africa that so few independent women are found in this Estate: only 12% of the household heads are women. Compared with Mulago, a suburb of Kampala, with 23% female household heads (6) and with East London with 41% women household heads (7), the percentage in Kitale is low. Yet, it can be suggested that it is the residential situation of a Housing Estate which influences this proportion. In East London only 12% of the female household heads lived in the Municipal Estate; the great majority lived in a cheaper self-built section of town. A study of a Housing Estate in Kampala noted a similar trend. (8) Several reasons can be suggested. The first one is an administrative one: The Kitale Municipal Council actually tries to prevent single women from renting a house in the Estate.(9) For some women the fairly high rent which has to be paid regularly is an obstacle. Few women have sufficient education to get a well-paid job; many are market vendors, bar girls or prostitutes whose income varies per month. Another reason which applies to Kitale is that unmarried women may prefer to live together in one area in order to minimize friction with married women.
Other factors affecting household composition are, for example, school holidays, and seasonal requirements of agriculture and seasonal job opportunities in Kitale and the rural areas. Most secondary schools in Kenya as well as some primary schools are boarding schools. Children attending these institutions, as well as children attending primary day schools in the rural areas, are likely to visit their parents in town during holiday periods. Most families in town have also a shamba at home in the village, that is a piece of land which belongs to them. Women who live in town go home to work on their shamba during periods of great agricultural activity and return to town later in the year.

e. Employment

The majority of men are in some type of manual wage employment, either skilled or unskilled, i.e. 61%. Table II.5 shows that a larger percentage of men (44%) in Machinjoni are employed in unskilled jobs than in Bondeni (25%), but this difference is not statistically significant. Relatively more skilled employees live in Bondeni than in Machinjoni. An important difference relates to the presence of clerical workers. In the Machinjoni sample there is only one person thus employed, while in Bondeni there are 12. Several primary school teachers live in Bondeni, but none in Machinjoni. No teacher would accept a house in this latter area, because of its unpleasant physical conditions and low status. Very few male household heads are casually employed, which can be related to the fact that they are obliged to pay substantial amounts in rent monthly.
One should not reach the conclusion that there is a state of full employment in Kitale, basing this on the information obtained from household heads. It is more likely that if questions were asked about the employment status of all adult males in households, a larger number of self-employed and unemployed would have been found and that also the number of casual workers would have risen. Indeed, when in 1969 new unemployment registration was started under the Tripartite Agreement, several thousands of work seekers were registered in Kitale within a few days.

Table II.5. Occupation of male household heads by locality

	casual	unskil. empl.	unskil. self-empl.	skil. empl.	skilled self-empl.	clerical	total
Machinjoni	0	12	2	7	5	1	27
Bondeni	1	13	5	17	5	12	53
Total	1	25	7	24	10	13	80

The following job categorization has been used.

Unskilled employed	unskilled self-employed	skilled employed	skilled self-employed	professional clerical
herdsman	shop- or tea-room owner	linesman	tailor	teacher
watchman	market salesman	driver	cobbler	clerk
petrol pump attendant		driver/salesman	taxi-owner	supervisor
cleaner		cook		
salesman		waiter		
labourer		tailor		
		mechanic		
		builder		
		cobbler		

Table II.6. Education of male household heads, their first and second wives and of women household heads.

	Men	Women	Total
No education	5	19	24
Some primary education	32	26	58
Completed primary education	31	13	44
Some secondary education	8	4	12
Completed secondary education	4	-	4
Not stated	-	2	2
Total	80	64	144

Table II.7. Education of male household heads by locality.

	Machinjoni	Bondeni	Total
No education	0	5	5
Some primary education	12	20	32
Completed primary education	12	19	31
Some secondary education	3	5	8
Completed secondary education	0	4	4
Total	27	53	80

f. Income

If the data in table II.8 are grouped into two main categories with an income of Shs.200/- per month as the dividing line, a statistically

significant difference is found between the two localities. In Machinjoni 35% of the households have an income of less than Shs.200/- while this proportion is only 10% in Bondeni. On the other hand, at least 31% of the men in Bondeni earn over Shs.400/- per month, while in Machinjoni this proportion is 17%. The lower income level in Machinjoni is consistent with the lower occupational level in this area.

Table II.8. Income distribution of male household heads by locality (shillings per month).

	Less than 160/-	160/- to 199/-	200/- to 299/-	300/- to 399/-	400/- to 499/-	over 500/-	un-known	Total
Machinjoni	5	3	4	7	4	-	4	27
Bondeni	4	1	15	14	9	8	2	53
Total	9	4	19	21	13	8	6	80

The table shows that 40% of the households with a male head earn a monthly income of less than Shs. 300/-, and that at least 52% earn Shs. 300/- or more. In the largest squatter area of Nairobi, Mathare Valley, only 4% earns over Shs. 300/-, whereas 55% of the households in two Housing Estates in Nairobi (one low-income and one middle income Estate taken together) receive a monthly income of more than this amount.(10)

The figures in table II.8 refer to the income of men. Since none of the married women earn a regular income, the salaries of the men are the main source of the urban incomes of these houdeholds. All salaries are paid at the end of the month, although many people ask for an advance in the middle of the month.

Women contribute by selling vegetables, brewing beer, sewing dresses and crocheting or embroidering table cloths. In addition, some households secure the use of a small plot of land on which maize and vegetables are grown for consumption or sale. These plots of ¼ acre are rented from the Municipality for a yearly sum.

g. Length of residence.

Concerning the length of time spent in town at least two questions can be raised: the amount of time spent in town, and the amount of time spent in a particular house. It is interesting to note that more than half of the households in the sample had been established in Kitale for less than four years. On the other hand, more than a quarter of the households had been in Kitale for 10 years or more.(11) For many of these households, their stay in Kitale was not a station on their way to the large towns in the country. Many households had already been in the large East African cities, Nairobi, Mombasa, Kampala, Dar es Salaam, Mwanza or Jinja, before coming to Kitale. It could be that many people wanted to work in a town nearer their home area and thus Kitale was the obvious choice for those whose rural homes were in Western Province.

Table II.9. Length of time households have been living in Kitale by locality.

	less than 1 year	1 - 3 year	4 - 6 years	7 - 9 years	10 years or more	born in Kitale	total
Machinjoni	6	11	1	4	8	-	- 30
Bondeni	7	27	10	5	9	3	61
Total	13	38	11	9	17	3	91

People frequently moved from one room to an other in search for improvement. Taken together, 49 of the households had lived in their present room for less than one year; 36 had lived there between one and three years; while the remainder had lived for four, six or more years in the same room. The disruptive effect of this mobility on neighbourhood relations is somewhat mitigated by the tendency to move within the same locality.

Table II.10. Length of time households have been living in present room by locality.

	less than 1 year	1 - 3 years	4 - 6 years	7 - 9 years	not stated	total
Machinjoni	15	7	4	4	-	30
Bondeni	25	24	4	7	1	61
Total	40	31	8	11	1	91

h. Organizations

The extent of membership of formal organizations is low. The voluntary tribal associations, so well known in urban West Africa, are virtually unknown in East Africa. The most important exception is formed by the Luo Union which has an organizational structure which extends to all towns in East Africa where a concentration of Luo can be found. The other ethnic groups often try to set up such voluntary associations in order to link their members in a new, ethnic, urban organization, but these associations have usually a short span of life.(12) Obviously, other formal and informal relationships between members of an ethnic group are just as suitable to meet the demands of the urban situation. Other formal organizations which exist in Kitale, such as for example, the Child Care and Adoption Society, the Family Planning Association or the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, are not very attractive to the low-income residents of the Estate. There are 16 formally registered Churches in Kitale. Among those with the largest membership are the Anglican and Catholic Churches, the Moslems, the Kitale Monthly Meeting of Friends and the Salvation Army. There are several small Church groups and religious sects as well, some of which draw public attention on Saturdays and Sundays through their special dress, and their singing and dancing rituals. Church membership is high, but the frequent church attendance which the majority claims is of course not always supported by practice. As elsewhere in Africa, membership of particular Churches is strongly associated with ethnic group membership. This feature dates from the missionary days, when the pioneering missionaries respected the established boundaries of each other's "territories". The Anglican and Catholic Churches are the ones which have been most successful in

spreading their membership over the whole country. The members of small sects seem to form more cohesive groups, which also come together for non-church activities, in contrast to the larger, more formal churches.

Few people are members of Kenya's only political party, KANU. This lack of popular support for the party can be observed in most parts of the country and is a matter of concern to the leaders.(13)

Almost 50% of the men claim to be members of a trade union, but whether this entails more than the paying of a fee is not clear. Many men appeared to be unaware that they had joined a union. Many gave a negative answer when questioned about their membership of a trade union but did mention it under the category "other associations".

PART II. SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF CONDITIONS IN THE HOUSING ESTATE

CHAPTER III. SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL EXPERIENCE OF THE HOUSING & ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

a. Lack of a back region

The Housing Estate may not be very crowded in an objective sense when compared with low-income residential areas of other towns (1), but the subjective experience of the residents both in Machinjoni and Bondeni is different. The fact that a family house consists of one room only, the small size of that room, the absence of a separate and private kitchen and the unintentional involvement with neighbours are conditions creating frequent embarrassment and strain. These embarrassments occur because the housing conditions do not allow people to live as they would like to do, or are used to in their rural homes. The question arises whether such stress is apparent in similar physical conditions irrespective of cultural context.
The following analysis of people's reactions to this type of housing has been influenced by Goffman's observations in a number of totally different social settings.(2) Goffman's conclusions all refer to settings in the western-European world and it could be argued that what he considers to be general spatial principles underlying social interaction are in reality determined by the socio-cultural context in which the interactions take place. It will, however, become clear in the following pages that people in this African Housing Estate are sensitive to the same spatial qualities of a house as people in the western World, as shown by Goffman, but that the explanations for such feelings are largely of a socio-cultural nature. The spatial qualities to be considered are the absence of a "back region" and the size of the house.
Goffman distinguishes between a front region and a back region of a house.(3) In the former, activities take place which "outsiders" are allowed to observe or in which "outsiders" are even requested to take part and where certain rules of social interaction are adhered to. Activities not meant for public observation are confined to the

back region, where none but close associates are allowed to enter and participate. Social interaction "behind the scenes" between such associates is less restrained by expectations held by the public than when the public is watching in the front region. The assumption behind this distinction is that people do not without effort abide by socially approved rules of interaction in the presence of "outsiders". Therefore it would be necessary for people to relax occasionally among "insiders" in order to cast off their "roles".
A significant characteristic of the one-roomed houses of the Estate is that they do not provide for a back region. Such houses do not have an area which is protected from easy access and inspection by "outsiders". The distinction between "insiders" and "outsiders", i.e. between oneself and close household members on the one hand and other categories of people on the other hand, is difficult to maintain in practice when the lay-out of a house does not differentiate between a front region and a back region.
If this spatial expression of different degrees of intimacy and social distance may appear to be a western conception, we may point to the rural family compound in western Kenya.(4) There the spatial position of the huts indicates the social position of the occupants in relation to the head of the compound.
A satisfactory house would offer a separate back region. But here appears a dilemma for both architects and residents: a two-roomed house providing the required privacy would be too expensive for the low-income group, at least when built to conventional building standards.(5) In practice, the occupants of conventional Estate houses adjust to the inconveniences caused by a single-roomed house in a flexible manner.
The division in the room created by a curtain around the bed serves to a certain extent the purpose of establishing a back region. Its sexual connotations are most obvious, but considerations of personal tidiness are also evident. The bed area of adults and in particular of one's parents is in western Kenya surrounded by strong taboos. Generally it is considered to be improper to expose one's bed.(6) Grown-up sons and daughters are not allowed to come close to their parents' bed. This convention is maintained even in very small rooms, no matter how fictitious the dividing line between common and forbidden area may seem to outsiders.

Example

How strong the emotions are with respect to the bed area can be illustrated by a Luo family. There are five grown-up sons. In the sitting room stand the beds of the parents. The mother keeps her household money and the savings from a neighbouring lady under her pillow. Everybody knows this. Yet nobody would dare, as the sons put it, to reach out to this pillow in order to take away some of the money.

Even with the use of the curtain, however, the sleeping arrangements in this type of house gives rise to serious problems as a result of these customary avoidance patterns. It is often regretted that children sleep in the same room as their parents and observe what they say and do. But it is remarked: "what else can we do in these town houses? Town life has a corrupting effect on the children, but we cannot help it". With regard to adult children, however, the traditional custom is still strictly observed; they may certainly not sleep in the same room as their parents.

Example

A father of four grown-up school-going sons stated: "I am lucky to have such a cheap house that I can afford to rent two of them. Now my sons can sleep separately. It is also helpful during the day to have the two houses: it gets very crowded in this small one with so many big people".

Most families are not so fortunate as to be able to rent two rooms. Grown-up sons usually try to make arrangements with a neighbour, relative or friend in order to get a sleeping place away from the parental home.

Avoidance is also customary between relatives in-law. In some cultures a parent may not enter the house of a married child, but even when this is customarily allowed, the bed area remains forbidden territory. The house lay-out therefore makes it very difficult for closely related in-laws to visit each other, since the bed-curtain does not provide sufficient protection with regard to this strict taboo. Special arrangements must be made for the visit of a parent-in-law. If no suitable neighbour or relative is available who can assist in these arrangements, the parent-in-law is required to sleep on the verandah outside. In a Housing Estate in Lusaka, Zambia, similar

complaints based on the in-law avoidance custom were raised against one-roomed houses.(7)
The bed area functions moreover as back region for activities which Europeans would also want to keep away from outsiders. There is the problem of changing clothes in the presence of others, and the problem of keeping a small room tidy. Dirty clothes, clean but un-ironed clothes and other objects to be put out of sight are thrown upon the bed, the self-made back region. This behaviour resembles our use of a spare room: by placing things there, we keep at least one room tidy! The appearance of the room is of course very important. The remark was often made during interviews "I am sorry, I have not yet had time to tidy up!"
In the ideal house the kitchen would form part of the back region. The particular location of the kitchen in these one-roomed houses, or its total absence, is therefore contrary to all conventional rules in Kenya. In Machinjoni no separate kitchen is provided so that the cooking must be done in the one and only room. In Bondeni the kitchen is shared by two households. In both localities therefore, the preparation of food is open to inspection by everyone: by a critical husband and his visitors, who customarily stay away from the cooking place, and by envious neighbours. A kitchen should be a private place to prepare dishes, and to make mistakes during their preparation without criticism or comment. In rural society this socio-psychological aspect of the kitchen is emphasized by its being isolated from the main house in a hut built for this purpose.
The extent to which people want to keep their handling of food a private affair is shown by the fate of the communal kitchens provided in one of the oldest localities of the Estate. The townplanners of the late 1940's designed in this locality a block of communal kitchens in front of a row of houses in such a way that four families were to share one kitchen. This arrangement may have had a practical reason, i.e. to prevent the smoke of charcoal, the most common fuel, from dirtying the rooms; it may have had a "romantic" reason, i.e. to encourage the communal life of the rural family compound. Whatever the reason for building them, people do not use them as public kitchens, but rather as sheds for bicycles, chickens etc.(8) It must be noted that cooking is never done outside. While women may do some of the

preparations for cooking while sitting on their doorsteps, the actual cooking itself is always done inside.

b. Size of the house

Another problem with these single-roomed houses is that they are simply too small for the needs of certain families. A large family finds it particularly difficult to arrange a sleeping place for all its members, so that an "overflow" may occur into the shared kitchen. A married man commented about the size of his house: "now that the rent has gone up I will rent a larger house to get value for money. When my wife and children are here it gets very crowded, you cannot walk around easily and the house gets very untidy". During the day-time children are sent outside, whenever their presence irritates adults. The adults themselves also spend much time outside: women remain usually in the immediate neighhourhood, whereas men walk around over a much wider area.
A house also has another function besides sheltering people, which is to display possessions. Since there is little choice between types of houses in Kitale within the range which people with a low income can afford, the furniture in a house is an important status symbol. One looks for a house which fits the possessions or, conversely, it hurts deeply when some of the possessions have to be relinguished when a smaller house must be accepted due to financial difficulties. We must keep in mind, however, the differences in value orientation guiding expenditure decisions. One family may prefer to embellish the permanent rural home rather than the temporary urban house and consequently send all new furniture to the rural home. Another family may be interested in saving or using money for less immediately observable purposes such as the education of the children.

Example

The couple in the following example has no rural home. The parents of both of them were already landless farmlabourers.
The couple has two children. The husband used to have regular unskilled employment with a fairly good salary. During that early period they had moved to a more expensive part of the Estate and bought nice furniture. As a result of the Kenyan policy of Africanising trade and commerce, the Asian employer of this husband had to close

his business early in 1969. Since that time the husband had only been able to get irregular and casual employment, as a result of which the family income dwindled considerably. They began finding difficulty in paying the house rent and sometimes there was no food in the house. The husband started to think about moving to a cheaper and smaller house, but the wife resisted this strongly on the grounds that a smaller house would not contain all their furniture. They would have to sell some of it. "Will we ever be again in the position to buy furniture of that quality?" In August 1972, pressed down by the expenses for the children affected by kwashiorkor and the illness of the wife, they finally had to accept moving to a cheaper house.

These two reasons for dissatisfaction with a house, in relation to the number of people and to the amount of possessions, are of course not uncommon in western societies either.(9)

c. Economic conditions

Another source of strain in a household is shortage of money and economic conditions generally. Although almost all families in the Estate have a regular income and therefore are privileged in comparison with small-scale peasants and those members of the urban labour force who work in the informal sector of the urban economy, (10) they still have great difficulty in making ends meet.(11) The strict rent collection procedure makes a dependable income necessary, especially in the lower socio-economic strata and while the inhabitants of the Estate do not belong to the poorest section of society, they have to budget carefully, to meet the different demands of their households.(12) A household can seldom afford to allocate sufficient funds to each item in the budget.
We asked 48 women in Bondeni what in their experience was the greater worry of the people in the Estate. These women were the respondents in an earlier sample survey which was done in Bondeni. They were selected in a similar manner as the respondents in the survey which forms the main subject of the present study (see Appendix). In the first survey only wives and women household heads were interviewed in the selected households.
In table III.1 the problems mentioned are summarized. Some women mentioned more than one problem. Cross-tabulations with several variables, such as locality of residence of respondent, husband's

job and income, did not show any interrelations. Asked about their own worries, some women gave the answer "I don't know". The background to such an answer may be either inability to articulate one's worries or unwillingness to do so. It does not necessarily imply that no problems are experienced.

Table III.1. Reasons for worry in families

1. In your experience, what do people worry about most, here in the Estate?
2. What do you worry about most?

Female resondents: N = 48

	Other People's Worry	Own Worry
	Frequency[x]	Frequency[x]
lack of money	22	10
no job	3	2
death and sickness	14	12
quarrels	2	2
drunkenness	2	2
crop failure	1	-
achievement of better life	4	3
nothing	-	11
don't know	16	10
others	-	6
Total number of items	64	58

[x] number of times item is mentioned

"other" include: no dowry paid; being a good Christian; want to go home; small house; uncompleted training.

Lack of money for various purposes (food, clothes, school fees, house rent etc.) was the single most frequently mentioned item. The next most frequently mentioned cause for concern was death and sickness of the children or of any other family members. Sixteen respondents professed to have no idea what other families might be worrying about.

Although we cannot conclude that there is an absolute consensus on what constitutes the main problems for the people in the Estate, there is certainly a great awareness of the most common causes for worry in the neighbouring families.

In planning the monthly or daily expenses, food is the item on which

people usually economize towards the end of the month when funds are exhausted. Since most Kenyan workers are paid monthly, shortages of the most essential items, such as salt, sugar and charcoal, tend to appear towards the end of the month. In such cases one can either ask the shop for credit or borrow from a friend or neighbour. The alternative one chooses depends on one's personal relations with neighbours and shopkeepers, but it is usually considered easier to ask a neighbour.
One can run out of essentials unexpectedly and to be able to borrow from a neighbour is a valuable quality of a good relationship. Although the items borrowed may seem small, they are essential in the preparation of a meal. Since well-cooked meals add to the esteem in which the housewife is held, it is important for a woman to be able to overcome a shortage of ingredients quickly.

d. Summary

The lay-out of the Estate, the house plans as well as economic problems result in a situation in which neighbours become involved in each others' lives. Whether a person wishes to do so or not, he is forced to observe what happens in the neighbouring households. He will surely gain an insight into their economic affairs by the frequency with which they ask him to lend them something. The difficulties experienced in providing a good future for the children through education (free education in the first three grades of primary school was introduced in 1974) and the irresponsibility of husbands who waste household money on excessive drinking are frequent topics of conversation. This personal knowledge about persons with whom one has no other relationship than that of accidentally being neighbours is in several ways a burden to all parties concerned(13). One feels restricted or perhaps ashamed when one realizes that whatever has happened in private is known to the outside world, especially when it may contradict the public image one has created of oneself.(14) It was said for example:

"When I quarrel with my brothers or parents I don't mind that other people are overhearing. But later, when I realize that the neighbours have been listening, I feel ashamed about what I have said."

Although a person's curiosity may be aroused by hearing the neighbours quarrel, one does not want to know too much about it, since this implies "becoming involved". To refrain from involvement and especially from active interference, are qualities of behaviour which, as will be shown, are much appreciated.

CHAPTER IV. THE WORKING RELATIONSHIP

a. The need for a "working relationship".

The shared conditions of the absence of a back region and of economic uncertainty have consequences for the style of interaction between neighbours. The inhabitants of the Housing Estate do not form a community, although they occupy a territory separate from the other sections of the town. There are no organizations embracing all inhabitants and local social events have a cohesive as well as divisive effect. No authority is held in general esteem. Yet a common concern appears to underlie social interaction, i.e. to keep on good terms with the neighbours. Not that people always succeed in this, but the intention, the consciously expressed concern to keep a working relationship with the neighbours is present.

A "working relationship" is established out of practical considerations. It does not necessarily grow out of friendship, nor does it necessarily lead to friendship. It is developed in order to form the basis for the performance of certain tasks for which one needs the co-operation of particular partners. In the case of the residents of the Estate it is the task of fulfilling the daily requirements related to good house-keeping and to maintaining peace in and around the house. The working relationship therefore involves frequent co-operation between residents, particularly neighbours, in the performance of daily tasks. Ideally, all interactions taking place between these partners are task-oriented, and all other emotional and behavioural inclinations are subject to the demands of this task relation. The fact that one cannot choose one's working partners is a significant restriction. In the Housing Estate one can certainly no choose all one's neighbours, since houses are allocated by the Estate Supervisor. Consequently, neighbours in Kitale are seldom relatives nor are they always of the same ethnic group or social status. In a working relationship, however, such social criteria are basically irrelevant, as long as the partners assist each other in performing their tasks satisfactorily. Only when the working relationship breaks down do these social qualities become important as explanations for the failure.

Ethnic group membership and socio-economic status are sometimes used as quasi-explanatory factors, even though they are not per se the true cause of conflicts.

Example

Two of my neighbours were a Luo and a Kikuyu family. At one time the women were friends. But neighbouring women had become envious of this friendship and started to undermine it through quarrelling and backbiting. One day the Luo woman came to borrow charcoal from me. Since my supply was finished, I suggested that she should ask the other neighbour, the Kikuyu lady. She hesitated: "no, I do not like to ask her, she is of another tribe." Instead she went to a relative several blocks away. In discussing the matter the next day, the Luo lady said: "you see, this former friend of mine is a typist and her husband is a clerk, while my husband is only a labourer. So I do not like to borrow from her, we used to borrow from each other, but her husband does not like it anymore."

The Luo woman, being the only non-Kikuyu in a block of houses, relied on her nearest neighbour for daily conversation and help. As long as the relationship lasted, socio-economic differences did not matter. But when the relationship was disturbed the Luo woman, who felt socially at a disadvantage in the neighbourhood group, explained the break-down in ethnic and economic terms. The jealous woman, who could not tolerate this relationship from which she was excluded, may have used similar arguments in her "backbiting".

Why is there this need to maintain this working relationship?

A fundamental aim in daily life is to live peacefully and without interference. This means, however, that people on the lower end of the economic scale and in housing conditions which do not allow sufficient privacy, are more dependent on each other as neighbours for achieving these day-to-day aims than people in different types of residential area. The insight in their interdependence in respect of certain common aims, may stimulate neighbours to overcome any emotional and social barriers which may exist between them. On the other hand, the living conditions may give cause to a greater propensity to quarrelling. And this could lead to the total disintegration of the relationship.

From the need to maintain a working relationship can be derived the formulation of an ideal relationship and ideal forms of behaviour.

