PLANNING IN MULTICULTURAL URBAN COMMUNITIES: THE EASTLEIGH NORTH CASE

By

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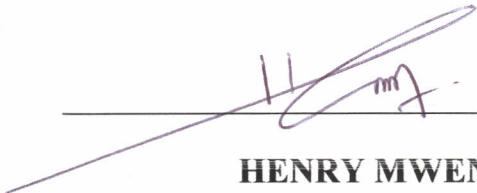# DECLARATION

This Research Project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

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This Research Project has been submitted for examination with our approval as the principal University supervisors.

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DEDICATION

This research is dedicated to my loving daughter,
Jennifer.

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ABSTRACT

Aside from the characteristic urban pattern of high, middle, and low-income areas, Nairobi's postcolonial landscape is also layered by localities with predominant ethnic communities. With over fifty ethnic communities in Kenya, Nairobi as the primary urban locality has sections exhibiting variant cultural styles in built landscape and activities producing multiple identities of place. Eastleigh North, a locality situated 15km north of the Central Business District is one such area, represented by all Kenyan ethnicities and emerging as an enclave to members of the Somali community.

This study explores how the context of cultural shifts in Eastleigh North have influenced and determined the spatial landscape of the area. The spatiality of culture and the built environment has origins as an Asian suburb in pre-independence Nairobi and later as a multiethnic locality. Today, the majority of its population constitutes members of the Somali community who have transformed what was once a residential area into a thriving commercial district.

Using a multidimensional approach involving segregation measurement, household interviews, in depth discussion and mapping we differentiate cultural manifestations in the built environment based on ethnicity. Outcomes from the study reveal that diversity in Eastleigh North can be conceptualized in four significant ways; ethnic, religious, economic and social. The implications of which are, planning for multicultural communities should embrace cultural

difference as a valid organizing force and where possible, given legitimacy without compromising the need for overall common good. The study suggests that ethnic enclave formation should be considered for its positive attributes although planning intervention may be needed to prevent total exclusion. The study also outlines how public spaces such as streets, pavements, and parks can seriously influence multicultural engagement and inclusion.

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CHAPTER ONE

1.   INTRODUCTION

Rural to urban migration over the last century and more recently natural urban increase has seen the largest shift in the movement of persons living in urban areas changing from 10% in 1900, to 30% in 1950 and 48% by 2000. This ratio is expected to reach 60% by 2030 (UNHABITAT, 2004/5). Sub-Saharan Africa is the least urbanized region and thus the focus of anticipated urban growth today expecting an urban majority by 2030. One of the outcomes of more urbanization is communities are becoming more multiethnic, multicultural, and diverse in terms of their populations and its impacts to both the spatial environment and human activities. The primary challenges facing Sub-Saharan Africa in terms of urbanization include; lack of adequate housing, provision of basic infrastructure and employment opportunities. With the majority of the world's cultural groups, cultural diversity is hardly given any significance as a causative factor of urban spatial growth. The state of towns and cities is presently characterized by ethicized slums and a postcolonial stratification as in the case of Nairobi (Akumu and Olima, 2006), (Macoloo, 1998). This study explores issues arising out of cultural spatial impacts in multicultural urban communities.

One of the reasons advanced for development failure in least developing countries is their conceptualization of cities under the fallacy of under-differentiation (Verhelst, 2003). This is said to give scant regard to cultural

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diversity and instead places emphasis on economic functionalism or classical economics characterized by a capitalist logic that reduces culture to economic units. Verhelst adds that development in Africa is dis-embedded as a result, where people are objects and not actors of development. This directly influences development programs where people feel alienated and as a result do not support it.

It is a held assumption that cultures will or should metabolism into a dominant hegemony that determines society's rules, practices, and norms. This assumption has been proved wrong with rising interfaith and interethnic tensions common in many parts of the world. Today there are attempts at addressing and capitalizing on the multifaceted nature of our urban societies. With African cities grappling with issues arising out of their multiethnic and multifaith characters, new thinking states suggest that multicultural context of cities can also present opportunities in terms of capitalizing on cultural capital by creating unique products and services and in localizing and celebrating difference (UNHABITAT, 2004/5).

If the world is to reach the millennium development goals and ultimately eradicate poverty, it needs to confront the challenge of how to build more culturally inclusive societies (UNDP, 2004). Spatially, this has a number of implications for urban planning practice and theory that have long operated under the concept of representing "universal interests" whereas in reality competing and divergent interests represent real and valid needs that need to be

looked into (Wallace, 1999). There are those who suggest that planning should adopt a more multidimensional approach that looks at society through a "multiple public" perspective that provides for more inclusive cities and allows for participation and equity to all groups within the society (Amin, 1999).

One reason for this new thinking is that multicultural societies may not assimilate naturally, as neoconservative economic approaches may suggest. Groups are sometimes very different from each other in terms of language, race, ethnicity, religion, phenotype, and others to form a common value system or way of life. Sometimes open resentment may result in the relocation of some groups out of an area while in some cases, xenophobia and crime will result (Kottak, 2003). To some people apprehension and what Amin (2002) calls "fear of the other" presents real societal challenges to living in multicultural communities and may manifest spatially in the contestation of space; in housing access; in employment opportunities; and in other consumption activities.

Ethnic stratification in Nairobi for instance did not vanish with the independence city and in fact is still evident based on initial colonial zoning ordinances (Olima, 2001) (Hirst et al, 1994). The first physical plan for Nairobi in 1948 was faced with the challenge of separating race based on cultural diversity through "particularizing" land uses for each community although it was found simpler to define them as three units; African, Asian and European (NMPCC, 1948). The Metropolitan Growth Strategy that succeeded it in 1973

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was never implemented because, as some have argued, it lacked a clear planning strategy (Obudho, 2000). The governing principle for urbanization was functionalism, land use strata as a means for industrial growth and income (class) stratification with hardly any recognition given to cultural diversity (Hirst, 1994).

Today, the issue of multicultural inclusion has gained increasing importance in contemporary debate in urban development and its impact on socioeconomic and the built landscape of the city (UNHABITAT 2005). Advancement in this area is influenced by the increase in international migration that has resulted in negative impacts like segregation, deprivation, lack of minority rights, economic inequities, social barriers, and xenophobia (Semprebon, 2004, Sivaraj, 2003, Amin, 2002). Some countries have attempted to institute measures to address these impacts by way of either encouraging the other or at the other extreme, excluding the other (Semprebon, 2004). Canada for instance adopted multiculturalism as a policy in 1971 and made it an Act of Parliament in 1988. Other countries that made similar strides include Singapore, Australia, and more recently the city of Rotterdam (Semprebon, 2004). Most African governments on the other hand have an apprehension for tribe and ethnicity based policies that are wrongly perceived as a cause rather than a symptom of social disorder (Lucy Carr, 1995). This is against recent studies that show that negative ethnic salience arises out of disproportionate access to economic and political resources rather than a multiplicity of tribes (Bannon, 2004).

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Based on literature available, multicultural policies appear to have three aims; one is to allow everyone equal access to services and opportunities; the second is to promote and encourage tolerance between groups while the third is to capitalize on the latent resources of culture as an asset and means of empowerment communities (Burayidi, 2000, Clayton, 2004, Rapoport, 1977, Amin, 2002, Friedmann, 2005). It is also important to acknowledge that issues dealing with multiculturalism as it has been called are not only planning related but encompass diverse fields such as sociology, economics, anthropology, politics, immigration, citizenship, international relations, philosophy, law philosophy amongst others. Multicultural issues are a planning issue because they concern with demography and any shift in demographic profiles of society implies the need for consideration on the part of planners (Wallace, 1999). Secondly, spatial outcomes occur because of cultural shifts and represented in commercial activities, architecture, household sizes, recreational spaces, identity, and sense of belonging.

1.1. Problem Statement

Eastleigh North has had the dichotomous perception by local media as the good and the bad place to be. It is sometimes presented as a place of commercial opportunities for shopping and retail supplies while at the same time it is presented as unpredictable and chaotic where criminal gangs and other social ills occur unrestrained. To some, Eastleigh North is their "Somali Town" due to a strong network of Somalis residing there while to others, it is

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the place "taken over". From a contextual basis, the history of Eastleigh North like most of Nairobi is one laden with multicultural spatial manifestations beginning as an Asian/Arab locality during the colonial period to a mixed ethnic area encompassing different Kenyan communities after independence to what is now an unofficial Somali refugee receiving area who have been migrating there after the collapse of the Somali state in late eighties and early nineties.

Its spatial character has been determined in part, by who dominates the area and as a result has led to new cultural forms and transformations marked by cultural nuances of the residing communities. The emerging character of Eastleigh North shows signs of ethnic segregation with visible signs of contestations amongst groups resulting in both opportunities and barriers to housing and economic markets.

Regionally, Eastleigh North has transformed from a residential neighborhood to a major business hub that extends beyond Kenya's borders and is an important revenue source for both the central and local governments. The built form likewise has transformed from Asian style low-density residential bungalows to high-density apartment blocks with increased development of large shopping malls with new architectural styles, tenure types and activities.

In response to the above changes, the city authorities have commercialized certain sections, increased residential densities, readjusted plot ratios, and

widened roads with little reference to land use activities by cultures or evidence of ethnic enclave formation. This study therefore attempts to answer the following question: How is multicultural diversity manifested in Eastleigh North with regard to land uses and what are the planning implications?

1.2. Research Questions

The aim of the study was to answer how cultural differences manifest in the appropriation and use of space and how this can inform the practice of planning. To answer the question we established the following questions:-

1. Who are the salient cultural groups in Eastleigh North?

2. To what extent are groups demographically and socially different?

3. What form of spatial diversity occurs within the community?

4. How is land appropriated by different groups?

5. How is land use activities associated to particular groups?

6. What are the major challenges arising out of multicultural diversity in Eastleigh?

7. How can planning respond to these challenges?

1.3. Study Objectives

To answer the above questions we established the following objectives to carry out the research.

1. Explore the nature of multicultural diversity manifested in Eastleigh North

2. Determine how land uses are appropriated, utilized, and negotiated.

3. Describe the dominant factors driving change in the area.

4. Demonstrate the relevance of these factors to planning in Eastleigh North.

1.4.   Study Assumptions

1. The study assumes that the built landscape, characterized by residential character and socioeconomic activities are influenced by multicultural diversity.

2. The study also acknowledges that other factors such as central urban policy and planning have contributed to the overall physical character of the area.

3. The study makes assumptions that all Somalis are members of a distinct ethno-cultural group although there are differences between them most notably nationality; some being Kenyan Non Somali nationals while others are refugees.

1.5.   Justification of the Study

This study aims to add to the growing knowledge on the causative effects of cultures on urban spatial forms and planning. Worldwide interest in this area has gained increased attention both by government and civil society alike

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especially in the urban locale where its conflicts are most manifested. Eastleigh North provides an interesting study area to understand both these impacts and the way they are ameliorated because of its multicultural diversity. It should be noted that while we highlight a case of refugee influx, the essential essence to the study is not their alien nature but the culturally induced spatial outcomes.

1.6.   Significance of the study

This study is significant in that Eastleigh North has had contrasting media and social discourse since the arrival of the Somali and other foreigners in the nineties. This has resulted in changes to its spatial character, social fabric and built form. The changes we argue are of a multicultural nature and are interplayed in the spatial appropriation and use of land. The area forms a suitable study area due to the level of cultural salience exhibited between the existing population and the incoming group. The differences are both markedly evident among visitors to Eastleigh and in the socioeconomic and built landscape. Eastleigh North also represents the most visible concentration of Somali's in Nairobi. Physical planning encompasses the attainment of social goals like equity, common good (public interest), and community participation. The study is relevant in that it investigates the effectiveness in attainment of these goals by the use of the physical design process. The study nonetheless does not imply a conceptualization of another substantive area of planning like "social planning" or "environmental planning" by urban planners, but a new consciousness among planners on the perceivable force multicultural groups

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bring to urban communities and the resultant challenges posed for planning practice (Wallace, 1999). The study can therefore inform and spur similar studies in other urban areas of this country, inform planning practice on ethnic enclaving and the creation of cultural districts and industries, benefit divergent groups, provide alternatives and approaches to upgrading slums or addressing needs of marginalized groups.

1.7.   Scope of the Study

Eastleigh North has an agglomeration of over 50 ethnic and racial groups with diverse or similar cultural practices. Our examination of multicultural differences in this regard can be very confusing especially due to the epistemological depth that culture entails. This study is not about culture per se although the impact of cultural diversity forms the key interest and variable. Our use of culture is limited to broad classifications or categorizations and especially with respect to the incoming "foreign" group. Cultural impacts are highlighted and examined where there is strong evidence of its salient nature. A more detailed appreciation of multicultural communities is thus not emphasized as that is better covered in other social sciences.

Similarly, the study is not about international migration or refugee issues, which are a sensitive issue within government and society at large. While the study investigates multicultural impacts arising out of the increase in Somali migrants (refugees) into the area, it does not question their validity nor go to the extent of examining the circumstances or reasons for their arrival. Neither

does the study seek to examine the socio-spatial nature of Somali's at their home country to provide comparative analysis for discussion. The study simply assumes the Somali as an ethnocultural entity entering and integrating within an existing population.

The study is divided into the following chapters: - Chapter 1 is the introductory section and includes background to the study, problem statement, research objectives, assumptions and methodology. Chapter 2 contains a review of literature, which includes a section on the Somali culture. Chapter 3 is a background to Eastleigh North from a historical perspective up to the present. Chapter 4 presents findings from the household survey on multicultural diversity. Chapter 5 follows with findings from the spatial and built environment. Chapter 6 discusses planning implications arising. This is followed by planning recommendations and a summary of all issues.

1.8.   Research Methodology

This study's main aim is exploring the spatial dynamics of cultural diversity within Eastleigh North. With the absence locally based studies, the research is essentially exploratory in nature and hopes to inform further research or interest in the topic. Emerging approaches to research in multicultural planning lend themselves to exploratory study using qualitative approaches to listen to informants and to build a picture based on ideas by groups (Lee, 2002).

The study employs a comparative approach and uses techniques from ethnography, which measure the degree of segregation by one group to the rest.

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The key unit of analysis is groups defined by ethnicity but may also include other types of groups as the study permits. The study proceeds by defining the Somali as a proportion of the community – defined as Non Somali. Other significant groups are identified through census data and where there are spatial impacts, these are noted in the study outcomes.

The study uses census data to describe the composition of groups within the community. Quantitative data is obtained through a household survey to describe characteristics of groups and to provide a comparative analysis. A field survey is undertaken to that involves qualitative interviews, observation, photography and mapping of groups, or and their locations.

1.9.   Sampling Frame

Ethnic composite data per enumeration area for the 1999 national census was obtained with permission from the Director of the Central Bureau of Statistics. The enumeration area is the smallest division for measuring census data in Kenya. . Statistical analysis of the CBS data showed strong evidence of segmentation by members of the Somali community with some enumeration areas having proportions of 80% while some had no Somali presence.

In 1999, 27,005 out of 65,541 persons living in the area classified themselves as Somali by clan or tribe representing 41.2% of the total population at the time (CBS, 1999 Census). The second and third most dominant categories then by ethnicity were the Kikuyu with 10,655 persons and the Kamba with 6,741 persons at 16.3% and 10.3% respectively. Fifty-

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eight ethnic, racial or national categories were listed in the census data report

with the Somali grouped under Eastern Hamitic, which comprises seven ethnic

categories. We make assumption that even though this category refers them as

Kenyan, there were indications that the people enumerated were also foreign

Somali's (see Horst, 2001).

Table 1: List of represented ethnic groups in Eastleigh North

Tribe	Total	%	Tribe	Total	%
Total Population	65541	100.0			
Somali So Stated	16168	24.7	Ugandans	118	0.2
Kikuyu	10655	16.3	Kipsigis	117	0.2
Kamba	6741	10.3	Kalenjin	108	0.2
Ogaden	4991	7.6	Gosha	100	0.2
Other Africans	3615	5.5	Indians	100	0.2
Luo	2993	4.6	Pokomo	94	0.1
Luhyia	2654	4.0	Gabra	94	0.1
Hawyah	2365	3.6	Swahili Shirazi	78	0.1
Gurreh	2067	3.2	Basuba	70	0.1
Meru	1719	2.6	Other Asians	70	0.1
Kisii	1233	1.9	Kuria	62	0.1
Degodia	961	1.5	Kenyan European	57	0.1
Boran	916	1.4	Tharaka	51	0.1
Other Kenyans	880	1.3	Keiyo	50	0.1
Mbeere	784	1.2	Teso	49	0.1
Orma	745	1.1	Taveta	40	0.1
Embu	738	1.1	Turkana	37	0.1
Tanzanians	500	0.8	Samburu	36	0.1
Kenyan Asians	391	0.6	Bon Sanye	35	0.1
Taita	382	0.6	Pokot	32	0.0
Bajuni	357	0.5	Other Europeans	30	0.0
Ajuran	353	0.5	Marakwet	28	0.0
Kenyan Arabs	337	0.5	Rendile	27	0.0
Not Stated	334	0.5	Pakistani	25	0.0
Others	290	0.4	Dorobo	21	0.0
Miji Kenda	282	0.4	Sabaot	19	0.0
Arabs	250	0.4	Njemps	13	0.0
Masai	141	0.2	British	11	0.0
Nandi	121	0.2	Tugen	6	0.0

Source: CBS 1999. Somali groups comprise the following shaded groups

Of the above classification, most Somali were grouped under the category 'Somali-so-stated', the relevance of the 'so-stated' phrase emphasizing the nature of the Somali community. In Mike Mosedale's article "The Mall of Somalia" (2004) he writes that although Somalis have deep divisions based on their clans and sub-clans affiliations, these associations are seldom spoken of openly to outsiders. Somali's will say simply "we are all one Somali community". Further discussions with CBS officials revealed that the Ajuran, Degodia, Gurreh, Hawiyah, Gosha and Ogaden are also Somali clans or sub tribes.

Purposeful sampling was used to justify sample clusters using enumerated area data. Purposeful sampling allows a researcher to use cases that have the required information needed with respect to the objectives of the study (Mugenda and Mugenda, 2003). Four enumeration clusters were selected based on the following criteria:-

1. A cluster with high Somali population as a percentage of its cluster.

2. Two clusters with the most assimilated population. Based on the total Somali population at 41.2%, a cluster closely matched this figure may also be assumed to be naturally assimilated.

3. A cluster without any Somali presence

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1.10.   Household Survey

A structured questionnaire was administered to the heads of households or their spouses on a weekend where it was assumed that most would be present. Fifteen households were targeted in each enumeration cluster for a total of sixty households with a total population count of 273 persons. The survey initially faced difficulty and resistance in some households during the trial phase. A number of persons feigned language ignorance or flatly refused to be interviewed. Assistance was sought from off-duty census officials who were familiar to the area and were able to gain access to households by displaying their identification badges. Apparently, we came to learn that the Somali are very eager not to offend government officials.

The questionnaire sought to establish descriptive responses that can inform the study on the group characteristics. The first part contained demographic responses such as age, number in household, length of stay, expenditure, and education levels. The second section involved a more open section where they were to give their opinions regarding satisfaction, problems in the area and reason for staying.

1.11.   Field Survey

The field survey was undertaken to gather qualitative data using open-ended interviews with business people, hawkers; property owners; garbage collectors; business and social associations, government and the local authority. This is in line with Burayidi's (2000) call for qualitative in-depth analysis to compliment

conventional data collection methods. The survey sought to establish the spatial localities by groups or activities through a mapping exercise. The survey was also used to document histories of the area, nature of appropriation and problems or issues associated to places or activities.

1.12.   Data Analysis

Codification of quantitative data was done using SPSS version 11 and Excel where charts and tables were created using both descriptive and inferential techniques. Perceptions and opinions were categorization and coded into Likert Scale of measurements. Qualitative data was analyzed using content analysis based on historical present circumstances and documented as spatial appropriation characteristics and land use impacts. Segregation maps were generated with ArcGIS 9 and Map Maker 3.5 based on census data. Other maps, plates, and illustrations were formatted using CorelDraw 13, Google SketchUp and Corel Photo Paint.

1.13.   Study Limitations

The study was limited by access to secondary data from official sources. This was exacerbated by reluctant local and government officials at the local level and to some extent at the planning offices. The nature of data in colonial Kenya was explicit in ethno-cultural categorization of populations providing a rich repertoire of information while that of postcolonial Kenya tends to avoid its reality mentioning the general terms like African, Asian and European that makes many studies lack conceptual clarity. The internet was used widely as a

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result and was a crucial source for downloading relevant articles, journals, and thesis by other researchers.

The study was also limited in reporting the extent of diversity as manifested within the population due to time constraints and resources. Some of these include the gender impacts, and other ethnic differences. It is hoped that the study provides reason for further research in the area.

1.14. Definition of Key Terms

The following definitions are mainly derived from Kottak (2003) and Kottak and Kozaitis (1999).

1. Assimilation: is the incorporation of migrants into society through a one sided process of adaptation where migrants are expected to give up their distinctive linguistic, cultural or social characteristics and become indistinguishable from the majority population.

2. Culture: Traditions and customs that govern behavior and beliefs; distinctly human; transmitted through learning.

3. Diaspora: The offspring of an area who have spread to many lands.

4. Globalization: The accelerating interdependence of nations in a world system linked economically and through mass media and modern transportation systems.

5. Hegemony: A stratified social order in which subordinates comply with domination by internalizing its values and accepting naturalness.

6. Integration: implies that immigrant groups will cease to be distinctive in culture and behavior over time, though it considers adaptation as a two way process in which majority and minority groups learn from each other and take on aspects of each other's culture.

7. Market principle: Profit-oriented principle of exchange that dominates in states, particularly industrial states. Goods and services are bought and determined by supply and demand.

8. Massification: Production and marketing aimed at a relatively undifferentiated mass market or audience.

9. Multiculturalism: recognizes a multiplicity of legitimate cultural cores, or centers; by acknowledging cultural criteria as a source of group formation and by promoting democratization and equity among groups.s

10. Phenotype: An organism's evident traits, its "manifest biology" – anatomy and physiology.

11. Pluralism: which holds that ethnic and racial difference should be allowed to thrive, so long as such diversity does not threaten dominant values and norms.

12. Postmodern: In its most general sense, describes the blurring and breakdown of established canons (rules, standards), categories, distinctions, and boundaries.

13. Refugees: People who have been forced (involuntary refugees) or who have chosen (voluntary refugees) to flee a country, to escape persecution or war.

14. Stratification: Characteristic of a system with socioeconomic strata.

15. Underdifferentiation: Planning fallacy of viewing less developed countries as an undifferentiated group; ignoring cultural diversity and adopting a uniform approach (often ethnocentric) for very different types of project beneficiaries.

16. Universal: something that exists in every culture.

17. Westernization: The acculturation influence of western expansion on other cultures.

CHAPTER TWO

2.   LITERATURE REVIEW

Literature on the spatial impacts of multicultural communities is thin in frameworks that can guide the urban planning process. The issues concerned are by nature, highly complex and multidimensional and encompass various disciplines not including political science, legal and the social sciences. It is also an area of diverse public opinion, ideology and interest. One of the essential qualities of multicultural communities is diversity, which manifests spatially in the consumption and production of activities. In this sense, it encompasses residential segregation, built character and socioeconomic activities. This chapter attempts to provide insights into multicultural diversity and its manifestations both spatially and non-spatially and what it portends for urban panning.

Traditional planning is said to have come into existence during the enlightenment era where there was a belief that only a society based on science and universal values is truly free, and that truth, knowledge and rationality were more important than anything else (Burayidi, 2000). Today, postmodernists have criticized this "universalism approach" arguing that what may be of most value to a community such as; culture, traditions and myths cannot be proven, therefore one should not attribute normative values to all societies (Verhelst, 2003). While these debates are now more and more taking center stage, cultural context of planning can be traced to one proponent,

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Walter Firey in 1947, where in explaining urban spatial structure he advocates the recognition of different cultures as a determining variable in land use behavior since they have a "causative effect". He explains these elements as customs, moral attributes, taboos, political and administrative policies, cultural biases and traditional patterns, which can limit or complicate the natural competitive process of supply and demand in urban spatial structure.