I have called these ideal forms of behaviour "normative themes" to indicate their exemplary and moralistic aspects and to indicate the prevasiveness of the references to these ideal forms in daily conversation. As themes they are distilled by me from my personal observations, in which I was struck by their consistency and the spontaneous manner in which they emerged, and from the responses on a questionnaire on social attitudes.
It appears that neighbours are usually able to agree on a definition of the content of a working relationship, as is evident from the friendship and assistance patterns discussed in chapter VI. However, this agreement may of a short-lived nature, since over 40% of respondents in a sample had stayed less than 12 months in their present room, quarrels with neighbours being one of the reasons for moving house (table VI.8b). Goffman might call such agreement a "working consensus".(1) This can be achieved, it seems, by general reference to these normative themes. The findings concerning these themes are presented in the next section.

b. Normative themes

There is an awareness that the working relationship, although necessary, is still a relationship which has to be created. A working relationship does not come into being between people merely because of physical proximity. Neighbours must create an atmosphere in which this special relationship can germinate and develop. This takes time and requires effort. There are two normative themes guiding the social interaction in the Estate, especially between neighbours. These themes are each others' opposite on the level of abstract formulation, but in practice people are concerned to balance the ideal forms of behaviour in response to the requirements of the actual circumstances.
The first theme is that of sociability. It implies that one should have a sociable, friendly and accommodating manner; and that one should initiate a free and easy exchange with everybody around. One should exchange experiences and pieces of harmless gossip and be always willing to help any neighbour without discrimination. This type of behaviour would lead neighbours to get a fairly close

knowledge of each others' affairs, and become emotionally attached to each other and this in turn would reinforce the type of behaviour conducive to the maintenance of the working relationship.
But on the other hand, such close involvement carries dangers for the continuation of the relationship. Involvement may lead to unwelcome interference, to jealousies and quarrels. The maintenance of the working relationship might therefore be better served by behaviour which is characterised by emotional neutrality and social reserve.
These two themes together form the normative support for the development of a working relationship between neigbours. The first theme indicates behaviour which makes a positive contribution to a satisfactory relationship, both emotionally and materially. The second theme indicates which behaviour to avoid lest conflicts undermine the relationship. The theme of sociability is the dominant theme. This emerged from the questionnaire and from conversations. In addition religious and moral sanctions were frequently invoked to support these opinions: "God tells us to love everybody"; and "unity is strength". But the down-to earth reason that one should be friendly to everybody so that one may receive help when needed, was given much more frequently.
The desirability of reserved behaviour was less frequently referred to. People mainly pointed to the disadvantages of overly social behaviour. That the themes are formulated as ideal forms of behaviour, is underscored by the reaction to behaviour that actually approaches one of the ideals. A person who continues to help a neighbour who has a long history of begging (the word "begging" in this context is indicative of disapproval) and a neighbour who never goes beyond the minimum of contact possible, are both disapproved of. Subtle mechanisms are set in motion to "correct" such behaviour.
A teacher explained it as follows. "To ask sometimes for help is alright. But someone who borrows all the time is not respected. On the contrary, he is being avoided, because people do not like to be asked to help all the time and then to have to refuse.
Someone who is so poor that he can never help anyone else, is not

respected either, nor someone who refuses all the time, although he is in a position to help".

Example

A woman had to arrange a funeral party for her baby who had died when only two days old. Her husband was often out of work, but this time he had been working, although he had not been paid his wages for three months. The woman was still very weak and her other child had kwashiorkor. She knew that this illness is caused by lack of proper food.
Nevertheless, she had saved Shs.30/- for which she had bought beer, meat, ugali (stiff porridge), tea and bread. Many guests had come, both relatives from outside town and her beighbours. She was happy that the guests had praised her for the way she had welcomed them, although she felt sorry that this large amount of money had been spent in one night.
The next day, however, neighbours started backbiting her, saying that she became too proud with her successful funeral party and that she should not have wasted so much money while her own child was ill. The woman was astonished about this accusation and felt hurt. Later she complained that it had become difficult to borrow small items from her neighbours.

When it comes to applying the normative themes in practice, people are ready to strike a compromise between the themes in order to find the most appropriate behaviour in a particular pattern of neighbouring interactions. The opposite poles of ideal behaviour are balanced so as to serve the working relationship.
The outcome of this process of balancing varies, depending on a number of factors. Firstly, there are factors relating to the neighbours as individuals, such as the personalities involved, the degree of compatibility of their life styles and their relative socio-economic positions. The second set of factors relates to the model of behaviour already in operation between a particular set of neighbours. A person on moving house takes over the physical place of someone who had participated in the working relationships as they functioned within the neighbourhood set. The "old-timers" in a block, who have developed expectations with regard to these relationships, tend to convey these to the newcomer. These expectations are linked to sanctions. It can be shown with data from the questionnaire (see Chapter VII) that persons who have recently joined an existing group of neighbours are more sensitive to the operation of these sanctions than others. The fear of attracting dislike or even hatred are powerful

mechanisms in small face-to-face groups. The need to be accepted by these groups and consequently the willingness to yield to their influence is especially great among women,who have no alternative source for social support in daily affairs. Thirdly there is the time factor. Despite its changing composition a group of neighbours has its history, ephemeral as it may be. The more satisfactory the past experience, the more prepared the participants are to endure a certain measure of conflict. A working relationship which has proved to be stable and reliable may recover from minor setbacks, while a relationship with only a short or unsatisfactory history may not.

One source for the interpretation of the two existing normative themes is a questionnaire on social attitudes (see Appendix). The assumption underlying the questionnaire was that the response pattern of various types of residents and of the two localities would be different. One definition of attitude is that it "is a relatively endurin organization of beliefs around an object or situation predisposing one to respond in some preferential manner."(2) The object can be a person, group, institution or issue; or can be an ongoing event or activity. An attitude incorporates several interrelated components, i.e. a cognitive component, or a certain amount of knowledge about the object of the attitude (be it a person, institution or issue); an affective component, i.e. the positive or negative feelings aroused by that object; and a behavioural component, i.e. the action regarding that object to which the attitude may lead and to which it is predisposed by the other two components. My assumption is that attitudes towards persons are influenced by the situations which form the specific context for their thinking, feeling or acting in relation to each other. The persons referred to in the questionnaire are neighbours and members of different ethnic groups. The situation in which these persons meet is daily life in the Housing Estate, which give rise to common problems and to certain shared solutions, such as a set of norms and sanctions which regulate behaviour. The respondents were requested to think about appropriate action between these persons on a number of occasions which may arise in that situation. The attitude is social because it defines a tendency to social behaviour, be it of a

positive or approaching type or of a negative or withdrawing type. No systematic attempt was made to try to correlate intended behaviour with actual behaviour.

Table IV.1. Responses to social attitude questions

1. Some people prefer to have someone of their own tribe as their neighbour. Other people say it does not matter of which tribe their neighbour is. What do you say?

   Own tribe:...12 Does not matter:..98 no answer:..1 Total:.111

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2. Some people say neighbours should borrow as little as possible from each other. Others say neighbours should borrow freely.

   Little:.....42 Freely:.....67 no answer:..2 Total:.111

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3. Some people say in general neighbours should keep themselves to themselves. Others say neighbours should be social to each other. What do you say?

   Keep to themselves:...3 Social:.....106 no answer:..2 Total:.111

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4. Some people say when you see people drinking chang'aa, you should inform the police. Others say you should not inform the police. What do you say?

   Inform:.....18 Not inform:.....90 no answer:..3 Total:.111

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5. Some people say when a neighbour shouts for help at night, you should not go out to help. Others say you should go out to help. What do you say?

   Not go out:...9 Go out:.....99 no answer:..3 Total:.111

The response pattern shows a strong consensus in favour of the positive social attitude. The vast majority of people say that they do not care about the "tribal" group membership of their neighbours; that people should be outgoing and social, rather than withdrawn and keep themselves to themselves; and that one should help one another when someone is in trouble at night. As regards borrowing, the responses show the greater ambivalence about what is acceptable behaviour. Although the majority express that neighbours should feel free to borrow whenever they want to,

For example, it was suggested in interviews that those with higher status, e.g. teachers and clerks, are more likely to "refuse to help their fellow-men" than others; or that people who come "fresh from the village" want to continue their rural custom of exchanging freely. But there was no evidence for this in the survey data. In general, people stress that neighbours have common interests and problems and should be able to depend on each other for solving these problems. This consensus was expressed in both localities, Bondeni and Machinjoni, and was independent of the fact whether the respondents liked their locality or not.
In chapter VI more will be said about the manner in which social interaction is in practice influenced by ethnic group membership of neighbours. As far as the responses to these attitude questions are the expression of ideals of behaviour, the sanctions used to induce greater compliance with the ideals are discussed in chapter VII.

Table IV.2. Reasons for responses to social attitude questions

1. Reasons for: tribe of neighbour does not matter
   1 = all humans are equal; only friendliness matters; religious reason
   2 = one cannot choose neighbours; such is town life
   3 = provided we can stay peaceful together; can co-operate
   4 = persons of different tribes give more respect to each other; cannot understand each others' secrets; good to learn other people's customs
   5 = more than one reason mentioned, falling in several of the previous categories.
   6 = other reasons

category	1	2	3	4	5	6	total
number of responses	23	11	32	25	4	3	98

Reasons for: neighbour should be of own tribe
1 = not used to other people's customs and language
2 = people of same tribe give more respect; more help
3 = no answer

category	1	2	3	total
number of responses	5	6	1	12

2. Reasons for: neighbours should borrow freely from each other

1 = God says so; it shows love
2 = everybody has difficulties; nobody can have everything
3 = we are used to each other
4.= no answer

category	1	2	3	4	total
number of responses	8	33	18	8	67

Reasons for: neighbours should borrow as little as possible

1 = town is expensive; everybody has his own budget
2 = you cannot know whether he has enough for himself
3 = you will be disliked; called lazy or a beggar
4 = one should depend on oneself; it is not right to borrow much
5 = other reason
6 = no answer

category	1	2	3	4	5	6	total
number of responses	8	6	12	9	4	3	42

3. Reasons for: neighbours should be social to each other

1 = God says so; leads to peace, strength
2 = if you don't, you will get a bad name
3 = so that we can help each other when in need
4 = more than one reason mentioned, falling in several categories
5 = other reasons

category	1	2	3	4	5	total
number of responses	28	7	58	3	10	106

4. Reasons for: not informing police about chang'aa drinkers

1 = people will hate you if you do that
2 = not my business; it is the police's own business
3 = injustice to drinkers; it is the livelihood of the brewers
4 = other reason

category	1	2	3	4	total
number of responses	20	12	43	15	90

Reasons for: informing police about chang'aa drinkers

1 = it is against the law
2 = dangerous to health
3 = drunkeness leads to trouble, fights
4 = more than one reason mentioned, falling in several categories
5 = other reasons

category	1	2	3	4	5	total
number of responses	3	4	6	3	2	18

5. Reasons for: going out at night when someone shouts for help

1 = want to know the reason first for his shouting for help
2 = obligation as neighbours; if I don't help, he may die
3 = if I help him now, he may help me later when I need it
4 = other reasons

category	1	2	3	4	total
number of responses	6	41	39	13	99

Reasons for: not going out at night when someone shouts for help

1 = it is dangerous for oneself
2 = the one who shouts may be a thief, therefore he should be beaten
3 = as a woman I cannot help

category	1	2	3	total
number of responses	5	3	1	9

Scrutinizing the explanations given for the answers to the attitude questions, one gets a more differentiated view of the normative themes which have validity for the residents of the Estate. These explanations together with my own observations and conversations lead me to suggest the existence of four behavioural standards. (1) Neighbours should be co-operative; (2) neighbours should be able to "rhyme", as they say locally for "being in harmony"; (3) neighbours should not intervene in each others' household affairs; and (4) neighbours should refrain from getting involved with each other which would lead to social or financial dependence.
It is in the application of these standards of behaviour to actual situations that the necessity of compromising with ideals is evident.

(1) One of the most important items included among "co-operation" is the item "borrowing". There is strong awareness that most people around them, i.e. in the Housing Estate, are in a situation similar to their own. Everybody has economic problems because town life is expensive compared with rural life. Consequently, it goes without saying that everyone will not always have all he needs. Isn't it understandable then that under such conditions people should feel free to borrow from each other?

And is not it equally understandable that neighbours should assist the person who comes to borrow, especially if they can foresee a time when they might have a similar need for assistance? On the other hand, the awareness that everyone has similar difficulties in making ends meet, is exactly the reason why some people hesitate to borrow - or to lend - not wanting to burden the other with one's own problems. The following feeling is, however, the strongest element flowing through the answers: we need each other because neither the individual nor the individual household is able to counter the unexpected events occurring in daily life. Such events may vary from the necessity to borrow small items of food to organising the transportation of a dead man to his home village.

(2) "To rhyme" means more than showing the appropriate behaviour as neighbours, but implies that neighbours have a personal liking for each other and share some common interests as well. It was said, for example: "I am not very lucky with my neighbour. Although she invites me for tea, which is kind of her, we have nothing to say to each other. We just keep silent". Or it was said: "I often visit that woman living upstairs. She comes from a village near my home, so we have plenty to talk about."
"To rhyme" may also imply that life styles should be compatible, that neighbours should not annoy or offend each other with their habits. Alcohol drinking, for example, is morally offensive to certain people. To Moslems and orthodox Protestants (Presbyterians, Seventh Day Adventists and others), sharing a house with alcohol drinkers may be an important consideration in a decision to move.

Example

A house in Bondeni was shared by a Moslem and a Presbyterian family. The women did not get on at all: quarrels about the use of the kitchen were frequent and one of the women threatened to bewitch the children of the other. Yet, the harassed family decided not to move away, as they felt lucky to have non-drinking neighbours.

Moslems and Presbyterians are both very small religious groups in Kitale and they have certainly few members living in the Estate. And to find people who do not drink alcohol on principle and in

practice is just as difficult. These particular neighbours choose therefore to stay together despite the other problems arising between them.
For other neighbours the difference between spending the evening reading and spending the evening talking loudly and dancing - in adjoining, not sound-proof rooms - may be too much to tolerate. A teacher who went to live in a more expensive house next to a colleague explained: "these people understand when I am preparing my lessons in the evening. They don't disturb me, like my former semi-literate neighbours used to do".

(3) The behavioural standard of non-interference acquires special meaning in a residential situation where social contact is unavoidable. By virtue of living together neighbours obtain personal knowledge about each other; they observe new possessions or the lack of food; they overhear complaints; and are asked to give their assistance. What people can expect or hope realistically is only that the neighbours will not spread this knowledge, at least not in a malicious manner, and that they will not be unnecessarily inquisitive. Yet, the circulation of this type of information is unavoidable. It is even necessary in a situation of inter-dependence as in this Housing Estate. If a satisfactory working relationship is to be maintained, it is desirable to be acquainted with some personal details about one's partners in order to define them socially and evaluate their worth in social interaction. However, with a rapidly shifting population this is made difficult. Gossip, backbiting and inference have to fulfill the function of reliable knowledge.
Sexual attraction between neighbours is an important source of social tension. In this respect there are plenty of opportunities: there are married men whose wives stay in the home village; single young men; wives of polygamists, whose husbands have gone away to visit elsewhere; idle young daughters waiting for marriage; and prostitutes. It is easy to make contacts given the conditions in the Estate. Neighbours will not keep quiet about any suspicions they may have and in the end gossip will reach the person for whom it was intended. Quarrels, fights and lasting suspicion

between marriage partners, neighbours and trusted friends may result. A man who understands the inclinations of his neighbours knows how to avoid the development of hostile social relations.

Example

A certain man stayed in the Housing Estate of Kitale with his two small daughters, while his wife was at their rural home. His house door was usually left open in the early evenings. One evening a woman entered his house making straight for his bed. It was the wife of one of his neighbours, who was totally drunk. She maintained that she had entered her own house and did not respond to the man's request to remove herself from his bed. Subsequently he picked her up and carried her to her own doorstep. The next day he ignored the incident. But after a few weeks the woman again entered her neighbour's house, oblivious of the fact that it was not her own bed she was heading for. Again the man carried her to her own house. The following morning the woman thanked him for having kept quiet about this incident, for if her husband had known about it, he would have beaten her severely. This was exactly what the man had been worried about. The husband, a taxi driver working late hours, was known for his aggression and fighting capacity, and he would not have believed the innocence of either his wife or of the man, his neighbour.(3)

Although the code of behaviour is clear, there is less certainty about how to deal with people who deviate from that code.

Example

A new man had come to stay in the Estate. He was young, handsome and well-dressed. He lived alone. At first he employed several "housegirls", or "servants" in rapid succession. All were married women from neighbouring blocks. Then he kept one "servant" for some months, while inviting "girlfriends" to his house. Gradually information about the real nature of this employment spread around. One evening a husband caught his wife in the man's house and beat her, not her seducer, severely.
The newcomer had been living this life for three months and the husbands were still debating what to do. They thought of waiting for him at night to beat him up, but hesitated since they felt that actually only the husband who surprised the man with his wife had the right to beat him on the spot. That particular husband had thus missed his chance!(4)

Neighbours are evaluated therefore, from the following point of view: given the fact that households conduct their lives separately, do the people next door make life a little easier for each other or do they create additional worries? In this context people say

firmly that it does not matter to which ethnic group their neighbours belong "provided we can co-operate well."
They go on to mention examples of unsatisfactory neighbours who belonged to their own group and neighbours who became their best friends, who happened to be of another group. This will be further discussed in a later chapter. After all, "all humans are equals" is a frequent comment, at least in this context where the working relationship is at issue.
Prostitutes are likewise judged from this point of view. It are not moralistic considerations about a prostitute's work outside the Estate which matter, but those of a practical nature: does a woman disturb the adjoining families by returning home late; does she have friends of a dangerous character, such as thieves etc. Moreover, with a mixture of hypocrisy and real understanding for the prostitute's plight, people would only object to her receiving clients in her house in the Estate, but not to her practising elsewhere. If the woman is discrete, and gives no cause for moral or practical complaints, people see no reason to dislike her.
Some of those prostitutes who did not disturb their neighbours had a pleasant, outgoing nature. They and the neighbouring women would discuss each other's experiences and exchange help and all parties were content. But those prostitutes who isolated themselves, were criticized, as anybody else would have been, for their unsociable attitude. On the other hand, a newly arrived girl who brought shame to the neighbours by wearing miniskirts and practising the profession too openly, was expelled from the Estate within 4 weeks. Residents had complained so seriously to the Estate officers, that the latter felt obliged to evict her. These women's work in bars was of course disapproved of, but as justification it was often said: "they must earn money for their children in some way, since the childrens' fathers deserted them".

(4) Closely related to non-interference is the behavioural standard to refrain as much as possible from contact with neighbours. Some people stress that social contact and borrowing should he kept to a minimum in order to avoid unwanted dependence of one household on the other in the long run. Dependence implies lack of reciprocity

and inequality and could therefore lead to jealousy, backbiting and other kinds of trouble.

Example

One man told me that it is his habit to lend and borrow only what can be returned in equal measure, i.e. money, not food, and to engage in that activity only with people who have to respect him on account of his job. This man, a teacher, had at the time of our conversation lent money to three fathers of pupils and to a colleague in the same school. If he needs money himself, he either asks for credit at the shops or goes to his brother who lives five miles away.

In our total sample of men and women 41 out of 108 (38%) thought similarly that neighbours should borrow as little as possible from each other. Three respondents did not answer this question. Among the 38 who gave a reason 13 expressed concern for social disapproval: "people will dislike you", "they will call you lazy or a beggar". Another 14 mentioned the high cost of living in town as a reason for refraining from borrowing. Further reasons varied from "they won't appreciate it if you help them" and "if you help them once, they will keep on asking every day" to "what will people think of me when I keep on borrowing?"
What do people fear from too much neighbourliness?

Example

One woman described her view of the process set in motion by borrowing as follows. Your neighbour will not refuse to help you with what you need. But behind your back she will say: "why does this woman have to borrow? Doesn't her husband earn his money? Maybe he has finished it all on beer or maybe she has used it for buying new dresses." Such talk may eventually reach your husband, he'll be furious with you for giving him such a bad reputation and he'll beat you. Then you yourself will start quarrelling with the woman who spread such malicious talk, you may even fight, the husband may get involved in it and in the end nothing has been gained.

But even the persons quoted in these two examples concede that circumstances may force them to compromise. As the teacher said: "If you don't give food to a neighbour who lacks it, people will talk very badly about you. Therefore I may give him once or maybe twice, but definitely not more than that!"

Some people who emphasized the restraint to be practised in social interaction, said they might prefer to have a person of a different ethnic group as a neighbour, for such a person would not be able to understand the secrets of the house. A more important reason was that it was taken for granted that the degree of intimacy between persons of different ethnic groups would be limited, so that the women would be inhibited from talking too much about family affairs. Social distance, consciously maintained, in their eyes strengthened mutual respect and respect was the basis for peace, i.e. for a good working relationship.

Example

A Luo family had Turkana neighbours. They were often disturbed by the Turkana's habit of dancing and singing until late at night. Yet, when a nearby house next to another Luo family who they knew well became vacant the first family refused to move. They preferred to quarrel and discuss affairs among themselves without anybody overhearing them. The friendship with the other Luo family might be spoilt if they knew too much about each other.

In general, however, it is difficult to say whether neighbours of different groups have a better and more stable working relationship than neighbours of the same group. The social distance between neighbours of different groups is certainly larger, which nevertheless can be overcome in individual cases. More about this will be said in chapter VI.

People who make a great effort to keep their distance are, however, generally disliked and are called "proud". "Proud" is described as showing off a higher standard of living than the majority of the people can afford, while at the same time despising the way of life of that majority. Residents are quick to point out that people with much education and higher salaries are inclined to behave "proudly". People who keep themselves similarly aloof without possessing these social and economic attributes, may be suspected of witchcraft, since they have no obvious and acceptable reason for their aloofness.

It has not been possible with this small sample to define categories of people likely to stress the social reserve theme rather than the sociability theme. Cross-tabulations with several variables did not yield any systematic relations. Nevertheless from my

fieldnotes it appears that those with objections to a high degree of communality are already outside the mainstream of the Housing Estate population as regards socio-economic status. They are people like teachers and higher grade clerks pursueing further studies in the evenings and who are on the waiting list for a better house outside the Estate. Ambitious, hardworking traders sometimes belong to this category. Finally, the members of certain orthodox sects, for example members of the Church of the Holy Cross, Dhini ya Msalaba, can be included. These sect members believe that they are the only people who are pure in the eyes of God and that any contact with non-members may contaminate them with Satan's dark powers. By refusing to shake hands with anybody or to eat with non-believers, the adherents of these sects cut themselves off from any intensive contact with the ordinary people around them. Since teaching and clerical staff tend to live in Bondeni rather than in Machinjoni a greater variation in the response pattern might have become apparent in the first locality, had a larger sample been taken. It is clear that those people who distinguish themselves in socio-economic aspects, support this distinction by their ideal standards of behaviour and form at the same time the category which the general population of the Estate soon accuses of proud behaviour.

PART III: PATTERNS OF SOCIAL RELATIONS.

CHAPTER V. RELATIONS WITH AUTHORITIES.

a. Is the Housing Estate a community?

From its origin Kitale developed along lines of spatial and social segregation. In this it reflected the development of the colonial society as a whole, in which the colonial power had assigned separate residential quarters to each of the main population groups, the Europeans, Africans and Asians. In addition to political and economic motives for this policy, the intention to emphasize similarity within each residential quarters, and thus within each group, and to stress dissimilarity between groups also played a part. During all those years until the present phrases, like "the opinion of the European community", or "the practices of the Asian community" are still in common use. Internal divisions were not acknowledged when dealing with members of other groups.

The European farmers in Kitale found, so they thought, even greater justification for regarding the African population in the township as a community. The first settlement of labourers resembled an African village with its mud-and-wattle huts and thatched roofs and since there was some evidence to show that village life is communal it was assumed that the inhabitants of that village-like settlement had also transferred their communal way of life to the new setting. There is no need to point out in detail how ill-founded this type of reasoning was. It was nevertheless an important element in underpinning a system of public administration destined to formalize segregation. The African residents of the settlement, - later replaced by a Western-type Housing Estate - were allotted their own system of mediation and legal redress, a separate public fund to finance separate social facilities such as schools, and later they constituted one Municipal Council Ward with a separate system of political representation.

At present, more than 10 years after Independence, the Housing Estate still forms a spatially distinct unit, surrounded on all sides by maize fields. The houses are also of a poorer quality than anywhere else in the town. Some of the administrative regulations with respect

to the Estate were retained, notably the Ward boundaries. The Estate comprised in 1969 almost half of Kitale's population (5000 out of 11000), yet it still formed one Ward out of the four into which the town was divided.

The physical and administrative characteristics seem to symbolize the increasing social distance between the inhabitants of the Estate on the one side and the political and administrative elite on the other side. This distance is felt on both sides and finds expression in a lack of knowledge about the social and economic conditions in the Estate and occasionally, in feelings of dislike and resentment.