Others with similar sentiments included Christopher Alexander in "the city is not a tree" who criticized the neighborhood unit for homogenizing society arguing that differences between groups needed to be accounted for and model units should reflect people's complex societal settlement patterns and freedom of choice. Similarly, Jane Jacobs (1967) also added her voice when she called for the creation of diverse districts cities such as New York to reflect the diversity of a people's way of life. One proponent who perhaps had the strongest impact was David Davidoff where he scrutinized the concept of "public interest" and advocates for a multi-public perspective to account for differences in society. This has had support by many others among them Amin (2002) and Friedmann (2005) who support the call for a multidimensional approach to planning.

Today physical design proposals face the dilemma of having to find the right balance between what design can and cannot achieve in social terms. According to Talen (2002), if they become too involved in social goals they are accused of attempting social reengineering; if they fail in their social objectives

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they are accused of being ignorant to social effects. Talen believes that planning should seek to address social goals, not to solve social problems, which would be more ambitious. She identifies some of the social goals that can be addressed by physical planning as; social equity; common good (public interest) and to a lesser degree the notion of community which includes cultural participation and identity.

2.1.   Cultural Diversity

Of the world's nearly 5000 ethnic groups, 3000 are said to be in Africa (UNDP, 2004). Africa, can be described therefore as the most ethnically diverse continent. According to Kottak and Kozaitis, (1999) an ethnic group refers to members who associate to a common heritage or have common markers such as; descent; naming system, sense of solidarity; association with a particular territory or united in language; religion; history; kinship amongst others. Ethnicity nonetheless only covers one aspect of cultural categorization.

All societies are governed by a complex interplay of individual, group and collective identities, which categorize people to manageable or workable proportions characterized by moral goals and value systems that differentiate each from the other (Kottak and Kozaitis, 1999). Collective identities are framed alongside people's "individual identities" in a customized collage of various identification systems, which may be distinguished as "primary identities" that have the central role in the organization of meaning and which frame other identities people have (Castells, 1997). The term "wearing

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different hats" is often used to portray the multiple levels of culture that people participate in and includes social status like; son; daughter; father; teacher; landlord; ethnic group; religion; club member etc.

Modern thinking views culture today as something continually created and reworked in the present as an organizing strategy, to build a congenial way of life and a coherent identity of shared meaning and experiences (Kottak and Kozaitis, 1999).). Pierk (2004) adds that knowledge about one's environment is the result of mentally organizing it in categories and culture is therefore a defense mechanism for belonging in a group and protecting territories.

Cultural diversity refers therefore to the variations in the institutions, traditions, language, customs, rituals and values by different groups within a society. Culture is said to be both adaptive and maladaptive and can have either positive or disastrous effects on social interaction (Kottak and Kozaitis, 1999). This is because traditional socioeconomic stratification normally ranks cultural units alongside with evaluations of their intrinsic worth, which in turn leads to friction and tensions between groups. An extreme example of this is the ranking order by colonial systems in Africa that preceded independence. In some places in the west, and due to globalization, new forms of expressive identities are emerging with a revival of ethnic allegiances and ties. Some of these include; Basques and Catalans in Spain; Serbian, Albanian and Lithuanian in America; Bretons and Corsicans in France and Welsh and Scots

in UK. Cultural diversity can therefore be seen as a valid organizing force that has both societal and spatial implications.

Today there are social movement efforts geared towards exposing, challenging, and changing the ranking system of cultural groups. These movements constitute the crux of the movement known as multiculturalism and have an ethic rooted in lateral rather than hierarchical variation of culture. Multiculturalism acknowledges human diversity and the capacity of culture as a volatile force in organizing society (Kottak and Kozaitis, 1999). Its growth has been attributed in part to the general state of fragmentation, imbalance, disequilibrium, insecurity and confusion that is now more common in modern urban societies. Eastleigh North can be described by its multicultural diversity; its ethnic groups; and or other cultural groups and comparisons noted between groups; socially or spatially.

2.2.   Spatial Stratification

A key indicator of diversity in urban areas is a tendency towards stratification. Groups tend to integrate or segregate depending on various factors amongst them; historical context, economic (dis)ability, or cultural differences (Kottak and Kozaitis, 1999). Theories on ethnic residential segregation state that when a new group enters a society there tends to be segregation due to cultural and economic differences (Poulsen, Johnston and Forrest 2002). They explain three types of processes that can occur as follows:

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Assimilation: - This occurs when economic factors such as housing and labour markets are equalized and the new group is able to compete favorably. Assimilation is normally perceived as a one-way process that leads to the loss or modification of a group's cultural identity so as to fit within the dominant group's culture. Kottak (2003) further explains that assimilation is encouraged by groups of people of clearly similar physical appearances (phenotype) and not by those who are evidently different.

1. Pluralism: - This involves strong measures by one group to retain its cultural identity resulting in clustering, while enjoying the benefits of the job markets among other shared services.

2. Polarization: - The third form is characterized by extreme segregation of a group either due to its strong cultural identity or through discrimination by others based on race, ethnicity or denial of income opportunities. The extreme form is also termed by Massey and Denton, (1989) as hyper-segregation (ghettoization) or exclusion.

While the term segregation may be associated more with negative images of repression and discrimination, Qadeer (2003) provides a different insight when he distinguishes between an old regressive segregation, which characterized urbanization at the turn of the last century, and a new expressive segregation involving voluntary enclaving. This view is supported by some member states of the EU when they state that urban segregation is not always a problem, for

either the city, or its residents (MRIIA, 2003). Similarly, Rapoport (1977) also explains that clustering by groups is the desire for homogeneity amongst heterogeneous groups and attempts to reach critical mass for social and cultural attributes to function properly. Segregation therefore it seems should be evaluated for its worth and not dismissed outright.

Where segregation is characterized by an ethnic group, it leads to a situation known as an ethnic enclave. The role of ethnic enclaves as far as serving useful purposes is far from clear. Friedmann (2005) cautions that stratification that leads to ghettos and ethnic enclaves can create unjust distribution of public facilities which benefits some groups while depriving others and can contribute to social tensions and outbreaks of violence unless countered by appropriate social policies and planning.

In contrast to this view, Qadeer (2003) argues that ethnic enclaves such as Indian Bazaars, Chinatowns, Little Italy's, Mexican Barrio's, Somali Village or Mecedonian Coop which are part of Toronto's residential mosaic do not necessarily represent marginalized groups and are generally viewed as symbols of the city's cosmopolitanism. He adds that the success of ethnic enclaves in Toronto is due to their small size, occupying one census tract of about 5000 people, unlike those the size of New York's "Bronx, Harlem and Watts" which are so large that groups are spatially so separated as not to encounter people of other ethnicities in their daily activities. Qadeer (2003) further provides the following three-step process towards the formation of an ethnic enclave: -

1. Formation of the nucleus. The typical immigrant on arriving will contact friends or relatives or sponsors for a place to live and also for information and guidance on employment, housing and integration. Newly arrived immigrants are thus channeled to areas where their predecessors are living and a nucleus of an ethnic neighborhood is formed. On the supply side, immigrant access to housing is moderated by vacancies, rents or prices.

2. Tipping over to an ethno-community. As the group increases and reaches a tipping point, other ethnic groups move out and the demand for housing stock largely caters for the growing ethnic group. Landlords come to rely on ethnic networks for filling vacancies, while ethnic concentration creates a submarket that facilitates the development of cultural, religious and community institutions as well as ethnic grocery stores and ethnic restaurants.

3. Consolidation and persistence. Consolidation of an ethnic community can take a number of years depending on population size, rate of arrival, economic status and community organization. Once formed it becomes a distinct housing sub market, complete with its own real estate agents, lawyers, doctors and religious leaders or elders who act as "gatekeepers". It is the role of the gatekeepers to facilitate the movement in and out of members while sustaining its continuity.

In all its manifestations, the housing market is considered an important factor in explaining urban segregation expressed by spatial and urban separation with respect to different social, cultural and economic groups (MRIIA, 2003).

2.3.   Multicultural Planning

There is a view that traditional planning practice which grew from Euclidean concepts and has roots in architecture and engineering is characterized by linear, functional and object centered approaches and has resulted in planners in practice having difficulty grasping the complex dynamics of contemporary urban change (Healey, 1999). Government planning was seen as a tool to restrain market forces in city building with the interest of furthering the public well being, or public good (UNHABITAT, 2004/5). Modern debate centers on the public good theorem and whether it actually serves that which it claims.

Some new multicultural approaches suggest that effective planning should result in a plurality of plans to suit the needs of a diverse public since communities differ in needs and socio-cultural groups within communities seek different ends (Burayidi, 2000, Friedmann, 2005). Planning should be a multidimensional profession with sensitivity towards class, race, sex and culture. One of the new frameworks suggested include an approach that looks at cultural identities in relational spatial scales explaining how groups interpret and use the environment differently (Healey, 1999). For instance, a planned

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recreational area may function as that for some groups and not others due to cultural norms or a street edge may have more significance for talking and relaxing against being a throughway (Rapoport, 1977).

On another front, there are also schools of thought who advocate a change in planning approach from a process that seeks the most efficient design to one that recognizes the sources of social identity first as a means of preserving or creating new identity (Lipovac, 2003). They say that planners need to acquire a new ethic away from the emphasis on physicality to one that requires the understanding of social gatherings like what constitutes evening life in a city (Worepole, 1997). This calls for the adoption of more in-depth qualitative tools to compliment conventional data collection methods (Burayidi, 2000). Friedmann (2005) likewise calls for an endogenous type of development that is based on self-reliance focusing on investment in human, social, and cultural assets, in line with intellectual, environmental, natural and urban assets.

Multicultural planning is nonetheless not without its critics. One of the difficulties in conceptualizing diversity is the apparent paradox of celebrating diversity - while maintaining the status quo or reducing inequalities between groups (Altilia, 2003). Altilia cautions that the goals of multiculturalism may sound utopian in practice while giving the illusion of progress towards a more inclusive society. She proposes clarity in the initial aims as an essential prerequisite to establish whether the attempt is to reduce inequities or to celebrate difference in what she refers to as Disneyfication.

2.4.   Policy Approaches

Different countries have different experiences regarding managing diverse societies, which depend largely on local circumstances. There are five key mechanisms countries use which are; Assimilation; Integration; Pluralism; Exclusion and Multiculturalism. Countries with forms of stated multicultural policies include Australia, Canada, Sweden the UK, the U.S., and Netherlands (Semprebon, 2004, Hugo, 1999, Kottak and Kozaitis, 1999). In theory, the multicultural model offers the best rights for minority groups but not without problems. Kottak (2003) explains that a multicultural society socializes individuals into a dominant (national) culture but also into an ethnic culture, as it seeks ways for people to understand and interact that don't depend on sameness but rather on respect for differences. Multiculturalism also presents difficulties in implementation and requires more than political support to succeed as it concerns what it takes to live with racism, tribalism or difference (Amin, 2002). Multicultural policy approaches are based on the principles of; Respect for Diversity; Tolerance; and Equity in participation.

Formal equality of opportunity for all people and groups is an important principle in all member states of the European Union irrespective of their integration mechanisms (MRIIA, 2003). For instance, the French use a policy of assimilation where cultural diversity and equality being important elements to urban policy. The Danish employ an integration policy that aims at combating social isolation and segregation in disadvantaged communities - but

they highlight that integration does not mean all being the same; rather, cultural difference is seen as an expression of diversity, which should be retained because it holds value to any society.

The role of local authorities is also considered extremely important with respect to promoting social cohesion and cultural diversity in the city. The City of Rotterdam (Netherlands) involves immigrant organizations in its policy making processes; Komotini in Greece aims at creating infrastructure that adapts to meeting the needs of diverse societies; in Brussels (Belgium), the ability to speak the language of the country is considered the first and basic step with respect to integration (MRIIA, 2003).

In Nairobi, urban development is closely linked to its colonial period that divided city into European, Asian and African sectors (Macoloo, 1998, Olima, 1997). Akumu and Olima (2007) further add that segregation went beyond residential to include gender, occupational and ethnic dimensions that continues to an extent to date. While there was no precise urban policy for racial segregation during colonial period, lack of capital and seller bias made it impossible for interethnic mixing of communities (Macoloo, 1998) or what Walter Firey calls the causative influences of cultural diversity.

After independence colonial restrictions for entering the city was repealed but did little to reconfigure the cultural spatial inequalities in land distribution (Olima, 1997, Obudho, 2002). Housing access was left to market forces, which were largely ineffective unable to cope with the large rural urban migration and

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natural population increase resulting in the expansion of informal settlements in certain areas of the city (Olima 1997). Affluent Africans from the business and ruling elite occupied large areas of the previously non-black areas. Middle income Africans moved to the formerly Asian sectors of Parklands, Eastleigh and Nairobi South (Akumu, Olima, 2007), while the majority of the migrants concentrated in the Eastland's area and enlarged the informal settlements.

The cultural character of Nairobi today at best represents a complex cultural bricolage of modern and traditional cultures intertwined. It is multifaceted, weaved in history and determined by a market capitalist approach. Granqvist (2006) puts it clearly, when he paraphrases:

"Nairobi's post colonial city is anchored in a historical spatial double-bind: freed from colonial authority but immersed in neo colonial policies and practice of dehumanizing commoditization. It is a city of global and spatial aspirations, divided by a past that transcends its present with western institutions dominating its marketplace."

2.5.   Summary

Cultural diversity has a wide dimension of study and can be conceptualized in different ways depending on the purposes of research. Our purpose is to establish the relevance and impacts of cultural diversity on land uses and activities. Our treatment of cultural diversity in Eastleigh North focuses on the societal and spatial outcomes arising out of multiethnic groups. The significance of ethnic groups in Eastleigh North can be attributed to its

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historical context and by its current transformation, characterized by a high influx of Somalis into the area. Ethnicity plays a significant role in categorization in the area especially amongst the members of the Somali community who dominate the area. Nonetheless, ethnicity is not the only categorization of groups in Eastleigh North so the study looks at its other significant manifestations

Various studies have also shown that cultural manifestations have both societal and spatial dimensions. Societal dimensions include changes to demographic profiles, household size, occupational and recreational characters, practices and values. These have implications on the differences amongst groups and therefore their means of participating within the society. Spatial dimensions can produce ethnically segregated areas, design changes to building architecture, new production and consumption patterns. These directly create specific outcomes in land use patterns and therefore implicate the planning system.

The methodology used in this study is based on various principles of multiculturalism that recognizes the legitimacy of cultural cores. Applied to urban planning, multiculturalism provides the means for building sustainable and inclusive urban communities using difference as an asset and vehicle for growth.

CHAPTER THREE

3. BACKGROUND TO STUDY AREA

Eastleigh North is situated 15 km northeast of Nairobi's CBD with a distinctive mix of ethno-cultural diversity. Since its establishment as an urban neighborhood during the colonial era, Eastleigh North has transformed from a previously residential area to an emerging commercial district of note. From the early nineties, the place has assumed the role of receiving area for Somali refugees and others groups from Ethiopia, Eritrea and the Sudan.

3.1. Regional Context

The locality of Eastleigh North is strongly determined by its surrounding environment, which gives it its physical shape, and as Kamare (1983) explains, helps prevent sprawl and growth in three directions. Although, today there is indication of growth towards Pangani to the west so sprawl may only be prevented in two directions. Eastleigh North is bounded to the north by Juja road adjacent the high density Mathare slums, and to the south separated by General Waruingi Street by public housing - Pumwani Estate.. To its west are various religious and educational institutions and private housing estates along Muratina Road while to its east, it borders a Military Airbase – Moi Nairobi Airforce Airbase.

Map 1: Spatial growth opportunities for Eastleigh North
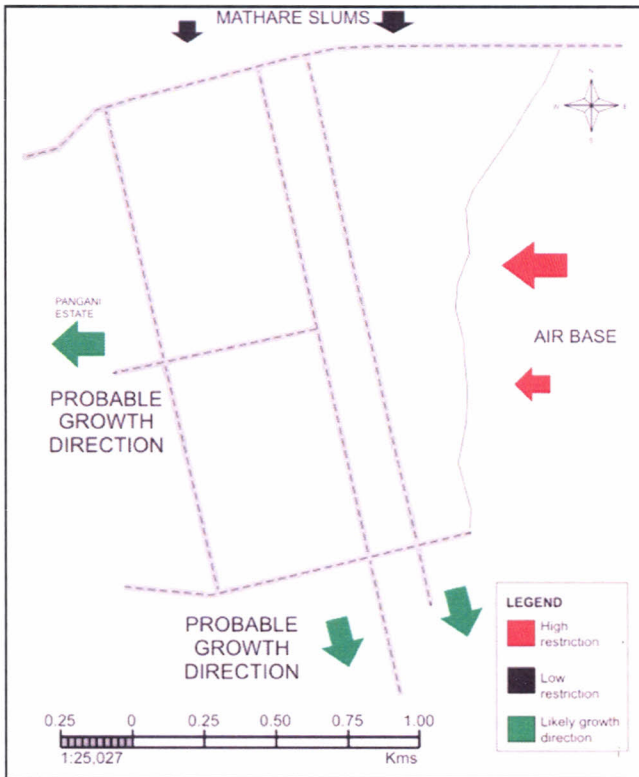
Topography of Eastleigh North is generally flat, and lacks credible flora and fauna except for trees within private plots. Administratively, the area forms part of Pumwani Division consisting of Eastleigh North and Eastleigh South Locations with Eastleigh North occupying an area of 5.92 sq km largely taken up by the Military Air force Base which takes approximately 4.3sq.km. The remainder covering the built up area of approximately 360 acres is the primary focus of this study.

3.2.   Historical Development

The urban character of Eastleigh North can be traced to pre-colonial urbanization policies of Kenya. The area, named in 1921 after an English Railway Town was originally bought from the British Crown as two estates – The Nairobi East Township and the Egerton Estate totaling 2003 acres. In 1912, the owners, a member of the Town Council, and South African backers subdivided it into 3332 plots (654 acres) contractually undertaking to construct roads, drainage, and water supply but instead sold it to an Asian - Alladina Visram. In 1925, the government bought 1078 acres back (Hirst et al, 1994).

The following map provides an analysis of early colonial segregation patterns at the turn of the century (Map 2). The four key cultural boundaries were European private estates; European unrestricted; Asian and African. The Asian sections comprised the present Parklands, Ngara, Pangani and Eastleigh. The African section was known then as 'Pumwani African Location was the smallest in terms of acreage. The segregation policy of the colonial government reserved Eastleigh as an Asian enclave dividing it into three zones that makes present day Eastleigh North and Eastleigh South Locations (Hake, 1997). Asians who settled in Eastleigh were also stratified depending on their ethnicity with Christian Goans in Eastleigh North, and people from Rajasthan community at the poorer Section III adjoining the river in Eastleigh South. Within this area were also some Somali populations (Hake, 1977). Eastleigh

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appeared to have come after the other Asian reserves, Ngara and Parklands were already set up.

Map 2: The segregation of residential areas in Nairobi 1909
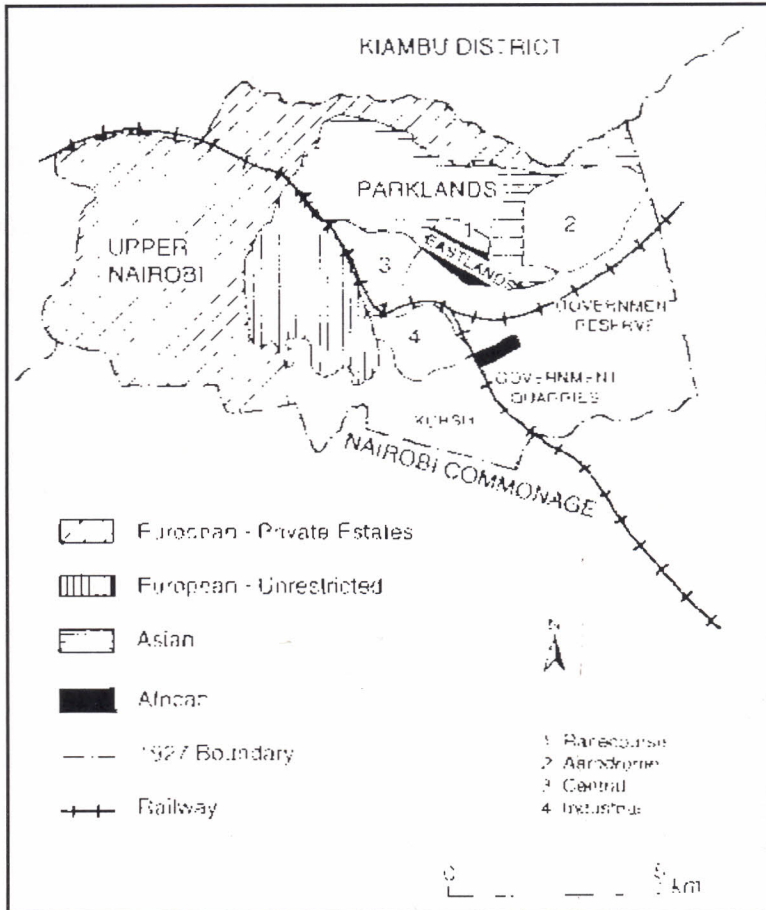
The initial character of Eastleigh reflected cultural nuances in street naming, type of housing, commercial development and the provision of community facilities like schools and religious centers. In post independence Kenya, rural cooperatives mainly from Muranga acquired plots and buildings from departing Asians, which changed somewhat the built character of the area (Hake, 1977).

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This was to change again significantly in the late eighties as a result of the influx of Somali into the area.

3.3.   Spatial Layout

Eastleigh North's plot and street pattern is based on the gridiron street layout form used. The main streets, First and Second Avenues run parallel to each other in a north south axis. As a result, the plots correspondingly face an east west direction. Most of the plots in Eastleigh were designed with a 15m frontage and 28m depth (0.1 acre) for primarily residential purposes.

Map 3: Gridiron street layout for Eastleigh Location
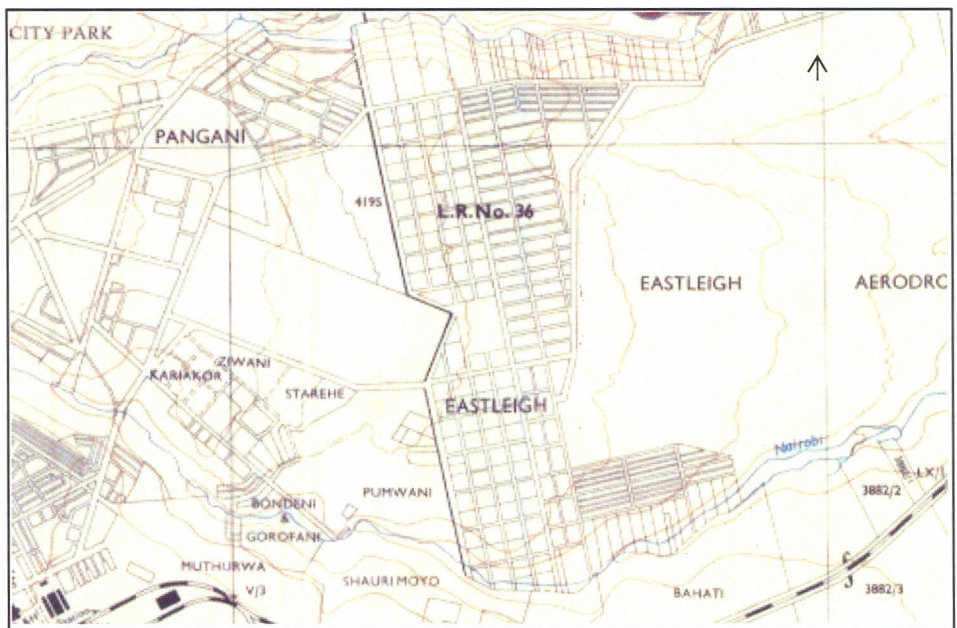
Source: Survey of Kenya, 1959

With its dense road network many of the streets were given typical English names like First Avenue, Second Avenue, Third and Fourth Streets. The area also adopted names of individuals such as Smith Street, Watkins Street and

Drake Street and some Asian names such as Karachi Road, Modhal Lane, and Jamuna Road. Street naming is part of what forms local identity of place and can serve to enhance attachment and belonging especially if the names used have relevance to the majority of communities (Proshansky et al, 1983, Lalli, 1992, Setha, 1992). Immediately after independence, certain names that identified with European and Asian persons or places were replaced with African names such as Gen. Waruingi Street for Watkins Street and Sgt. Kahande Street for Smith Street. It appears there was deliberate emphasis by the new government on renaming streets after persons of military rank (Mau Mau) which highlights the importance of naming in giving area identity.