Because the Housing Estate has a history of being considered a "community", we shall take time in this chapter to investigate the extent to which the Estate can in fact be called a community. Many researchers have developed their own definitions of this concept. Margaret Stacey distinguishes two types of definition used in sociological literature.(1) Some authors stress institutional arrangements within a given geographical area, defining community in terms of an organized social sub-system with a local basis, which has definite relations with other parts of the wider social system. Another approach stresses the socio-psychological component of community life, i.e. the feeling of belonging or the consciousness of a common way of life and common interests. The question whether a particular group of people living closely together comply with the terms of a definition and whether they should be called a community, has little relevance in itself. More important is the fact that, while examining the institutional and interpersonal arrangements in a particular geographical area with the help of these concepts, a better insight can be obtained into both the interrelations within the area and the links with institutions and social groups outside it.

Reviewing the different fields of social activity and institutions as far as they have a function in the Housing Estate, it is clear that the Estate does not form a community in the institutional sense.(2) There are few institutions which operate exclusively in this spatial unit, either in terms of the jurisdiction assigned to them or in terms of the inhabitants' activities or allegiances. Considering first the economic field, it was noted before (p.13) that income opportunities are mainly found outside the Housing Estate. The exception is formed by the 35 small general shops, duka's. The scale of operation

of these shops is small, competition between them intense and only few of them are able to survive more than three to five years. Nevertheless they play an important role in the Estate by making available the goods people want to buy daily in small quantities and by extending credit facilities as well.

All administrative functions in Kitale, with one exception, deal with units much larger than the Estate, e.g. the Municipality or the District. The Churches, whether or not they have a meeting place in the Estate, draw members from all over town and even from outside its boundaries.

In a few, yet important instances, the Estate can be singled out as a spatial and social unit with exclusive institutional arrangements. One of the electoral Wards coincides with the Estate, so that at least in a formal sense the inhabitants form a unit in local politics. It will be shown, however, that the Ward does not function internally as a political body. It functions mainly during the period of Municipal elections, i.e. once every four or five years. Administratively, the Estate has its own machinery in the form of a social welfare-cum-rent collecting office stationed in the centre of the Estate. Finally, we mention the Committee of Elders or Wazee, which is a peace-keeping institution, the usefulness of which is fading away. In a following section, more will be said about the persons holding positions in these three institutions.

The other element which is used to characterize a community refers to the socio-psychological aspects of relationships. It concerns the issue whether the inhabitants perceive their immediate geographical and social environment as the unit in which meaningful personal relationships are embedded and whether there is an awareness of common interests.

We might easily assume that a community in this socio-psychological sense could not exist in the Estate. Relatively short-term residence in Kitale and enduring material and emotional interests in the respective rural home areas appear to militate against it. Yet there are social clusters within the Estate, albeit small and unstable ones, which are based upon an awareness of common interests. These clusters evolve from the sets of "working relationships" between residents. Social relationships will be examined from two points of view.

Relationships with authorities are examined in the present chapter. The three sets of authorities under discussion have this in common that they constitute a formal link between residents of the Estate and the political and administrative structure that encompasses the whole of Kitale and which in turn is linked to national structures. Relationships between friends and neighbours will be the subject of the next chapter.

b. Power and respect

Every discription of social relationships should examine their hierarchical aspects, aspects of power and respect. It is my impression that few anthropologists/sociologists working in urban Africa analyze social relationships from this point of view by using variables which are specific to the urban situation.(3) One thinks of variables like the rapid population growth of the main cities, the gap between availability of employment opportunities and demand for jobs, the socially and economically mixed character of the population, and dual city development whereby one part of the city is built and serviced according to very high standards, while the other part lacks basic amenities.
The question to be asked about those who have power is what resources they can command which are of importance to their supporters. The powerful mediate between those who have limited access to scarce resources and those who have a greater degree of control over their disposal. In return they demand support, e.g. financial contributions, electoral votes or any other kind of support which enables them to retain their positions of power.(4) The concept of power as being the ability to control other people's lives, might therefore be restated as being the ability to coax people into continuing to give their support, so that the position of power can be retained, without fulfilling the mediatory role successfully.
Two aspects are to be distinguished: the first refers to the particular distribution of power and its legitimation by the beliefs and values of those subjected to that power.(5) The other aspect regards the particular persons occupying positions of power and authority. The question in this regard is whether the incumbents live up to the

values and expectations which are attached to their positions. Persons living up to these expectations and fulfilling their roles in an ideal manner are accorded respect by those under their authority.
In the Housing Estate of Kitale, three sets of people can be considered as occupying positions of authority. They are the Elders of the Village, Wazee wa Mtaa, the Councillors and those with supervisary functions, i.e. the Estate Supervisor and the Social Welfare Officer.

c. The Wazee wa Mtaa.

In the colonial period a separate administrative and judicial system was created to deal with the African inhabitants of urban areas. From 1955 urban Chiefs were appointed as the lowest civil servants in the Provincial administration and made responsible for law and order in the urban African areas. In each section of an African location a Committee of Location Elders, Wazee wa Mtaa, was appointed to deal with the daily problems arising among the people of their section. There were six Committees of Wazee in the African location of Kitale. Each Committee of Wazee was linked to two important institutions in the town, i.e. the Tribal Court and the African Advisory Council whose members represented the interests of the African population to the Municipal Board.

The link to the Court was established by the stipulation that no African could bring a complaint before any Court without an "introductory" letter from the Wazee wa Mtaa of his section of the location. Each disagreement and each accusation had to be first brought before the Wazee for consideration. When they were not able or not entitled to solve the matter, they referred the matter to the Chief. In most cases the Chief then referred the case to the Tribal Court.(6)
The Committees of Wazee were connected with the system of political representation in the town by the fact that their Chairmen were at the same time members of the African Advisory Council. The Council's members were nominated by the District Commissioner who appointed several of them as Chairmen of the Committees of Wazee in the different sections of the African location. The other members of these Committees were appointed by the Chief. The Chief himself was, and still is, responsible to the District Commissioner.

Before Independence the Committees of Wazee appear to have functioned very well. The few Committee members of that era who are still in

Kitale recall the days that sessions had to be held several times a week in order to hear all the cases. Quarrels between neighbours, or between husbands and wives, complaints of theft and disputes about payment of bridewealth were among the matters brought before them for judgement. The Wazee could adjudicate cases by giving advice or admonitions and by imposing fines. Although at present there are still a few men carrying the title Mzee wa Mtaa, still fewer of them appear to fulfill a role resembling that of former times. The decline of their position set in around Independence with the changes in both the urban political and judicial systems. For the first time in 1962 four African Councillors were elected to sit on the Municipal Board of Kitale. The African Advisory Council was then abolished.(7)
In 1964 the institution of Tribal Courts was discontinued, so that from that moment onwards all urban dwellers, irrespective of nationality or ethnic membership came under the same code of law. From that date each individual was assured of equal access to the same Courts. When at present cases involving customary law come up, Assessors well versed in the customary laws of the particular ethnic group are called to give their advice to the Judge. Formerly these Assessors would have been Judges with the Tribal Court. Although the Chief of Kitale is still bound to appoint Wazee wa Mtaa, they have lost their importance.

At present the position of the Wazee is very ambigious, since they no longer control channels of access to other institutions. Yet, some older inhabitants of the Estate still believe that the old system is intact and a few people still think that the only way to gain access to the Courts is by obtaining first a letter from the Wazee! Other people, who know that this particular procedure is no longer in operation, still regard the Wazee wa Mtaa as the most appropriate mediator in any conflict. However, many of these same people admit that they do not know which particular individuals hold the position of Wazee. A man who had been in Kitale for 13 years said: "I know there must be Wazee wa Mtaa in the Estate, but I do not know who they are. If I would need them I would ask my friends to point them out to me".
Not surprisingly, the Wazee themselves are getting disenchanted with their roles as well. Most people bypass them when there is a serious problem and go straight to the police. Consequently, in those instances when the Wazee's assistance is called to mediate in a domestic or neighbourhood quarrel, some Wazee are reluctant to attend. "We do not receive a salary for our work" is the comment, "although Councillors do get paid, you never see them down here sorting out people's problems".

In 1971 the Chief of Kitale made arrangements for the election of new Wazee wa Mtaa by the residents, because several of the old men had left Kitale. However, so few people turned up for the meeting, that the elections were called off.

d. Councillors.

The Councillors are the most important men of the new urban political system. To be a Councillor means to have achieved a position of authority which puts one both in the public eye and gives one a chance of gaining recognition from the higher authorities in the national institutions. As one of the 12 members of the Town Council one has early access to important information and can influence decisions regarding political, economic and social developments in town.

The power of the Council, however, is strictly circumscribed by the central Government, since a large part of the municipal budget is made up by Government grants and loans.(8) Moreover, in 1970, the central Government took away the decision-making powers of the local authorities in the last areas of meaningful local government left to them until that date, i.e. the fields of primary education, road construction and health.(9) The fields in which the Municipal Council retains power are those of house construction, within the categories specified by the National Housing Corporation (10); determination of rates and rents; remission of school fees; and creation and distribution of income opportunities. Especially in this last field the local authorities are to a great extent dependent on the economic structure and incentives outlined in the national development plans. Decisions made in the above-mentioned fields have an immediately noticeable impact on the people's lives and both the Councillors and the people are aware of this. People do blame the Councillors for the lack of improvement, sometimes even deterioration, in their living conditions, although not everybody would openly refer to them as "those rich people who do not care about the lives of ordinary citizens". This distinction which some people appear to make between "them" and "us" contrasts with the strong feeling among the Councillors that they, chosen by the people's will, are supremely able to

represent their interests.(11)
The Housing Estate as one electoral Ward has three Councillors to represent it on the Town Council. Two of these Councillors actually live in the Estate and another Councillor also lives there although he represents another Ward. Other Councillors sometimes visit the Estate for private visits. On the other hand, very few citizens attend the monthly public Council meetings. In order to find out whether Councillors are known to those they represent and of what service they are to them, two questions were put to the respondents: 1. whether they could mention the names of some Councillors; and 2. whether they had ever asked any of them for any kind of assistance. It turned out that 73% (81) of the 111 respondents did not know any of the Councillors representing the Estate; 53 of these respondents were women. (Table V.1.) Regarding the other Councillors, representing other sections of the town, 63% (70) of the respondents did not know any, 50 being women. (Table V.2.) There were 64 people who could not mention any Councillor at all, neither of their own Ward nor of another Ward. The figures show that it is not just the formal political aspect which determines people's acquaintance with the Councillors. Representatives of one's own Ward are not much better known than Councillors of other Wards. Nor is ethnic group membership the main criterion for knowing certain Councillors, as became evident from another count. It seemed that responsibility in public fields, other than politics, such as the promotion of sport, education and commercial establishments, is a factor which contributed to a wider public recognition of some Councillors. The second question was intended to give some indication of the role Councillors played in the personal lives of the residents. It turned out that few people had ever directly asked a Councillor for assistance: only 17 individuals had done so. The problems concerned issues such as lack of a job or house, threat of eviction for non-payment of rent for a Council house, request for remission of schoolfees, assistance with obtaining a trade license or the promotion of sport in Kitale. This low figure should be treated with care since people may not be inclined to admit to having asked assistance of that kind. The low response also contrasts with the expressed opinion of the Councillors themselves that they help many people. These answers

clearly show, however, the fields in which the Councillors can exercise influence on behalf of their supporters.
As local authorities in a small town, the Municipal Council of Kitale and the Council's Departments have little say in the planning for development of the town's population. Their role as civic leaders is curtailed. The scope for political influence is therefore limited to acting as brokers between their supporters and those committees and individuals who have a greater degree of control over these valued resources. As brokers they act as individuals to the benefit of individuals; they cannot act on behalf of a population group. To Councillors, civil servants and other residents this brokerage activity is important, yet it clashes with the publicly pronounced norms of propriety and honesty in public affairs. Accordingly, Municipal Council Minutes record periodically warnings to Councillors and Chief Officers to refrain from "tribalistic" practices and to look objectively at applications for jobs and licenses.
As regards the legitimation of the Municipal Council's authority, there are persons who question the procedure by which the Councillors were elected in 1968 and allege that insufficient opportunities were given to the people to express their opinions. Consequently, they express doubt about the fairness of the election rules as such, as well as about the right of these particular Councillors to speak for the inhabitants of Kitale.

The last local Council election took place in 1968, when both political parties, KANU and KPU were still in existence. The candidates for each party had to be approved by the general meeting of the local branch. The KPU was, however, not allowed to hold meetings. Therefore, the nominations of the KPU candidates were not in accordance with the election rules. The KPU candidates were disqualified "on technical grounds" from participating in the election. The voting itself took place by lining up behind the candidates (all of them KANU). Only 40 people were allowed to vote in Kitale: i.e. those among a large crowd of interested people, who stood nearest the door of the hall where the election was to take place (The Local Government Election Legislation, July 1968).

Table V.1. Number of Councillors known representing the Housing Estate by sex of respondent

	NONE	ONE	TWO	THREE	TOTAL
MEN	28	15	6	1	50
WOMEN	53	2	4	2	61
TOTAL	81	17	10	3	111

Table V.2. Number of Councillors known representing other sections of town by sex of respondents.

	NONE	ONE	TWO	THREE	FOUR	FIVE	TOTAL
MEN	20	7	7	3	8	5	50
WOMEN	50	3	3	4	1	0	61
TOTAL	70	10	10	7	9	5	111

Although respondents may have forgotten the names of Councillors whom they might have recognized in the street; and although some may not have wanted to inform the interviewers about the problems they had discussed with the Councillors, the general trend is clear. The Councillors fulfill their role in the interest of the people largely without the knowledge of, or participation by the people.
These findings which indicate weaknesses in the relations between Councillors and general public are not unlike the situation reported for other towns in Africa or Europe. The point is, however, that the purpose of the Ward system is to enable Councillors to keep in contact with voters who are easily identifiable by geographical area. Councillors represent their voters' interests and are responsible to them. It has nevertheless been shown, that Ward Councillors in Kitale are not able to perform this representative function in the best possible manner. Moreover, there is no alternative institution which can effectively link ordinary citizens with the politicians and policy makers of the town. Neither the only political party, KANU, nor the Trade Unions nor any other organized interest group exercises an influence on the policy making in the town on behalf of its members. That influence which is apparent, is exercised through

personal, particularistic links and is more often aimed at obtaining benefits for individuals rather than for social groups.
This system of weak representation and limited influence must be seen in the context of local authority structure. As said before on p.58, local authorities in Kenya have increasingly become subject to the decision-making powers of central Government Ministries and para-statal bodies. Only an executive function is left to the local authorities. What really matters therefore is not so much the system of representation and influence on the local level, but rather that on the national level, where the Government is confronted, among others, by Parliament and the Trade Unions.
Another consideration regards demographic factors. In a situation of rapid population turnover, which leaves only a small core of long-term residents, new residents may not have the opportunity to learn about the more formal aspects of public life. In the Estate it was found that 15% of the residents had been in Kitale for less than 1 year and that 40% had stayed between 1 and 3 years. This instability of the population is likely to affect the quality of political and social life in the town. This state of affairs is intensified by the fact that the formal political leaders do not conceive it as their responsibility to introduce newcomers to the obligations and possibilities in the town, but rather wait till they are approached by residents.

e. The Estate Officers

Two officers exercise an amount of control in the Housing Estate, the Estate Supervisor and the Social Welfare Officer. The Estate Supervisor deals with the residents as tenants of Council houses. As the official who allocates houses when they become available, he holds a powerful position. A waiting list is, of course, the basis of any decision about house allocation, but there are several reasons why an applicant may be given preferential treatment.
One of these reasons is the absence of any relatives or friends who could temporarily accommodate a newcomer in the town. Once the possibility of preferential treatment is admitted, many people will of course try to put pressure on the Supervisor to grant them this

special treatment. The Supervisor is also responsible for the regular collection of rents. Since there are no clear rules about the length of time a household may fail to pay the full rent, much depends on the personal decision of the Estate Supervisor and on the balance of favours existing between him and the family in question. Usually in the first instance, a household is allowed an arrears of one month. After the second month, the house is locked and not opened until at least a large part of one month's rent is paid. A household which is unable to pay for several months, is evicted and the belongings confiscated by the Municipality. Finally the Supervisor can evict people from their house after repeated complaints from neighbours about disturbing behaviour.

Another reason for eviction from a Council house is the brewing of chang'aa (local gin). Since almost everybody charged with preventing the brewing also enjoys drinking chang'aa, the brewers are often able to silence these officials. But the officials who know of the illegal activities, are thus in a position to retain a firm grip upon these tenants.

The Social Welfare Officer is the other civil servant who by nature of his position in the administrative structure has some control over the Estate's residents. Part of the work of this Officer consists of dealing with the social problems of the residents. Most common among these are persistent neighbourhood quarrels and financial hardship. If the solution seems to depend on a change of house, remission of school fees or obtainment of welfare gifts, this Officer is the one to give recommendations to this effect. Concerning the allocation of a house however, the Social Welfare Officer may come into conflict with the Estate Supervisor, since it is not clear who in practice has final authority.

The Social Welfare Officer also shares responsibility for the distribution of donations from the Kenya National Committee for Relief of Distress. Twice a year, this agency allocates a certain amount of food and clothes to each District for distribution among the poor. The Social Welfare Officer has great influence with the local committee dealing with the distribution, since he knows who is needy and "deserving" in the Estate. In the national and municipal administrative structures these two officers do not occupy high

positions. Yet, from the point of view of the Estate's residents, these officers control the public channels to scarce national resources and as such are in the centre of competition for these resources.

f. Respect.

Are there individuals in this Housing Estate who are highly respected either because of their social position or because they behave in accordance with what is ideally expected of persons occupying such positions? It there a consensus about who must be held in public esteem? We asked women two questions about this issue: which persons they respected most in the Housing Estate and which persons did they not accord any respect at all. These questions were included in the earlier questionnaire survey which was already mentioned on p.31 and were not repeated in the later one. The earlier survey included only women, in contrast to the main survey.
The answers showed that there is virtually no person performing a public function who is generally respected. The exceptions are particular Church Elders who were mentioned by three respondents as the most respected persons in the Estate; and one respondent mentioned a person who used to be one of the Wazee wa Mtaa, but who had left Kitale several years ago. In their answers the women respondents most frequently pointed to their husbands as the most respected persons, while others mentioned a particular relative or friend in the Estate.
Similarly, the question regarding the least respected person elicited answers pointing to particular persons who had conducted themselves in an inexcusable manner with regard to the respondent herself. The only public behaviour which was rejected was drunkenness. The majority of those giving a definite answer said that there was nobody who they did not deem worthy of respect. It must be noted that this question was only put to women. Men, in contrast, who have a greater awareness of public affairs, might have mentioned particular persons whom they accord respect because of their behaviour on behalf of the general public. Nevertheless, one might expect that if certain individuals are generally known and respected

for what they have said or done, both men and women would have mentioned such public figures. But in answering this question women only mentioned persons with whom a close personal relation existed. It is noteworthy that none of those in positions of power are mentioned, viz. the Wazee wa Mtaa, Councillors and Estate Officers. Women have little opportunity to meet Councillors, but contact with the Estate Officers on the other hand is frequent. From the way people talk about these officers it is clear that disapproval about their behaviour is often expressed. That there are doubts about the service given by the Councillors has been described above. It should be noted, however, that these two categories of public servants are in most frequent contact with the people, particularly in a small town as Kitale. Thus their achievements and errors are more easily observable than those of the "big" people further removed. Another factor may account for the lack general esteem for the Wazee wa Mtaa and that is their low level of education. Of the six Wazee who were, although irregularly, exercising their mediatory role in 1970, none had more than a few years' schooling. In the urban society of Kenya this is not enough to command respect. To put it more strongly, education is an important criterion for the accordance of respect, espcially by the younger, more educated generation. A primary school teacher said: "How can we have confidence that these illiterates can help us solve our problems?" The conclusion that there is nobody in the Estate who commands the respect of all residents, is somewhat in agreement with another observation, i.e. that people's knowledge about current events is limited to what happens in the immediate neighbourhood, in particular to what happens in the households whose front doors are facing each other. Communication beyond this small area occurs only when there is a personal link between individuals in separate neighbourhoods and when its implications are of interest to these individuals.

g. Conclusion.

Although at present the residents of the Estate have not formed community organizations and though the persons placed in positions of authority are not regarded as community leaders, we cannot conclude that the Estate consists of a collection of

individuals who have no ties whatsoever among them. We have described in a previous chapter the normative themes to which many residents refer for guiding and evaluating behaviour. These norms are appropriate to the situation in which most residents live, although the particular form of expression given to these norms and the sanctions applied vary with each neighbourhood cluster. No Estate-wide machinery exists to enforce adherence to these norms. In the next chapter we will see that much daily social interaction takes place in the Estate and particularly in the small neighbourhood areas. Without this interaction, individuals would really feel isolated and be unable to conduct the affairs of daily life satisfactorily. In this sense of interdependence between neighbours, the Estate possesses community-type features. On the other hand all households have important kinship and friendship relationships with people outside the Estate, so that a close-knit, self-contained community cannot be said to exist.

It is possible that under certain conditions, strong social cohesion and community leadership may develop.(12) A threat to the continued existence of the Estate or to the sources of livelihood of the residents might constitute such conditions.

In contrast to the lack of community organization in the Housing Estate of Kitale there are the developments in Mathare Valley in Nairobi.(13) This community, which exists on illegally occupied land and whose members are deeply involved in illegal brewing and selling of various kinds of intoxicating beer, is isolated in Nairobi's civil structure and is under constant threat from police and other respectable citizens. Over the years, a clear leadership structure has emerged which directs several institutions which respond exclusively to the needs of Mathare Valley. The Wazee wa Mtaa are effective and respected leaders, a committee runs a Social Hall whose functions are to provide recreation and organize fund raising for community projects, there is a savings and credit co-operative, a nursery school and a local "police force". The important point is that people living in one area have built up their own institutions to cater for fundamental needs, which in other parts of town, such as Housing Estates, have been catered for by government authorities. The experience of organizing successfully

their own institutions has stimulated a community spirit. The process of organizing is a valuable learning process in itself. It appears that if people do not get the opportunity to participate in the development of such fundamental institutions the capacity to take initiative with regard to other common problems is much more difficult to generate. People tend to shrug off easily any possibility of community action to solve problems by saying "that is government's duty, we only have to wait". The significant issue is therefore not whether a group of people forms a community, or in which respects it forms a community and in which respects it does not. The real issue is how to respond to fundamental needs in an urban area, such as the need for income, shelter, water, sanitation, education, transport and a form of social control.

Government has a prime responsibility in providing services, but organizational structures should be devised through which the capacities of citizens can be employed and stimulated, rather than ignored. In practice this means that a delegation of certain government responsibilities to non-government groups should be considered, while at the same time government bodies could retain final supervisory responsibility over decisions and actions.(14)

CHAPTER VI: RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBOURS, FRIENDS AND RELATIVES

a. Definitions of neighbours and of friends

Inhabitants of low-income residential areas have to rely to a great extent on their neighbours for friendship and assistance during the minor problems arising in daily life. Those within easy walking and shouting distance can provide support in the frequent, small household crises. Others, though perhaps closer in kinship and friendship, are unable to assist immediately because of greater physical distance.(1) The degree of severity of household crises will largely determine which categories of people will be called upon for support.(2) In this chapter the effect of proximity of residence on friendship and assistance patterns will be considered, as well as the extent to which these two types of relationship coincide with each other. By examining the extent to which these types of relationship overlap we get an insight into the internal social structure of this Housing Estate and some of the general principles underlying these relationships. If it turned out that neighbours were almost always each others' closest friends; and that neighbours were also the likeliest candidates for forming exchange relationships, we will have to conclude that the Estate consists of a series of close-knit neighbourhood units. If on the other hand, we find networks of friendship and mutual aid, possibly supported by ties of kinship and ethnic group membership, which extend to distant parts of the Estate and to other parts of town, we will have to conclude that the Estate has a totally different kind of cohesion.

Although ultimately the content and intensity of personal relationships are a matter of individual choice, there are certain objective conditions which delimit the field within which such choices are made.