Table 2: Changing of street names after independence

Street name before independence	Street name after independence
Ainsworth Street	Muratina Street
Karachi Road	Sadle Road
Smith Street	Sergeant Kahande Street
Watkins Street	General Waruingi Street
Drake Street	Kunguru Street
Macalister Street	Major Kinyanjui Street
Wood Street	Wood Street
King Street	Sergeant Major Kamlazombe Street
Jackson Street	Kiringothi Street
Jamuna Road	Kibereli Lane

Source: Adapted from Survey of Kenya, 1948, 1981.

3.4.   Housing

The original housing lots in Eastleigh were characterized as Asiatic single-storied bungalows consisting mainly of rooms opening into an inner courtyard (Hake, 1977). Kamare (1983) adds that houses were mainly owner occupied

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and varied slightly in architectural style. Post independence Kenya witnessed the exodus of Asians from Eastleigh with the arrival of a rental African middle class (Akumu and Olima, 1997). Due to the serious housing shortage at independence and attributed to rural urban migration, temporary in-fill housing emerged in many parts of Eastleigh built from iron sheets or mud (Hake, 1977). This resulted in Eastleigh acquiring a low-income status prior to the influx of Somali in the late eighties. The nineties saw the emergence of high-rise apartments, which continues giving the area a present residential character of low-rise residential, high-rise apartments, tenement, bungalows, and semi-permanent units.

3.5. Commercial Activities

Commercial activities were low in Eastleigh prior to independence except on fringes along Juja Road. After independence, commercial activity increased along Second Avenue and tended to be primarily retail oriented with light production sectors (Kamare, 1983). The most common activity in the seventies and eighties was general stores but there was also a dominant presence of wholesaling by Asians. Other significant commercial activities were bars, restaurants, laundry, butcheries, and clinics. Light production activities included dressmaking, furniture workshops and shoe production mainly along pavements and sidewalks (Kamare, 1983).

After 1990, the commercial hub shifted from Second Avenue to First Avenue, where the Somali created presence. This attracted informal trading on

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streets, pavements, and extensions in a style known as souks. First Avenue is today fast gaining a reputation as one of the busiest business centers in Nairobi. Some of the major shopping complexes in Eastleigh North include; New Garissa, Liban, Taisar, Baraka, Al-Arafat, Al-Mubarak, Prime Shopping Center, New Mash, New Garissa Lodge, Uboh, Tawakal among others. The large commercial developments characterized by Somali Malls are clearly, what is shaping the character of Eastleigh which Onyango (2005) also estimates are growing at the rate of 1.3 per year.

Map 4: Commercial locations in Eastleigh post independence
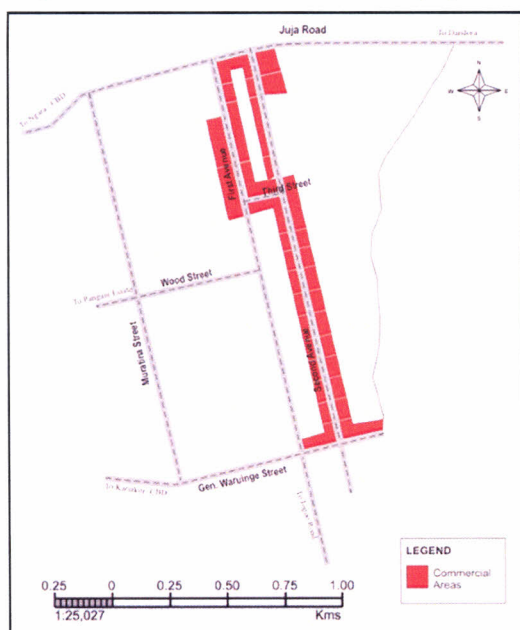
Source: Kamare, 1983

The new economy of Eastleigh North can be summarized as warehousing, retail and distribution of household goods, clothes and electronic items from Asia and the Far East countries in a concept known as "exhibitions" (Onyango,

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2005). The phrase Garissa Lodge refers to the first building that started the exhibition style shopping malls in the early nineties and now common in other parts of the city. It was then famous for currency transfer as well as importation of goods from the Far East. Today the area has a diversity of businesses amongst them banking services, restaurants, nightclubs, casino and hotels. Due to increased activity and human traffic, informal traders and hawkers have been attracted to Eastleigh North lining roads and lanes and spilling onto pavements.

3.6.   Community Facilities

Some of the original residents of Eastleigh North were Goan Asians who mainly follow the Christians/Catholics faith. Eastleigh as a result has two significant landmarks at its entrance on Juja Road; the St Teresa's Church and St Teresa Boys Primary School. To the south off Gen. Waruingi Street was the New Asian Secondary School renamed Eastleigh Secondary School in 1956 and later Eastleigh High School in 1983 (Madanguda, 2006). Outside of the study area in Eastleigh South, there is an old mosque built by the Somali and operated under a Community Trust (Hake, 1997).

In post independence Kenya, a number of educational facilities were built to meet the changing demography. Today there are over ten public schools or formal educational complexes among them; Eastleigh Airport Primary School, Mama Wangigi Secondary School, and St Teresa's Girls Secondary School (See map 5). This is in addition to private schools, some technical colleges, and the madrassa catering for early learning for the Muslim faith. The area is also

dominated by numerous mosques amongst them Mosque Salaam, Shiekh Hammoud Mosque, Mohammed Salaam Mosque and Section Three Mosque (Amwayi, 2000).

Along First Avenue, is a Council Market with a mixed ethnic tenancy, and where the bulk of green grocers are sold. Near the market is the Chief's camp and Council offices that also has a community and youth center. There is also another community centre situated on Second Street, a Council clinic, and maternity ward on Fourth Street.

Map 5: Location of key community facilities in Eastleigh North

Source: Adapted from Survey of Kenya, 1981

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3.7.   Planning

Eastleigh falls within Zone 2 of the City Council zoning map. This zone comprises the subject areas; Pumwani, Starehe, Ziwani and parts of Ngara. Eastleigh North comprises three sections. Section I is to the extreme north commencing from Juja Road. Section II is bounded by Section III, which terminates on the Nineteenth Street and Section VII, which runs all the way from Juja road to the Nairobi River overlooking Bahati and parts of Kimathi Estate. Primary land uses differ according to the given sections as follows:

1. Section I and II form the District Centre with plot ratios (PR) of 2.5 and ground coverage (GC) of 80%

2. Section III and VII which share a common southern boundaries are residential with commercial development permitted along the First Avenue and Nineteenth Street. The permitted GC and PR are 60% and 2.4 respectively.

3. Section IV, V and VI are high density residential although the existing development is of mixed nature.

Map 6: Zoning ordinances for Eastleigh North
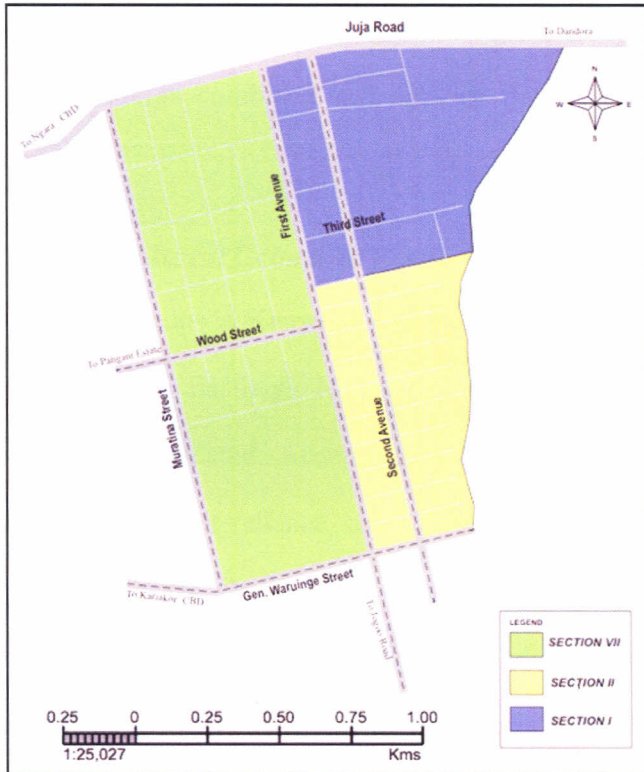
Eastleigh North was originally divided into three land uses; commercial, residential and community. There are no industrial uses within Eastleigh. One major hindrance to development is the state of the roads. While some carriageways have been developed recently, pedestrian footpaths have totally been ignored (TC, 2004). Similarly, although transport to the area is considered excellent, noise pollution from loud PSV vehicles and haphazard re-routing of vehicles within the grid road network may be an issue for planning. Public utilities are well covered with sewer lines and water supply reaching most areas although there are serious concerns about their capacity. Problems of water

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shortage, power outages are prevalent with some premises investing in their own boreholes and generators. Parks and general open spaces are totally lacking in Eastleigh combined with lack of flora, the area is fast become a concrete jungle.

3.8.   Cultural Groups in Eastleigh

Most ethnic groups in Kenya as well as foreign nationals such as Asian and European reside in Eastleigh North. Cultural diversity in Eastleigh is both complex and complicated. According to Hirst and Lamba (1994), complex systems encourage self-reliance, respect of human rights, freedoms, and are essentially democratic. Complicated systems on the other hand are hard to deal with for newcomers, have conflicting codes of practice, tend to be rigid in structure, and are vulnerable and less stable in a crisis.

Asian contact with the greater region of East Africa goes back many centuries before the European arrival. While it was mainly trade oriented, large settlements appeared along the coastline towns (Hirst and Lamba, 1994). During the colonial time, many Asians arrived to Kenya as 'coolies' to help build the railway line. They were classified as Asiatic, although the community was very diverse both linguistically and religiously. In fact it was their form of hierarchical diversity in combination with social exclusiveness that they established separate services such as schools, hospitals, clubs, and burial grounds and also lived in different parts of the city. Barriers to engage in farming meant that they had to engage in city occupations like clerks, artisans,

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and merchants during colonial time and trade and manufacturing in postcolonial Kenya. In this regard the Asians in Eastleigh North were mostly the lower order, Sikhs and Goans.

African ethnic communities in Nairobi emerged in numbers after independence through rural to urban migration. Traditionally there were three dominant cultural backgrounds; agriculturalists; pastoralists; and a combination of the two. Obudho (2002) explains that inter-ethnic tensions that existed in Kenya prior to independence manifested more seriously after independence. This was exacerbated by increased urban poverty and unemployment, which created favoritism in job allocations in government and local authorities. Cooperative inter-ethnic relationships were strained, worsening the successful decentralization of urban services. National unity by central government overshadowed the development of community cohesion with market economics the deriding factor for development. Going by the way street names were changed in Eastleigh North, it may be fair to assume that the Kikuyu had an upper hand with regard to appropriation in Eastleigh. Obudho (2002) notes that lack of equity meant that newcomers were generally considered as ethnic strangers and prevented or discouraged from acquiring property. This resulted in a disproportionate ownership of property by the Kikuyu from Muranga.

The last significant cultural community in Eastleigh was the more homogeneous Somali. The Somali community originated from northern Kenya and neighboring Somalia where close relatives are common on both sides.

Somali's are traditionally nomadic and semi-nomadic moving about with their herds of goats, sheep and camel (AMEP, 2003). The dialect associated with the nomadic clans is known as maha while that associated with the agricultural clans' mai mai (Onyango, 2005). Although today, they adopt a much more sedentary lifestyle (AMEP, 2003).

Due to the civil war in the Somali state in late eighties, many Somali's were forced to flee as refugees and have sought refuge in various places amongst them; Kenya, Tanzania, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Eritrea, Yemen, Egypt and even Zaire. Some have settled in North America, Europe and in Australia. (AMEP, 2003). In Addis Ababa, Somali penetration is evidenced by the emergence of a residential area known as 'Somalitera'. In Djibouti, the peripheral settlement of Balbala has an increasing number of Somali who are the majority of the estimated 90,000 population (UNHABITAT, 2004/5). In Kenya, Somali's refugees were set up in refugee camps; Dadaab and Kakuma of which Dadaab has over 120,000 Somali refugees (Horst, 2002). While this only represents official statistics, the true picture is much larger since many refugees live in the towns of Garisa and Eastleigh area of Nairobi (Horst, 2002).

Despite their relative ethnic homogeneity, one characteristic of the Somali's culture is strong clan affiliation (AMEP, 2003). The first affiliation is their family, then the extended family, sub-clan and clan. This view is supported by Horst (2002) when she says the only allegiance that a Somali has is that of the clan. But paradoxically that allegiance is highly segmented right down to the

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level of 'myself' versus my half-brother". Responsibility and generosity are valued within their close-knit family and clan groups, with more reserved and distant relationships with strangers (AMEP, 2003).

Another attribute of their culture is mobility. Horst (2002) explains that the nomadic history combined with their circumstances, served to protect them from natural disasters and calamities. Before the civil war, the Somali had a particular way of dealing with insecurities, based on social networks, mobility and dispersing investments. Today they diversify their investments in people and economic activities. She states that although households can be dispersed geographically, they usually maintain communication channels with kin. Communication is therefore an essential characteristic of the Somali. The use of Xawilaad, which is an informal and extensive system of communication and banking, is unique to Somali's and uses radio transmitters (taar) telephone, faxes and nowadays email to reach relatives all over the world.

Somali are distinguished from other communities by their phenotype (visual appearance) and clothing. Men wear western pants or a flowing plaid ma'awis (kilt} western shirts, and shawls. On their heads, they may wrap a colorful turban or wear a koofiyad (embroidered cap) (web article by the Minnesota department of Human Rights). The Women usually wear one of the following dress: Direh, a long, billowing dress worn over petticoats; Coantino, a four-yard cloth tied over shoulder and draped around the waist; Toob, commonly worn throughout Africa; or Hijab, and head scarf's which are very common. In

public places, it is rare to find the mixing of the sexes. Traditionally Somali culture strictly separates the genders. An old proverb says "Your woman should be in the house or in the grave" (Mosedale, 2004). In modern urban living, their life is intrinsically tied to trade. In Minneapolis, where a large number of Somali's reside, they have built "malls" though not in the American sense. As Mosedale (2004) says that in their malls there are no checkout lines or work breaks, commerce feels somewhat like an afterthought as the places are fundamentally social by nature; a place to gossip, converse, and trade job tips or reconnect with friends and relations they haven't seen since they left their home country. The traditional mall concept by the Somali is known as a "souk", the Arabic word for mall or bazaar. Within the "souk" are spaces where the community can spread their mats and pray (Mosedale, 2004). Mosedale adds that the Somali concept of "souk" is evident in many parts of the world where they reside in significant numbers. (Mosedale, 2004).

3.9.   Summary

Eastleigh North has a multicultural history incomparable to many places in Nairobi. Beginning as an Asian residential locality, the place had a characteristic Asian cultural pattern of housing and activity types and places. In post independence, Eastleigh North adopted a more varied cultural diversity representing the breadth of the Kenyan ethnic populations. Economic functionalism largely determined cultural diversity impacts although cultural influences were evident especially in street naming and transfer of property.

This period also saw the deterioration of the housing stock and neighborhood quality through the production of infill informal housing.

The next significant cultural influence in Eastleigh North was the influx of the Somali in the late 1980s and early 1990s. In combination with the rezoning plan of 1986, where certain sections were changed to high density and commercial saw the proliferation of high-rise apartments and later large shopping mall development in the area. New architectural styles, commercial types, community facilities grew in an ad hoc manner to cater to the diversity of the community.

Cultural manifestations have been fundamental to Eastleigh growth to its present leaving a visible trail as it adopts new built forms and activities. One of the outcomes has been groups' displacement to allow entry for other groups. This occurred during the transition at independence and more recently from the 1990s to date. Another outcome arising out of cultural shifts is the appropriateness of services and facilities which were initially Asiatic, then changed to hegemonic 'universal', and now are a combination of hegemonic and Somali.

The current cultural mosaic represented by groups is providing opportunities for business and attracting investment in the area. Within the mosaic unfortunately, there is evidence of exclusion and marginalization of groups through equality of opportunity and in equality to access to services, and participation.

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CHAPTER FOUR

4. MULTICULTURAL DIVERSITY

Eastleigh North is represented by fifty-seven ethnic, racial or national communities according to the 1999 CBS census. The Somali community comprises seven ethnic categories accounting for 41.2% of Eastleigh North population (CBS, 1999). Of the other fifty ethnic groups, the Kikuyu and the Kamba have percentages greater than ten at 16.3% and 10.3% respectively while the rest are below 5%. Members who associate with the Somali cultural group constitute two in five people living in Eastleigh North. Since the study was about spatial impacts arising out of cultural diversity, the Somali group was a significant entity and its characteristics measured comparatively with other groups termed Non Somali through a household survey below.

4.1. Demography and socioeconomic characteristics

Amongst the sixty households interviewed, 27 were Somali households while 33 included a cross section of all other ethnic tribes including two Ethiopian families. The total sample size was 273 represented as 157 Somali's and 116 Non Somali.

Household diversity: The mean household size in Eastleigh North was 4.55 persons with a comparative mean for Somali at 5.81 and 3.52 for Non Somali. Households with at least four occupants comprised 18% while 3.3% were

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single occupancy units from mainly the Non Somali population while the largest households with eight occupants being Somali.

Chart 1: Number of household occupants per ethnic group
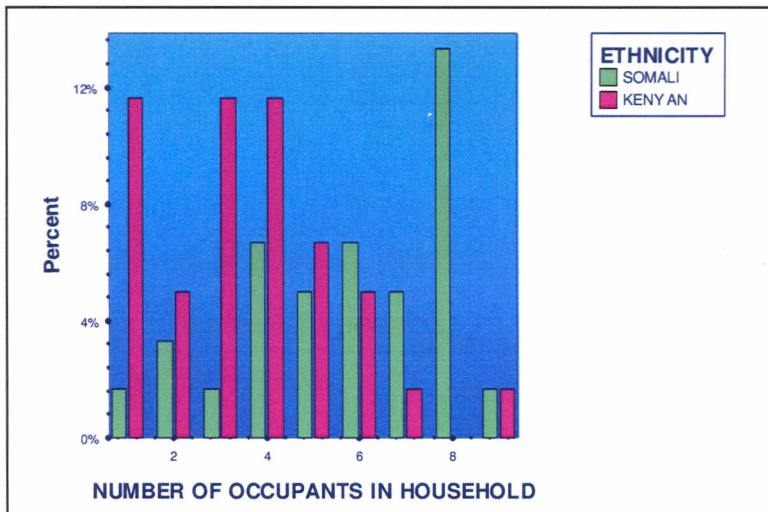
Most houses were male headed with 25% being female headed with no significant differences between the two groups while the head of house was found to be similar for both groups at 40.4 years. Most were married at about 65% although the Somali had more incidences of widowhood. The Non Somali group had fewer dependants overall at 63.6% claiming one, two or more children against 74% for Somali.

Chart 2: Dependants under 16 years per ethnicity
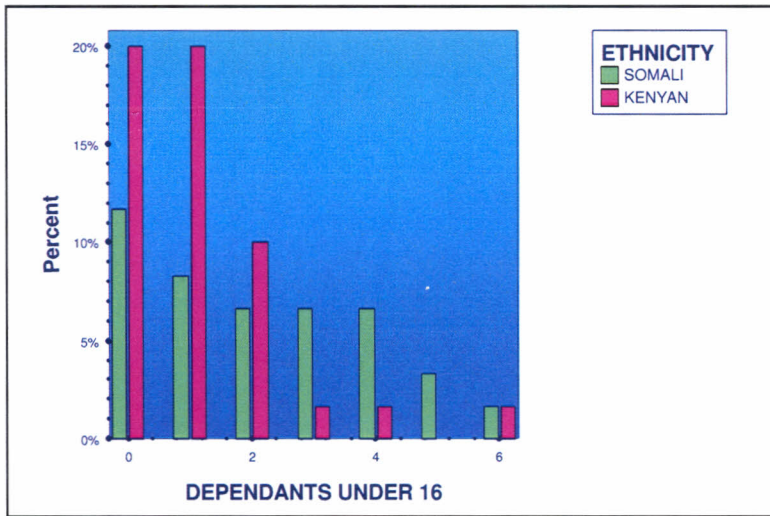
Literary levels between the Somali and Non Somalis showed very wide disparities with 40% of Somali's having no formal education as compared to none for Non Somalis, 40% of Somali with primary education as compared to 78.8% of Non Somalis and, 18.5% of Somali with secondary education as compared with 12.2% of Non Somalis. The low literacy levels amongst the Somali is primarily attributed to their refugee status.

Occupational status differed sharply between the groups with 81.5% of the Somali in business or self-employment as compared to 27.2% for the Non Somalis. A large majority of Non Somalis were in employment outside Eastleigh unlike the Somali who were most likely working in Eastleigh.

Chart 3: Education level per ethnicity
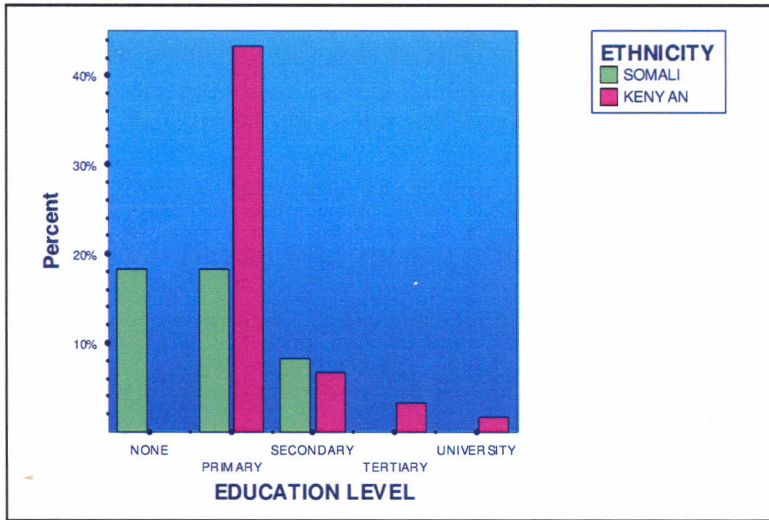
Source: Author. Field Survey, 2005

Economic diversity: Establishing the disparities in economic status is normally not easy and the method used was through finding out weekly expenditure. The Somali household had more earners and larger disposable incomes by expenditure.

Chart 4: Employment characteristics per ethnicity
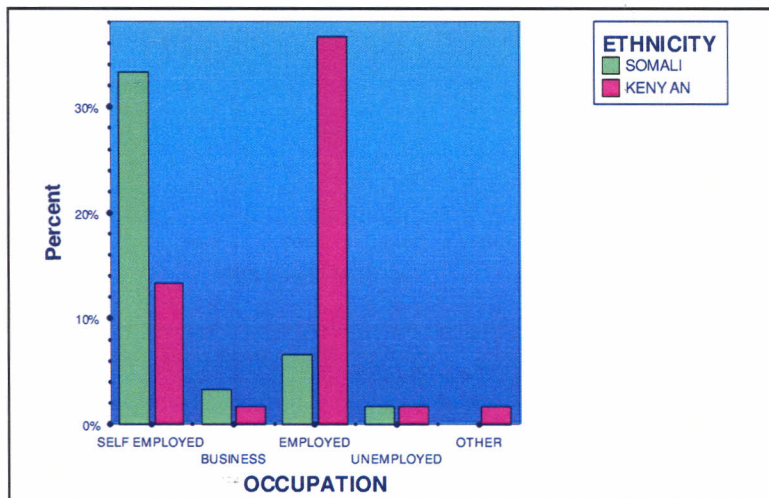
Source: Author. Field Survey, 2005

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The mean rent per month for the sample population was found to be Ksh 6157/= with the Somali's being Ksh 9604/= while the other, Ksh 3465/= almost a third. The lowest rent in the sample group was Ksh 1000/= with the highest at Ksh 16000/=. Likewise, the Somali also have larger household units with approximately 50% in three roomed units as compared to Non Somali with 80% in one-roomed units. If we cross-tabulate, the average cost of rent per person, the Somali had a higher figure at Ksh 1653/= compared to Non Somalis at Ksh 984/=. The Somali therefore have disproportionate more spending power to determine their houses as compared with the Non Somalis if all other factors were equal.