As has been discussed in previous chapters, among the general conditions which shape the social context in Kitale, ethnic diversity and the history of conflict and suspicion between the various ethnic groups have to be mentioned in the first place. There is secondly the physical isolation of the Estate, which is emphasized by a

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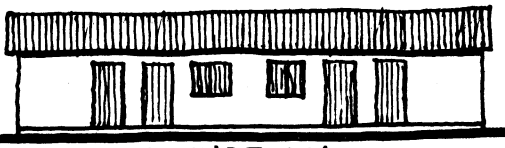

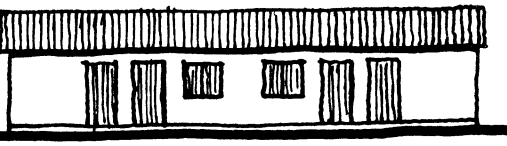

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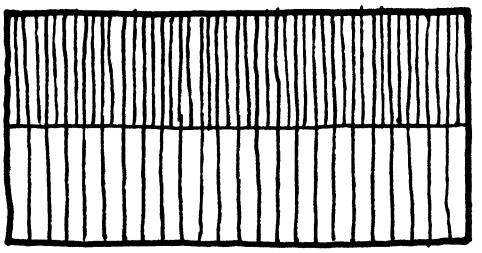
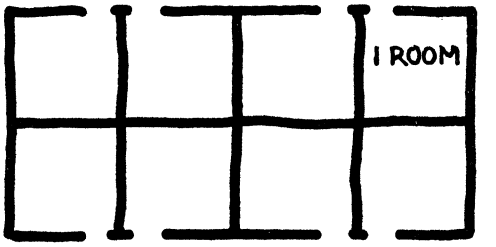
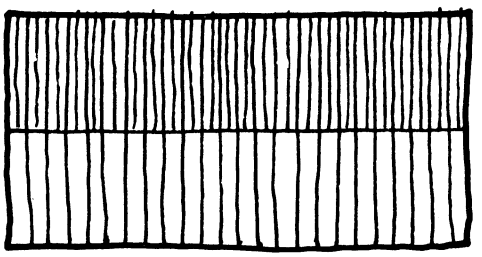
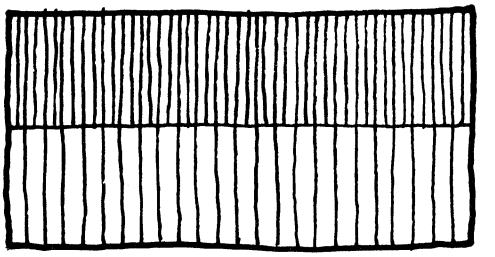




ONE-STOREY BLOCK
WITH 8 DWELLINGS





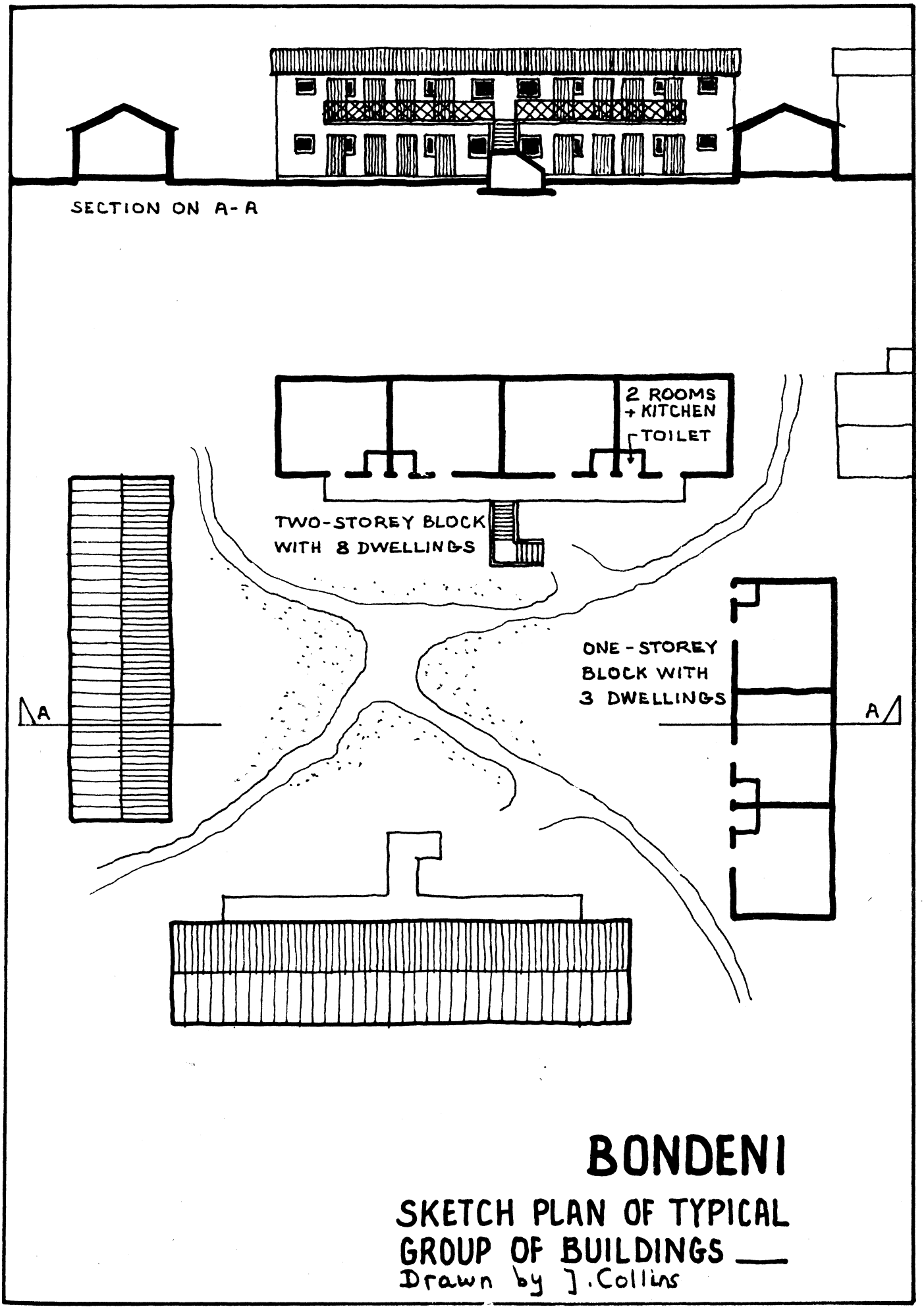
MACHINJONI

SKETCH PLAN OF TYPICAL GROUP OF BUILDINGS

Drawn by J. Collins

growing socio-economic differentiation between those in the Housing Estate and those in other residential areas. Thirdly, the housing situation and the economic conditions make the maintenance of at least a "working relationship" between neighbours a necessity. Finally, strong views about proper wifely behaviour prohibit women from projecting their radius of activity too far away from their house and neighbourhood.
Within the setting structured by these social, economic and normative conditions, who do people regard as their neighbours? The definitions are coloured by the lay-out of the two localities. In Machinjoni, where the blocks of houses are laid out in little lanes, the neighbours facing each other from both sides of such a lane, are considered neighbours. People living in back-to-back houses do not regard themselves as neighbours, since they do not meet each other easily. There is general agreement about this definition. The situation in Bondeni is different, as the housing blocks are roughly grouped in squares in such a way that the sides on which the main entrances and kitchens are located, are facing each other. Most people would say that the inhabitants of the blocks facing each other across the open space are neighbours, because they can observe each other any moment of the day. There is, however, no absolute consensus on this as some people only regard the people in their own block, or even on their own storey as neighbours. In the definition of neighbours both the elements of proximity and of ease of social exchange as determined by the relative position of the houses, are thus combined.(3)

In a study of friendship patterns women in Mathare Valley (Nairobi), the respondents gave reasons as to why they considered certain people their friends and why they thought that their relationship with certain other people could not be defined as friendship. Three main reasons were mentioned: helping one another with money and services; sharing good times and visiting each other fairly frequently for eating or drinking together; and sharing secrets, especially about sexual affairs. Two other aspects of friendship were less commonly cited, i.e. joking together (often with a sexual content); and giving or getting advice when in trouble.



BONDENI

SKETCH PLAN OF TYPICAL GROUP OF BUILDINGS

Drawn by J. Collins

Not all these aspects enter the relationship with any one person, and often the women made the distinction between a "helping friend", a "visiting friend" and a "joking friend". Friendship between women of different generations was not common, while also men were not often cited as friends in any of the meanings defined above.(4) The dimensions which structure the female friendship patterns, i.e. instrumental, emotional and sexual, are also likely to structure male friendship patterns. Men in Kitale sometimes made distinctions between friends who take you to bars; friends who take you to prostitutes; friends with whom you talk standing outside the house; and friends with whom you can eat inside the house.
No systematic questioning was done in Kitale about people's definition of friendship, but spontaneous remarks in conversations support the assumption that women in the Housing Estate have similar ideas about the content of friendship as Mathare Valley women have.

b. Are neighbours also friends?

In order to determine friendship patterns, questions were asked about the three best friends of the male and female respondents, irrespective of where they were living at present. Of each friend we asked his or her residence, whether or not there was a kinship or ethnic relation between them and finally, in order to ascertain possible status differentials, where the man or the husband of a woman was working and in what type of job. This last question unfortunately failed to elicit responses, since most women said they knew nothing about such matters. Finally, out of frustation, the interviewers often left the question out altogether. A question about length of friendship was also asked, but the answers are not considered reliable.
The 111 respondents mentioned between them a total of 205 friends. Some respondents said they had no friends at all (six cases), and some mentioned only one or two. In the first place the friends' residences were coded in terms of distance categories taking the respondent's residence as the point of departure. The result is stated below. (table VI.1).

Table VI.1. Residence of friends in relation to respondents' residence.

	Number of friends mentioned	% of total
Number of friends in same or neighbouring block (Bondeni) or in same lane (Machinjoni)	64	31
Number of friends in same locality of Estate, but not in neighbouring block or lane	49	24
Number of friends in other localities of Estate	47	23
Number of friends in other parts of Kitale	20	10
Number of friends outside Kitale	25	12
Total number of friends mentioned	205	100

The spatial categories are distinct thresholds with regard to the proportions they contain of mentioned friends. The largest number of friends are neighbours as well, while the number of friends drop considerably with subsequent spatial thresholds. Proximity therefore is a very important factor in the establishment or growth of friendship, as 78% of the friends are resident in the Housing Estate. One should keep in mind that the majority of low-income earners in Kitale live in the Estate, so that for both men and women their socio-economic fields coincides largely with the Estate's physical boundaries.

This way of presenting the data on friends as an aggregate obscures the varying degree of geographical concentration of friends. The difference between e.g. a person who has most of his friends outside Kitale and a person with all of his friends living in the same block is worth noting. Another grouping of data has therefore been applied based upon the extent of dispersal versus concentration within the same block.

Table VI.2 shows that more than half of the women find almost all their friends exclusively in the immediate neighbourhood; on the other hand, more than half of the men have no friends in the immediate neighbourhood. This difference is statistically significant

and can be explained by a greater opportunity for men to widen their contacts at work and their greater freedom of movement. Men walk in groups through the streets, women sit on doorsteps.

Table VI.2. Proportion of friends in neighbouring block by sex of respondent

	Men	Women	Total
All in neighbouring block	3	19	22
Some in neighbouring block	16	15	31
None in neighbouring block	29	22	51
No answer/no friends	2	5	7
Total	50	61	111

$x^2=11,95$ df=2 $p < .001$

c. Are friends also relatives?

Another common expectation with regard to the recruitment into the friendship networks in African cities is, that most friends are at the same time relatives. In that case the kinship relation existing prior to arrival in town, would continue or acquire an extra dimension. The data of the Kitale Housing Estate does not support this. (Table VI.3). Out of 109 respondents (two did not answer this question) 72 reported to have relatives in Kitale. Yet, when asked later to mention their best friends, around 60% of them did not count any of their relatives among their best friends. This outcome does not necessarily mean that there is no contact between these relatives. Kinship ties are maintained by participating at crucial events, e.g. death, and by visiting, and one remains strongly aware of the obligations entailed in the kinship relations. But although the majority of these relatives are also living in the Estate, they are not "automatically" considered to be one's best friends.(5) For either men or women individual choice is not restricted by pre-existing ties. On the other hand, men have greater opportunity to rely on and reinforce pre-existing ties than women because of their greater freedom of movement. For women the field of

opportunity is largely determined by the neighbourhood, which is never a kinship unit.

The question asked - who are your best friends - was a crude one, since it did not specify its meaning. The respondents were free to give their own interpretation of the word "friendship". Urafiki, friendship, may refer to the frequency of contact, or to the intensity of feeling, or to the proven reliability of the relationship. An employer, for example, who has helped an employee in an exceptional manner, may be referred to as rafiki yangu, 'my friend', even though he is not a friend in the other meanings of the word. Because of these possible different interpretations given to the question, it is difficult to explain why many respondents do not count their relatives among their best friends.(6) All one can say is that there are different sets of expectations and obligations inherent to friendship and kinship relations.

Table VI.3. Proportion of friends who are relatives by sex of respondent

	Men	Women	Total
All friends are relatives	5	9	14
Some friends are relatives	17	7	24
No friends are relatives	27	40	67
No answer/no friends	1	5	6
Total	50	61	111

$x^2=8.96$ df=3 $p < .002$

d. Are friends of the same ethnic group?

It was found, in accordance with general expectation, that the majority of the people had friends who were of the same ethnic group as they themselves. Only 15 people (among whom were 11 women) said they had no friends of the same ethnic group at all. Women who frequent the bars form an exception. The prostitutes' work

experiences and the ambivalent position in society which they have in common, brings them together across ethnic boundaries. In friendship or gossip groups made up of people of different ethnic origin, the lingua franca is Swahili, which almost everyone knows well. Yet, people feel apparently that Swahili does not allow them to express all the fine shades of meaning or their cultural concepts as well as they would like to. In any case, people have the habit of switching into their own language whenever possible. By doing so, they effectively exclude others from their circle of intimates, and in reaction these others will turn to their own people instead. Language, therefore, is used as an instrument to indicate social belonging and to enforce social separation.(7) Only friends of different ethnic groups who are concerned about each other, insist that in an almost homogeneous gathering Swahili should be spoken.

Table VI.4. Proportion of friends of same ethnic group as respondent by sex of respondent

	Men	Women	Total
All friends of same ethnic group	34	38	72
Some friends of same ethnic group	11	7	18
No friends of same ethnic group	4	11	15
No answer/no friends	1	5	6
Total	50	61	111

$x^2=6,05$ df=3 $p < .005$

It appears, therefore, that, although the work situation of men and the neighbourhood situation of women are of a socially heterogeneous character, men and women establish close personal ties more easily with people of their own ethnic group. I suggest that this is not only a symptom of a search for social and emotional security amidst a large number of "strangers", but also a manifestation of the local tradition of mutual suspicion between the groups. This

tradition is kept alive by the reporting of facts or the interpretation of facts of discrimination practised by one group to members of other groups, either in the country at large or specifically in Kitale itself.

It has been shown that each of the three factors examined, i.e. proximity, kinship and ethnic affiliation, can be used to characterize some facets of friendship relations in the Housing Estate. None of these factors singly determines friendship patterns, and their relative importance varies between men and women. Among a group of neighbours small cliques are formed of women, who usually have common ethnic ties. But not all women have friendship relations with their neighbours: some have all their friends elsewhere. The extent to which neighbours can be relied upon for the exchange of aid, will be discussed in a following section.

e. Perception of respect and friendship

We can place the women's perception of their social situation in perspective by showing how they compare their situation in Kitale with the one pertaining at their rural home.(8) Two questions were asked on this issue: where did they feel more respected and where did they feel they had more friends, in Kitale or at home. The great majority of men and women felt more respected at home. There was no statistical difference between the two localities or between men and women. There was, however, a significant relation between length of residence in Kitale, and length of residence in the same room on the one hand, and the feeling of being respected on the other (tables VI.5a and b).

Table VI.5a. Feeling respected by length of residence in Kitale

	At Home	In Kitale	Total	
less than 12 months	12	2	14	$x^2=6.74$
1-3 years	33	8	41	df=2
4 years or more	25	18	43	
Total	70	28	98	$p < .001$

Table VI.5b. Feeling respected by length of residence in room

	At Home	In Kitale	Total	
less than 12 months	33	11	44	$x^2=8.20$
1 - 3 years	26	32	32	df=2
4 years or more	13	12	25	$p < .001$
Total	72	29	101	

Similarly, we found a significant relation between the experience of friendship and length of residence in Kitale. (Table VI.6).
As regards the feeling of having friends, men showed a tendency of feeling more positive about Kitale than women.
For an explanation of this difference we may turn to a comparison of the male and female roles in urban and rural areas. The economic and domestic contributions to the household of the uneducated woman in town has declined compared with that of her counter-parts in the rural area. Consequently, a woman has less opportunity to earn respect in town than a man has.(9)

Table VI.6. Experience of friendship by length of residence in Kitale

	At Home	In Kitale	Total	
less than 12 months	13	1	14	$x^2=13.4$
1 - 3 years	25	17	42	df=2
4 years or more	17	27	44	$p < .001$
Total	55	45	100	

Table VI.7. Experience of friendship by sex of respondent

	At Home	In Kitale	Total	
Male	21	25	46	$x^2=4.08$
Female	35	20	55	df=1
Total	56	45	101	$p < .005$

People suggested reasons for their being more respected or having more friends in either place. These reasons are difficult to

interpret, partly because this was a difficult question to answer in the first place. Reasons were given such as "because I stayed here longer", or "because that is home, I am born there", indicating that the length of time spent in a place has simply provided the opportunity to become more respected and popular. On the other hand there were answers which indicated an awareness that a person can do much to achieve respect and make many friends by the manner in which he or she approaches other people. This was expressed in answers such as "people respect me, because my behaviour is polite" or "because I am kind to others", and "because I help them, or bring them presents when I go home". It was clear that many people felt that if they were respected in Kitale it was because they had achieved this through their own correct behaviour rather than by ascription as could be the case at home.

The conclusion to be drawn is that a great majority of the inhabitants feel that their most meaningful relationships are not located in their place of residence, but at home. They may enjoy good relationships with friends, neighbours or colleagues, but ultimately, it is not the social circle in Kitale which provides social security. This may appear an idealization of the home situation, as conditioned by cultural values. However, it may also be the reflection of the lack of economic security as wage-earners in this town, so that the high emotional value placed on social life at home could be a psychological device to keep the return to the rural home an attractive alternative. (10)

f. Patterns of mutual assistance.

In the following section the relations between women living in the Housing Estate will be analyzed in more detail. These women spend most of their time in and around the house attending to household chores. I considered at which moments women were likely to want company, or desire assistance with one of their daily duties. The question posed was, which person or persons they were likely to approach for such assistance. The aim was to detect to which extent friendship, neighbourliness and actual assistance were embodied in the same individuals. As said in the beginning of this chapter, it has been suggested in literature that neighbours are often close

friends and that this can be explained by the need to help each other in the exercise of their household duties. The concept of "working relationship" used in this study implies that neighbours can be friends, while stressing the instrumental side of the relationship. They can be "helping friends". But neighbours do not necessarily develop friendship in which emotional aspects such as "having a good time together" or "sharing secrets and jokes" are the essential elements. Conversely, friends are not necessarily those individuals relied upon in times of need. Another point is that, although I have stressed in previous sections the great influence of housing conditions and proximity of residence on social relations and behavioural norms, it seems to me unjustified to conclude that spatial relations overshadow completely all other considerations in the formation and content of social relations.

A number of important and recurring occasions in a housewife's daily life were selected. We asked the respondent which person she had approached for help the last time such an occasion occurred and which person the time before last. Of each person mentioned the following details were asked: date of assistance; residence; kinship relation; ethnic group membership; and the husband's job (in this context as before the last question was a failure: it did not elecit any answers. Questions were asked about: company for going to the market; assistance during illness; assistance during confinement; lending of sugar; caring for children during short absence; and lending money. (see Appendix for details). The latter question has often elicited a type of answer which does not fit the frame of reference set for this analysis, as many women answered that in case of penury they would ask the shops for credit. Since they often did not even mention a particular shop, this item was excluded from the analysis. This is unfortunate, since the few valid answers indicated that borrowing of money is indeed as sensitive an issue as I had expected it to be. It took place either on the basis of great personal trust, e.g. between close relatives or very close friends, or on a commercial basis with high interest rates charged, i.e. through lending "societies".

Table VI.8. Number of different persons outside the household asked for assistance by 43 respondents.

Care of children	14
Confinement	25
Illness	27
Sugar	30
Market	31

A person mentioned several times, is counted in each separate occasion.

We now turn to consider the data obtained on the basis of the questions concerning the five types of assistance. First of all, on which occasion and how often was assistance asked from outside the household unit? The result is given in table VI.8. Of 61 respondents two refused to answer, while 16 women said they never asked for any assistance. Therefore 43 women had asked at least on some occasions for assistance. This table summarizes information given by all 43 respondents together. It shows, for example, that between them the 43 respondents have asked 14 different persons who are not regular members of their households to look after their children. The total number of different persons asked is low because some women may always ask the same person to keep an eye on their children. When the same person is asked twice, it can only count once in this table. The table further shows that many more different persons are approached when the respondents wanted to borrow sugar. It will become clear from the following analysis that the dimensions which differentiate these occasions are the degree of unexpectedness with which the occasion emerges; and the degree of intimacy or personal closeness which the assistance requires.

The need to have someone to take care of the children is fairly permanent, due to the large size of families. A permanent solution is found either by employing an ayah, a housegirl, or by taking a son or daughter of a kinsman into the household, whose duty it is to look after the children in exchange of food, clothes and

sometimes school fees. Only in exceptional circumstances is help from outside required. Walking to the market together or the need to borrow sugar, on the other hand, are fairly spontaneous occasions which need rapid agreement but not necessarily personal intimacy. Assistance during confinement or illness are occasions requiring personal understanding both on the part of the person offering the assistance and on the part of the receiver, who falls into a state of dependency during a very sensitive period. Giving birth is of course an excepted emergency, unlike illness, and thus assistance can be arranged in advance. Many women, for example, go to their rural homes for their confinement. Consequently, there is a different type of need for outside help. Generally speaking, neighbours offer help more frequently than friends and relatives.(11) Yet, the reliance on those living next door figures more prominently on some types of occasions than others. As said before, lack of sugar and the need to call someone to look after the children are unexpected situations needing a quick response. For example, an esteemed visitor may arrive and the hostess may badly need sugar or other ingredients for his meal. In the event of watching children, neighbours can look after each others' children without any effort, since all that goes on can be easily observed from their own house. Such is the nature of the residential situation and of these types of emergency that neighbours are the most likely and appropriate persons to assist. For going to the market, a walk of about 20 to 30 minutes, neighbours and friends are as likely to be chosen for company. This is an occasion which to a certain extent can be "planned" and in which no more is at stake than a pleasant walk. One can accompany a person whom one likes or one can go alone without gaining or losing much one way or the other. The problems arising out of illness and confinement are often solved apparently within the household; the husband may do the shopping on his way home and he may do the cooking, assisted by the older children. When assistance is needed on a regular basis, relatives are most often turned to.

Table VI.9. Assistance given by persons of different ethnic groups than the receiver

C C	Frequency of assistance given by: person of same ethnic group	person of different ethnic group	Total
Care	9	5	14
Confinement	19	6	25
Illness	20	7	27
Sugar	19	11	30
Market	21	10	31

Total number of times assistance asked by all 41 respondents together (2 women refused to answer; 6 never asked assistance).

This is in line with the two dimensions outlined above, which differentiate occasions according to the urgency of the need and the degree of intimacy involved.

Another issue to be considered is whether the ethnically heterogeneous composition of this Housing Estate induces its residents to overcome the socio-cultural barriers between them, at least on certain occasions of interaction. The Estate is a small geographical area in which administrative, social, economic and domestic facilities have to be shared by people of different ethnic groups. As such it constitutes a situation where people interact with each other who usually would not have the incentive to do so because of ethnic differences. Physical proximity leads to unintended contacts during the daily tasks. The question is whether physical proximity also leads to intentional contacts. For example, do women of different ethnic groups feel free to take the initiative and borrow from each other?

It was found that only 21 respondents (35%) mentioned one or more persons of a different ethnic group. Thus the majority of respondents had no assistance relationship with people of other groups. This tendency was strongest among Kikuyu. Although they form only a small minority in the Estate, the large majority of women asked for assistance by Kikuyu, were fellow-Kikuyu women. Further, not finding

a sufficient number of congenial Kikuyu in the Estate, the Kikuyu women turned more often than members of other groups to acquaintances living in other parts of the town.

In other words, although people have little influence on the social composition of their neighbourhoods, they create social ties mainly within their own language group, if possible within their neighbourhood. Nevertheless, physical proximity in the sense of being immediate neighbours does to some extent affect social interaction across ethnic boundaries. Almost all instances of assistance received from women of other groups refer to next-door neighbours. The two or three exceptions refer to ayahs (housegirls) employed by the respondents.