Chart 5: Rent per ethnicity
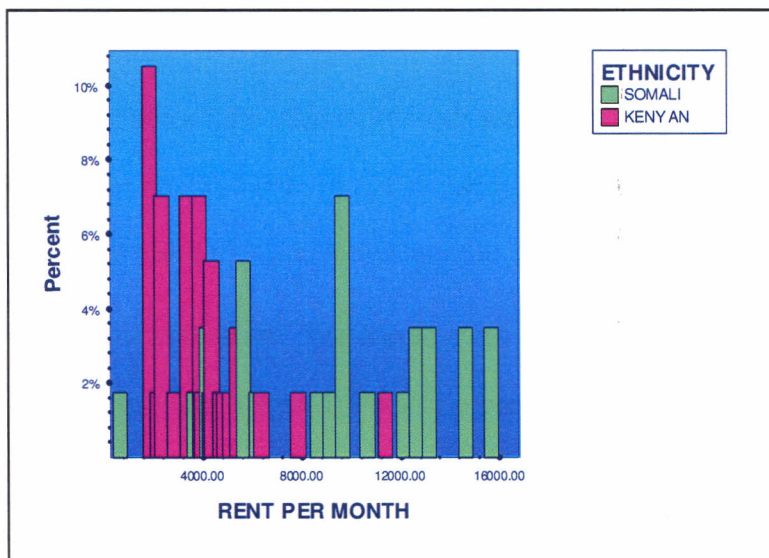
Source: Author. Field Survey, 2005

Weekly household expenditure also exhibited wide disparities with the Somali expenditure at 77.7% above the Ksh 1500/= threshold per week while

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the Non Somalis were at 51.6%. If we increase the threshold to Ksh 2500/=, the figures become 44.4% and 23.3% for Somali and Non Somali respectively (see chart below).

Chart 6: Weekly expenditure per ethnicity
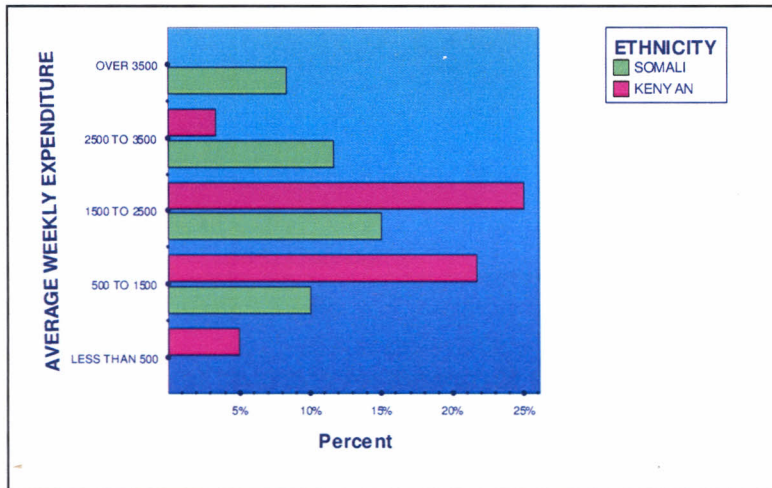
Similarly, utilities like electricity and water differed significantly with electricity means of Ksh 1161/= and Ksh 526/= for the Somali and Non Somali respectively and Ksh 832/= and Ksh 374/= for water as above.

Dwelling Characteristics: The mean number of dwelling units was 1.93 ranging between 1 and 6 rooms. Fifty five percent were in one-roomed units while 25% were in three-roomed units. Comparing groups, 51% of Somali's were in three-roomed units while 81.8% of Non Somalis were in one-roomed units; a striking difference. If we compare with household size of 5.81 and 3.52 for Somali and Non Somali respectively, we find that the Somali household has almost twice the space of Non Somali.

Chart 7: Number of dwelling units per ethnicity
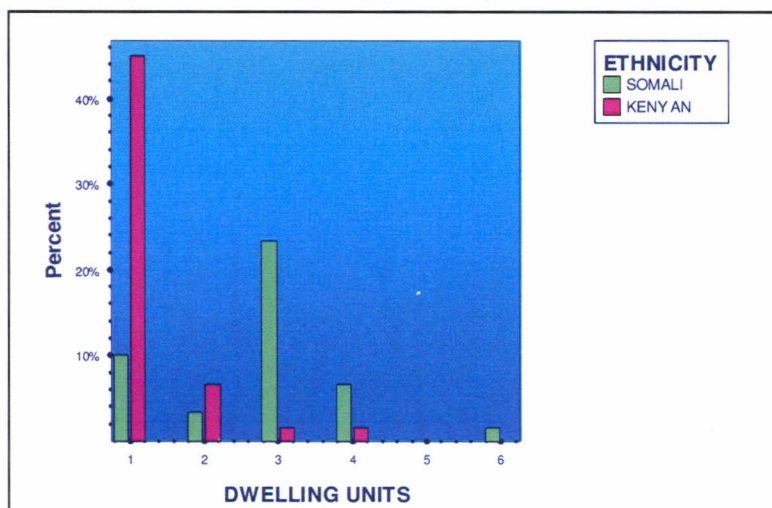
Source: Author. Field Survey, 2005

The mean period of residency for the sample population was 7.4 years with individual means at 5 years for Somali and 9.36 years for Non Somali. The higher Non Somali mean might be misleading since one household recorded a residency of 45 years. If we compare the median and mode at 5.5 and 6 years respectively, it is fair to say that the median may represent the actual mean more accurately. Periods of residency have implications to community formation and participation as they foster deeper and stronger attachment to the place (Gustafon, 2002).

Chart 8: Length of stay per ethnicity
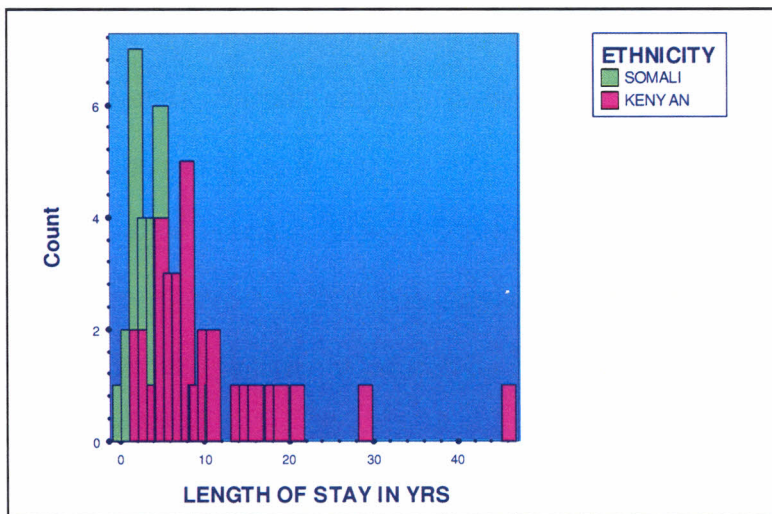
Source: Author. Field Survey, 2005

The study also found that 47.4% of Somali were from outside Nairobi compared with 27.3% for the Non Somali. Majority of the movement to Eastleigh by Non Somalis was from the neighboring estates at 66.6% indicating some form of preference to the locality.

Chart 9: Where migrated from per ethnicity
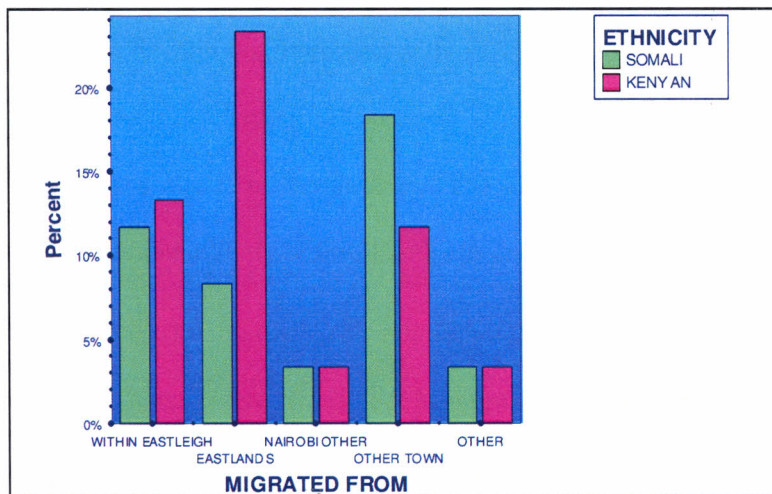
Source: Author. Field Survey, 2005

All the households interviewed were on tenant lease while the landlords were primarily Non Somali at 84%. Each residential plot had an average of 18.3 dwelling units. Somali property owners were 16% of the sample population. In comparing the tenants and property owners, we find that there is a high likelihood for tenants to be Somali if the landlord were Somali at 80%. This is typical of Qadeer's (2003) three-step ethnic enclave formation where incoming groups reach a point of controlling residential access through their societal networks. This is also supported by some responses by Non Somalis of discrimination by Somali property owners through higher rents.

Social Capital: We asked respondents if they had relatives within Eastleigh to ascertain the degree of their social networks. While a large majority of all respondents said they had relatives within Eastleigh at 61.7%, the Somali figure was considerably higher at 70.4% than the Non Somali at 54.5%. On where they access health services, 53.3% of the sample population said a clinic while 38.3% said private doctor. The differences were contrasted between the Non Somali and Somali communities with 69.7% of Non Somali saying clinic and 60.9% of Somalis saying private doctor although the term "private doctor" "clinic" could be a matter of terminology. The location of health facility for all communities was most likely within Eastleigh at 83.3%.

A key differentiator amongst the population was their religious affiliation. All Somali's counted were from the Muslim faith while majority of Non Somalis were of different Christian faiths at 84.9%. The Non Somali group had

9.1% Muslim. The Somali reach their place of worship at an average time of 7.4 minutes compared with 17.2 minutes for the Non Somali communities.

4.2.   Perceptions and attitudes

The second part of the questionnaire was semi structured and looked at the differences in attitudes and perceptions from respondents regarding various issues. This section is in two parts, in the first part we asked respondents to rate their perceptions on a set number of issues within the following seven categories; housing condition, neighborliness, transport, cleanliness, security (day/night) and noise or disturbance. While in the second part, we left it open for opinions regarding problems in Eastleigh, reason for moving in and vision of place. The objective was to differentiate attachment to place by groups, which have strong implications in community participation, identity and belonging. According to Lee (20020, visioning can be used to establish how residents view their city in terms of inclusion, equity, and happiness or to put it another way, quality of life.

We employed the Likert scale measurement to analyze the results as scales are normally used to rank the subjective and intangible components of research and consist of numbers and descriptions (Mugenda and Mugenda, 2003). The terminology good and very good; bad and very bad are of particular importance as they indicate strong preferences. The term fair is treated with caution since it might mean different things and may need to be explored further. By giving the overall perceptions ranking from 1 to 5, we were able to provide a cumulative

ranking for all groups. Transport had the highest approval rating among the sample population with 82.9% followed by community at 72.9% and housing at 68.8%. The lowest approval rating was cleanliness at 38.8%.

Chart 10: Overall approval ratings by residents in Eastleigh North
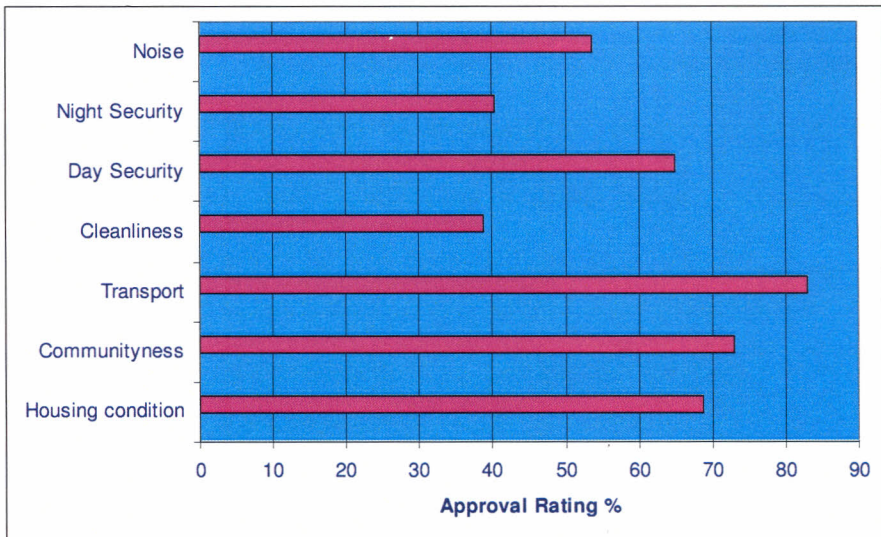
Housing: - Almost half the population thought that housing was good or fair with a quarter terming it as 'very good'. The differences were more apparent between groups with 80.8% of Somalis preferring the housing conditions terming them as either very good or good compared to 57.6% for the Non Somalis. A quarter of respondents either used the term fair which can mean anything; either they didn't feel to comment; were indifferent, or needed time to respond. In overall, fewer than 10% thought the housing conditions to be bad or very bad.

Table 3: Perceptions of housing conditions

		HOUSING CONDITION					Total
		Very good	Good	Fair	Bad	Very bad	
Ethnicity	Somali	38.5%	42.3%	11.5%	7.7%		100.0%
	Non Somali	12.1%	45.5%	33.3%	6.1%	3.0%	100.0%
Total		23.7%	44.1%	23.7%	6.8%	1.7%	100.0%

Source: Author. Field Survey, 2005

Community: - There was an even a larger overall sense of community feeling amongst the sample with 84.4% terming it as good or very good. The level reaches 92.3% for Somalis indicating a strong sense of community. Although in the fair category, the Non Somalis responded at 33.3% compared with 7.7% for Somalis.

Table 4: Perceptions of neighborliness

		COMMUNITYNESS				Total
		Very good	Good	Fair	Bad	
Ethnicity	Somali	30.8%	61.5%	7.7%		100.0%
	Non Somali	12.1%	66.7%	9.1%	12.1%	100.0%
Total		20.3%	64.4%	8.5%	6.8%	100.0%

Source: Author. Field Survey, 2005

Transport: - Transport was arguably the most liked element amongst the sample at 93.1%. Even the people who said it was fair or bad were fewer than 7%.

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Table 5: Perceptions of transport connectivity

		TRANSPORT				Total
		Very good	Good	Fair	Bad	
Ethnicity	Somali	56.0%	40.0%		4.0%	100.0%
	Non Somali	54.5%	36.4%	9.1%		100.0%
Total		55.2%	37.9%	5.2%	1.7%	100.0%

Source: Author. Field Survey, 2005

Environmental: - Cleanliness is a matter of real concern for all residents with about 50.5% terming it as either bad or very bad. A meager 5.1% felt it is very good.

Table 6: Perceptions of environmental quality

		CLEANLINESS					Total
		Very good	Good	Fair	Bad	Very bad	
Ethnicity	Somali	7.7%	7.7%	30.8%	42.3%	11.5%	100.0%
	Non Somali	3.0%	30.3%	18.2%	21.2%	27.3%	100.0%
Total		5.1%	20.3%	23.7%	30.5%	20.3%	100.0%

Source: Author. Field Survey, 2005

The noise factor did not appear to be of much concern to residents with a large majority of 69% terming it good or fair.

Table 7: Perceptions of noise quality

		NOISE					Total
		Very good	Good	Fair	Bad	Very bad	
Ethnicity	Somali		53.8%	19.2%	23.1%	3.8%	100.0%
	Non Somali	12.5%	31.3%	34.4%	15.6%	6.3%	100.0%
Total		6.9%	41.4%	27.6%	19.0%	5.2%	100.0%

Source: Author. Field Survey, 2005

Security: - Perceptions of daytime security differed sharply with night security and may be related to the differences in occupation where unlike the Somali; most Non Somalis are employed outside the area and may be unaware of the petty crime that exists during the day. Their source of concern was after work and movement within the streets. Nineteen percent of Somali's felt that daytime security was not as good compared to 9% Non-Somali.

Table 8: Perceptions of day security

		SECURITY DAY				Total
		Very good	Good	Fair	Bad	
Ethnicity	Somali	3.8%	53.8%	23.1%	19.2%	100.0%
	Non Somali	18.2%	57.6%	15.2%	9.1%	100.0%
Total		11.9%	55.9%	18.6%	13.6%	100.0%

Source: Author. Field Survey, 2005

This contrasted with night security where a larger percentage of Non Somalis felt that the security was bad or very bad at 57.6% compared with the Somali at 38.5% .

Table 9: Perceptions of night security

		SECURITY NIGHT					Total
		Very good	Good	Fair	Bad	Very bad	
Ethnicity	Somali	3.8%	38.5%	19.2%	23.1%	15.4%	100.0%
	Non Somali	9.1%	27.3%	6.1%	15.2%	42.4%	100.0%
Total		6.8%	32.2%	11.9%	18.6%	30.5%	100.0%

Source: Author. Field Survey, 2005

Major problem: - The major problem in Eastleigh for all residents was to do with the environment. Respondents gave responses concerning dirt; rubbish, khat, noisy, and congested. Some talked of dilapidated buildings and hazardous

planning and poor housing. Respondents who mentioned an environmental issue as the major problem were 41.7% of the total with Somali having less at 33.3% than Non Somali at 48.5%.

Table 10: Three major problems per ethnicity

		THREE PROBLEMS						Total
		Safety	Utilities	Infrastructure	Economics	Environment	Other	
Ethnicity	Somali	22.2%	14.8%	29.6%		33.3%		100.0%
	Non Somali	24.2%	3.0%	9.1%	12.1%	48.5%	3.0%	100.0%
Total		23.3%	8.3%	18.3%	6.7%	41.7%	1.7%	100.0%

Source: Author. Field Survey, 2005

The second most important issue according to the respondents was personal safety with the main concerns being theft and robbery. A respondent mentioned the neighboring Mathare slum as a cause while a few talked of police harassment and street boys' menace. Of the total respondents, 23% cited security as the second major issue. The third major issue mentioned was bad roads, potholes, and open drenches. Some also saw lack of amenities as an issue although did not indicate which kind of amenities. Infrastructural deterioration was a third problem issue for 18.3% with the Somali's at 29.6% and 9.1% for Non Somali.

Reasons for residing: - We asked respondents their reason for staying in Eastleigh. Responses were categorized as; socio-cultural; connectivity; facilities; historical; and economic. Of the sample population, 39.7% identified

with connectivity as their primary reason for staying in Eastleigh followed by socio-cultural at 31.1%. Connectivity responses concerned nearness to town or place of work. Socio-cultural responses were largely comments such as; my relatives live here, or we are refugees, in different terminologies.

Economic responses included business opportunity, markets and affordable rents or cheap housing. The respondents categorized in the historical group talked of being born there or their parents being born there. The last category with the fewest responses was facilities, and respondents talked of nearness to school and health facilities.

Table 11: Reason for staying per ethnicity

		REASON FOR STAYING IN EASTLEIGH					Total
		Social cultural	Econ omics	Conn ectivit y	Faciliti es	Historica l	
Ethnicity	Somali	57.7%	19.2 %	19.2 %	3.8%		100.0%
	Non Somali	9.4%	15.6 %	56.3 %	3.1%	15.6%	100.0%
Total		31.0%	17.2 %	39.7 %	3.4%	8.6%	100.0%

Source: Author. Field Survey, 2005

From the table above, it is evident that the figures vary considerably when you compare ethnicity. While the Somalis identified sociocultural issues as their main reasons for staying in Eastleigh at 57.7%, the Non Somali population identifies with connectivity at 56.3%. There were no responses in historical for the Somali. The other reasons; economics and facilities, were in similar proportions for both groups.

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Vision of place: - Vision of place in ten years time were categorized as; socioeconomic, development, planning and environment, xenophobic, and other. Examples of socioeconomic responses were; high cost of living, rents tripling, insecurity, and business opportunities. Socioeconomic responses were largely negative especially the Non Somali group with a few cases positive with regard to business opportunities. A mere 10.7% of the overall sample talked on socioeconomic issues with little difference between Somalis and Non Somali at 8% and 12.9% respectively.

Developmental responses heavily emphasized, "It will be a big town", city within a city, city center, big buildings like New York, and a lot of construction. The responses were all positive and related to the building and redevelopment process. Overall, 37.5% indicated development responses which was the highest although differences between the groups were large at 48% and 29% for Somalis and Non Somali respectively.

Table 12: Vision of place

		VISION OF EASTLEIGH IN 10 YRS TIME					Total
		Socio econo mic	Devel opme nt	Planning environ ment	Xenopho bic	Other	
Ethnicity	Somali	8.0%	48.0 %	20.0%	8.0%	16.0%	100.0 %
	Non Somali	12.9 %	29.0 %	35.5%	16.1%	6.5%	100.0 %
Total		10.7 %	37.5 %	28.6%	12.5%	10.7%	100.0 %

Source: Author. Field Survey, 2005

Planning and environment included responses that clearly articulated a direct planning process with the exception of private sector building processes.

Statements recorded included; poor planning, will become filthy, dirty was mentioned by quite a number of people especially related to khat chewing in reference to the Somali pastime; congestion or overcrowding due to increase in population; deteriorated roads, security needs to be enhanced, building coming with no plans; and needs infrastructural improvements. 28.6% identified with this category with the larger group being the Non Somalis at 35.5% with the Somalis at 20%.

Xenophobic responses were those that specifically related the issue of ethnicity in their responses. In some cases, negativity by the Non Somali population while on others ethnocentrism by the Somali. Xenophobic responses included; "warias (a term used to refer to Somali's) will spoil it; will be bought by Somalis; good after/if Somali's leave; a Somali town; and owned by foreigners. Xenophobic responses accounted for 12.5% of overall responses with the majority associated to the Non Somali at 16.1% against Somalis at 8%. The last category described as others due to the varied responses. These included; not good, bad or very bad, be the same, and best estate. Total responses were about 10.7% with the larger percentage being Somali at 16% and Non Somali at 6.5%.

4.3.   Summary

This chapter dealt with the descriptive nature of multicultural diversity as measured by demographic characteristics and social perceptions. The data was cross-tabulated to compare differences between the Somali and Non Somalis

that represents the rest. The study established that most Somali are Muslim with larger families than the Non Somali by a factor of 1.65. The typical Somali family also occupies double the dwelling space, and has more dependants. Somali incomes were also significantly higher by more than three times based on expenditures and due in part to having more earners per household. In this regard, the Somali also command the upper rental structures in Eastleigh North. Four-fifths of the Somali were likely to be in business against one-quarter of Non Somalis. They are attached strongly to their ethnic kin, which is their primary reason for their staying in Eastleigh while the Non Somalis were more concerned with connectivity convenience.

All communities have serious concerns about the deteriorating environment although the degree of attachment to the area favors the Somali as they are more optimistic about the future of Eastleigh and envision big city formation of Somali character unlike the Non Somalis who had reservations about the trends of development and in some cases the refugee issue. The biggest shortcoming of the Somali is their low literacy levels, which amongst other things may contribute to isolate them from the rest. The primary concern for the Non Somalis is the increasing rents and perhaps for this reason, their average length of stay is low at around 5.5 years.