As said before, in the housing and economic conditions characteristic of this Housing Estate neighbours are to a certain extent dependent on each other. This was expressed in the answers to the attitude questions when ethnic identity of neighbours was considered of less importance than their friendly and co-operative disposition. The survey questions could unfortunately not show why a particular choice among neighbours was made from among the potential eight households (in Machinjoni) or 16 households (in Bondeni).

It is clear that the ethnic identity of residents plays an important role in the patterns of interaction. It is also clear, however, that ethnic groups are not closed groups, since friendship and assistance does occur across their boundaries. Rather one could say that ethnic identity creates a disposition to prefer social contacts with people who one can easily understand. The other side of this disposition is initial indifference to members of other groups but not necessarily dislike for them. When friendship and quarrels have developed between people, they may later be rationalized or justified by pointing out the ethnic identity of individuals. Friendship and quarrels do not develop simply because of an ethnic identity.

Table VI.10. Number of different persons asked for assistance.

No. of persons asked	N
0	16
1	20
2	10
3	10
4 or more	3
Total	59

It is clear from table VI.10 that in respect of daily household duties women seek assistance from only a small number of people. Each respondent could have mentioned a total of ten different people, since for all occasions two opportunities for mentioning people were provided (i.e. "last time" and "before last time"). Instead, 51% of the respondents mentioned only one or two persons, while 27% of the respondents said they had not asked anybody for any assistance. This last response can be a true reflection of the social interaction patterns of a number of people, since there are women who are unable or unwilling to establish personal ties with those around or ask favours from them. On the other hand, some may not have wanted to inform me. Lastly, women who denied having any exchange relations, may express their perception of the situation rather than reality, feeling that "there is nobody worth mentioning" or that "nobody in town ever helps his neighbour with anything". It occurred sometimes that a woman who expressed such feelings had just given an example of how her neighbour had helped her in an embarrassing situation: it seemed as if that experience had failed to penetrate her perception. Possibly it was overshadowed by other experiences which had long before formed her frame of reference. Such remarks point of course to the limitations of the survey method since the questions demand an unaccustomed reflection upon personal habits. Consequently, the answers express salient feelings about personal habits and should be interpreted as such.

Although the above table may give the impression that the social networks of these women are very small, we must not forget that there are occasions like death or marriage, when large numbers of people are called upon to attend, relatives coming from far, neighbours and acquaintances.

g. Conclusion

The women on the Housing Estate live in a residential situation in which the privacy of the household is maintained only with effort. This is unlike a middle class area where houses or flats are more insulated from each other. The necessity of spending a large part of the day outside the house, the possibility of hearing and watching all

that goes on, create a situation in which each inhabitant comes each day into contact with many other people. Yet, this sort of contact appears to be superficial, having little personal significance. This became clear from the women who responded to the questionnaire. The majority stated that they have only a very small circle of reliable, trustworthy people with whom they feel free to discuss the problems of the household, can ask for assistance, or can consider as friends. Nevertheless the personal relationships which are established, i.e. relationships in which personal choice is involved, appear to be patterned on a number of general principles. In the first place, the dimensions of the occasions, i.e. the immediacy and the unexpectedness with which assistance or simply company is wanted and the physical and personal closeness which is necessary, tend to delimit the social field from which a choice is made. A second principle in these interaction patterns is the proximity of residence. Even if the persons to whom one turns are not immediate neighbours, they are more likely than not to live in the same locality as the respondent. In three quarters of the cases of assistance asked, it was obtained from within the same locality.

The last principle involved in social interaction is the degree of personal understanding and liking. If this seems a truism, one may recall that it is often assumed that there is close and frequent interaction and interdependence between relatives in town; or that neighbours are most likely to be friends. In actual fact we found that neighbours were as often as not close friends; that neighbours were as often as not asked for assistance and company; and that relatives were not at all such important sources of friendship and assistance in daily affairs.

Finally, it was clear that friendship and the relationship of mutual assistance do not necessarily go together. Although multiplex relationships may exist between two people, a different emphasis in the contents of these relationships is obvious: the one having more of an emotional content, the other being more oriented towards practical ends.

The above does not warrant the conclusion that small united neighbourhoods have formed within the Housing Estate, or even small cliques in a block or lane. It is apparent that an individual chooses one or two people living fairly close for more intentional interaction. The

persons selected speak in most cases the same language, but are rarely relatives. On the other hand, if friendship and help are exchanged with relatives, these relatives are most likely to live in the same locality. Small cohesive neighbourhood groups cannot develop because of the great mobility of the people within the Estate. The fact that so many people feel that they are not appreciated and loved in Kitale is an indication of the lack of social integration in this type of residential situation.

CHAPTER VII. SANCTIONS

In a previous chapter the norms which form a standard for inter-personal behaviour in the daily life of the Housing Estate were discussed at length. The conclusion was reached that a set of two opposite norms, i.e. sociability and social reserve, form the yardstick for evaluating behaviour. The art of living among the residents of the Estate is to express in one's behaviour the correct balance between these two norms. The particular balance maintained varies with the personalities involved, with the socio-economic position and prospects of the individuals and it may change over time. We did not in the aforesaid chapter discuss the sanctions which can be invoked in order to maintain these norms of behaviour. The present section is concerned with the sanctions available to the Estate's residents, which can convey to newcomers the whole set of delicately balanced behavioural expectations. We discuss first the measures to be taken if the social sanctions prove to be insufficient: for example, if the digressions are persistent or if their consequences are past redress. It would be exaggerated to say that each conflict, quarrel or fight between neighbours is related to this particular set of norms concerning sociability and social reserve. The means to deal with conflicts between neighbours are, however, largely the same, irrespective of their cause.

a. Types of conflict

In a "non-community" like the Housing Estate, not many formal sanctions are at the disposal of the residents. In principle few people have authority over all the inhabitants irrespective of proximity of residence or pre-existing personal ties. The informal processes working between neighbours are usually more important. People have recourse to authorities like the Social Welfare Officer, the Police (and through them to the Court) and the Wazee wa Mtaa only in serious and persistent conflict. An initial choice of authority is made depending on the type of conflict and the type of persons involved. Older illiterate people tend to report to the Wazee wa Mtaa; others report to the Social Welfare Officer, especially in the case of persistent conflicts with their neighbours.

Example

A man had recently taken to coming home drunk late at night, and waking up everybody with his noise. On several occasions he had even threatened a neighbour's wife. One of the other neighbours reported the matter to the Social Welfare Officer, who summoned the man to his office in order to warn him of the possible consequences if he continued this behaviour: he might be evicted from his house with the offer of alternative accommodation in the Estate and, if necessary at a later stage, totally evicted from the Estate. The man did not turn up at the repeated summons of the Officer. Consequently, the Estate Supervisor was instructed to lock his house and the man was evicted from the Estate immediately.

Most cases of interpersonal conflict in the Estate are not as serious nor as clearly articulated as the one just mentioned and it would only be in similar cases that the influence of the Welfare Officer would be invoked. Most conflicts are either not serious enough, or on the contrary so complex that those involved feel that the intervention of an authoritative person could achieve little to change the situation. In the following case of conflict involving several households it was felt that nothing could be done to redress the damage done to the working relationships which existed between them and that the only solution to their problem was to move out of each other's presence.

Example

The following instance occurred in a particular block in Bondeni. A married couple, to be called Judy and Samuel, shared the kitchen with Clara, who was the second wife of Musa who usually stayed with his first wife who lived in a block only a few yards away. Judy and Clara were good friends. One day Samuel decided to spend the night with Clara, his neighbour. The following morning his wife Judy told him that although she did not object to him going around with other women, she thought it very dangerous for him to do so with a married woman, since the revenge of that husband might be terrible. (Her own father had been killed recently by the witchcraft of a husband who had surprised him with his, (the husband's) wife. At this Samuel became so enraged that he beat Judy terribly. The neighbours witnessed the scene and unavoidably the affair reached Musa. Musa, in turn, had made several proposals to Judy, but she had always refused. Now he threatened that if she would not yield, he would hurt her by witchcraft. She had a miscarriage.

The couples Debbie and John, and Anna and Mobutu lived in the same block. When Debbie had gone to the rural area for a few months to do the harvesting, her husband John asked Anna to spend some hours with him. She agreed as her husband Mobutu, had gone to see a cousin outside town, where he would spend the night.

Judy and Anna had been good friends. But when Anna began to gossip about the affair of Judy's husband Samuel with their neighbour Clara, Judy retaliated by spreading the word about Anna and John. Subsequently both of them found more issues about which to gossip and backbite. They did not talk with each other any more. The relationship between Judy and Clara remained good, though more restrained than before. As Judy said: "We used to be very happy living here; we were always sitting outside and talking freely and we helped each other a lot. Now each of us sits in front of her own door, talking as little as possible with the others. It has become a bad place".
Two of the four couples involved moved out of the block soon afterwards.

Intricate relationships like this one are by no means an exception in the Estate.
The sanctions demonstrated in this case are the threat of witchcraft, gossip and "backbiting". In some situations they may lead in the end to the restoration of harmony. In this case they aggravated the situation beyond repair.
At the other extreme of possible conflicts are those clashes of temperament which make the continued sharing of the same premises unbearable. Personal grudges may take the form of constant harassment, for which the lay-out of the houses of Bondeni provide special opportunities, i.e.: soiling the shared kitchen when it has just been cleaned or throwing rubbish or dirty water from upstairs down on the grass where clothes are drying. Another trick is to open the water tap in the house below so widely that not enough pressure remains to take the water to the house above, which can be most annoying for the person upstairs who is taking a shower or washing clothes! These and other formes of harassment are of course possible everywhere, both as expressions of personal incompatibility as well as a means of sanctioning behaviour.(1) Having endured the deterioration of the social exchange for a period of time, one of the households involved tries to change houses in order to avoid further annoyance. But before matters have gone that far, attempts may be made by a trustworthy person to reconcile the parties.
A good friend of one of the families, a neighbour or a relative could take on this role. The same holds for men fighting or for a man beating his wife. Only certain people are allowed to interfere in such conflicts, because basically it is conceded that men have

the right to fight together and to beat their wives. If it appears that casualties might result, the best thing to do, people say, is to inform a relative, since he would be in the best position to stop the violence. Nevertheless, an official complaint accompanied by a request to change house, might be lodged later.

b. Interpersonal sanctions

The two types of solution for interpersonal conflict just mentioned, i.e. to report to the authorities or move away from the troublemaker by renting another house, are not always the most suitable solutions for interpersonal disagreement. Usually neighbours manage to maintain a working consensus about what behaviour is expected among them. The circle of neighbours among whom the norms of sociability and withdrawal are operative includes the neighbours of neighbours within a small area like a block or lane. Within this same vague and changing social grouping the social pressures to reinforce these norms are functioning.

The public quality of sanctions is most apparent when a quarrel erupts between people who speak the same language. In ordinary conversation they use their own language, effectively excluding in that manner "strangers" from their company. But when there is a serious quarrel, one of those involved is sure to bring the issue to the public by standing outside and shouting in Swahili. Thus it is assured that everybody will understand the issue and that pressure is brought upon the culprit. This means of invoking social pressure from neighbours is utilized by members of all ethnic groups in the Estate.

The most commonly used means of venting animosity is gossip and "backbiting". The viciousness of backbiting is of course that it does not remain behind one's back! There is always a well-meaning or malicious person prepared to inform one about the lies and mis-interpretations which "other people" are spreading. Knowledge of the gossip going around may hurt so much that the person concerned either changes his or her behaviour, or shuns further social contact by refusing to participate in neighbourhood talk in an ill-fated attempt to avoid giving cause for more stories, or moves away from the neighbourhood altogether.

Examples

A young woman working in a bar, and unmarried mother of two children, had established good relations with the neighbours in her block. "We like talking with her and joking about all her boyfriends", her neighbours said, "She has a good heart. Fortunately, she does not take her boyfriends from among the husbands of our block! She may bring other women's husbands to her room here, but not our own husbands". A few months later the woman had done just that, making "friendship" with the neighbouring husbands. An intense stream of quarrels and gossip erupted and the woman moved out to a house in another block. She herself explained: "there was too much backbiting in that other block".

Another woman with a sullen, rather off-putting way of speaking moved away from her neighbours, because "they are backbiting me. They say that I refuse to lend them sugar. But that is not true: If I have sugar, I can share with them, but if I have none, I just cannot do it. I am living now near my relatives, because they understand me and will not engage in backbiting".

In the above cases backbiting was probably not the only reason for the escape from the neighbourhood. It is likely that, while vicious gossip has taken place, the word backbiting, kusengenya, symbolizes to the one sanctioned the total hostility of the social atmosphere. There is great fear and disapproval of malicious gossip, since it is not only the result of a deterioration in social relations, but also the cause of it. A person may quarrel or even fight another person "who has been talking lies about me" and by so doing reinforces the already unsatisfactory relationship. Each of the persons involved feels himself the wronged party, and is thus unwilling to apologize, an action which would be required to restore the relationship of mutual acceptance. Violent quarrels between husband and wife may be the consequence of backbiting by either of them or one of the neighbours who has observed what should not be observed by outsiders. More subtly, suspicion or doubt may be sown in the hearts of people by being told the "secret facts" about a person.

Example

Two couples had shared the kitchen for several years, getting to know each other well. The wife of one of them left her husband suddenly, taking her last-born child with her. This husband had living with

him two young children by his first, deceased, wife. After several months the abandoned husband went to his home village and found another wife, a young girl, to take care of the children. The wife of the other couple, an older woman, advised the young girl: "You should never listen to what the neighbours say about your husband. I know he is a good man, because we shared the house for many years. If the other women tell you bad stories, it is only to do harm to you and him.".

This women herself had been told by "well-meaning" neighbours about the exploits of her husband while she was at home cultivating their land. Since that time she tried to stay in town as long as possible in order "to watch" him.

The means of exerting social pressure mentioned above, i.e. calling the public's attention to deviant behaviour and backbiting, are usually correctly interpreted by the victim as expressing criticism of his behaviour. His reaction to it depends for a great deal on whether or not he feels the censure is justified, that is, on whether he accepts the norms underlying it. Other factors may of course also influence his reaction.
Besides these negative sanctions there are also positive sanctions in operation. As said before (chapter IV), the expectation of reciprocal behaviour seems to be a powerful inducement for helping someone. The other positive sanction is expressed by those people who believe in the strength of good examples.

Examples

"If you are so unlucky as to have a bad neighbour, what can you do? I may try to borrow from her, but then she refuses. A few days later she may come to borrow something from me. If I refuse, we become enemies, but if I help her, she feels I am not her enemy. Gradually she will learn from me how to help one's neighbours. You may have friends or relatives in another place, but only neighbours can help you quickly".

A woman who commenced by denying the influence of exemplary behaviour, said: "people never change their character completely. There are very many proud people around here. But I have seen that neighbours who were at first proud, became after a while friendly to me, at the same time remaining as proud as before to the other people around here".

What these women are saying in effect, is that new neighbours have to go through a process of adjustment to each other, responding

cautiously to the demands and possibilities enclosed in the relationships between neighbours. Pride or the refusal to participate in what is happening, may in fact be interpreted as being defensiveness when the appropriate norms and social interaction patterns are as yet unknown.
A newcomer to a neighbourhood who has experienced that defensiveness is not necessary, can relax. That is, when he feels sufficiently sure of and accepted by his new fellow-tenants he is able to alter his behaviour depending on his sensitivity to and understanding of the social situation. Of course, the same women who have noted the positive effects of their own behaviour have also experienced that good examples are not always effective and that strain still may develop between neighbours. Nevertheless they continue to try, either because of conviction, understanding or force of character, to keep at least a working relationship in operation.

c. Sensitivity to sanctions

The sanctions described have a public character, since often people become involved who are not directly concerned. Yet, an outside observer may sometimes feel doubt about the validity of his observations. How valid are the cases of those women who claim to have given in to the backbiting of their neighbours or those who claim to have seen the amazing transformation of others under the influence of their own good exemplary behaviour, for concluding that social pressure with regard to the norms of behaviour is effective in this Housing Estate? One way to establish that patterns of normative behaviour do exist is to cite the types and effectiveness of social sanctioning that occur in the system. Social sanctions (gossip, jokes, fights etc.) are overt behaviour. Therefore they are more easily to observe than the norms themselves, which are difficult to articulate and sometimes only implied.
Since the people living in the Housing Estate do not form a community nor anticipate a long-term residence, the sanctions regarding objectionable behaviour need not be very effective. Yet, as long as they are staying in a particular neighbourhood, residents are undergoing its socializing influence, in terms of the housing and

economic conditions as well as the prevailing social expectations. Under the given living conditions, it is not easy to live in an indifferent or hostile social environment. Only those who perceive their reference group as being elsewhere, can afford to ignore the expectations of those surrounding them. Most people must be prepared to adjust to the expectations or peculiarities of the neighbours with whom the living space must be shared.

In an earlier chapter the questionnaire on social attitudes was discussed. It was noted that cross-tabulations with several socio-economic characteristics did not produce statistically relevant results. A trend which did appear, however, was that certain social categories, i.e. newcomers and women, are more sensitive to social criticism than others. Although the results are not significant statistically, I think they are informative because of the consistency of the response pattern and its social logic. The trend appeared in the reasons given for the answers on the items on borrowing and informing the police about chang'aa drinkers (tables VII.1a, 1b and 2). The first difference which emerged was between residents who had stayed less than 12 months in their present house and those who had stayed for a longer period. Among the four reasons mentioned for borrowing as little as possible from neighbours, those who had come more recently mentioned the fear for being disliked by

Table VII.1a. Reasons for borrowing as little as possible by length of residence in present house.

	1[x]	2[xx]	3[xxx]	total
less than 12 months	5	10	6	21
1 year or more	10	3	5	18
total	15	13	11	39

[x]1 = town is expensive; everyone has his own budget
[xx]2 = you will be called a beggar; you will be disliked
[xxx]3 = other reasons

Table VII.1b. Reasons for borrowing as little as possible by sex of respondent.

	1[x]	2	3	total
Male	9	5	8	22
Female	6	8	3	17
Total	15	13	11	39

[x] response categories are the same as in table VII.1(a)

Table VII.2. Reasons for not informing the police about chang'aa by sex of respondent.

	1[x]	2	3	total
Male	6	29	6	41
Female	14	29	6	49
Total	20	58	12	90

[x] 1= people will hate you
2= it is the task of the police; it is injustice to brewers and drinkers
3= other reasons

the neighbours more frequently than those who had been living there longer. This would indicate the existence of a process of adjustment; either an adjustment to hitherto unknown norms of behaviour or an adjustment to the particular interpretation given to known norms by the people among whom one has come to live. Although norms may be known and accepted in theory, one must still experiment with the form in which they should be applied in a particular social setting. In this case it is likely to be a process of adjustment to the social environment, to the new neighbours themselves, rather than to unknown norms, since the evidence suggests that only the length of residence in a particular house is related to this fear of being disliked and not the length of urban experience in Kitale.

It appears that people are more conscious of social pressure during

the period immediately following their moving into a new house, i.e. the period requiring the most intensive social learning. The next situation in which sensitivity to public opinion is expressed needs some elaboration. The brewing and drinking of chang'aa, the cheap local gin, is illegal, although nobody of the residents understands why this is so. Although it is said that this gin is dangerous to one's health and though drunkards cause much trouble - the alcoholic content of this gin is quite high and drinkers get drunk quickly on it - few people think this sufficient reason to denounce the drinkers to the police. Almost everybody drinks it, including the police who are supposed to detect and arrest the brewers and drinkers. What is interesting in the answers to the attitude question is not the fact that the majority of respondents say that they will not inform the police - this is to be expected - but the reasons they give. People say that by reporting brewers one is doing an injustice to them, for the men brewing the gin do so to earn their living. Often they are young or relatively young men who, because of their lack of any particular skill have failed to find employment (and after many years of brewing and drinking they will find it increasingly difficult to hold a regular job or find work which pays so well). Brewing has become their enterprise, their source of income for maintaining their family and as such the brewers should be respected. To report the drinkers and brewers, people say, would bring tremendous hardship to their families. The pressure of the community to behave according to the standards set, is strongly felt in this respect. Many respondents said they would not report the chang'aa drinkers "because people would hate you". To behave in defiance of the standards of behaviour of those around you, would exclude you from their esteem, and being isolated one would not be able to call upon them in times of need. Having violated the norms of behaviour, one cannot expect to be assisted according to these same norms. This is what people fear. As said before, women stressed the fear of social disapproval more than men do.

Also in other expressions the impact of a kind of community spirit was felt, in particular with regard to borrowing from neighbours. Especially women stressed the fear of being disliked by neighbours if they would borrow freely: "they will call you lazy or a beggar

and refuse to help you at all". Men were inclined to stress the special value embodied in keeping oneself independent from neighbours. Although men and women have similar concerns and similar understanding of social motivations, women are more conscious about the social pressures expressed in daily interaction in the Housing Estate. Women stay in the locality all day long, are in intensive interaction with their neighbours and consequently are more exposed to social disapproval. Men, on the other hand, can escape from this environment and can take their minds off incidents which have taken place in the locality by associating with another set of people at their place of work, or elsewhere.

CHAPTER VIII. CONCLUSION

a. Comparison

In this last chapter I shall attempt to relate the research findings in the Housing Estate of Kitale to those dealing with the same subject matter in other parts of the world. Moreover I hope to examine the conditions which explain the similarities or dissimilarities in the findings.

Such a cross-cultural comparison immediately raises questions about the definition and socio-economic and cultural context of the factors and about the comparability of research design and methods of measurement used by individual scholars. I will therefore briefly mention some of the problems encountered while looking for material which was of relevance to the Kitale study. These fundamental problems should be kept in mind when in the following sections, examples are presented of working class areas where normative and beavioural patterns have developed which appear to resemble those in the Kitale Estate.

The main theme of this study is that the common experience of crowded housing and of difficult economic conditions leads to the formation of standards of behaviour which operate to ease the tensions in daily life arising out of these conditions. Definitions of what constitutes economic deprivation and overcrowding are circumscribed by the level of socio-economic development attained in a society and its socio-cultural traditions. To be poor in a West European town is different from being poor in an African town, both in a material and socio-psychological sense. Equally the gap between achievements and expectations takes different forms with various sub-groups in each society. The same can be said of definitions of overcrowding. What constitutes an unacceptable degree of density of occupancy of houses for West European families is not necessarily an issue of great concern for some African or Asian families. The terms used, such as "poverty", "economic deprivation", "overcrowding" are value-laden and the researcher should be aware that his own, culturally determined conceptions may influence his observations. It is possible to make objective measurements of levels of income and expenditure and of

density of occupancy of houses and to compare these between societies. But it might be more relevant to measure relative economic deprivation, or the gap between achievements and expectations; or to measure the amount and types of social interaction which result from crowded living conditions; or to compare the means used to deal with such problems as experienced in different societies.

In the account about social interaction in the Housing Estate of Kitale I have been careful to point out some of the factors which influence the results which were observed. For example, I showed that men and women rely to a different extent on the neighbourhood for social contacts. Distinctions were drawn between emotional and working relationships, and regarding the latter, between the different purposes for which relationships can be activated. By specifying increasing distances from respondents' houses I was able to relate different geographical distances to the number of contacts maintained. And I took into consideration both relatives and non-relatives, friends and neighbours.
While looking for studies which would either support the Kitale findings or suggest limitations to their validity, it was disappointing to note that very few studies are specific enough to form a basis for comparison. Often no distinctions are made between men and women's patterns of relationships.(1) No distinctions are made between different purposes for which either neighbours, friends or relatives are approached. No clear definitions of the physical dimensions of the neighbourhood are given.(2) Often there appears to be an exclusive concern with the importance of relatives in the urban context, so that the roles which neighbours and friends who are non-relatives fulfill in daily life are ignored.(3) Sometimes the distinctions between daily, small-scale exchanges between relatives on the one hand, and assistance requested from more influential relatives for the consolidation or improvement of one's social position on the other, are not made clear. These relations can be differentiated among other things, according to the conditions under which particular exchange relations are activated, and the mutual obligations they entail.(4) Such studies elude comparison either because they are not specific enough in their formulations or are too narrow in their concerns.

b. Crowding and back region.

The concepts of "back region" (discussed in chapter III) and of crowding are related but different concepts. Crowding refers to the number of people per available space, i.e. per house, per room, or per square feet. The criteria used for the definition of overcrowding are often based on health considerations which are valid in western societies with a temperate climate. Thus it is generally taken that a house is overcrowded when on average more than two people sleep in one room.

One of the defects of this concept of crowding is that it tends to overlook the many other activities which a household engages in during the day and for which space must be available. Three aspects in particular should be considered in developing a more differentiated concept of crowding.(5)

In the first place, the "territory" of a household does not only consist of the available indoor space, but includes also the out-door space which surrounds the house. This out-door space can be used by the household just as intensively as the indoor space and is often most suitable for particular types of activities.