Cultural diversity in Eastleigh is a significant factor that differentiates the Somali and the rest of the community. The Somali in comparison to the rest are religiously diametric and have different household characteristics especially

with regard to occupation, linkages, and recreation. While certain needs for both groups remain similar such as health care, access to housing currently favors the Somali due to stronger disposable incomes and extended family systems. This has certain implications for planning in the provision of community facilities, housing, and generating community identity. Low literacy levels of the Somali imply a need for an institutional framework for adult language education. Islam being the single dominant religion and is more accessibility to its members tells us that there are more mosques in the vicinity of Somali Many Mosques in an urban locality have an audible presence because of the periodic announcements over a speaker. This will reinforce the urban identity of place and has implications for community identity.

Exclusionary and discriminating practices in housing can aid in the consolidation of negative segregation. Lack of public housing further worsens the situation as market forces and cultural factors being the only determinants to access to housing. The community in Eastleigh North has a short length of stay as a result and especially more with the Non Somali.

The disparate nature of attachment in Eastleigh between the Somali community and the rest suggests a fragmented society. Given, the economic rejuvenation of the area has accrued benefits to both groups; the social dimensions are lagging behind and have consequences to community identity and sustainability. This suggests a lack of shared community and/or shared activity spaces such as cultural centers, libraries, playing fields, parks etc. The

following chapter looks at the spatial manifestations, which highlights the issues more clearly and provides suggested interventions.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. SPATIAL AND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

This chapter presents findings from the spatial impacts arising out of cultural diversity within Eastleigh North. It is divided into three sections; residential segregation, which looks at ethnic integration measured using a graphical procedure and mapping; appropriation, that examines how space has been negotiated over time by various actors based on discussions with key stakeholders; and land use, which analyzes activities associated to particular groups, their location through a mapping exercise, observations, discussions and photography.

5.1.   Residential Segregation

Ethnic census data from the 1999 census was employed using a graphical procedure modified from the index of dissimilarity pioneered by Duncan and Duncan (1955) that focuses on aspects of an ethnic group's residential pattern. The approach compares one ethnic group to the rest of the population based on the argument that ethnic segregation involves three main components: the degree of concentration - the extent to which a group dominates certain areas. The degree of assimilation - the extent to which residential space is shared with the host society. The degree of encapsulation - the extent to which one group is residentially isolated from the host society and other ethnic groups.

The procedure used involves compiling a series of threshold values ranging from 0 to 100 percent, which relate to a group's percentage of a population

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within one spatial unit, which in this case was the enumeration area. For each threshold value, the percentage of the group total residing with that or a higher value is calculated. In general, the more segregated a group, the more horizontal the profile (or concave) of its index of residential concentration (Poulsen, Johnston and Forrest, 2002). In a perfect world, the Somali would form 41.2% of the population in each enumeration cluster based on their proportionate numbers. In the following graph, half the populations of Non Somalis are in enumeration areas where they form 77.1% of the population while half of the Somali were in enumeration areas where they are 50% of the population. This means that the Non Somalis have a slightly higher degree of concentration (77.1% against 58.8%) although it also suggests isolation by Non Somalis or encapsulation.

Figure 1: Measuring ethnic residential isolation and concentration in Eastleigh North

Source: Adapted from CBS 1999

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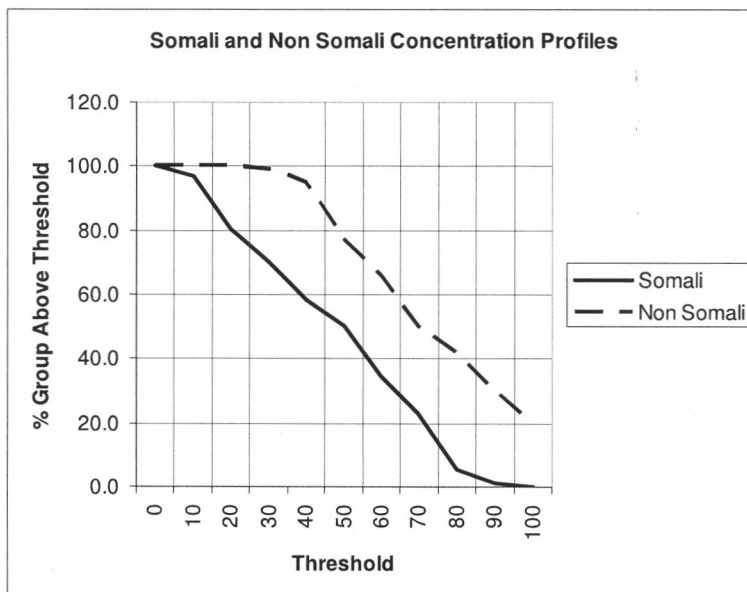
While no groups will distribute evenly across space, Somali concentration can be summarized as follows; 22.9% were in enumeration areas where they were 70% or more while 1% were in enumeration areas where they were 90% or more. Fifty percent of Non Somalis alternatively were in enumeration areas where they were 70% or more while 30% were in enumeration areas where they were 90% or more. Illustrating the data from the census into a map shows the overall density of the community within Eastleigh North (See map 7). As seen from the map, the low-density areas are located in the North East sections between Juja Road and Second Street. Higher densities areas are located between First Avenue and Muratina Street and in particular the area around Wood Street.

Map 7: Population densities per enumeration area in Eastleigh North

Density Map
- ■ more than 1.8%
- ■ more than 1.2%
- ■ more than 0.7%
- ■ up to 0.7%
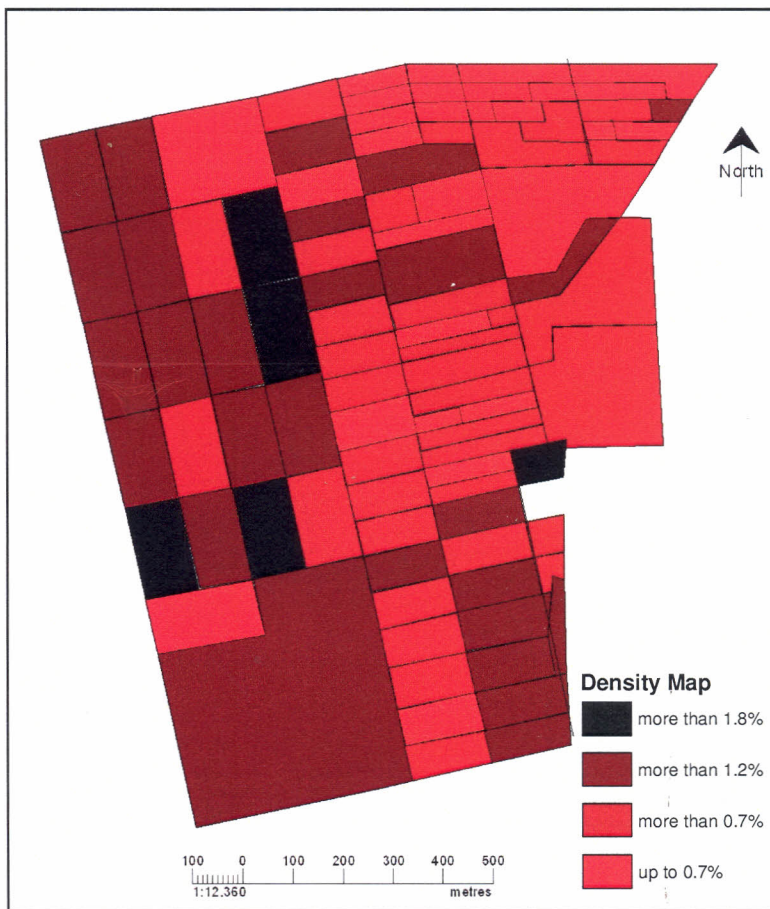
Source: Adapted from CBS 1999

The following map shows the concentration of Somali as a percentage of the total Somali population within Eastleigh. As seen from the map, most Somali are spread within the lower half of Eastleigh North. Their concentration

Map 8: Concentration of Somali as per total Somali population

% of Somalis
in Total

more than 3%

more than 1.8%

more than 0.9%

more than 0%

North

100   0   100   200   300   400   500
1:12.360   metres
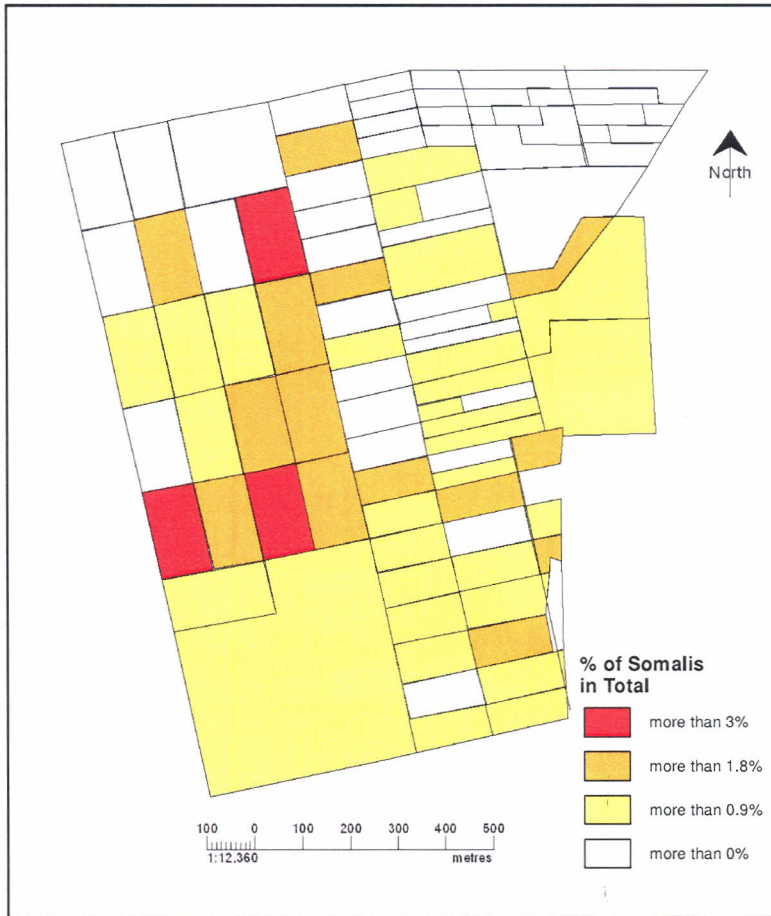
Source: Adapted from CBS 1999

is highest within the mid sections around Wood Street and First Avenue.
This map reaffirms the earlier statements that the Somali are concentrated
around the mid sections of Eastleigh. The next map that shows the percentage
of Somali within an enumeration cluster highlights the degree of isolation
within the same mid sections.

While the underlying spatial manifestations show some degree of clustering
among the Somali and encapsulation among the Non Somalis, the data

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employed used is for the last census period in 1999. As a result, it only provides a snapshot at a point in time and not a trend or process. This can be confirmed through another analysis with more recent data. One can nonetheless conclude that there are visual signs of segregation by the Somali in Eastleigh North.

Map 9: Percentage of Somali within an enumeration cluster

Source: Adapted from CBS 1999

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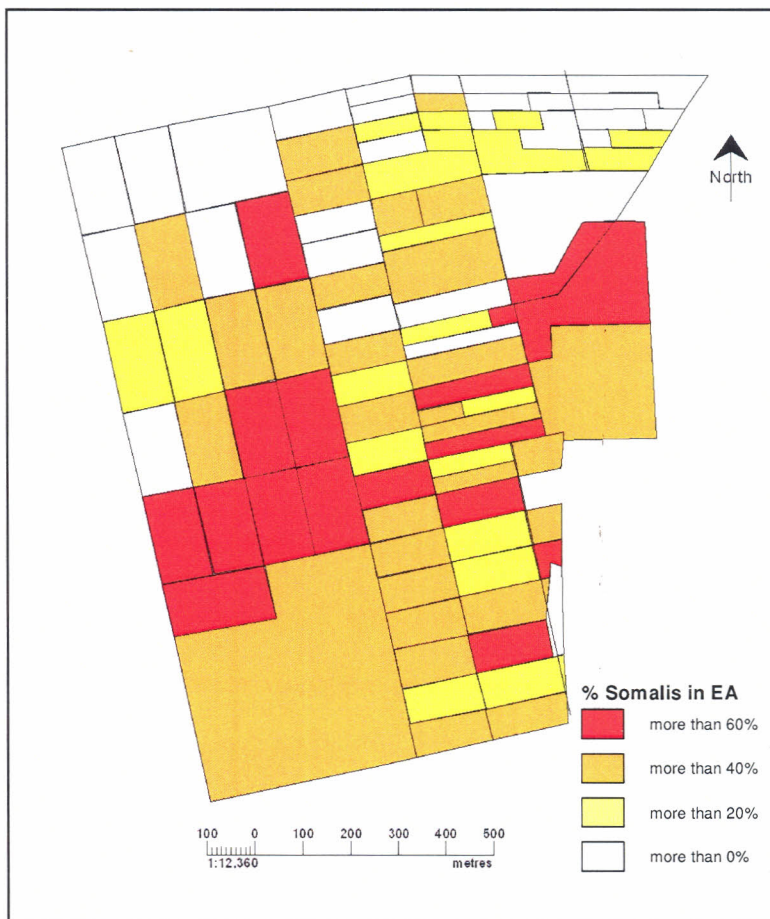
5.2. Appropriation

This section examines how appropriation has occurred in Eastleigh over time based on interviews and discussions with key stakeholders and secondary data. Eastleigh was planned as one of the Asian defined sectors at independence. Asians were stratified within Nairobi based on their ethnicity and it was those from the Sikh and Goan communities who primarily resided in the area together with some Arabs and Somali's. The Sikh were resident between 1st and 2nd Avenues while the Goans centered in the areas around St Teresa's Church. Mode of purchase was by a combination of individual financing and bank loans by poorer members of the Goan community.

After independence, many properties changed hands to African Kenyans driven by the Africanization policies of the time. The Asians were supposedly coerced by political innuendo into selling plots and properties at throwaway prices. Some of the main beneficiaries were said to be members of the Kikuyu community from Muranga who purchased through rural cooperatives or in groups and readapted the houses for multi family tenancy (Hake, 1977). Nonetheless, it is recorded elsewhere that some wealthy Africans bought into Eastleigh way before independence, as there were no legal restrictions during colonialism.

The first official entry of the Somali into Eastleigh occurred after the World War I when Lord Delamare allocated ex servicemen of the Crown Army plots at Eastleigh Section III. The Somali were categorized as Asian and most of

their members were pastoralists, very few were in urban areas by the turn of independence. The next large influx of the Somali into urban areas occurred around the mid-seventies when northern Kenya faced a severe drought. This preceded another influx during the mid-eighties, again due to drought. In both cases, Eastleigh was the main receiving area for those coming to Nairobi.

In the late 1980s, early 1990s, the nation-state of Somali underwent a civil war driving thousands of Somali into the Diaspora to neighboring countries. We establish three types of refugees that emerged in Kenya and elsewhere: -

1. The first were the most vulnerable and poorest Somali who settled in camps in northern Kenya and neighboring countries with total dependency on state and developmental bodies;

2. The second were the more educated Somali elite who sought asylum in Europe and North America or found their way into urban towns in Kenya and elsewhere.

3. The third were an entrepreneurial class who were already successful in their own right and set up bases in many urban areas locally and abroad. They were highly exposed in terms of business and quickly set up trade links with the Far East importing textiles and electronics.

The commercialization of Eastleigh begun with a lodging house known as Garisa Lodge situated on Wood Street. The Lodge, originally a boarding house, was frequented by refugees from Somalia for short stays. It was common then

for commercial activities to occur through rental houses and 'hotels' by the Diaspora community. The area gained a reputation for selling goods at way below existing market prices, which resulted in its expansion from a lodge to a commercial premise with multiple stalls for let. Soon, neighboring plots also changed user from residential to commercial extending onto pavements and sidewalks through 'illegal' stall extensions. Today Garisa Lodge is a storied structure that was built after the original premise was razed by fire in the early nineties.

Plate 1: The New Garisa Lodge on Wood Street

Source: Author. Field Survey, 2008

The nature of appropriation in Eastleigh North changed significantly during the later half of 1990s, due to what can be described as, the effect of the Somali in the Diaspora. The Somali who got asylum a decade earlier in the

westernized cities reinvested in the new phase of commercialization by sending huge sums of money for mall development through relatives or kin. The form of investment was by 'shares' for stalls measuring 10' X 10' (or 15') that were pre-purchased before development. Sources tell us the 'shares' system depended purely on trust and goodwill than formal legal instruments common in the building industry. Shares were also easily transferable changing hands to new owners in quick succession through their societal structures. The price of shares fluctuated in the range of ten thousand dollars with a monthly rent payable for management and provision of services such as security, utilities and cleanliness.

The Somali malls, as they have come to be known, are characteristically associated with clans or regions such as Isiolo Shopping Center and Mandera Shopping Complex. Today there is a trend towards formal tenants like Barclays Bank, Kenya Commercial Bank, Kenya Revenue Authority and Telkom Kenya.

The demand for commercial properties along First Avenue has now reached astronomical levels and is incomparable to the rest of Eastleigh North. The nature of appropriation is of two types; the first is outright purchase of a property while the second is through long-term lease. The lease option was for thirty years and the property reverts back to its original owner. Demand for larger property along the commercial core has necessitated the increase in plot amalgamation (See Map 10). In some cases, up to three plots or four plots were

consolidated. Sources say plot values are highest on First Avenue with an acre now going for Ksh 150 million in 2008.

Map 10: Somali mall development and land amalgamation
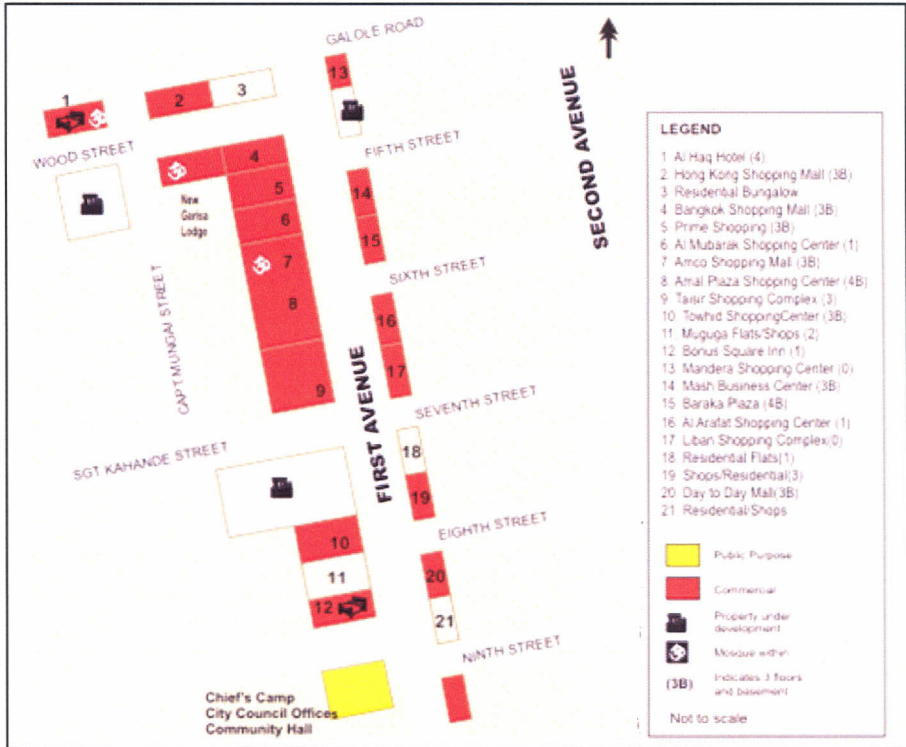
5.3.   Land Uses

Land uses in Eastleigh North examined the various commercial and residential types; scale of community services and public spaces. This was done through a field mapping exercise complimented with unstructured interviews, illustrations, and photography. The main land use in Eastleigh North is residential although commercial growth is increasing rapidly. Commercial activity that was previously on Second Avenue in the seventies

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and eighties has now shifted to First Avenue. The demand for commercial property along First Avenue and adjacent streets has seen previously community facilities change hands such as the public transport terminus and the few council open space.

Map 11: Predominant Land Uses in Eastleigh North
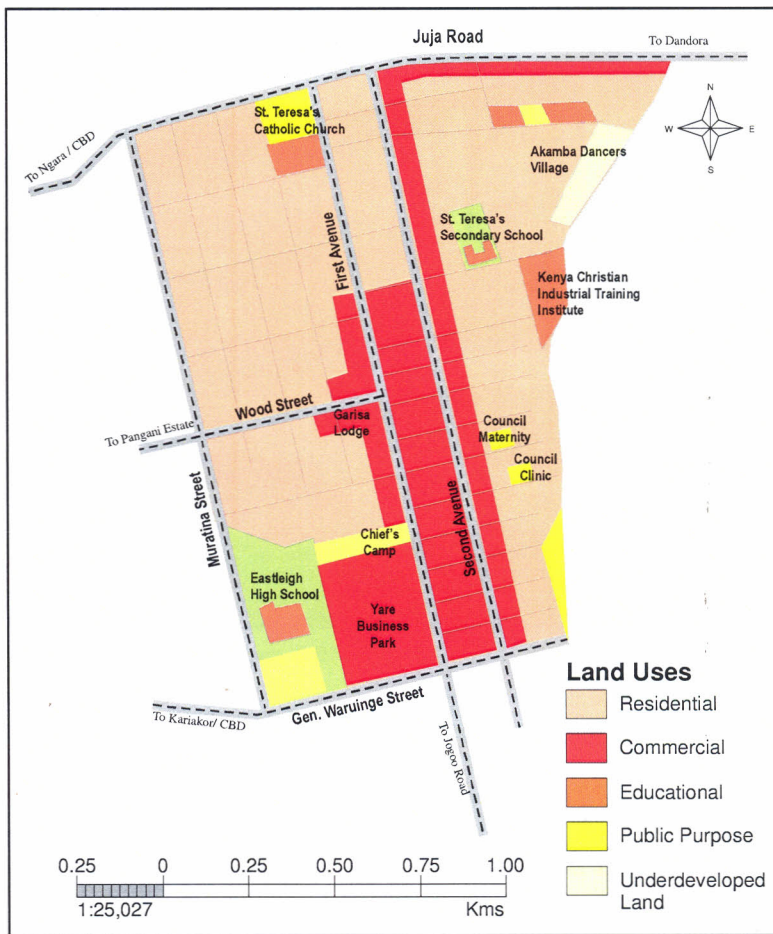
Source: Author. Field Survey, 2005

Commercial: The area around Garisa Lodge on First Avenue can be regarded as the district core and the dominant commercial activity area. In the early nineties, the first shopping malls were extensions of the original Asian

housing stock. The mode of construction was low cost investment and high maximization on retail space resulting in tiny cubicles (souks) with poor exterior finish. The malls would also encroach on pavement and sidewalks with structures of informal traders.

Plate 2: Typical early nineties Somali mall development on First Avenue

Source: Author. Field Survey, 2005

From late nineties, increased investment in building occurred through commercial mall development most of which were constructed from the amalgamation of plots. The new malls also differed from conventional North American commercial mall development in form and function. Conventional malls usually have an anchor outlet such as a supermarket with large specialty retail shops arranged around a diversity of uses, rely on private vehicle access, and as such have large parking areas (Wallace, 1999, Onyango, 2005). The

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Somali-type malls on the other hand consist of micro stalls measuring 10ft by 15ft approximately arranged linearly and selling the same range or types of commodities with little emphasis on parking arrangements. There is emphasis is on frontal facing shops, which command a higher rent, unlike conventional malls which are internal facing towards a courtyard. Because of this, some of the new malls have stairway extensions protruding towards the open parking areas for accessing the upper floors.

Plate 3:At left is Non Somali commercial development while right is Somali mall development

Source: Author. Field Survey, 2008

Most of the new malls have basements that serve as warehousing of goods. Pavements and sidewalks lack uniformity using a range of materials; concrete blocks or asphalt and steel bollards and chains enclosure. Architecture is mostly mixed western with some Arabic characteristics like domes and arches. One of the common preferences for exterior finish is brightly colored tiles making buildings stand out although they lack visual uniformity.