The space which a household or group of households can claim as its own can be divided into different functional areas, which range from those with a high degree of public accessibility, to those with a high degree of privacy. For example. indoor rooms are more secluded than communal areas such as kitchens, which in turn are more private than an out-door yard, especially if the latter is not protected from public intrusion by a hedge or wall.

The third aspect refers to the recurrent activities which households carry out and for which there are certain requirements in terms of the amount of space needed, the degree of separation between activities and the degree of privacy from other households and individuals. The content of these three aspects, i.e. the delimitation of indoor and out-door territory, the continuum between private and publicly accessible space, and the separation of activities, are to a large extent determined by culture and economic constraints.

The concept of "back region" with its element of privacy, cuts across these three aspects of the use of space. Certain parts of both inside and out-door space can be defined as "back region", i.e. as being prohibited for outsiders. For example, the enclosed back yard in Moslem compounds, where only women, servants and close male relatives are allowed to enter, functions as a back region, while the front yard is used to entertain visitors and neighbours. In the Kitale Housing Estate, no out-door territory is available to households. Outside the house it is all public territory, although there would have been sufficient space available between house blocks to allow both small private areas, e.g. small yards, for tenants, while at the same time leaving enough public space. People say they would like to have a yard near the house to keep chickens, to grow vegetables, to pound and store bags of maize. But fear that whatever they would place in such a self-defined yard would be destroyed by the Estate's officials, prevents them from claiming any public space for private use. Having no outside storage space, the residents have to store their bags of maize and charcoal under their beds, because their is no "overspill" area.(6)

Even inside the house, customs regarding the public or private accessibility of certain functional areas have to be adjusted to urban conditions. In rural areas, each woman has her own kitchen hut for cooking and storage, where men are not allowed. In the Estate's house design, this custom cannot be maintained. Shared kitchens in Housing Estates or in privately-owned Swahili type houses, such as are common in the coastal areas of Kenya, are exposed to the public. Often people can tolerate this sharing, but in certain circumstances residents find it undesirable. I have mentioned in chapter III the strain which the sharing of a kitchen with an uncongenial neighbour may cause. Jealousies or suspicions of witchcraft may sour the relationship between women using the same kitchen, while other types of suspicion may develop when a married woman shares the kitchen with a single man. When the tension becomes too great, one of the co-users retreats to his or her own room. Similar types of problems regarding the sharing of communal space were observed in several housing areas in Dar es Salaam.(7)

Another object of dislike among residents in the Kitale Estate, is the public toilets, and some people go at great lengths to avoid using them.(8)

An example of the opposite, that is of how a greater degree of communality in the use of space is created when residents desire this, is given by Hino. (9) He describes how low-income neighbours in a small town in Tanzania make openings in the fences which separate their yards, once they have become friendly with each other, so as to facilitate daily communication.

As far as the separation of activities is concerned, I have already mentioned in chapter III that many East African cultures require adults to sleep separately from their grown-up children and also separately from certain categories of other adults.(10) As one of the most emotionally charged activities is involved, people find it difficult to compromise on these spatial requirements. As said before, the curtain hiding the bed partly fulfills the function of spatial separation. Children are severely reprimanded when they draw away this curtain. When households in Dar es Salaam, who were living in one room, were asked what they would do with an extra room, many replied that children and guests should sleep there.(11) The residents were not concerned with the number of people sleeping in one room, but rather with the category of people sharing the room.

Another source of complaint in the Kitale Estate, especially in Bondeni is, that the kitchen and toilet in these houses adjoin each other. In order to reach the toilet, one has to pass through the kitchen. This is very embarrassing for men when there are women in the kitchen and especially so for in-laws. To cope with this embarrassment, men try to give the impression of going out for some other reason, e.g. to talk to the neighbours.

The conclusion of this section must be that, crowding in the conventional sense is not the most important aspect to be considered in evaluating the housing situation. More important is whether different types of space have been made available and whether the design and lay-out of house and outdoor space make a flexible adaptation possible to the needs of individual households.

c. Norms of behaviour

In conditions of high population density, special behaviour codes are necessary to maintain a degree of harmony in daily life. This was indicated in the study of Kitale's Housing Estate and finds confirmation in the study of residential behaviour in Hong Kong, where density figures belong to the highest in the world.
The author of an intensive study of a tenement house in Hong Kong suggests that, adherence by tenant households to social codes relating to the management of space, the management of time and the management of people, make it possible for them to live together peacefully in conditions of physical crowding.(12) For example, each household in the building has one room for its exclusive use. Household members do no spend much time in it, since that room is only used for sleeping and dressing. Nevertheless, such a household-room is private territory to such extent that it is considered improper for non-household members even to glance into it when passing by, let alone entering it. Children are sharply disciplined when they disobey this rule. This reminds one of the awe with which the bed curtain in the Kitale Estate is regarded.
In Hong Kong the kitchen and living room are communal territory for all the households living in one tenement house. Crowding in these communal areas can usually be avoided because of particular habits and the observance of certain rules of respect. For example, people are accustomed to eat at varying times, and a household that has already sat down for a meal should be left alone. The social rules which regulate the management of emotional interaction is important. It is expected that members of different households in the house should not get emotionally involved with each other; interaction should be kept on a neutral level. Members of unrelated households should not get involved in each others' personal problems and are not expected to talk to each other if they do not want to. Through adherence to these social rules interaction, and especially emotionally charged interaction, is kept to a minimum.
In African as in Chinese tradition great value is attached to privacy for the household group and for certain categories of household members. But the individual who seeks privacy is regarded with suspicion. Very few residents of the Kitale Estate live alone and

those who do, often express the desire of sending for a young relative from their home villages to keep them company. The problem in the Housing Estate is that it is difficult for even the household group to retreat into privacy, since the dividing line between public and private space is unclear. There is no private out-door space either, so that social interaction between households which are unrelated or indifferent to each other, cannot be avoided. The social rule of "not getting involved" in order to keep interaction on a neutral level, is as appropriate in Kitale as in Hong Kong. Similarly it was noted in an urban squatter area in Venezuela that to be a "respectable" family means "not getting involved" with the neighbours, i.e. not to quarrel and fight with them. In a situation where neighbours' children, constant borrowing of small items and sexual rivalry impinge on the privacy of households, it is an achievement not to get involved with the neighbours and therefore highly valued.(13)

After having completed the analysis of the Kitale data, my attention was drawn to an earlier study in England. Kuper studied a working class area in Coventry and listed similar reactions to the housing conditions as were noted in Kitale. Lack of privacy due to the particular siting of houses, their internal lay-out and insufficient insulation, proved embarrassing to many residents.(14) In addition, their economic situation was such that borrowing among neighbours was a necessary and common feature of their social interaction, although some people felt strongly opposed to it. Interviewing women about various aspects of neighbourly activities, Kuper noted in Coventry, as I did in Kitale, the presence of two contrasting attitudes: the attitude which favoured sociability among neighbours, stressing their interdependence; and the attitude of preference for deliberate isolation, in which the hazards inherent in intensive neighbouring are emphasized. Expectations with regard to good neighbour relationships varied accordingly. Some women strongly advocated the extreme form of sociability, while some others advocated reserved behaviour. But the majority tried to maintain a balance between these two sets of attitudes. The aspects of neighbouring considered were borrowing/lending, helping (during illness; during

confinement; baby sitting) and visiting. A tendency was observed for higher social status (in term of occupation, residential status, previous residence, material possessions, upbringing of children) to be associated with a reserved attitude towards neighbours.(15) Margaret Stacey showed the existence of similar patterns within the working class of Banbury. Those with higher social status, the "respectables", were more "stand-offish" to their neighbours than the other working class status-types; in this respect their behaviour resembled that of the middle class. "They are bent on improving their own social positions and intimate neighbouring is a part of life of the social class they wish to leave behind." (16) This observation is in line with the tendency noted in Kitale that those who expressed a reserved attitude towards their neighbours, were those whose aspirations and social ties diverged from those of their ordinary working class neighbours.

From these examples it is clear that particular norms develop to guide social interaction between poor people living closely together. The conditions underlying the process of formation of such norms are those of small group processes. In the first place, there is a high frequency of interaction between residents of a neighbourhood, and as neighbours they are more important to each other in sharing daily experiences than are friends and relatives living elsewhere. The residents are, with a few exceptions, of similar socio-economic position, occupying low-income jobs which carry low prestige. This forms the basis for greater equality and reciprocity in exchange relationships. Finally, it is in the given physical and economic circumstances, not advisable or feasible for neighbours to isolate themselves through their non-conformist behaviour. As such, adherence to norms becomes a basis for each individual's own behaviour as well as for anticipating and judging other people's behaviour.
Living in similar conditions, the neighbourhood groups in different parts of an Estate or squatter area tend to develop similar norms. But each neighbourhood group has to find its own balance between co-operation and non-involvement, a balance which changes when some neighbours move away and others take their place. Conversely, each

household which moves to a different part of the same residential area, has to adjust to the particular set of expectations which is in operation in the new environment.

d. Proximity and choice

The proximity model has been found helpful in analysing social relationships in urban low-income areas in Africa as in other parts of the world. This model states that, physical distance is a factor which has great influence on social interaction patterns. In the Kitale Housing Estate, for example, it was observed that a great deal of the daily social contacts of women take place within a very small geographical space: within a lane or within adjacent blockes. The relatives visited most frequently are those who live nearby, the majority of friends are found in this small area and neighbours play an important role in daily life. This same characteristic of localised interaction is also reported for other working class areas, such as Mulago in Kampala, Belge I in Stnleyville (now Kisangani), Rooiyard in Johannesburg, Bethnal Green in London or Addams Area in Chicago.(17) Pierre Clément, for example, asked 19 inhabitants of an avenue in an urban compound in Kisangani to name their best friends. The inhabitants of this compound were mostly unskilled and semi-skilled wage earners. The response patterns of both men and women showed that the choice of friends was closely related to present residence of respondents at the time of the interview. Distinctions were made between friends living in the same avenue and those in each of 18 avenues which were adjoining the first one. And it was clear that the network of relationships became less dense with each avenue farther away from the respondent's house. This tendency was stronger for women than for men.(18).

However, the use of this proximity model carries the dangers of over-simplification with it. By emphasizing interaction in the neighbourhood, one may loose sight of the importance of relationships outside the neighbourhood. Much depends, of course, on the definition of neighbourhood. The just cited example of Kisangani showed the decreasing number of relationships with increasing physical distance, just as was shown to exist in the Kitale Estate. These findings may

support the model, but they also point out that there are a substantial number of relationships outside the area which can be defined as a neighbourhood by any standards.
This leads to the question of the nature of these relationships. The frequency of interaction, encouraged by proximity of residence, is not necessarily an indication of their intensity, content or durability Interaction between women in Rooiyard, for example, was frequent, but centred around the affairs of daily life. Consequently, such interaction ceased when women moved away from Rooiyard and lost their common interests.

"Social intercourse between the inhabitants of Rooiyard bears the stamp of utilitarianism and casualness...Among the women, who come into contact with each other during the day's routine, the bonds of friendship have no strength or permanence. Temporary friendships, born of common residence and proximity, do exist, but are more frequent between women of the same tribe. This is due more to the facility of intercourse consequent upon speaking the same language, than to a sense of tribal solidarity. Unless the language barrier is an obstacle, neighbours usually become friends. The utilitarianism of such friendship bonds as do exist manifests itself in the help which women extend to each other in their beer-brewing activities, in borrowing small sums of money or foodstuffs from each other, and in occasionally performing small services for each other. But the contacts thus formed are so fleeting that a family will depart from Rooiyard without informing its erstwhile friends either of the day of its departure or of its new address." (19)

In the case of Rooiyard, as in Kitale's Estate, neighbouring women engage in a "working relationship in which the utilitarian or instrumental aspects are fundamental.(20) They are well aware of the distinction between this and other forms of friendship, as was shown in previous chapters of the present study. The value of this working relationship lies in the harmony and help it can offer in the particular neighbouring context. When the context changes, as when one of the neighbours moves away, the foundation of this working relationship falls away as well. At the same time, more intensive relationships may continue to be meaningful, although the partners do not meet frequently.

Proximity is not the only factor which influences interaction patterns within the neighbourhood. Factors of a cultural, economic and

political nature determine the extent to which social interaction remains localized. The residents of Sabo Quarter in Ibadan (21), who are all Moslem Hausa engaged in cattle trading, confine all forms of social interaction to their fellow-residents. Intense interaction takes place within the Quarter which results in, and in turn strengthens, the existence of multiplex relationships and closed social networks. Social pressure to conform to values and beliefs is strong. The economic, cultural and religious interdependence of Sabo Quarter provides a completely different context for daily interaction than an area such as a Housing Estate where residents have diverse occupational and cultural interests. In the latter friendship with residents of other parts of town is accepted. And residents agree that they have no permanent and fundamental interests in the Estate, nor in the maintenance of social ties among themselves as residents. This contrasts with Sabo Quarter.

Pons showed that members of different ethnic groups living together in the same neighbourhood may develop different types of localised interaction patterns.(22) Members of one group may prefer to depend only on neighbours of the same group, while others may join neighbours of different ethnic groups. We also noted such tendency in the Kitale Estate, where Kikuyu were more restrictive in their choice of neighbourly interaction than others. Pons suggests as explanation for such differences the history and type of urban incorporation of ethnic groups in a particular town. He mentions in particular the range of socio-economic positions occupied by group members and early access to urban land titles and house ownership. In Kitale it is the different positions of the groups with respect to the political and economic conflicts between them, which forms the context for variations in their patterns of social interaction.

Finally, however, it is the individual who makes a choice as to the partners he associates with in a variety of social occasions. Various social categories, such as neighbours, ethnic group members, relatives and friends, each form a basis for social relationships. Yet, the type of social relationship the individual considers most appropriate on a certain occasion depends on the combination of features of that occasion, that is the context, issues or problems involved, his expectations about the response to his initiatives and the particular

individuals available. The combination of the principles of association, based on proximity, ethnic affinity, kinship and friendship, allows a considerable amount of flexibility in individual choice, so that each person's social network has its own distinct characteristics. Further, if one person moves away from a neighbourhood, even if to settle as little as one or two blocks away, the social field of both neighbourhoods is affected. Although the same principles of association are applied, different individuals are chosen to associate with. (23)

One type of research which studies individual choice in social interaction uses the social network method. Such studies explore the relations between social networks of individuals, norms and role expectations as attributes of enduring social groups, and the behaviour of individuals. The Kitale study has not systematically used the social network concept. But it can be said that in this study the position is taken that group membership and normative expectations are important reference points for the behaviour of individuals, even though they cannot impose definite patterns of behaviour.(24) The social network approach tends, at least in the presentation of material, to emphasize the unique features in any complex of choices. The present study is different in that it focuses on regularities in such choices. No attempt has been made to describe each individual's network of social relationships. But an assessment, based upon a limited number of choices, has been made of the relative importance of particular principles of association on certain types of occasions. Despite the fact that choice in interaction is ultimately guided by personal inclination, regularities become apparent.

One of the issues in African urban studies concerns the relative importance of kinship, ethnicity and socio-economic status in informal associations.(25) Parkin, in his study of two ethnically-mixed working class Estates in Kampala, leans towards the view that socio-economic status assessed in terms of occupation and income, is a more important criterion than ethnic affiliation in informal social interaction among women living in the same neighbourhood.(26) It is my opinion that such a conclusion can not be made in the Kitale case. Although the residents of Kitale's Estate are by and large placed

towards the lower end of the socio-economic hierarchy, differences certainly exist between them in education, occupation and income. People are probably aware of these differences. The word "probable" is used on purpose, because in answer to a survey question, the majority of women professed to be ignorant of any differences in socio-economic status between themselves and other women in the Estate. Several interpretations come to mind for this unexpected answer.
The first one refers to the range of socio-economic differences in the two Estates. In the Kampala Estate a greater socio-economic variation exists than in the Kitale Estate. The application of a socio-economic criterion can therefore reflect reality more adequately in the former Estate than in the latter. Moreover, the inhabitants of the Kampala Estate may have become more sensitive about the possibility of upward social mobility and therefore more selective in their social contacts. This interpretation is supported by the exceptional tendency noted among the few clerks and teachers in the Kitale Estate to act in a more reserved manner towards neighbours (who are usually of lower socio-economic status than themselves) than other residents do.
The second interpretation is that the women interviewed are genuinely unable to make reliable assessments of each other's status, because of an awareness of incongruities between status indicators. One household, for example, may decide to spend the larger part of its income on the improvement of its home in the rural area - unnoticed by the urban neighbours - while leaving its urban house devoid of signs of material wealth such as expensive furniture. Another household may spend most of its income, which is perhaps lower than that of the first household, on furnishing its urban house.
A third interpretation is that the residents of the Estate are indeed aware of socio-economis differences among themselves, but that they attach greater value to another type of characteristic in this neighbourhood situation. It is likely that the Estate's residents apply similar standards of evaluation as Boston's urban villagers, who, although cognizant of socio-economic differences among themselves, do not make these a basis for personal evaluation.(27)
A more important criterion is a person's behaviour towards his fellow-residents. If a person conforms to standards of interpersonal behaviour, such as honesty, reliability, the willingness to respond to his

neighbour's needs, and if he does not boast of his achievements, then his socio-economic position is no longer so important in the eyes of his neighbours. The existence of similar standards of behaviour among Kitale's residents has been demonstrated.

In conclusion a few of the limitations of this study should be made explicit. In the first place, this research report is largely based on verbal behaviour. People expressed their ideas verbally about correct behaviour and about the importance of adhering to the norms. The question of the extent to which real behaviour corresponds to the stated norms may well be raised. It should be pointed out that it would not be possible to trace direct links between behaviour and the ideal because of the existence of two relevant norms which oppose each other on a continuum. In reality, daily exchanges are the expression of a balance found between these opposites, or a compromise between conflicting interests. Other factors, of course, influence such behaviour as well. But a detailed study of the relation between ideal and actual behaviour has not been made, partly for methodological reasons.

Secondly, this study has given prominence to the concern with harmony and consensus among the residents of the Estate. This concern was noted with respect to the daily affairs of life, i.e. running a household and managing the relations with neighbours. Of course, such daily recurrent affairs form only one aspect of life in a poor urban residential area. I do not contend that a similar concern with harmony and consensus permeates the residents' views on the nature of society or on the possibility of fundamental change therein. A growing body of literature deals with the historical role of the urban poor. For another study, it might be interesting to examine the relation between the views of poor urban residents on the existing social order, their ideas about solidarity in daily affairs, and the efforts of the ruling elite to effectuate fundamental improvements in the living conditions of the entire population.

One of the factors to be taken into account in such an examination would be the kind and amount of participation in local government which the authorities would allow the people to have. Much depends in that case on the Government's views on its own role. If Government sees it

as its own, exclusive duty to provide socio-economic improvements and to order and control all development, then popular participation can play only a minor role. Participation or self-help is then encouraged only as a means of reducing costs. If, on the other hand, Government is prepared to accept an "enabling" role, its task is to stimulate, assist and co-ordinate people's activities. Popular participation would result not only in bringing about material improvements, but also in developing the capacity of people to take responsibility and even to challenge the Government experts.
Whether urban residents are prepared to play a role in such participatory activity for any length of time depends on how they interpret the potential benefits for themselves and for Government. It also depends on the forms of co-operation in which they are already engaged. Further, participation in the development of a particular residential area can only be successful if it "fits in" with the total administrative structure of the city or state. A Government machinery which aims in general to extend centralized bureaucratic control is not in a good position to allow and encourage popular initiatives in isolated parts. Because neither elaborate bureaucratic regulations, nor the usual ideology of civil servants and other members of the elite about the role of the people in national development, are suitable to enable such type of organizational activity to flourish.

e. Summary

The subject of this study has been the living conditions in an urban Housing Estate in Kenya and some ways of dealing with the problems arising out of these conditions. Economically, the conditions are characterized by the low incomes of the resident households and the resulting economic uncertaincy. The households have difficulty in stretching their incomes to cover the essential daily expenditures and have special difficulty in coping with sudden large financial demands. The housing conditions are characterized by a high degree of crowding inside the dwelling units. Due to the internal designs and the high density of occupation of the dwellings, it is not easy for households to maintain their privacy. Nor are rules about avoidance of contact between certain categories of people and about

separation of activities easy to adhere to. The existence of such fundamental problems create strain and friction between both household members and neighbouring households.

It is unlikely that politicians and policy-makers will succeed to bring about fundamental improvements in these conditions within the foreseeable future. The residents of the Estate, therefore, must find their own solutions by adjusting to the circumstances. Adjustment takes the form of placing great reliance on the establishment of good working relationships with a number of neighbours. Working relationships entail frequent social interaction between partners and the exchange of assistance in small, unexpected household crises. Such interaction is guided by a set of norms of behaviour which stress the need for sociability as well as for reserve in social interaction; and which stress the need for co-operation between neighbours as well as for non-involvement in each other's affairs. The clusters of working relationships developing between a number of neighbours enable households and individuals to find immediate social and economic support in daily life, while they also exercise a degree of control over behaviour, ensuring that a satisfactory balance is found between the opposite normative requirements.

The Housing Estate does not form a community, however, because only those residents who live very close to each other are interdependent in daily life. Moreover, all residents have important social relationships outside the Estate, either in other parts of the town or in their rural home areas. Rather, small ever-changing loosely interconnected neighbourhood clusters exist, each of which develops its own style of interaction as a particular interpretation of the set of norms which govern the neighbouring behaviour of all residents. It is the necessity to maintain the working relationships, even though particular people are neighbours for only a short period of time, from which the pressure to adjust to the expectations of neighbours emanates.

The individual choices which result in the development of these small neighbourhood clusters reflect to a large extent the socio-economic and political situation in Kitale. Nevertheless, the common ethnic characteristics between people who have established working relationships should not be regarded as fundamental to the relationships.

Rather, such economic and ethnic similarity is to be regarded as one of the conditions which contributes to the strength of the relationship.

The living conditions in the Kitale Housing Estate are not unique, nor the adjustments made by the residents, at least in general terms. The nature of the particular urban society determines how people experience poverty and crowded living conditions, with whom they establish working relationships, what particular shape the balance between sociability and reserve takes and finally, what attempts are made by policy-makers to alleviate the conditions and the resulting problems.

SAMENVATTING

De sociale relaties tussen bewoners van een vrij arme woonwijk in Kitale vormen het onderwerp van deze studie. Kitale is een klein stadje in het noord-westen van Kenya. Door een subsidie van de Stichting Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek van de Tropen (WOTRO) heb ik daar veldwerk kunnen doen (juli 1969 tot januari 1971). Gedurende deze tijd heb ik in deze wijk gewoond. Mijn onderzoeksmethoden waren de participerende observatie en een sample survey met vragenlijsten.

In de Inleiding worden twee omstandigheden gesignaleerd die van invloed zijn op de aard der sociale relaties in de woonwijk en die in deze studie worden onderzocht, te weten:

1. de sociaal-economische geschiedenis van het stadje Kitale zelf, die gekenmerkt wordt door economische en politieke konflikten tussen raciale en etnische belangengroepen; en
2. verschillende aspekten van de woonomgeving, zowel van ruimtelijke als van economische aard.

Hoofdstuk I beschrijft enkele geografische en economische kenmerken van Kitale en Trans Nzoia District, waarvan Kitale de hoofdstad is. Ook wordt de ontstaansgeschiedenis van het stadje beschreven als verzorgingscentrum in een landbouwgebied dat door Engelse en Zuid Afrikaanse settlers sinds het begin van deze eeuw ontgonnen werd.

Tussen 1948 en 1969 traden veranderingen in de bevolkingssamenstelling op. Belangrijk is, dat de verschillende etnische scheidslijnen gebruikt kunnen worden om politieke en economische verschillen te verscherpen of verdoezelen. In tegenstelling tot de stedelijke centra in het hart van stamgebieden, waar de bevolking voor bijna 100% bestaat uit leden van één etnische groep, vormt de grootste groep in Kitale nauwelijks 50% van de Afrikaanse bevolking. Dit zijn de Luhya. Ze worden gevolgd door de Kikuyu met 20%. Vier konflikten over schaarse hulpbronnen in het gebied van Kitale en Trans Nzoia District komen aan de orde. Deze politiek-economische

konflikten hebben het reeds bestaande etnische bewustzijn versterkt en de sociale afstand tussen de groepen vergroot. De konflikten gaan over:
1. het recht om landbouw grond in Trans Nzoia te bezitten, vooral in de 'settlement schemes' waar kleine bedrijven (ongeveer 2 HA) beschikbaar waren. 2. De toewijzing van Kitale aan één van de twee Provincies die er aanspraak op maakten. Dit was in de periode dat een staatsindeling volgens regionalistische principes hevig omstreden werd door de twee politieke partijen in Kenya die toen bestonden. 3. De aankoop van grote boerderijen in Trans Nzoia District door 'partnerships' en 'companies'. 4. De overname door Kenyanen van winkels en bedrijven in Kitale van Aziatische eigenaren, toen die gedwongen werden deze op te geven.
Deze konflikten maken deel uit van de sociaal-economische geschiedenis van Kitale die van grote invloed is op het patroon der sociale relaties in de woonwijk.