Plate 4: The bright colored exterior finish of New Somali mall development
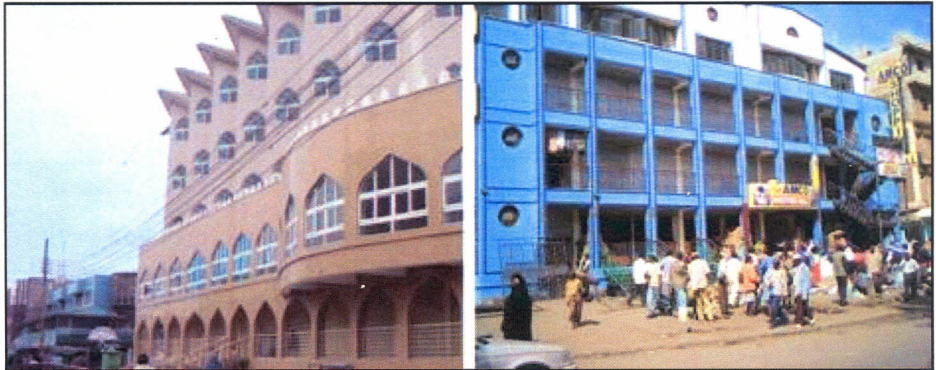
Source: Author. Field Survey, 2008 and 2005

Another design consideration is windowless frontal facing shops that use steel shutters giving the place a very dull appearance at night.

Plate 5: Pavement appropriation with bollards and right, evening view of Eastleigh North

Source: Author. Field Survey, 2005

Of commercial importance is the change of use of a previous bus depot located at the southern border to a commercial mall (Yare Business Park) that was still under development at the time of this study. The Yare Park is envisioned to be a self contained mall with large parking space and shops, cinema, entertainment apart from retail and wholesaling envisioning the more

conventional North American type of mall. The area's fast growth has also attracted banks such as Barclays Bank, KCB Bank and Dubai Bank, which recently set up in the area, the Kenya Revenue Authority who have recently opened a branch office in Amal Plaza off First Avenue.

The other key Somali commercial activity is transport and restaurant businesses. Second Avenue is a hub for long distant buses plying to northern Kenya and key towns like Mombasa, Busia and Namanga. Many bus companies operate as brokers from small offices, shops or temporary stalls. The companies include, Garex Bus Company, Mwingi Bus and Transami Bus Company. With no formal parking facilities congestion on the road is common at certain times of the day and night. Another significant commercial activity by all communities is the hospitality industry; hotel, lodging and restaurant especially. There is differentiation between Somali and Non Somali establishments in that each appears to attract only their kind. This is true for the low investment enterprises but not the rule for the more modern establishments. The main areas to find restaurants and hotels are within the short streets and residential areas. They range in type from informal extensions built-up premises with a majority extending outwards to the pavements. A common pastime amongst members of the Somali community is sipping black coffee and/or chewing khat (an intoxicating herb grown in Mt Kenya region) anytime of the day or night along pavement sidewalks, pavements or café's.

Plate 6:Food court on top floor of a Somali mall on First Avenue

Source: Author. Field Survey, 2005

The most prominent Hotel in the area is the Three Star Barakat Hotel. The hotel, built in June 2005, is owned by a Kenyan Somali, the manager explains that the owners aim was to differentiate the hotel as cosmopolitan or international and not as a "Somali hotel" in reference to the stereotype that Somali hotels within the area have apparent barriers to outsiders and are staffed by Somali's who are known to have poor customer service and unfriendliness. Other Somali hotels in Eastleigh go by the name 'Lodges' can be very unfriendly with open discrimination to non Somali's attracting or reserved for the Somali mobile community.

Plate 7: The three star Barakat Hotel on General Waruingi Street.

Source: Author. Field Survey, 2008

Non-Somali commercial activities in Eastleigh North appear to play a less prominent role to that of the Somali with respect to the level of investment. To the informal traders, the entry of the Somali had the mixed fortunes of initial opportunity and thereafter waning business. A taxi operator tells of the roving business in the early nineties and the lack of business today due to Somali competition. Similarly, with increase in redevelopment along First Avenue that appropriates the front pavements, the sidewalk hawkers are now facing increased threats to their commercial spaces. Hawkers in Eastleigh are a very visible group and comprise almost all communities with none seemingly dominating.

Plate 8: Hawking in Eastleigh North is done by all communities.

Source: Author. Field Survey, 2005

Official estimates put their figure at between 600 and700 while other sources give a figure of close to 4000. Hawkers within Eastleigh cluster in groups of two or more persons, most probably relatives or from the same ethnic community and specializing in particular commodities. The Meru for example control the Khat trade and are concentrated along Wood Street, a dominant Somali area. They operate from kiosks in a twenty-four hour cycle, which serve as residential areas..

On Tenth Street, Ethiopian restaurants and textile shops of the same dominate. The investment in business is much lower than the Somali as most appear interested in getting asylum.. The Eritreans on the other hand have invested heavily in the transport "matatu" business through assistance by a local NGO. During the evening, commercial activity shifts to the adjoining streets between First and Second Avenues, along Wood Street in roadside cafes, restaurants, coffee shops, bars, game rooms, and casinos. The casino is a new entry by some Chinese nationals.

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One emerging issue arising out of commercial activities in Eastleigh North is that stratification is an outcome of both economic factors and culture. The Somali dominate the new business in Eastleigh characterized by large mall developments. Other groups tap into the opportunities formally by opening up shops and competing alongside or providing professional services like legal and accountancy while others use informal means like hawking on streets in close proximate to commercial core. While the Somali exemplify control over commercial activities due to their strong cultural influences, evidence of cultural symbolism on built form is low and represents more of globalization influence. Cultural commercialization is seen rather in the soft attributes such as informal trading styles, pavement culture, and the products being sold.

Residential: The first section of this chapter mapped residential patterns using data from the 1999 census. A field survey was carried out to record characteristics of the residential built environment by cultures. It was found that the Somali's residential core is the area around Wood Street. The Ethiopians are scattered in different parts of Eastleigh although there are some concentrations in the top parts of Section I and on 10th Street. The Meru reside on Wood Street due to their Khat trade that relies on members of the Somali community. There is an underdeveloped area to the northeast called the Akamba Village for former dance troupes that used to perform in public functions during the Kenyatta and Moi administrations. They were allocated the area as a gift and have built metal sheet and mud shanties lacking piped

water and sewerage services. Aside from these, it is hard to decipher other visible multicultural locations by other members most probably because of their small numbers. The housing quality in Eastleigh is in a poor state in terms of low technology and poor finish. The predominant housing styles are the Asian bungalows although one can hardly notice original styles due to the numerous extensions that have occurred over time. Some of these utilize the lowest quality materials consisting of single units with shared facilities like toilet and cooking areas and packed within courtyards to the brim. Newer forms of housing coming up include five or six storied apartments built in plain brick with poor finish (see the following photo). The emphasis on private housing appears to be maximizing rather than any form of quality social provision. Apartment styles as well as bungalows and temporary infill are built with perimeter fencing creating a polymorphous gated community of high-rise apartments astride shanties. This pattern replicates itself across the entire area with no significant differences between the communities.

Plate 9: Disparities in housing density between the old Eastleigh (left) and the emerging (right).

Source: Author. Field Survey, 2008

Rental values are said to be very dynamic in Eastleigh with a high rate of movement in and out amongst the residents. The lowest tenure in Eastleigh is the kiosk on the side lanes of streets going for about Ksh 1000/= per month. Many of the Meru within Wood Street occupy these types of accommodation since theirs is a night selling activity and they have to be close to their market. The highest rents are the new apartments blocks with rents in the region of Ksh 20,000 for a three bed roomed house.

Plate 10: Wood Street at seven in the morning is the hub of the Somali population resides.

Source: Author. Field Survey, 2008

Community Facilities: Community facilities such as churches, mosques, schools and hospitals are tending to be stratified in terms of their community. There are basically three categories of facilities. Those that are Christian associated; those that are Muslim associated; and those that are secular

depending on the origins of the facility. Spatially, it may be hard to locate different facilities to areas but significant Christian institutions are located to the northern sectors and some on the western boundary of Eastleigh north while the Muslim institutions are tending to be near the Somali areas of residency and the commercial hub.

Amongst the Christian based facilities include, St Teresa's church, St Teresa's Schools and St. Teresa's Dispensary. A community vocation center and the Shalom Girls Center also lie along Second Street. Also on the east is a Christian training institute next to two schools and a church.

Map 12: Location of religious facilities within Eastleigh North.
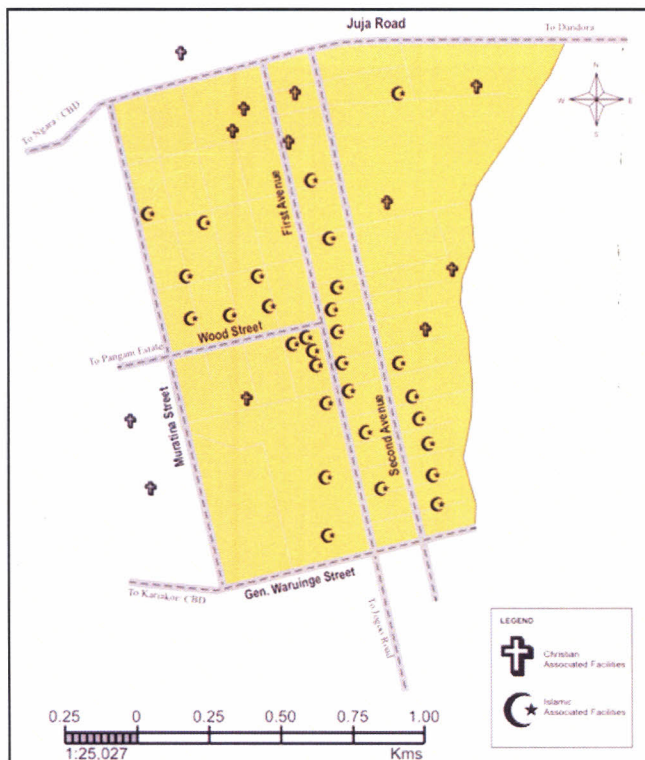
Source: Author. Field Survey, 2007

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These areas characterized as Christian also correspond to where Non Somali density is highest as a ratio to the Somali population. Likewise, mosques and Islamic centers are to be located in the mid to lower sections between First and Second Avenues. In addition, a number of the commercial malls have mosques at their top floors. The commercial core of Eastleigh also lies adjacent to where the Somali population is highest on Wood Street. The large influx of Somali's coupled with the free primary education introduced by the government has seen the rise in refugee Somali student populations in neighboring schools such as St. Teresas Boys Primary School where they comprise a quarter of the student population.

Plate 11: St Teresa's Catholic Church on First Avenue.

Source: Author. Field Survey, 2005

The school, originally established for members of the Goan Catholic community is also the only boy's primary day school in the city of Nairobi.

There are apparent conflicts within the educational system in terms of Somali integration. Some of the conflicts are religious by nature since St Teresa's has Catholic origins although their system is secular based. Others are social, where deep divisions are evident with their Non Somali counterparts especially their local Somali. The social problems are exacerbated by the alarming age difference of the Somali due to late school entry. Another conflict stems from their unclear residential status where they constantly have to take leave of absence from school to undertake a head count within the refugee camps thereby exacerbating overall school performance. These conflicts are in contrast with other refugee groups like the Ethiopians, Eritreans and Sudanese who are said to integrate more easily with their Non Somali counterparts.

A concern for all schools though is the increased idleness by youth around Eastleigh and adjacent areas. In St Teresa's in particular, the school does not have a proper wall so the students are exposed to the myriad of activities that occur in the periphery of the school including drug trafficking. It's sister school, St Teresa Girl's which lies just outside Eastleigh North across Juja Road in the Mathare area does not experience the impacts simple because it is run more strictly by the Consolata Sisters.

Health and related facilities in Eastleigh are run by local government, developmental bodies or private enterprises. The city council runs two adjacent health centers on Fourth Street with a maternity wing on Munyu Road. They receive patients from all communities within Eastleigh. Other organizations

that run health facilities include religious centers, NGOs and Community Based organizations. They provide from maternal care, AIDS counseling and Voluntary Counseling and Testing services. In one of the youth centers located on Second Street near Juja Road, we found a group of youth practicing theatre skits on peer education. This particular group operates on volunteerism teaching the youth life skills as well as providing HIV clinical services. Targeting the Somali community is difficult due to language and religious barriers and because they present themselves as a closed group although they have had some Somali volunteers. The Somali in response have their own institutions that cater for their social, health, and spiritual needs. The foremost of these are the madrasa's described as an early learning institutions for young children in matters purely spiritual. Madrasa's in Eastleigh are scattered throughout the residential areas in temporary dwelling structures, some along pavements. Other Islamic centers providing life instructions as well as commercial courses are to be located in various commercial buildings on Third and Tenth Street. They sometimes double up as both mosques and learning centers.

Plate 12: A formerly Asian temple converted to a mosque on Third Street.

Source: Author. Field Survey, 2008

Eastleigh also has a community hall run by the city council. The community hall provides a venue for different group meetings and activities as well as serving as a recreational area for sporting activities. Before the new administration took office, the council used to provide education classes for older Somalis, which was popular. This was disbanded with the free primary education although it is unclear why since they appear unrelated. The Somali make use of the community hall to conduct wedding ceremonies amongst other services. Other businesses the council office undertakes include collecting council revenue from traders and enforcement of planning and development by laws. The expansion capacity of the city council to provide community services has been compromised with the apparent "grabbing" of the adjacent land to build a new shopping mall. This will seriously affect the development of much

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needed community infrastructures such as libraries, art and theatre galleries amongst others.

Public Spaces: The road gridiron layout of Eastleigh North allows for a vast network of roads, lanes, pavements and sidewalks. These areas serve as functional spaces for vehicle and human movement as well as interaction. Many of these spaces unfortunately have also been appropriated by different groups doing various informal activities. On First Avenue around the main commercial core, the pavements are lined with hawking activity up to the street edge by hordes of traders leaving pedestrian passage through narrow alleys. The same traders have appropriated parking spaces, bus stops, and street corners as a means of attracting customers.

Plate 13: Hawkers appropriation of pavements and parking on First Avenue.
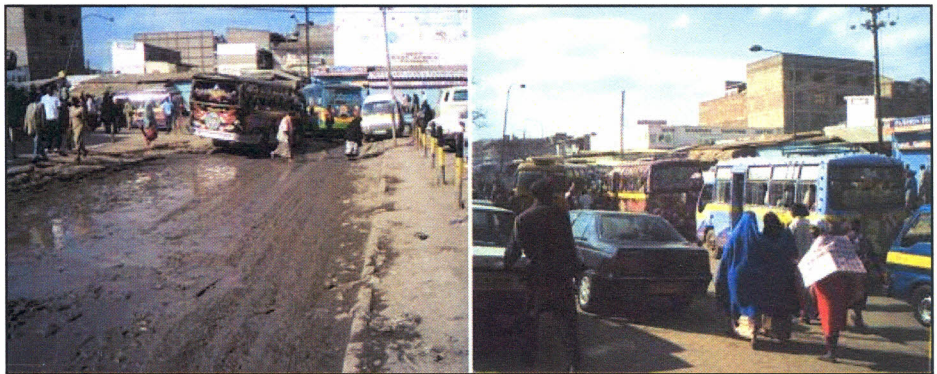

Source: Author. Field Survey, 2005

Likewise, public transport is a key activity within Eastleigh North and comprises three types; those that operate between Eastleigh and other areas around Nairobi; throughway traffic; and those that journey long distance to other towns. The public transport system operates seemingly without rules

because public transport vehicles like matatu's use any and all roads and lanes within Eastleigh North at their convenience. They are no visible bus stops within Eastleigh so vehicles stop and go anywhere but usually at the numerous road intersections. A lot of the incoherence has to do with the seriously dilapidated road network, which makes vehicles re-route.

Plate 14: Matatu vehicles use any of the numerous streets to avoid the jams.

Source: Author. Field Survey, 2005

The appropriation of public spaces in many parts of Eastleigh and a dilapidated road network has contributed to poor pedestrian quality and efficiency. We identified from the field study three types of pedestrian activity or aims; people shopping for goods; people looking for a way through; and people interacting with others casually or for business. Of course, these categorizations are not mutually exclusive and overlap in many ways. It has also been suggested by other studies that Eastleigh North requires pedestrianization along some streets to interrelate it with the informal style of shopping and outdoor culture that exists (TC, 2004). This correlates with our findings since in the first instance, a large number of the commercial owners

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stay within the area and also unlike the typical North American mall development that is car dependant, the Eastleigh Malls have few parking facilities and appear to rely on public transport systems although this would require further research.

Plate 15: An aerial view of vehicle, pedestrian and hawking conflicts on First Avenue.

Source: Author. Field Survey, 2005

One can demarcate recreation in Eastleigh North along gender, age and cultural lines. In most residential inner streets were outdoor stools or benches where elderly or middle aged Somali would be sitting sipping coffee or just talking. Perhaps this is what Mosedale (2004) meant by laid back culture, business as a way of life not a job. Other streets have pool tables on pavements where mostly young men would be playing, day or night. Somali women are also seen in groups and may use shopping as a form of recreation for interaction with friends. Young children play within housing lots or on the streets outside their compounds. Older children may use nearby school fields or religious institutions to play different sports. Empty spaces are rare in Eastleigh North. One such area is located in the north east of Eastleigh North near the

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Akamba Dancers Village. Here we find clear division between two groups of boys, Somali and Non Somali playing at different ends.

Plate 16: Ethiopian restaurant on Tenth Street.
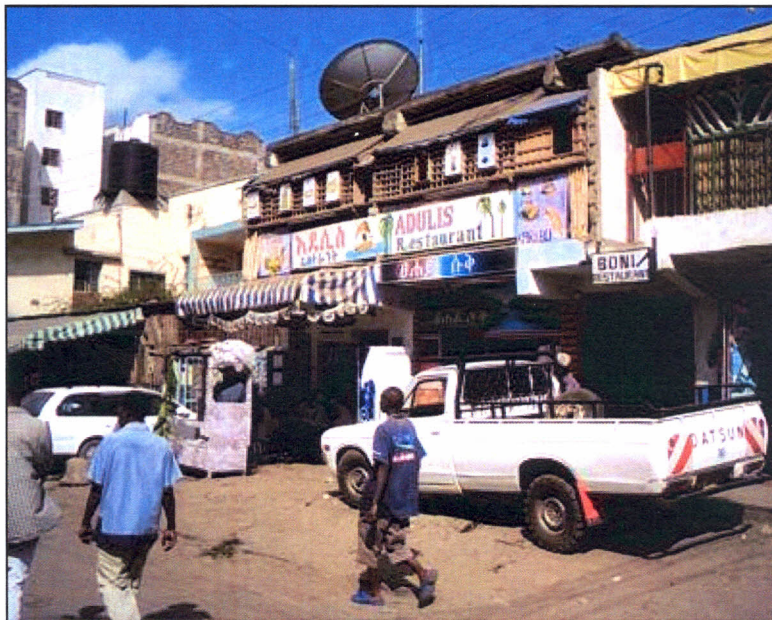
Source: Author. Field Survey, 2005

One of the most popular pastime in Eastleigh North is the chewing of Khat by Somali, Ethiopian and also Non Somali members. Khat is a green leafy plant that is chewed over long periods to extract its juices, which have an intoxicating effect. In the above photo of an Ethiopian restaurant, young men are seen chewing khat outside in a semi enclosed area. This is common and goes hand in hand with sipping black coffee especially amongst older residents. Islam prohibits the taking of alcoholic drinks and followers are required to pray at least five times a day (Kamare, 1981). Because of this Kamare says that the Somali's in Eastleigh go to bazaars, restaurants and rest houses to eat special

foods and enjoy taarab music as a form of recreation. This is in addition to sitting outside on street benches chewing miraa (khat) or sipping strong coffee.

One outcome of all the numerous activities in Eastleigh North is a severely polluted environment. This is attributed to amongst others construction works, commercial waste, residential waste, recreational waste, blocked drainages, burst sewers and other related activities. Within the commercial district clearly there is an inefficient solid waste collection system provided by street boys that cannot cope with the depth of activities. Hawking activities are contributing to the blocking of storm water drainage and the production of air borne dust due to poor waste disposal. All this is accelerated by the increased human congestion especially at the commercial hub of Eastleigh North producing one of the highest densities in the city. Within residential areas, housing demand is promoting scrupulous developers to dump their waste along public spaces such as pavements instead of designated sites to maximize on their investments. The outdoor culture of sipping coffee and bitings, chewing Khat along pavements and sidewalks is producing a lot of litter, which is having negative impacts on the environment especially without any formal solid waste system.

The nature of public spaces in Eastleigh North is also adding to insecurity in the area. Insecurity is said to be two fold. There is the unarmed petty criminal (pickpocket) that targets pedestrians and moving cars in a "grab and run" process along the main commercial core due to the high density of activity and persons. Then there is the more dangerous group of armed gangs who operate

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in the evenings within the northern sectors near Juja Road and periphery targeting residents coming from work. This gang we are told comes from the notorious Mathare Slums adjacent to Eastleigh North. The gang also operates throughout the night with renewed activity between 4 am and 6 am targeting early Muslim mosque attendants. For this reason, insecurity is said to be worst towards the northern Juja Road areas as compared to the southern areas. The gridiron road system and gated community courts provide an ideal landscape for crime since in the first instance they create numerous gate-away routes and also because the gated communities create grey areas or no mans land keeping people in while leaving those coming in vulnerable; a paradox of sorts. A further review of public space is provided in the next section with its implications for planning.

Map 13: Mapping insecurity and 24hr activities.
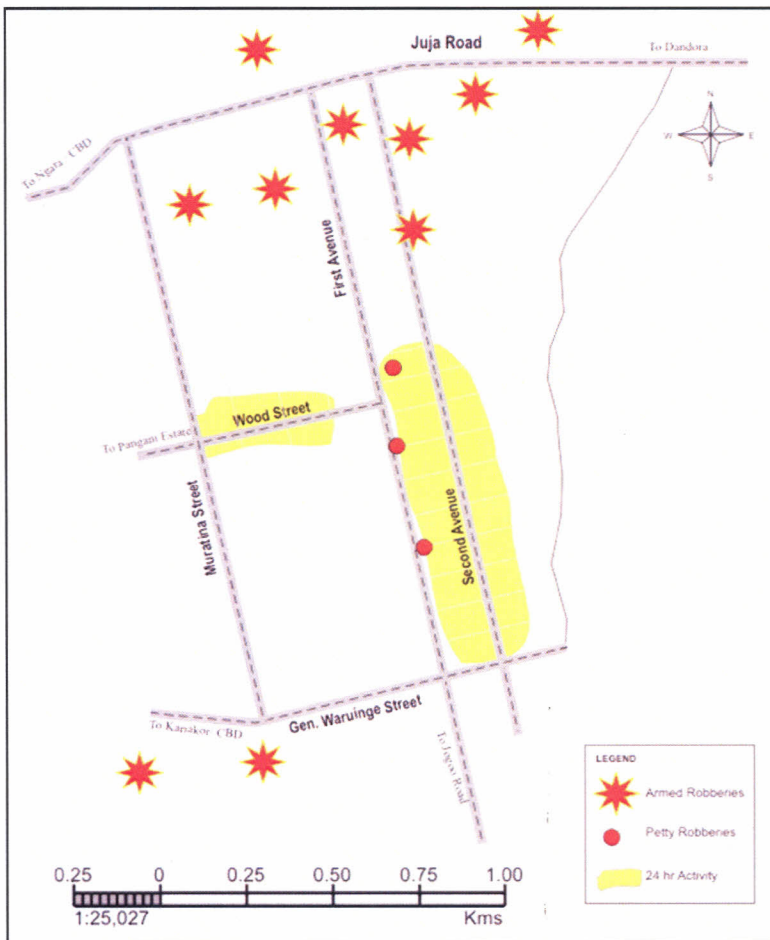
5.4.   Summary

The following findings have attempted to explain how the built environment is an outcome of cultural contexts. Of importance to us is the way different groups stratify, appropriate, and use space in conducting their activities.. In earlier sections, we saw that the Somali were tending towards segregation within the midsections of Eastleigh North by 1999 and especially at the area around Wood Street where the commercial core is situated. There is also

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evidence of spiritual stratification with a religious axis that divides the area into a Christian north and a Muslim south.

According to Qadeer (2003), ethnic enclave formation occurs through a three step process, the first stage being forming the nucleus, which can be identified in Eastleigh North with the first influx of the refugee Somali in the early nineties. The second stage described as tipping to an ethno-community involves the tapping of societal assets like Diaspora investments and providing own support services which occurred from the late nineties up to present. Eastleigh North can be said to be around this second stage though the third, of consolidation and persistence may be hindered due to factors such as low residency periods, legal status, and politics.

While previously the Kikuyu initially invested in Eastleigh primarily through cooperatives, they now serve the role of supply of plots. The Somali commercial development is similar to the "Asian Mall" retail condominium by Wallace, (1999) and provides a powerful example of socio-cultural strengths and its ability to empower communities through cooperative action. Their key strengths lie in the fact that trust is more of an attribute in participation rather than collateral or security that is common with normative economics. The Somali mall also allows for easier commercial entry by poorer members since funds can be pooled for one purpose today and for another tomorrow.

Land use in Eastleigh while dependant on market forces, can be stratified further to cultural segments. The core commercial area is heavily Islamic and

Somali oriented while others on Second Avenue represent activities that are more conventional. Cultural salinity is not as visibly evident by most members with the exception of some Ethiopian commercial activity. Similarly, the Meru stand out with their unique control of the khat trade. One noticeable spatial impact is that of religious divide or concentration related to the concentration of Somali in the area. The decay or abuse of public space is also evident and manifested in the road and transport network, hawkers and informal traders, garbage production and disposal, insecurity and residential in-fills.

The Somali business communities have an association of two thousand strong members structured in three parts; political, economic and social. The political arm deals with sensitive interethnic alliances that often erupt especially due to the religious affiliations and diversity of the community. It is the largest formal arrangement that speaks for any community within Eastleigh North. They also dwell on matters pertaining to security and neighborhood policing. The economic arm provides assistance in setting up a business, taxation, licensing, importation and networking. The social arm looks at the garbage issues and infrastructure problems as well as religious and educational issues. The association also deals with social issues and conflicts such as alcohol consumption and police harassment as well as addressing development concerns such as insecurity and environmental degradation.

CHAPTER SIX

6. PLANNING IMPLICATIONS

One of the objectives of the study was to establish the relevance of multicultural diversity to urban planning in Eastleigh North. One key outcome of the study is diversity is stratified in more ways than is evident. Multicultural dynamics plays a key role in urban spatial environment and continues to define the overall character and identity of Eastleigh North. In attempting to analyze the diversity, I have identified four components of it; ethnic diversity; religious diversity; economic diversity and social diversity. The components are not exclusive but rather help to illustrate the multifaceted nature of diversity in Eastleigh North.

6.1.   Ethnic Diversity

Analysis of the data from the CBS 1999 census and field surveys appear to conclude that there is concentration and encapsulation by the Somali within Eastleigh North. Poulsen et al, (2002) state that segregation of an ethnic group occurs either where there are barriers to housing and economic markets, or by choice due to strong cultural ties. Both these instances appear evident in the area. Household characteristics show large differences in occupation characteristics, literacy level, and attachment to place between the Somali and non-Somalis. These have probable consequences to segregation.

Map 14: Spatial manifestations of ethnic diversity.
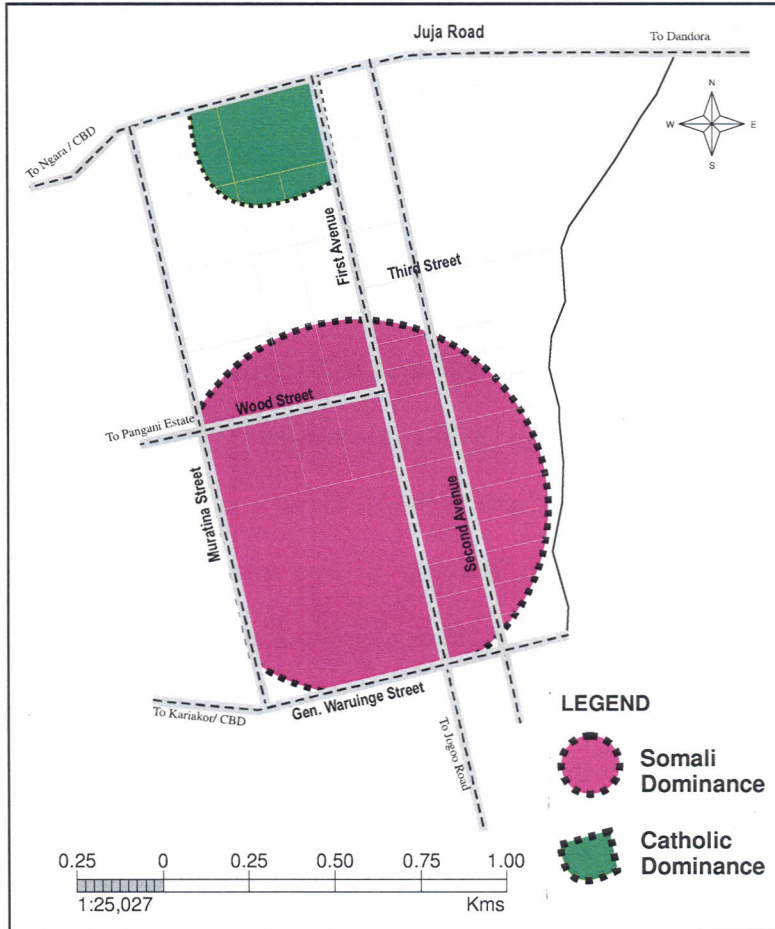
Source: Author, 2008

According to Qadeer (2005), ethnic enclave formation has a stage that involves the development of support systems such as educational, health, recreational, banking, and real estate by an ethnic group without reliance to dominant institutions. The Somali have over time come to provide for themselves many services that were previously provided by Non-Somali communities such as taxi services, grocery, and real estate health care and educational.

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The characteristic of segregation in Eastleigh North also differs from various literature that tend to focus on the incoming group as 'marginalized', This is hardly the case in Eastleigh North, as the incoming group are the economically predominant group and have served as the regenerators of Eastleigh North. They can therefore be seen as investors to the area even though there are doubts about their legal status.

The nature of ethnic diversity in Eastleigh North may present some difficult challenges for urban development, which operates on a market driven principle. According to Qadeer (2005), small ethnic enclaves would be preferable to large enclaves because they still retain group interdependencies and likely aid in the promotion of intercultural harmony. From a planning perspective, the question then that arises is how large an area the Somali concentration can grow to be. The answer to this is rather complex with internal and external influences that was beyond the scope of the study.

6.2.   Religious Diversity

A second characteristic of diversity in Eastleigh North can be termed as religious dichotomy. Eastleigh North is almost halfway split between the Islam faith where all Somali's attend and Christian based faiths that are associated with Non-Somali. Religion can play a significant role in delineating spatial boundaries amongst communities (Oncu & Weyland, 1997). The influx of Somali into Eastleigh Islamized the demography of the area with spatial consequences. The spatial footprint of Islam has resulted in a high

concentration of mosques within the mid-sections of Eastleigh North where the Somali mostly reside. The distinctively loud prayer announcements on loudspeakers that occurs at least five times a day and which in some cases necessitates the closing of businesses temporarily is now part of the cultural ecology of the Eastleigh. Christian places of worship on the other hand are represented by old establishments the most notable being the St. Teresa's Church. The northern section that also constitutes, the St Teresa's Dispensary has the lowest concentration of the Somali group.

The increased Islamic domination in the area has been a cause of interfaith tensions with the Christians. Muslims are raising concerns about alcohol selling and prostitution.

Plate 17: Mosque on Sixth Street.
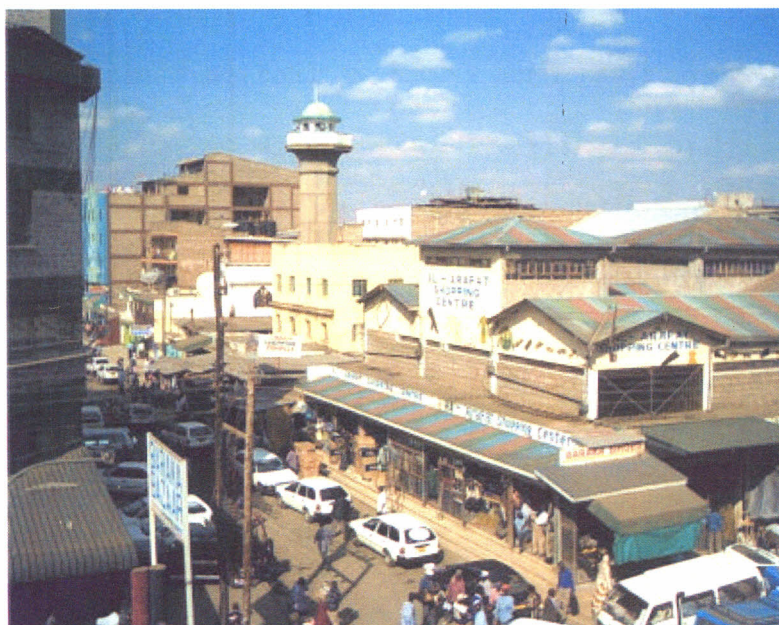
Source: Author, Field Survey, 2005

Religious diversity has a number of planning implications, one of which is the need for a corresponding diversity of facilities. In combination with ethnic segregation, religious diversity also promotes the formation of ethnic enclaves.

6.3. Economic Diversity

The third manifestation of diversity in Eastleigh North is economic inequality between the Somali and Non-Somali. The Somali, because of their strong ethnic and social networks are able to capitalize on both local and international networks to raise funds for investments like commercial malls through a flexible trust based share system. With their economic might, they have shifted the commercial core from Second Avenue to First Avenue in the early nineties. Commercial diversity ranges from warehousing and distribution that occurs in the Somali malls, and in warehouses along Captain Mungai Street. Retail and wholesale activities are concentrated along First Avenue, while grocers, restaurants, hotels and smaller commercial activities in the short streets, Second Avenue and residential streets. (See Map 14). Economic diversity also manifests in the building character where disparities in investments are evident creating a non-uniform landscape. Economic diversity relates to planning in a number of ways one of which is expanding the range of land use categories. Opportunities that take cognizance of cultural diversity have been suggested by development anthropologists (Kottak, 2003) with suggestions of promoting a diversity of users (Wallace, 1999).

Map 15: Economic diversity map.
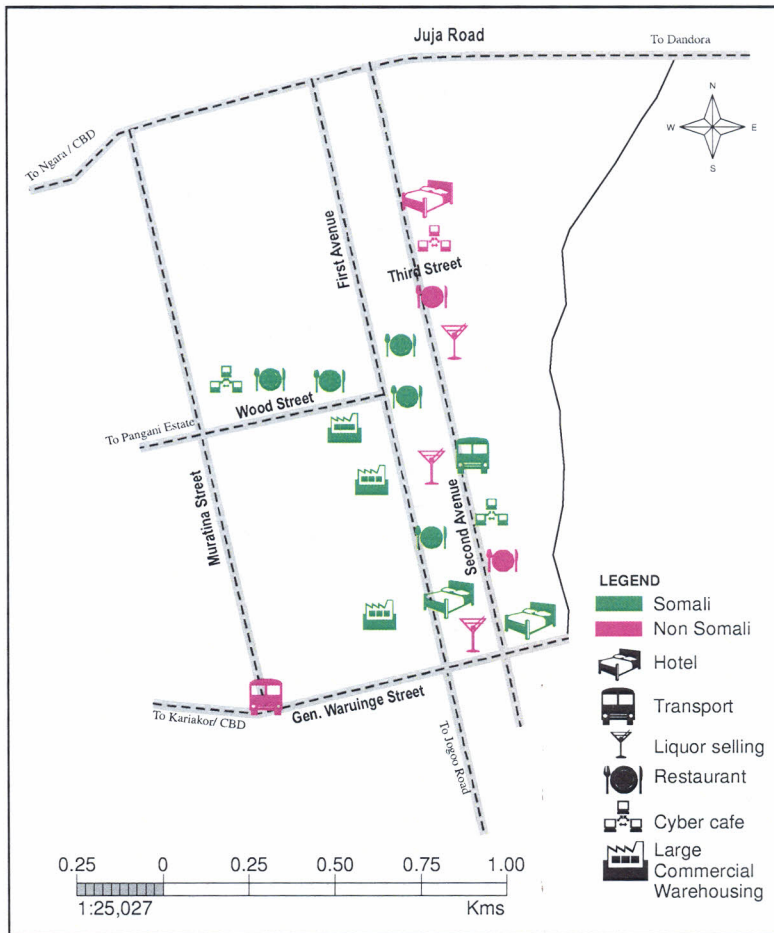
Source: Author, 2008

Wallace advocates the extensions of land use categories to capture nontraditional categories as happened in the town of Markham in Toronto. These can be determined by type, scale, intensity, and building form.

6.4.   Social Diversity

The fourth manifestation of diversity in Eastleigh North can be termed as diversity of social activities in public space. Social diversity is hard to define, as it is also an outcome of the other diversities mentioned. Public spaces in

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Eastleigh serve a multitude of functions. Street edges are used as trading platforms, recreational spaces, pathways, parking areas and dumpsites. Public transport vehicles access through the numerous roads comprising Eastleigh picking and dropping passengers anywhere. Residential development in some parts are creating gated communities. There is lack of open spaces for recreational activities.

Plate 18: Social conflicts at play from the diversity of activities.

Source: Author, Field Survey, 2005

Eastleigh North can be described as lacking coherency attributed to varied group interests and contestations. This is not to suggest that Eastleigh lacks social organization. In fact, contrary to that, the place operates with a high

degree of organizations although more especially within groups than amongst groups.

The outcome from its social diversity is the loss of civic urbanity or public space. Informal souk style of market activity, which mediates inequality also presents challenges in public space loss, congestion and fire risk. Furthermore, the traders spill onto main roads, appropriate parking spaces, block drainages causing environmental hazards and compromising sewage systems and roads.

Planning for multicultural diversities recommend the recognition of legitimate cultural cores or groups. The challenge is how to recognize legitimate groups or activities with the knowledge that cultures overlap. There is also the issue short length of residency, which affects cultural consolidation. Short periods of residency is said to have negative impacts on formation of community bonds and may deter intercultural dialogue even though the area may have the semblance of a commercially thriving district. This has implications for planning especially since the promotion of a civic culture of; participation, belonging and identity are one of its social goals.

CHAPTER SEVEN

## 7.   RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUMMARY

The aim of the study was to show the relevance and significance of cultural diversity and its influences on an urban area so as to establish how planning can address multicultural community needs. The previous chapter established that diversity in Eastleigh North could be conceptualized along ethnic, cultural, economic and social lines with various implications for planning practice. It is our view that conceptualization in this manner broadens our understanding of the community and allows for culturally sensitive intervention methods based on social goals of planning. Some of the key social goals identified were the promotion of cultural expression by groups; ensuring inclusivity and participation by all; and encouraging intercultural interaction.

7.1.   Promotion of Cultural Expression

Strong ethnic and religious affiliations by the Somali community indicate a tendency for ethnic segregation. The segregation process appears to be driven by choice rather than forced which occurs when there are barriers to housing and job markets. The ensuing trend suggests that ethnic clustering will continue to expand and may spill over towards the Pangani area along Muratina Street and to the south towards Eastleigh South Location. The emerging core of the ethnic enclave is likely to be Wood Street, which also has the appearance of being a major entry point to Eastleigh North once Muratina Street is paved.

Promoting cultural expression means the recognition of legitimate cultural cores. The emerging ethnic enclave can be considered one such core within Eastleigh North. Legitimizing it may require the designation of a Somali-Town, institutionalized by special planning provision of an area within Eastleigh. Legitimizing can also serve as a means of control by ensuring that the enclave does not become too large to balkanize the community from the rest as Qadeer (2003) states that an enclave should not grow too large to discourage intercultural contact and dependency. Enhancement of the enclave should also seek to reinforce the existing identity of the area by encouraging cultural symbolism in building architecture, street naming, and design of public spaces within it. Delineating the Somali-Town is possible with defined limits based on the nature of ethnic and religious diversity that encourages clustering and higher densities in particular areas (See Map 14). Of course, these limits should not be seen as immovable barriers but more as arbitrary using cultural or community facilities along Maj. Kinyanjui Street. In addition, the Somali Town can also be enhanced by renaming streets within it.

Map 16: Modeling a Somali Enclave
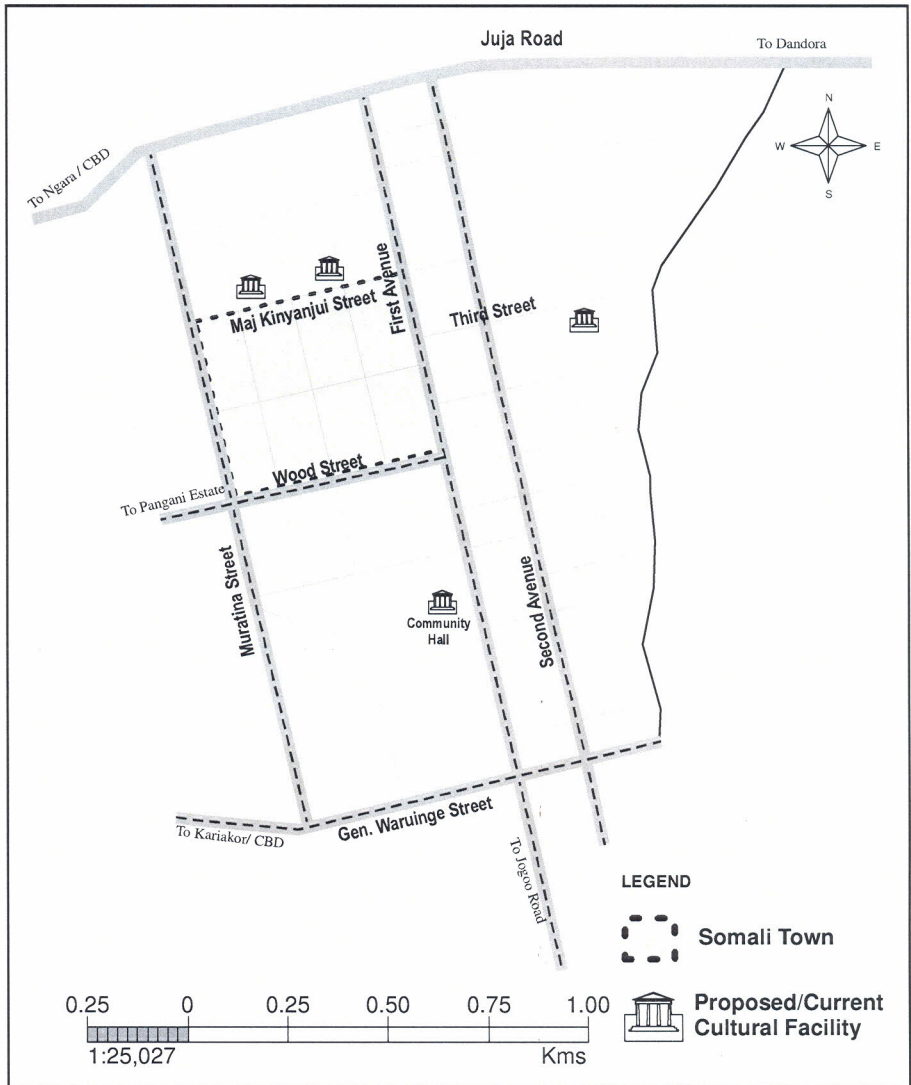
Where no intervention is carried out, it is possible the enclave will increase in largesse discouraging intercultural communication and be a source of increased tensions in the area. Promotion of cultural expression should also allocate areas for cultural facilities, cultural production, and spaces. Facilities include multiuse cultural centers, exhibition halls, places for the performing

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arts, neighborhood sporting facilities etc. Cultural production areas should be located close to each other to capitalize of economies of scale.

7.2.   Ensuring Inclusivity and Participation

Tensions amongst multicultural communities arise out of the impression of inequity or lack of participation amongst some groups. Ensuring inclusivity and participation is made difficult with a market oriented development approach that defines it by the worth of the individual. The nature of diversity in Eastleigh North excludes some groups from housing and economic markets. Speculative and substandard development is also compromising the level of participation in the area. Planning for a more inclusive and participatory society requires the engagement of different groups as stakeholders to the area. Land use categories should allow for a diversity of users by extending their range of description.

The study suggests that land use within Eastleigh North can be re-zoned from the current three to five based on the scale of activity and its diversity (see map 16). These are; industrial, high commercial, medium commercial, residential and a special planning area that constitutes the Somali enclave. Ground coverage and plot ratios should reflect the diversity of uses. Concentration of activities will also create the added advantage of planning for transportation and pedestrianization. Conflicts in activities as well as deteriorated infrastructure have negatively affected the transportation system. Inclusive approaches means that transport planning needs to differentiate

through traffic, end traffic, high volume traffic as the following map illustrates with the conversion of First and Second Avenues into one way streets.

Map 17: Rezoning in Eastleigh North
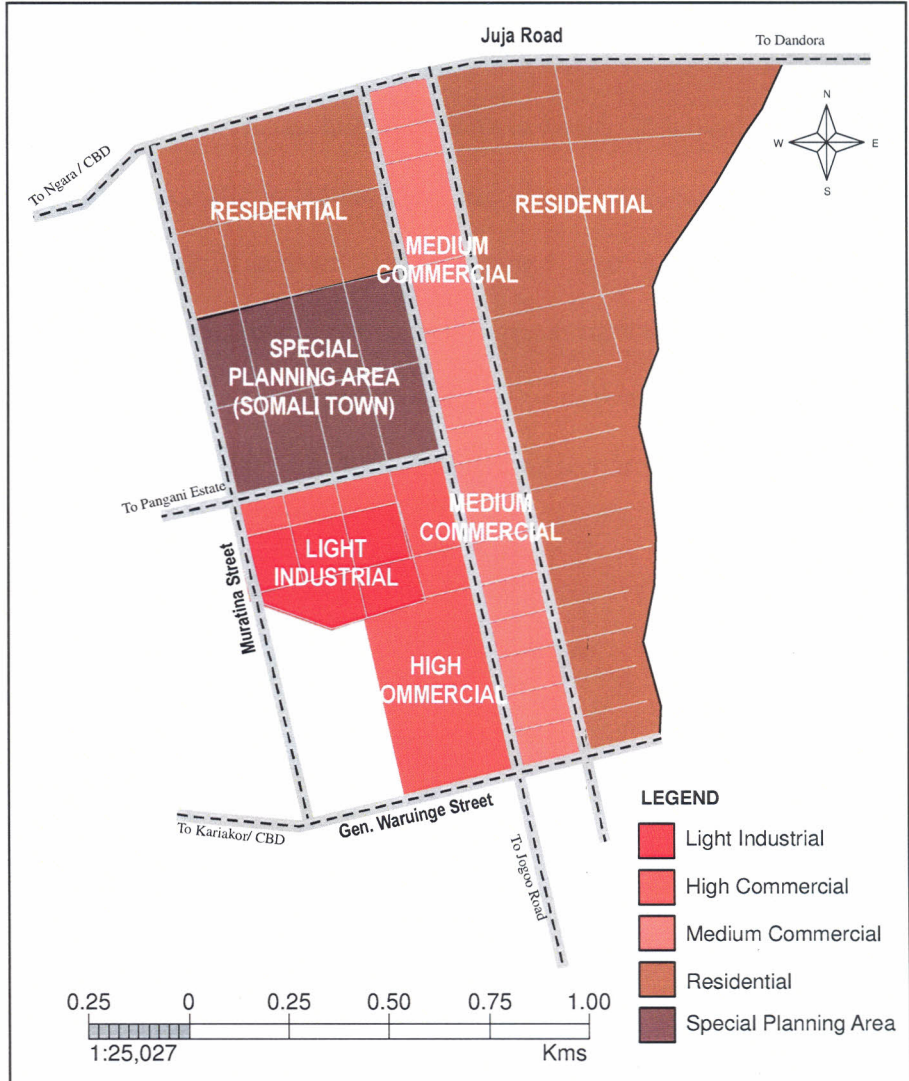
Source: Author, 2008

Aside from the one-way traffic, it is suggested that Wood Street be upgraded as it may become a major entry point into Eastleigh North should

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Muratina Road be paved. Similarly, Maj. Kinyanjui Street which forms the ethnic 'boundary' should be widened to provide community facilities while, Sgt. Kahande Street can serve as the distribution entry to the light industrial warehouses. The aim is to create a transport design that conforms to commercial hierarchy, and social activities. The short streets between First and Second Avenues have narrower frontages, with diversity of activities and street level interaction especially in the evenings and at night than the main avenues. Wallace, (1999) and Rapoport (1977) suggest that spatial intervention measures for diverse communities should proceed from the maxim of minimal variability, so that spaces can lend themselves to different interpretations by multiple groups while at the same time maintaining a coherent character.