Hoofdstuk II introduceert de woonwijk. De geografische ligging t.o.v. andere delen van de stad wordt aangegeven, evenals de indeling van de wijk zelf. Speciale aandacht krijgen die twee delen van de wijk, waarin de survey werd gehouden: Bondeni en Machinjoni. De indeling van de huizen, huurniveau en watervoorziening en toilet faciliteiten worden besproken. In de praktijk zijn bijna alle huizen één-kamer woningen.
Enkele sociaal-economische kenmerken van de steekproef worden naar voren gehaald: etnische samenstelling, samenstelling van huishoudens, werk en inkomensniveau van mannelijke gezinshoofden, verblijfsduur in Kitale en in de tegenwoordige woning, en lidmaatschap van verenigingen.

In hoofdstuk III komen de ruimtelijke aspekten van de woning en de economische omstandigheden van huishoudens aan de orde, die immers het tweede geheel van faktoren vormen die invloed hebben op de sociale relaties. Deze faktoren zijn: 1. de afwezigheid van een 'achterhuis'; 2. de kleine afmetingen van de woningen; en 3. de 'secundaire armoede', dat is, de zorg over de besteding van een klein inkomen dat misschien net genoeg is om in de dagelijkse

behoeften te voorzien, maar dat geen reserve post bevat voor grotere uitgaven in geval van ziekte of begrafenis, en voor schoolgeld en kleren.
Deze drie aspekten van het wonen zijn de oorzaak van spanningen zowel tussen leden van de huishouding als tussen buren. Ze wijzen tegelijkertijd op de noodzaak van samenwerking tussen buren zodat een zekere vredigheid in de buurt bewaard kan worden en zodat hulp gevraagd kan worden bij het vervullen van de dagelijkse taken in de huishouding. Dit leidt tot de noodzaak om 'werk relaties' te vestigen.
De 'werk relatie', die in de eerste plaats taak-gericht is, vormt het onderwerp van hoofdstuk IV. De behoefte om een dergelijke relatie in stand te houden leidt tot de ontwikkeling van 'normatieve thema's. Dit zijn ideale gedragsnormen of waarden die gebruikt worden als criteria waaraan de juistheid of correctheid van werkelijk gedrag wordt afgemeten. Op grond van mijn waarnemingen en antwoorden op survey vragen heb ik twee normatieve thema's gedistilleerd, nl. sociale openheid en sociale gereserveerdheid. In het dagelijks leven moet een evenwicht gevonden worden tussen deze twee uitersten. Gedrag dat te dicht de ene ideale gedragsnorm benadert, en dus te weinig rekening houdt met de andere, tegenovergestelde norm, wordt afgekeurd.
Uit de antwoorden op attitude vragen konden vier meer konkrete gedragsregels worden opgemaakt: 1. buren behoren hulpvaardig te zijn; 2. buren zouden goed met elkaar moeten kunnen opschieten. 3. buren behoren zich niet ongevraagd te mengen in elkaars aangelegenheden; en 4. buren horen niet van elkaar afhankelijk te worden in emotioneel of economisch opzicht. Deze gedragsregels worden in dit hoofdstuk besproken.

Hoofdstuk V gaat na of de woonwijk een gemeenschap vormt. Als criteria worden gebruikt 1. de mate waarin de wijk een eigen institutionele struktuur heeft ontwikkeld, met instellingen die uitsluitend in de wijk funktioneren en met een duidelijke leiderschaps struktuur; en 2. de mate waarin een gevoel van onderlinge afhankelijkheid en van saamhorigheid leeft onder de bewoners. Drie instellingen zijn uitsluitend op deze wijk gericht, nl. het

Committee van Wijk Oudsten, het electorale District met drie gemeenteraadsleden, en de wijk als administratieve eenheid in het gemeentelijke bestuursapparaat, vertegenwoordigd in de wijk met twee funktionarissen. De konklusies ten aanzien van deze autoriteiten zijn:
1. De Wijk Oudsten hebben aan macht ingeboet omdat ze niet meer kunnen bepalen wie er toegelaten wordt tot de rechtsorganen in de stad (politie en rechtbank); in hun funktie als Wijk Oudsten worden zij door weinigen gekend en gerespekteerd. 2. Gemeenteraadsleden en wijkfunktionarissen hebben beide invloed over de toewijzing van schaarse hulpbronnen aan volgelingen - de gemeenteraadsleden in veel grotere mate dan de funktionarissen - maar geen van alle genieten zij wijd verbreid respekt.
Na een vergelijking met squatter wijken elders waarin zich een sterke institutionele struktuur heeft ontwikkeld, komt een konklusie naar voren over de verhouding tussen Overheid, behoeften voorziening en gemeenschapsontwikkeling. Als de Overheid op zichzelf voorzieningen aanbrengt ter bevrediging van fundamentele sociaal-economische verlangens van stedelingen is er weinig kans dat een gemeenschap ontstaat. Als, bij afwezigheid van de Overheid, wijkbewoners zulke voorzieningen ontwerpen is de kans op gemeenschapsvorming veel groter. De academische vraag of een groep mensen een gemeenschap vormt of niet, is eigenlijk van weinig belang. Belangrijker is samenwerkingsvormen tussen Overheid en wijkbewoners te ontwikkelen waarbij de fundamentele verlangens van de bewoners worden bevredigd, alsook de participatie van burgers in het wijkleven wordt bevorderd.

Op grond van de analyse in hoofdstuk VI kan worden gekonkludeerd dat er sociale groepen in de wijk bestaan, die gebaseerd zijn op de erkenning van gemeenschappelijke belangen en het gevoel van onderlinge afhankelijkheid. Deze groepen zijn klein, hebben een wisselend lidmaatschap en zijn samengesteld uit clusters van 'werk relaties'. Het zijn deze buurt groepen die een gemeenschapsgevoel ontwikkeld hebben om de problemen voortkomend uit de behuizing en secondaire armoede te boven te komen. De wijk als geheel heeft geen saamhorigheidsgevoel.

Er wordt nagegaan of buren ook als vrienden beschouwd worden (dit is vaak het geval); of vrienden meestal familieleden zijn (dit is bij de meerderheid niet het geval); en of vrienden van dezelfde etnische groep zijn (dit is meestal wel zo). Bij huisvrouwen heb ik nagegaan wie ze om hulp vragen bij specifieke problemen die zich in het dagelijks leven voordoen. Buren, vrienden en familieleden spelen allen een rol in het dagelijks leven, maar hun belangrijkheid varieert met de aard van het probleem. Met andere woorden, voor sommige zaken roept men de hulp in van buren, ongeacht of deze familieleden zijn of niet. Voor andere zaken doet men bij voorkeur een beroep op familieleden zelfs als deze ver weg wonen.

Hoofdstuk VII bespreekt verschillende soorten van konflikt die zich in de wijk voordoen en de verschillende soorten van sancties die kunnen worden toegepast op buurtbewoners die zich niet houden aan de gedragsregels betreffende samenwerking en afstand bewaren. Er zijn aanwijzingen dat vrouwen gevoeliger zijn voor sancties van buren dan mannen en dat nieuwelingen in de buurt daar meer gevoelig voor zijn dan degenen die er lang wonen.

In het laatste hoofdstuk tracht ik mijn uitkomsten te vergelijken met die in stadswijken elders. Enkele moeilijkheden die bij deze interculturele vergelijkingen rezen worden kort besproken.
Het blijkt uit verschillende Afrikaanse studies dat mensen niet zozeer het grote aantal mensen per huis op zichzelf als probleem zien. Wel hebben zij bezwaren tegen een woonindeling die het voor een gezin o.a. zeer moeilijk maakt een privé leven te hebben, en die het onmogelijk maakt bepaalde aktiviteiten gescheiden te houden die dat volgens de traditie behoren te zijn.
Vervolgens worden voorbeelden aangehaald van gedragsnormen die mensen ontwikkeld hebben die leven in arme, dichtbevolkte wijken. In zulke wijken is veelvuldig kontakt niet te vermijden. Maar door het naleven van bepaalde normen voorkomt men dat te hevige emotionele spanningen tussen buren ontstaan. De normen in Hong Kong, Ciudad Guyana (Venezuela), Coventry (Engeland) en Kitale lijken sterk op elkaar. De buren die "werk relaties" hebben en dus in het dagelijks

leven op elkaar steunen, ontwikkelen hun eigen samenlevingsstijl als eigen interpretatie van de algemeen aanvaarde gedragsnormen. De omstandigheden in deze arme stadwijken leiden er toe dat buren een grote rol spelen in het dagelijks leven. Verschillende studies in Afrika en Europa hebben daarop gewezen. De samenwerking vindt echter plaats tussen individuen die elkaar als het ware uitkiezen, zodat eerder van een aantal elkaar kruisende dyaden of 'werk relaties' kan worden gesproken dan van buurteenheden. Bepaalde omgangsprincipes brengen regelmatigheid en voorspelbaarheid aan in indivueel keuzegedrag. Deze omgangsprincipes worden zelf beinvloed door faktoren als de etnische en socio-economische samenstelling van de wijk, en de economische en politieke verhoudingen tussen de verschillende groepen in de stad.
In de levensomstandigheden van arme, dichtbevolkte stadswijken en in de reakties daarop van de inwoners is veel overeenkomstigs. Maar op detailpunten zijn er verschillen die samenhangen met de aard van elke stedelijke maatschappij afzonderlijk.

APPENDIX: NOTES ON METHOD

Two main research methods were used during fieldwork in Kitale: participant observation and questionnaire surveys. Documentary sources and unstructured interviews provided material for the description of the history and present situation of Kitals as a whole.

a. Participant observation.

From the point of view of personal experience, participant observation is certainly the most rewarding method. Certain features of this particular urban situation affected my position and the type of my participation and observations, which in turn affected the way people responded to me. I will mention them briefly.

Introduction to Kitale.

The fieldworker is usually advised to contact the community leaders first of all and to let them introduce him to the other residents. In Kitale I introduced myself to all people who exercised any form of official authority: the Member of Parliament, the District Commissioner, Mayor and Councillors, KANU office bearers, Wazee wa Mtaa and social workers. Although it was essential that these authorities knew me and understood what I was doing, they could not give me a general introduction to Kitale residents, because their authority was recignized by a limited number of people and only in specific situations. Nor did an appropriate channel of communication exist between leaders and the community. They could only introduce me to those people they knew personally.

The clearest example that I was passing through a social network occurred during the very first few days after my arrival. After getting off the bus, I was approached by a man who asked if I was looking for a hotel to stay. He knew a very good hotel, he said, which even had individual pieces of soap! And so, in contrast to what mothers tell their daughters, that they should never listen to strange men, I went with him. Maybe this is one of the essential features of this type of fieldwork: to be able to adjust to different situations, to cast off the irrelevant aspects of the traditional

concepts of one's own culture and to acquire new standards of judgement and behaviour.

This particular man turned out to be a partner in the company which owned the hotel. It was a good hotel, its only disadvantage being that it was located above a bar and nightclub. The most fortunate aspect of this meeting was, however, that this hotel was the regular meeting-place of certain top officials in the District and Town. That same evening we started talking. The next day one of these officials asked the social worker to take me around. She took me to the Head-mistress of the Welfare Centre (which organized the nursery school and women's clubs; the Centre is part of the Social Hall complex in the Housing Estate). She was a European looking lady, (later I heard that she came from the Secheylles), who was much respected among the residents because of her many years of devoted work. She became my first friend. This Headmistress introduced me to two of her own friends: the senior nursery school teacher and a young unmarried lady teacher in one of the primary schools in the Estate. The nursery school teacher was a strong person with a warm heart, the divorced mother of a large family and a voluntary social welfare worker. She became a very valuable friend. Later she identified welfare problems for me and introduced me to problem families. The much younger primary school teacher was an enthousiastic Girl Guide leader who soon intended to go to a training camp for four weeks.

We came to a very amicable arrangement: for two weeks I shared the house with the young teacher, as if I were one of her distant relatives, after which she left the house to me during her absence.

At the same time, my name was on the waiting list for a house in the Estate. It was explained to me that one of the accepted reasons for being allocated a house, was to be a newcomer without relatives in town. This obviously applied to me, and so after six or seven weeks, I was given a house not far away from my friend's place.

Identity

My position in town was rather complicated. Although a European, I did not mix with other Europeans; though wealthy, I stayed with the poor; though unmarried, I did not encourage men.

During the first part of my fieldwork, the majority of Europeans in Kitale were old settlers; much later peacecorps agricultural extension workers came to Trans Nzoia District. The old settlers represented a style of life and expressed opinions and attitudes which were closely associated with a former, unpleasant era of which neither the African residents nor I wanted to be reminded. For my part, I presented a challenge to all that the settlers had stood for and the brief encounters we did have, were usually unsatisfactory.
My contacts with the African local elite, politicians and administrative personnel, were much more pleasant. Some became friends, with whom one could leisurely enjoy evenings and discuss local and national events. I also became a co-opted member of the Council's Social Services Committee. However, realizing the social distance between this elite and the residents of the Estate, I took care not to identify too closely with the middle-class elite of Kitale either in order to express that my main concern was with the low-income sector of the town. I was not alone in this attitude: a few middle-class people thought and acted in a similar way and chose to live on the Estate, although they could have afforded to move elsewhere. It was of course known that I had access to all levels of Kitale society, but some people in the Estate later told me that they appreciated my staying with them. "It showed that, despite higher education and income, you did not despise the poorer people, like some of the other educated people did who hardly ventured to visit us in our houses in the Estate."
With the third major population group in Kitale, the Asians, I had no contact at all, except on business.
For the residents there remained the problem of how to identify me and how to interpret my presence on the Estate and my inquisitiveness. I might be a spy of the Kenyan Government; or of the American Government; or of the Russian Government. I might even be a Missionary in disguise! It was interesting that the only Missionaries who worked actively in the Estate, American Jehovah Witnesses, never paid any attention to me; but neither did I seek contact with them. I usually told people that I was a student of Makerere University, Kampala, and it was part of my course to see how people live and to describe their problems. Some friends commiserated with me about the length

of the course and its exacting nature.

Finally, I could also be a "loose woman". There were strong grounds for this interpretation, or so it seemed. I was single, yet I was not poor. The house I was living in had a certain reputation, since previous occupiers had been practising "loose" women. My bed was not hidden behind a curtain, as "respectable" people do, but, covered with a bright cloth, it drew immediate attention; if this was the style of a European bed-sitter, it was also, and more to the point, the house style of loose women. Moreover, it was noted that I frequently visited the single women in the Estate, who were bar girls, market traders or women with no identifiable source of income at all. All of them were known for their more or less irregular behaviour and there was no obvious reason why I should be different.

My neighbours and friends have done much to soften this image, so that the most open advances stopped after a while. Nevertheless, a little suspicion did linger on in some minds, especially among married women. I remained very conscious of this fact during the whole period and tried to avoid doing things which could give offense or raise doubts about my intentions. The division in society along sex lines affected therefore my participation and observations. Never again did I go with strange men to a hotel!

The men I talked to were usually the husbands of women friends and when their wives were not present we often stood or sat outside the house in full public view. Other men could easily be associated with work purposes, such as Councillors and Council staff. In the beginning I never frequented the bars, later on I did go together with my assistant, who was almost as embarrassed as I was, since he did not like such drinking places either. We usually went during the quiet hours of the day in order to talk with the bar girls, an activity which could have been interpreted wrongly.

Participation

In contrast to a village situation where people are expected to take part in certain communal activities, there are no such communal occasions in the Housing Estate. Each household is expected to be independent and contacts occur only when there is good reason to have them. The participant observer can do little more than perform

activities simultaneously with the neighbours, such as shopping or washing clothes. But these do not provide obvious or easy opportunities to make contact with people other than the immediate neighbours or to share daily activities. The fieldworker must constantly look out for other opportunities to participate in the life of the Estate.

In the first few months I used a questionnaire survey as a justification for entering people's houses and to talk to them. I continued to visit those whom I liked after the first survey. Each day I made a list of people I wanted to visit, most of them women. When walking with a certain purpose in mind, I would grasp any visible opportunity to talk with other people as well, at the shops, in the street or on the doorstep. I regarded any insistent look or a particularly loud jambo, that is hello, as an invitation to stop and talk. It became known that I "did not discriminate: that I was friendly to men, women and children and even liked dogs".

The roles of researcher and friend became thus interrelated. My friends were my most insightful informants, because it was only through frequent personal contact that one could begin to understand each other's interests and overcome barriers to communication. Significantly, my immediate neighbours, those with whom a common doorstep was shared, belonged to my best friends. We talked leisurely after the day's work. This was the case in both the houses, where I lived. On the other hand, the family closest to me lived right at the other end of the Estate. They had already "adopted" me in the first month of my fieldwork. The mother thought of me as her daughter and therefore felt unfree to enter my house, in accordance with the avoidance rules in her culture. The father defended my interests as he would do for his own children. And the five grown-up sons were my much-beloved brothers. One of them has for a long time been an outstanding research assistant.

Other informants varied between good friends, acquaintances and those with whom I had no special personal relationship.

As neighbours and friends, we called upon each other only in times of emergency. Those who were very ill asked to be taken by car to the hospital or private doctor; and only good friends asked for "loans". On the other hand people helped me when I had problems

lighting the jiko, the charcoal stove, when I was ill, or when I had unwanted visitors. Further I attended fundraising dances in the Social Hall, chaperonned by my "brothers", attended funerals and weddings if people informed me about them, and went to Church on Christmas Day, the only day in the year that all the Churches were really full.

Language

Since Kitale's population is composed of many different ethnic groups, it seemed most appropriate to learn the lingua franca, Swahili. Although this language is indeed commonly used in any formal contact with outsiders, it turned out that most domestic and personal conversations were conducted in one of the many vernacular languages. I knew none of these languages.

One of the advantages of participant observation is that the outsider can observe what is happening or what is said while restricting the fact of his physical interference to a minimum. He should be able to observe how people react according to their own conceptions, rather than talk about them in response to questions which express his own conceptions. I was at a disadvantage in this respect, because I was not able to understand what was said in a local language. Had I learned one of the vernacular languages, I would have been able to communicate in a more intensive manner with one group only; having learned Swahili I was able to extend contacts to all groups, but was constrained in other aspects. In particular, it limited my attempts to make a social network study of women. Whenever I observed women with their friends or relatives, I could only ask afterwards, or during a pause in their conversation who their guests were. It was not always tactful to do so, and in any case the replies were selective. Nevertheless, through frequent visiting and by being indiscrete I did get a fairly good idea of the social networks of certain women.

This language issue was one of the causes of my interweaving the roles of researcher and friend to a greater extent perhaps than other researchers do, although most fieldworkers are conscious of the influence of personal relationships on their observations. It was my experience that only when an exchange of affection entered the relationship, people were prepared to make the effort of

expressing their thoughts and feelings in a language which they did not usually use for that purpose and to try to understand my sometimes unorthodox use of that language.

b. The Survey

The sample survey on which this study is based was conducted in two localities, Bondeni and Machinjoni. The card index of the Estate's Rent Office formed the sample base. Bondeni contained at the time of survey, September/October 1970, 505 tenant households, of which 498 households rented one room only, and seven household rented two rooms. A 12% sample of this population yielded 61 households. In Machinjoni a larger sampling fraction was used in order to obtain a suitable sample size. A 30% sample of 96 households yielded 30 households to be interviewed. The housing blocks in Bondeni are identified by a numbers ranging from 1 to 44, which are painted clearly visible on the blocks themselves. The units within each of them are numbered from 1A and B to 8A and B. The units in Machinjoni are numbered from 1 through to 96. The card index for Bondeni is arranged first according to the numbers of housing blocks and then according to the numbers within each of them. The Machinjoni card index runs simply from house 1 to house 96.
I made a list of tenants in the order in which they appeared on the card index. From this I selected each 8th name in Bondeni, starting from a randomly selected name. For Machinjoni I used the same procedure, selecting each third name.
All selected households could be interviewed. In each household certain basic information was asked about both partners, even if only one partner was actually interviewed. This comprised information about ethnic group membership, age, education, employment and income. Basic information was obtained about 80 male heads of household and 84 women, whether wives or female heads of households. It was intended to interview both husband and wife in each household about social attitudes and social relationships, but in the majority of cases this was not possible for a variety of reasons (absence of one of the partners or refusal). Only in 20 cases were both husband and wife available. In total 111 respondents were interviewed about social

attitudes and social relationships, i.e. 50 men and 61 women. Comparisons were made between the 1969 Census and my own survey about the proportions of adults and children in the population; and the proportions of male and female adults. The results, as set out in Table A4, are satisfactory.
My own survey questions and coding procedures were not sufficiently matched to the Census to make further comparisons feasible. For example, although the age of all household members was asked, this information was coded into two categories only, children and adults. Ethnic group membership was asked of the household head and his wife, but the Census gave this information for adults and children together. Similarly, education and employment status was asked of household heads and wives only, omitting such questions about other adult household members. The Census is quite detailed in the educational data, giving educational status by sex and age group, but does not report information on employment status at all.

The questionnaire survey discussed in this study was carried out by ex-secondary school students after they had been trained by me. All completed questionnaires were discussed with the interviewers in order to create a better understanding.

c. The questionnaire

A copy of the questionnaire is included in this Appendix. The questions had been pretested before being included in the final version of the questionnaire. Nevertheless, some items did not yield a sufficient number, or a sufficient variety of responses. These items have been discarded from the analysis. The attitude questions were translated into Swahili, Luhya and Luo by the interviewers beforehand, so that standard translations could be used by all of them.
The method of enquiry used regarding interpersonal relations has its drawbacks. The moment of questioning is arbitrarily chosen by the investigator and therefore presents an unduly static picture. By referring only to the "last" or "second last" time a particular person had been approached, a constraint might be imposed on what

may have been a wide range of social relations. In fact, however, most women mentioned fewer names than the questionnaire allowed for. It is possible that an underestimation of the importance of help from neighbours has occurred, due to the fact that we asked about the present residence of the person who had given help, rather than the residence at the time the help was given. This may have been especially true in the case of illness and confinement, since these may have occurred several months or years prior to the survey.
If on a particular occasion the same person was mentioned twice, i.e. Ego went to the market with A the "last time" and the "time before last", A was only counted once. If on the other hand, two different persons were mentioned for the same occasion, i.e. "last time Ego went to the market with A, but the "time before last" she went with B, two persons were counted.
In general terms, there is support for the reliability of this part of the survey. Where the interviewers or myself already knew the interviewed person, we could usually confirm that the friends or relatives mentioned by her did indeed belong to the respondent's social network, or that she was indeed an isolated or very sociable person, as the interview schedule revealed.
Despite its drawbacks it can be argued that when this survey method of assessing social interaction is expanded and improved, it could be of considerable use as a basis for analysing social relationships and a suitable complement to the case study network method.
The network method, which depends on the presence of the field-worker in the actual situation or on his establishing a confidential relationship with a small number of people, only makes it possible to deal with a few cases at a time. Such case studies should be set within a wider, socio-economic and historical context before their general validity can be demonstrated.

Table A.1. Types of household in sample.

Households with male head	80
Households with female head	11
Total number of households	91

Table A.2. Basic information available

	male household heads	wives and female household heads
Machinjoni	27	32
Bondeni	53	52
Total	80	84

Table A.3. Respondents interviewed

	Men	Women	Total
Machinjoni	17	22	39
Bondeni	33	39	72
Total	50	61	111

Table A.4. Comparison between adult/child ratios and adult male/female ratios observed in 1969 Census and 1971 survey.[x]

	Adults		Children		Total	
	no.s	%	no.s	%	no.s	%
Kitale	6,317	55	5,256	45	11,573	100
Housing Estate	2,982	51	2,834	49	5,816	100
Sample	207	55	168	45	375	100

	Male Adults		Female Adults		Total	
	no.s	%	no.s	%	no.s	%
Kitale	3,893	62	2,424	38	6,317	100
Housing Estate	1,882	63	1,100	37	2,982	100
Sample	121	58	86	42	207	100

[x] 1969 Kenya Population Census, vol.I, Table I, p. 60.

The questionnaire consisted of two parts. The first dealt with information which characterized the household and could be provided by either the husband or wife. One person per household was regarded

as the main respondent, although some answers were checked with the other marriage partner if necessary. This household information regarded questions such as household composition, ethnic group membership, education, employment and income status of both partners. The second part dealt with information characterizing the individual, his interaction patterns and attitudes. Questions relating to these subjects could only be personally asked of the individual in question. The number of respondents for this category of questions is therefore smaller than for the first category of questions.

Among the 91 households 11 had a woman household head. Among the 80 male household heads 50 were staying with their wives in the Housing Estate. Three of them had their second wives with them as well. Basic information is available for 80 men and 64 women (53 wives and 11 women household heads). 58 females and 33 males acted as respondents for household information.

Questions about individual behaviour were answered by 50 men and 61 women. Others were not available to answer these questions either because of temporary absence or refusal. Among 20 couples both husband and wife were interviewed about individual behaviour. In all these cases the wives were the main respondents for the household data.

Table A.5. Respondents for 91 households

	Females	Males
Women household heads	11	30 men living without wives
Wives	47	3 men living with wives
Total	58	33

Table A.6. Availability of basic information about household members

	Females	Males
Women household heads	11	30 men living without wives
First wives	50	50 men living with wives
Second wives	3	
Total	64	80

NOTES

Chapter 1

1. Morgan: pp. 167-177.

2. LeBreton.
Sorrenson: p. 216 and p. 290.

3. Bennett: p. 146.

4. Kitale: 4,344; Kisumu; 5,336; Nakuru: 12,845; Mombasa: 33,548; Nairobi: 64,397. East African Population Census, 1948.

5. Population Census, 1969.

6. In 1962 Eldoret's population was 19,605; in 1969 it was 18,196.

7. Oginga Odinga: pp. 257-259.

8. The 1969 census used slightly different categories, including small related ethnic groups with each major group. Western Bantu include: Luhya, Kisii and Kuria. Central Bantu include: Kikuyu, Meru, Embu, Kamba and Tharaka. Kalenjin or Nilo-Hamitic include: Nandi, Kipsigis Elgeyo, Pokot, Sabaot, Tugen. Instead of mentioning the Gishu separately, all Ugandans are counted together.

9. Barth.

10. Gulliver, Introduction.
Colson, 1968.

11. De Wolf: pp. 12-14. See also Schapera pp. 4-6.

12. Osogo.

13. Osogo.

14. See for the internal hierarchy of Luo and Luhya associations, Parkin: 1966, pp. 90-95.

15. Common economic interests as the raison d'être for cultural and religious exclusiveness of the Hausa, is the theme of Cohen, 1969. The theme of national awareness of Kenyans as foreigners in Uganda is discussed in Parkin, 1969.

16. Report in the East African Standard of 10 January 1972: "Vice-President Daniel arap Moi has warned that undue competition in buying farms in Rift Valley Province between Kalenjin and Kikuyus who negotiate shamba prices with land owners at night was the root cause of soaring land prices. The V.P. speaking to ----- people at ----- Nakuru, advised them that the most effective tool which could curb the present trend of exhorbitant prices of land in the area was unity." See also Bennett, p. 152.

17. Weatherby.

18. Population Census, 1948, 1962.

19. Various programmes have been in operation since 1962 aiming at settling African farmers in former European or scheduled areas. One of the most spectacular was the "one million acre scheme", under which 30.000 small-scale farmers were settled between 1962-1966. Other programmes offered large-scale farms to middle and high income Africans. See Heyer, pp. 35-47. Belshaw, pp. 30-36. Carey Jones, pp.86-202.

20. Oginga Odinga: p. 263.

21. Oginga Odinga: Chapter 12.
Similar conflicts between "strangers" and "natives" over rural ownership rights were a recurrent theme in West African local politics. See Wallerstein, Sklar.

22. An M.P. introduced a motion urging the Government to re-examine all boundary disputes in the country, one of them concerning Kitale. "I know", said the M.P. (who is neither Luhya or Kalenjin), "there is a dispute between the Minister for Co-operatives and Social Services, Mr. Muliro, and the Vice-President, Mr. Moi, as far as Kitale town is concerned". East African Standard, 25 September 1971. The motion was defeated. Mr. Muliro is a Luhya; Mr. Moi is a Kalenjin.

23. East African Standard July, 1, 14, 17, 18, 1963.

24. Report of the Regional Boundaries Commission, 1962.

25. East African Standard, May 13, 1963.

26. Kenya Newsletter, no. 27 (January 15, 1968) and no. 41 (December 31, 1968).

27. Asians in the East African context are persons of Indian/Pakistani origin. At Independence the British passport holders of Asian origin had been given the option of British, Indian, Pakistani or Kenyan citizenship. The majority had rejected Kenyan citizenship. See Ghai and Ghai.

28. Muller: 1972.

29. For Conflict about "ownership" of a town, see also Plotnicov, 1972.

Chapter 11

1. The profit made on the sale of liquor in the Club made up the African Provident Fund which was used to finance social services for the African population in Kitale. The Social Centre was built from this fund.

2. Rooms very in size between 9' x 9' and 17' x 10' (internal measures). House rent in Bondeni is Shs. 50/- and Shs. 60/- per month. Rent in Machinjoni in Shs. 25/- and Shs. 40/- per month (1969/1970).

3. Ross, 1974.

4. Weisner noted that at revisits of the same households during one year 70 per cent of the households altered their form into or out of the nuclear category at least once. See Weisner, p. 13.

5. The presence of relatives outside the nuclear family appears to vary with the type of residential area. In Majengo, an old Swahili-type area of Mombasa, 39 per cent of the households had relatives staying with them, whereas in Tudor, a low-rental Housing Estate, 50 per cent of the households had relatives. The total number of relatives was, however, higher in Majengo. See Stren.

6. Southall and Gutkind: p. 232, table VIII.

7. Pauw: p. 155.

8. Parkin: 1969, pp. 23, 24.

9. Kitale Municipale Council Minutes, 1970.

10. Ross, 1974.

11. A contrast with the periods of residence in Kitale is provided by data for a low-rental Housing Estate in Mombasa, where 58 per cent of the residents had lived for over 10 years; and only 1 per cent for less than one year. See Stren.

12. Epstein, 1967; Little, 1965, Parkin, 1966.

13. The lack of strength of KANU is deplored by many in Kenya. For example John Okumu pp. 9-17. Also Editorial of the Daily Nation August 31, 1971.

Chapter 111

1. The density of the Estate is 1496 per sq. km. compared with an overall figure for Kitale Municipality of 628. A populous area in Nairobi like Maringo has a figure of 30,690. Nairobi has an overall density figure of 734 per sq. km. Kenya population Census, 1969, vol. II.

2. Goffman.

3. Goffman, p. 112.

4. Wagner.

5. cf. Urbanization, sector working paper of the World Bank, 1972.

6. According to our European tradition I had made a "bed-sitter" of my house in the Housing State in which the bed, covered with a bright cloth, drew immediate attention. I was later told that people had thought this a most peculiar arrangement, adding considerably to the confusion about my intentions as a single lady living alone. Most of the prostitutes in the Estate had beautifully embroidered bedspreads, without a curtain to hide them!

7. Boswell, 1964.

8. It is most remarkable that these communal kitchens, have reappeared in Kibera, a Housing Estate in Nairobi built in the 1970's. This urban area was originally settled by Nubian soldiers in the British Army after the first World War. The Nubian type of household composition and style of building characterised the area up till the present day. In the renewal plans for this area it was assumed that the Nubian inhabitants would want a lay-out resembling closely that of their self-built houses. Consequently, the Nairobi City Council built units of eight one-roomed houses surrounding a court yard and sharing one kitchen and toilet/shower. Both the court yard and the kitchen were much smaller than in the original pattern. It happened moreover, that the household units did not move in the same formation as they had existed before, whereas also many "strangers" from other parts of Kenya moved into the renewal scheme. See: Etherton p. 82 for a short history of Kibera. Several inhabitants told me that the communal facilities are intensely disliked and hardly used. This is confirmed in Temple's study.

9. A similar comment is quoted from Sekondi-Takoradi, where a housewife who had to accommodate her eleven-member household in a 2-roomed house said that it was difficult to maintain "decent standards of furnishing and cleanliness" in such circumstances. See Busia.

10. cf. J.C. Caldwell, pp. 172-173.

11. Employment, incomes and equality: a strategy for increasing productive employment in Kenya. I.L.O. report.

12. This has been called "secondary poverty": "the total earnings would suffice the maintenance of merely physical efficiency, were it not that some part of it is absorbed by other expenditure, either useful or wasteful". B.S. Rowntree: A study of townlife. Macmillan, 1901. Quoted by Busia.

13. Goffman: p. 120.

14. Goffman: p. 3, 4.

Chapter IV

1. Goffman: p. 10.

2. International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences.

3. The man himself told me this story several weeks after the incident. He is respected by his neighbours for his calm manner. The woman's husband is generally known as quarrelsome and violent.

4. Communication of one of the husbands concerned.

Chapter V

1. Stacey, 1969, pp. 134-147. Also Dennis.

2. The lack of internal social organisation was also observed in a Nairobi Housing Estate, Kariobangi,. See T.S. Weisner. In contrast, strong social organisation had developed in at least some of the "villages" in Mathare Valley, an unauthorised settlement area in Nairobi. See Hake and Ross.

3. For a recent example of a non-urban approach, see Hanna and Hanna. But see for an attempt to explain urban social structure in terms of variables that may shape any town, regardless of the ethnic particularities common to Africa: 1967 Epstein, pp. 275-295, Rayfield; van Zwanenberg.

4. See for this view on power, Bailey, 1969, passim.

5. Mills: p. 50.

6. The Tribal Court dealt with issues arising in the urban context according to traditional, legal systems. The court consisted of a number of Elders representing the major ethnic groups in the town. Such Courts, which functioned under the Magistrate Courts, existed in many west and central African cities. Cf. Epstein, 1967.

7. The appropriate time to make this change in the system of local political representation was left to the judgement of each municipal authority itself, i.e. to the European and Asian Councillors. Kitale was the last town in Kenya to adjust to this necessary change. Minutes of the Municipal Board, Kitale, 1962.

8. Annual Estimates, Kitale Municipal Council.

9. Local Government (Transfer of Functions) Act, 1969. See also East African Standard, December 12, 1970.

10. Minutes of the Kitale Municipal Council, 1970.

11. Hanna and Hanna, 1967, pp. 175-179. A similar disaffection with the men of politics is shown by a group of poor families in London's East End. The Conservative Government was not popular with these families, but neither were the trade unions or the Labour Party. They had a general dislike of politics. Child Poverty Action Group survey, reported by The Guardian, February 23, 1973.

12. Ross summarizes several variables which affect the sense of community and the strength of community institutions; 1974, pp. 75, ff.

13. Ross, 1974, passim.

14. Werlin introduces the term "elasticity of control" when he writes about degrees of centralization and decentralization within

government administrative systems. Werlin, 1974, Chapter I. "Elasticity of control exists when leaders... delegate specific responsibilities to subordinate officials or governmental units without relinquishing their supervisory accountability." I would extend this type of control to include non-government units. This may be difficult to achieve in the Kenyan context. When the Kenyan Government banned the Kenya Landlords Association and the Kenya Tenants Association, the Attorney-General's office "warned that no society in Kenya will be allowed to take over the functions of the Government". Uganda Argus, February 5, 1972. For further exposition of this point of view see: Collins, Muller and Safier, 1975.

Chapter VI.

1. Parkin, 1969, p. 65.

2. Boswell, 1967.

3. See for example Festinger, Schachter and Back's study which shows the influence of position of houses and staircases on social relations.

4. This statement is based upon personal communication from Nici Nelson. Ms. Nelson conducted 60 in-dept interviews with women during research in Mathare Valley in 1973-4.

5. In another questionnaire I asked respondents how often they visited their relatives and friends in Kitale. All friends were seen at least once a week. In contrast some relatives were hardly ever visited, even when they lived near the respondent. This is an indication of the distinction people make between these two social categories.

6. In Kisenyi, a low-income suburb in Kampala, it was also noted that not all relatives living in Kampala were cited as friends. See Southall, 1961, pp. 217-229.

7. Greenberg makes the distinction between language as means of communication and as means to indicate ethnic identity. It is interesting that Kenyans use the same terminology, saying "Swahili is for communication only". Greenberg, 1965, pp. 50-60.

8. In another questionnaire, not discussed here, respondents were asked where they considered to be "home". The majority of women regarded their husband's village as their home, though some mentioned their parents' village. Kitale was not mentioned as "home", except in the few cases where women had grown up in Kitale and their parents were still living there. The main distinction made in the present context is between Kitale and any home-village situation.

9. The status and role fo women in East Africa, p. 2.

10. Plotnicov also looks at the strong feeling attached to "home" as a psychological mechanism that enables people to prepare themselves against adversity in town. Plotnicov, 1970.

11. Ferraro found in one area in Nairobi that between 55 and 75 per cent of the women had no economic exchange relations with relatives, whereas the majority had recreational contacts with relatives.

Chapter VII.

1. Similar observations about solidarity of neighbours and quarrels in a working class area are made by van Rijswijk-Clerkx.

Chapter VIII

1. Exceptions are Abu-Lughod and Bopegamage.

2. Exception is Hino who distinguishes between neighbours in a court yard, those in one street and those living in one parish of a mosque. Clément also makes similar distinctions.

3. Bryce-Laporte; Luig; Aldous; Ablon; Pearse;

4. Jacobson.

5. Vestbro, Chapters 10, 11, 12 and 17.

6. Abu-Lughod, 1961-62, p. 29.

7. Vestbro, p. 117.

8. Having to share toilets with neighbours was also mentioned by residents of Mulago, Kampala, as a problem. See Gutkind, 1960.

9. Hino, 1971, pp. 1-30.

10. Gutkind, 1960.

11. Vestbro, p. 120.

12. Anderson, 1972, pp. 141-150.

13. Peattie, p. 57.

14. Kuper, pp. 43-48, 65-66, 112. The inherent ambivalence of norms which regulate both the social and anti-social forces in social interaction has been discussed by van der Veen.

15. Kuper, pp. 11-26.

16. Stacey, 1960, pp. 105-106.

17. Luig; Clément; Hellmann; Young and Willmott, 1962; Suttles. Other studies showing similar trends in Western working class areas are, for example, Wilmott, 1963; Gans; Pfeil. For a warning against the bias in the proximity model, see Bleiker.

18. Clément, p. 439, ff.

19. Hellmann, pp. 88-89.

20. Wolf's distinction between emotional and instrumental friendship is similar, but different from the "working relationship" as used in the present study: "In an instrumental friendship each member of the dyad acts as a potential connecting link to other persons outside the dyad". The "working relationship" involves only the persons immediately participating in it. Wolf, pp. 10-13.

21. Cohen, 1969.

22. Pons, 1969, pp. 75-81.

23. See Boswell's discussion of the changing composition of the effective and extended parts of a social network. Boswell, 1969.

24. Mitchell, 1969.

25. Mitchell, 1956; Epstein, 1958; Pons, 1969.

26. Parkin, 1969, Chapter III.

27. Gans, p. 24.

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HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

NAME _____ Date _____ Interviewer _____ No. _____

Address _____

1. How many people are living in this room? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

2a. Household Head M/F
1 2

2.

	Relationship to Household head					Sex		Age							
Husband	wife	child	Relatives		Unrelated	M	F	-16	16-24	25-30	31-45	46-60	60 +	Permanent	Visitor
			Husband's	wife's											
0	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2
	1														
	2														
	3														
	4														
	5														
	6														
	7														
	8														
	9														

3. (If wife not in the house).
Where does your wife stay?
1. unmarried
2. widow
3. at husband's home
4. at her parents' home
5. elsewhere (specify)_____

4. Do you have a shamba in Kitale? YES/NO
5. Do you have your own land at home? YES/NO
6. Have you already built your own house at home? YES/NO
7. Have you bought a scheme near Kitale? YES/NO

8.

	None	unskil. empl.	unskil. self empl.	skil. empl.	skil. self empl.	Profess. empl.	Profess. self empl.	domestic servants	clerical	unemployed
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Husband's occupation										
Occupation of 1e wife										
2e wife										

9.

	None	-160/-p.m.	160-199/-	200-299/-	300/-399/-	400-499/-	500-999/-	1000-2000/-	2000 +
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Husband's income									
1e wife's income									
2e wife's income									

10.

	None	S.P.	C.P.	S.S.	T.S.	C.S.	Other
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Education of Husband							
1 wife							
2 wife							

12. How many children do you have?_____
13. How many children are still dependent on you?_____
14. Which ones of these children are in school and which ones are not?

	NAME	SEX	AGE	NOW IN SCHOOL?	SCHOOL LEVEL REACHED
1.					
2.					
3.					
4.					
5.					
6.					
7.					
8.					
9.					
10.					
11.					

11.

Tribe	Luo	Lulya	Kikuyu	Teso	Nandi	Gishu	Nubian	Turkana	Other
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Husband									
1e wife									
2e wife									

16. (FOR MEN). What is your name? _____

ALL:

17. Where is your home? DISTRICT _____

18. Where were you born? VILLAGE/TOWN _____ DISTRICT _____

19. When did you come to Kitale for the first time? (visit of 1 month or more). Year _____ Month _____

20. Have you left Kitale since that first time? YES / NO

a. If YES when did you start living here again? Year _____ Month _____

1. less than 6 months ago
2. 6 - 12 months ago
3. 1 - 3 years ago
4. 4 - 6 years ago
5. 7 - 9 years ago
6. 10 and more than 10 years ago _____
7. born in Kitale

21. Have you lived in other towns than Kitale? YES / NO

In which towns? _____

In which town did you stay the longest? _____ How long? _____

22. When did you start to live in this room?

1. Less than 6 months ago
2. 6 - 12 months ago
3. 1 - 3 years ago
4. 4 - 6 years ago
5. more than 6 years ago

23. Where did you live before? _____

_____

_____

24. Do you like to live in Bondeni/Machinjoni? YES /NO

Why do you like it/ do you not like it? _____

_____

_____

_____

26. WOMEN: Do you think Bordeni/Machinjoni is a good place for bringing up children? YES / NO

Why do you say so _____

_____

_____

a. Which would be a better place? _____

Why _____

_____

_____

I would like to ask you a few things about your friends.

Who is the best friend you have? Where does he/she live? (name of the town; at home; part of Kitale; block number). Is he/she related to you?

If YES how are you related? Of which tribe? In which year did you become friends? How often do you meet each other?

FOR MEN: where does your friend work? What type of work does he do?

Who else is your friend? (ETC. ETC)

	NAME	RESIDENCE	RELAT. YES/NO	TRIBE	YEAR	HOW OFTEN	WORK PLACE	TYPE WORK
1								
2								
3								
4								
5								
6								
7								
8								

	YES/NO	NAME	1 x W	1x2/3W	1xM	1 x2i.	F x Y	NEVER
- Do you go to Church?								
- Are you member of KANU? Do you go to meetings?								
- Are you a member of Trade Union? Do you go to meetings?								
- Are you a member of a women's club? Do you go to meetings?								
- Are you a member of any other organisation?								

Name ..... Bondeni ..... No.....

Machinjoni .....

Interviewer ..... Date .....

Ego's RELATIVES

Do any of your own relatives (people related to your father/mother in-laws) stay with you in the same house/in Bond/Machin./other part of the Location/other part of Kitale/Nashambani?
(visits of longer than 4 weeks)
Mention 5 people in each category if possible, starting with the most closely related persons.

NAME	M F SEX	RELATIONSHIP	TO MEET HOW OFTEN PER WEEK/MONTH	OCCUPATION husband	
					SAME HOUSE
					BOND. MACHEN.
					ESTATE
					KITALE
					NASHAMBANI

29. (WOMEN) Do you spend often during the year some time at home? YES/NO

30. ALL: When did you last make a visit to home? Month_____ Year_____

1. less than 3 months ago
2. 4 - 6 months ago
3. 7 - 12 months ago
4. 1 - 2 years ago
5. 3 - 4 years ago
6. 5 and more than 5 years ago

31. Why did you go?_____

_____

32. How long did you stay?

1. less than 1 week
2. 1 week
3. 2 weeks
4. 3 weeks
5. 4 weeks
6. between 1 and 2 months
7. more than 2 months

33. When did you go before that last visit? Month_____ Year _____

34. When was the last time that a person from home came to visit you?

Month _____ Year_____

1. less than 3 months ago
2. 4 - 6 months ago
3. 7 - 12 months ago
4. 1 - 2 years ago
5. more than 2 years ago

35. Who came? (relationship)_____

36. How long did he/she stay?

1. less than 1 week
2. 1 week
3. 2 weeks
4. 3 weeks
5. 4 weeks
6. 1 - 2 months
7. more than 2 months

37. Who came before that last visitor? (relationship)_____

When? Month _____ Year _____

38. Some people LIKE to have visitors from home, others DO NO LIKE it. What about you?

Why? _____

_____

39. MEN: Do you send money home? YES/NO
To whom? (relationship) _____ And also to someone else?_____
How often do you usually send money home? _____.

1. once a week
2. few times a month
3. once a month
4. once in 2 (after every 2 months)
5. a few times a year
6. once a year

40. When was the last time you send money home? Month_____ Year _____
And before that? Month_____ Year _____

41. ALL: Where do you feel you are more respected, in KITALE or AT HOME?
Why do you think this is so? _____

42. Where do you have more friends, in KITALE or AT HOME?
Why do you think this is so? _____

43. Do you know the name of some of the Town Councillors? YES / NO
If YES, who do you know? _____

b. Do you know any of them personally? (tick off)
c. Did you ever talk about a problem with one of the Councillors? YES/NO
If YES, what kind of problem? To which Councillor?.....

If NO, why do you not talk about your problems with one of the Councillors?.....

SOCIAL ATTITUDES

1. Some people say:it is better to have someone of your OWN TRIBE as your neighbour.Others say:it DOES NOT MATTER of which tribe your
a. neighbour is.What would you say?Why do you say so?

2. Some people say:MOST people engage in backbiting around here. Others say:FEW people around here take part in backbiting.What
a. would you say?Why do you say so?

3. Some people say:neighbours should borrow FREELY from each other. Others say:neighbours should borrow AS LITTLE as possible from
a. each other.What would you say?Why do you say so?

b. Do you think most people around here think like you do or only A few? Why? MOST FEW DK

c. Thinking about home,would you say that people there should borrow FREELY from each other or should borrow as LITTLE as possible? Probe:is there any difference in this respect between home and here in the Housing Estate?If yes,how;if no,is it exactly the same?

d. If any of your neighbours would borrow very freely from others/ never borrow (opposite of respondants opinion),what would you really think about him?

e. What would you say or do to him? (how would you let him know that you do not like his behaviour?)

Probe and if answer is DK.What would other people really think about him;what would others say or do to him?

4. Some people say:SEVERAL people steal from each other around here. Others say:FEW people steal from each other around here.What would
a. you say?Why do you say so?

5. Some people say:people around here should keep THEMSELVES TO THEMSELVES.Others say:people around here should be SOCIAL to
a. everybody.What would you say?Why?

b. Do you think that most people around here think like you do or few? MOST FEW DK

5.c. Thinking about home,would you say that people there should keep THEMSELVES TO THEMSELVES or should they be SOCIAL to everybody? Probe:Is there any difference in this respect between home and the Housing Estate?If yes,how;If no,is it exactly the same?.....

d.If one of your neighbours would keep very much to himself/be ~~be extremely~~ social (opposite of respondent's opinion),what would you really think about him?.....

e.What would you say or do to him (to let him know you did not like his behaviour?.....

Probe and if answer is DK.What would other people think about him; d o or say to him?.....

6. Some people say:when you see people drinking chang'aa one should INFORM the police.Others say:one should NOT inform the police.What a.would you say?Why do you say so?.....

b.Do you think most people around here think like you do or only a few?
MOST FEW DK

c.When thinking about home,would you say people there should INFORM the police or should NOT INFORM the police?Probe:is there any difference in this respect between home and the Housing Estate? If yes,how;if no,is it exactly the same?.....

d. If one of your neighbours would inform the police/not inform the police (opposite of respondent's opinion),what would you really think about him?.....

e.What would you say or do to him to let him know you do not like his behaviour?.....

Probe and if answer is DK.What would others really think about him; say or do to him?.....

8. Some people say:when your neighbour shouts for help at night,it is better NOT TO GO OUT to help him.Others s ay:it is better to GO OUT to help him.What would you say?Why do you say so?

9. Some people say:there is a LOT OF WITCHCRAFT around here.Others say:there is very LITTLE WITCHCRAFT around here.What would you say? Why do you say so?

10. Some people say:when people are fighting,it is better to call the WAZEE WA MTAA.Others say:it is better to call the POLICE. What would you say?Why do you say so?

Do you know the Wazee wa Mtaa of Bondeni (or:of Machinjoni?)

	Name	Since when	Which block/ Area she lives	Rela-tive	Tribe	Where works her husband	Job	Remarks
1. Market								
2. Ill								
3. Baby								
4. Buyer								
5. Care								
6. Money								

Name

Bandani

Machinjoni