Map 18: Transport planning for Eastleigh North
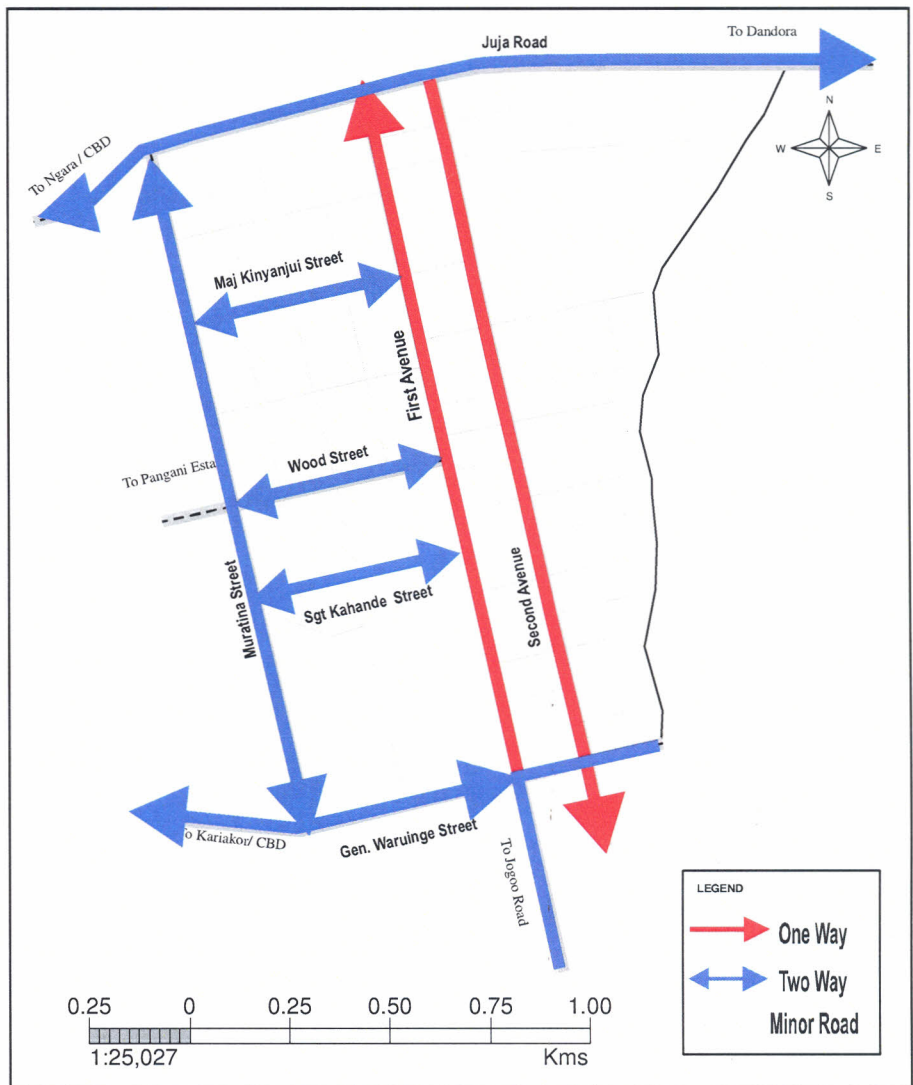
Source: Author, 2008

Public spaces and activities thereon in Eastleigh North bear heavy impacts due to brutal contestations and competition. The following illustration (Plate 19) is a scale modeling of First Avenue replicating the various types of conflicts in Eastleigh.

Plate 19: Modeling existing situation on First Avenue

Pavement parking

Pedestrian walk on streets

PSV pick and drop anywhere

Souk stalls with aisle on pavement

Parking space loss

Traffic snarl ups
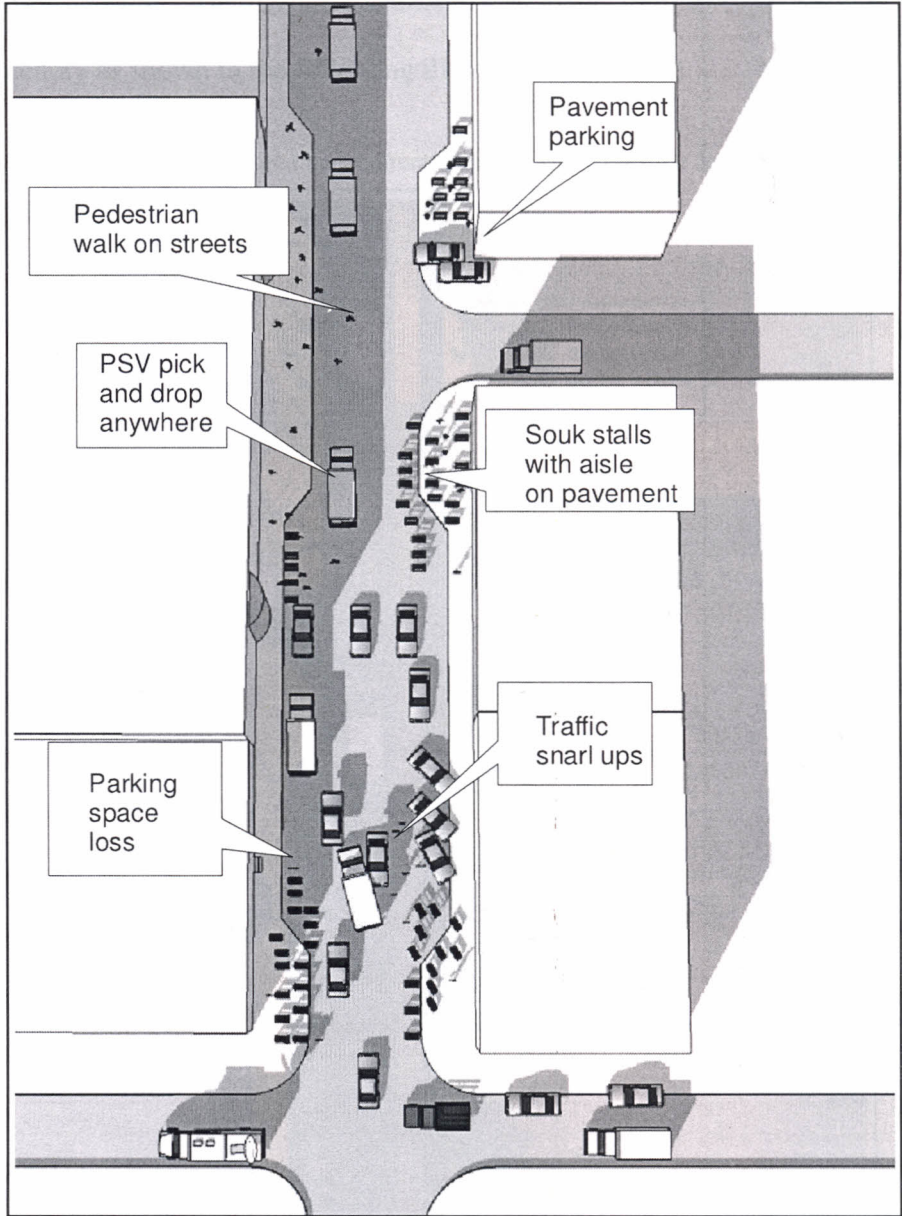
Source: Author, 2008

The one-way street suggested in the previous chapter should be undertaken with a pedestrianization strategy that creates wider pavements and cater for the

diversity of possible users as well as amenity elements such as street furniture, and greenery as shown in the following illustration (Plate 20).

Plate 20: Modeling desired multicultural planning space for First Avenue
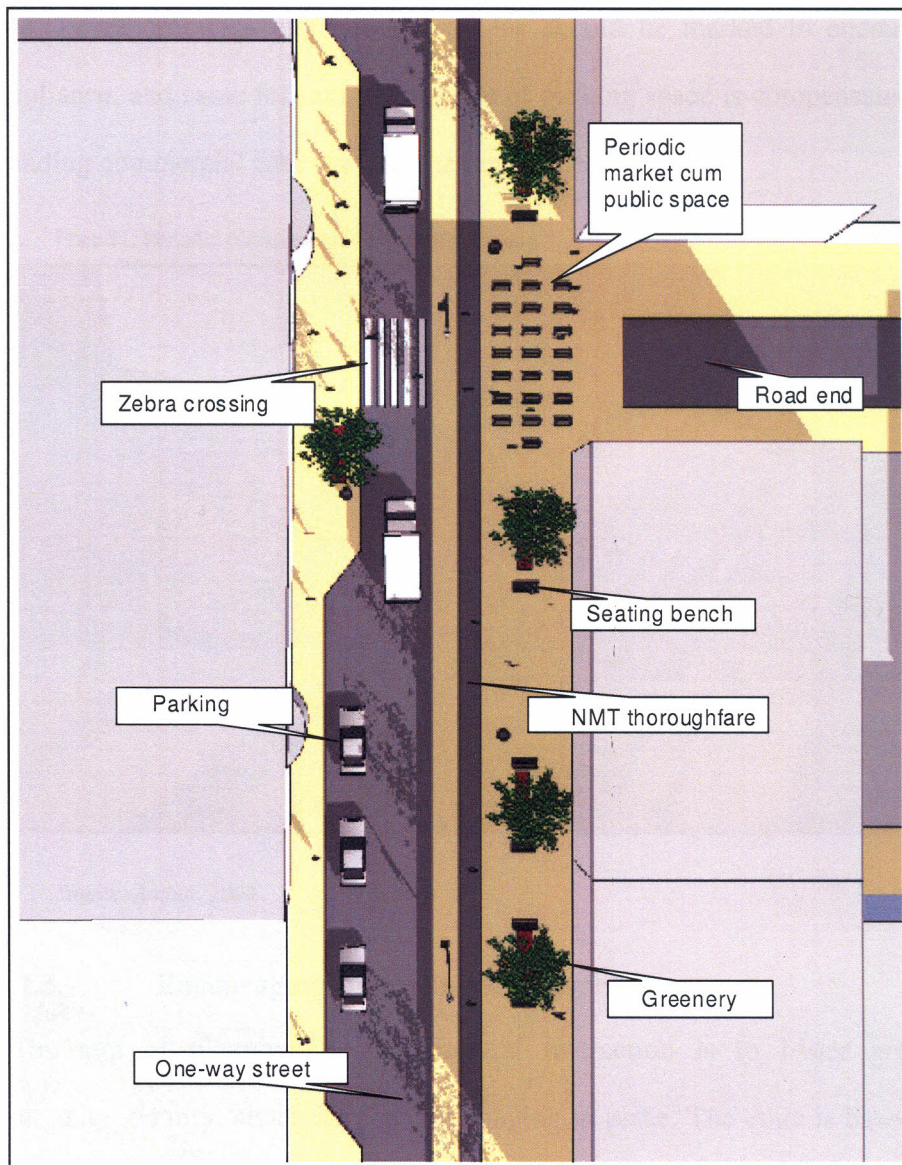
Periodic trading spaces are suggested to allow for wider participation and ownership of public spaces by different groups and discourage fixed installations. Prefabricated stalls should be made to aid in the character of place. Zebra crossings and bus stops signs should be marked to encourage compliance, and same for taxi ranks. Loss of parking space is compensated by extending commercial core towards the inner lanes.

Plate 21: Periodic public spaces for informal trading.
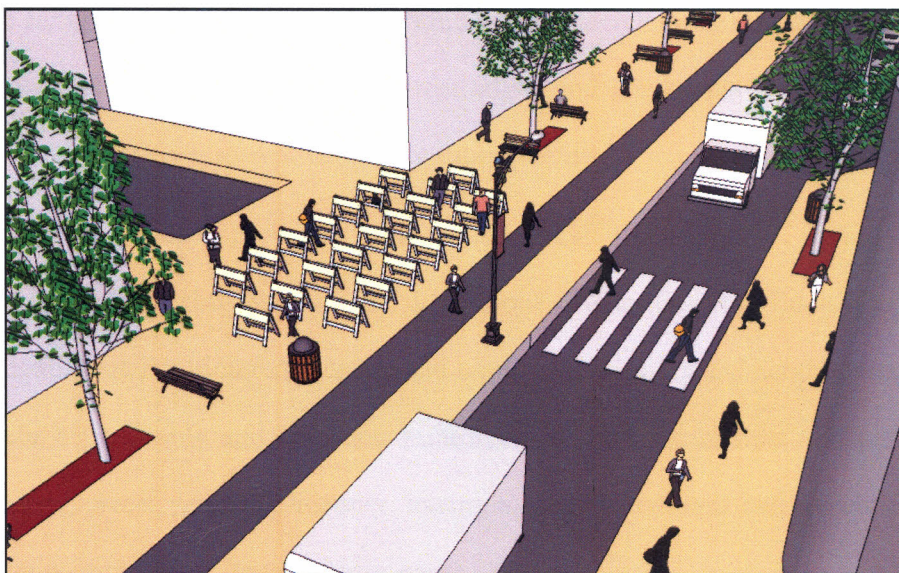
7.3.   Encouraging Intercultural Interaction

The aim of planning for intercultural interaction is to foster greater community identity, attachment, and belonging to place. The ethic is based on the social goal of promoting community by establishing localities where cultures intersect, and create interventions and acculturate groups. The idea follows from a concept known as interculturalism, derived from

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multiculturalism (Bianchini, 2004). The study identified areas where communities interact with each because of sharing similar concerns. One place where all communities have some engagement is the community hall, used as a place for weddings, meetings, games and various programs undertaken by community development officers.

A common concern amongst the communities is insecurity, encouraged by amongst others, lack of community cohesion, gated compounds, and use of steel shutters on business premises within the commercial core. Likewise, some recreational interaction occurs on street edges and pavements are a result of lack of open spaces, recreational and cultural facilities.

Physical design proposals for multicultural communities should be addresses at varying scales and dimensions. According to Talen (2002) residential intervention requires a broad range of housing types; neighborhoods should be walkable and compact; reinforcement of civic centers and public gathering places promotes identity; having a range of cultural and community facilities encourages participation; while interesting and safe streets promotes interaction. Applied to Eastleigh North, a number of physical intervention measures can promote intercultural interaction. We have addressed some of these in previous recommendations though I need to emphasize that development of cultural spaces or facilities at the intersect of the proposed Somali Town along Maj. Kinyanjui Street will serve to limit the enclave while providing areas of intercultural contact. Cultural facilities are also needed in

the eastern parts of Eastleigh adjacent to the Airbase due to increased population densities (see Map 16, pg 119). The commercial core of Eastleigh North can also be enhanced by discouraging steel shutter construction on front facing shops, which will also aid in illuminating the area at night and reduce insecurity.

7.4.   Summary

Urban planning has operated on the praxis of serving "public interests". In multicultural communities, such a generalized approach may be futile since different groups may have different needs and concerns defined by various cultural categorizations. This does not infer that there are no community needs or that there is no need for creating a cohesive community. The social goals of planning, are often oversimplified to mean planning for social services, such as health care delivery or job training (Talen, 2002). Talen reminds us that planning is not about solving social problems but about achieving social goals. The implications of planning in a multicultural society may seem like complicating what is already a contested exercise in the public realm but this study has shown that with a multidimensional approach it is possible.

It was one of the intentions of this study to inform urban planning on the implications of planning for multicultural urban communities using a case study of Eastleigh North. The study employed a number of techniques amongst them a graphical procedure using the 1999 ethnic census data that showed patterns of segregation within the area as at 1999. The procedure was

complimented by a household survey that brought out differences between the Somali and the rest of the community termed Non-Somali. The final phase of the study investigated spatial manifestations of diversity between various groups in terms of land uses and appropriation using observations, qualitative interviews, photography and discussions with key stakeholders amongst them, council and government officials, business persons and elders.

Cultural diversity in Eastleigh North is a factual reality driven alongside an ethnic religious dimension with resultant inequalities and social stratifications. Eastleigh North is a place with an identity conflict characterized by different groups contesting under normative or cultural processes for their survival. The community can be conceptualized in ethnic, religious, economic and social lines with convergences and differences forming the fabric of the community. One of the main questions arising from the study was the emerging ethnic enclave, and how planning should respond, if at all. Another issue was the diversity of economic and social activities, which needed a more robust land use planning classification system and street management respectively. The most pertinent outcome from this study is that a multidimensional approach that views multicultural communities in relational spatial scales offers a valid alternative in addressing social goals of planning.

While this study was exploratory in nature, it also raised a number of issues that merit further research. One of these is the social implications of formalization of an ethnic enclave. There are legal and political circumstances

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that need further clarifications. Similarly, further research is needed in determining the value that can be gained from Somali participation in terms of architecture and cultural facilities. Another issue that merits further study is the transportation system. The study was limited to primary road interventions. At the local level, there are indications that the gridiron system exacerbates insecurity in the area and suggests closing out streets to create semi public places. This should be carried out with phasing out of gated compounds. Nonetheless, public space intervention as has been suggested provides the best opportunities for addressing the social goals of planning for multicultural communities.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE

SUB-LOCATION:_____

Interviewee initial_____

ENUMERATION AREA:_____ROAD_____

NAME OF RESPONDENT
_____Tribe_____

DATE/TIME   _____/_____

HOUSE NO.   _____

DWELLING TYPE   _____ (SINGLE
UNIT/STOREY UNIT)

LENGTH OF STAY   _____ (YRS)

MIGRATED FROM
_____(AREA/TOWN/COUNTRY)

PART A

Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4		Q5	
Member/Relation	Sex	Age	Occupation		Education	

Code for Q1, Q4, Q5, Q7

Q1: Family member/ relation to head of household	Q4: Occupation/ Location within/out Eastleigh
Head of household	Self employed
Spouse	Family business
Son/Daughter	Employed
Sister/Brother	Unemployed
Relative	Other
Servant	Place of occupation
Other (specify)	Within Eastleigh
	Outside Eastleigh

Q5: Education (use no 1-15 for level of education)/ Location within/out Eastleigh	Q6: Marital Status
None	Single
1 - 8 Primary	Married monogamous
9 – 12 Secondary	Married polygamous
13 – 14 Advanced	Widowed
15 - University	Cohabiting
Location	Other
16 Within Eastleigh	Q7: Religion
17 Outside Eastleigh	Protestant
	Catholic
	Other Christian
	Muslim
	Traditionalist
	Other Religion
	No Religion

Are you a…Owner/ Tenant /Sub tenant

If Rented, how much rent is paid per month Ksh /US$

How many rooms do you presently occupy?

How many other/if any, households are on this compound

If you have several wives, where do they all stay?

Do you belong to any religion?(YES/NO) if yes, which?

Where do you normally worship? (IN/OUT EASTLEIGH

How far is it from where you stay? (KM OR MINUTES AWAY)

How do you normally travel when going outside Eastleigh? (PRIVATE CAR/MATATU/TAXI/BICYCLE/WALK/OTHER)

Do you know your neighbors well? (YES/NO/A FEW/MANY)

Do you get along with your neighbors?(YES/NO/ A FEW/MOST)

Do you know your neighbors' tribes/nationalities? (yes/no/some) PLEASE STATE

Do you have other relatives staying in Eastleigh? (YES/NO) if yes, where?

How many friends do you have in Eastleigh? (NONE/ A FEW/MANY)

What are the tribes of your five best friends who stay in Eastleigh and which part do they reside?

What other names (if any) are there for this part of Eastleigh?

Where is the most frequent place where you buy basic groceries (WITHIN EASTLEIGH/OUTSIDE EASTLEIGH) if in Eastleigh, is it a (KIOSK/ SHOP/ SUPERMARKET/ OTHER)

How far is the shop from where you live? (TIME or DISTANCE)

How often do you shop? (DAILY/WEEKLY/MONTHLY/UNCERTAIN/OTHER)

How often do you cook meals at home? (ALWAYS/ SOMETIMES/ NEVER)

Do you also eat in restaurants café's? (ALWAYS/ SOMETIMES/ NEVER)

How do you dispose of your solid waste (rubbish)? (PRIVATE COLLECTOR/ NCC/ OTHER (specify))

When not working, how do you like to spend your time?

Please indicate where else you do your shopping for the selected items (if applicable). (IN/OUT EASTLEIGH)

Clothes, shoes

Furniture

Kitchen utensils

Electronics

Books, music

Household groceries, Vegetables

Other

What is your approximate total household weekly expenditure (EXCLUDING RENT/ WATER/ ELECTRICITY)? Tick one box

Ksh 500 or less (US$ 10 OR LESS)

Ksh 500 to 1,500 (US$ 10 TO 20)

Ksh 1,500 to 2,500 (US$ 20 TO 30)

Ksh 2,500 to 3,500 (US$ 30 TO 45)

Ksh +3,500 (US$ 45 OVER)

How much do you pay for the following (if applicable) Ksh/US$

Rent per month

Electricity per month

Water per month

Where do you normally seek medical attention? (CLINIC/ PRIVATE DOCTOR/ CHEMIST/ OTHER) Is it located within or out of Eastleigh?

Do you have easy access to banking services in Eastleigh? (YES/NO) if yes where are they located

Do you have access to recreational places? (e.g. Parks/ Restaurants/ Bars/ Cinema/ Others). If yes, please specify

Are you a member of any social/community groups (e.g. sports, cooperative, social, estate security etc) (YES/NO)

Where the groups located and what do they do?

How do young* people normally socialize? (*especially TEENAGERS)

Where do the children around here normally play?

What three things don't you like about Eastleigh?

How would you rate the following issues within your part of Eastleigh? (Scale: 1. Very Good 2. Good 3. Fair 4.Bad 5.Very Bad)

Housing condition (arrangement/ privacy etc)

Neighborliness (feeling part of a community)

Transport networks

Cleanliness

Security Daytime

Security Nighttime

Noise

What is your number one reason for staying in Eastleigh?

How do you see Eastleigh to be in 10 years time?

PART B

THE EVERYDAY EXPERIENCES

I would now like you to estimate an average working day in Eastleigh from the time you wake up to when you sleep. Use the following guide.

WHAT TIME DO YOU WAKE UP?   AM/PM

WHAT TIME DO YOU NORMALLY SLEEP   AM/PM

(Divide the time into 3 hr times and find out what the person would normally be doing) e.g. (E.g. Between 9am and 12 pm AT WORK)

TIME BETWEEN   ACTIVITY

End of the interview.

APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW GUIDELINES FOR CITY COUNCIL OFFICIALS

NAME OF
RESPONDENT/TITLE_____

DATE_____

Planning related

What is the planning history of Eastleigh?

What kinds of land uses are currently permitted?

Is there an existing local plan?

What do the following terms mean regarding Eastleigh, section i, section ii etc?

What are the current wards/jurisdictions?

Are there particular zoning ordinances for different areas within Eastleigh? And what are they?

What is the level/type of service provided by the city council? (eg. Clinic/dispensary/hospital, primary secondary)

How has the recent population changes been addressed?

What is the impact of immigrant populations within the socio economic framework?

How is the city council prepared to deal with diversity of cultures/peoples?

What is the envisaged future and function of the area?

What are the various transport corridor functions and hierarchies?

What are the main and current planning challenges?

How are they resolved?

Development and control

What is the trend in development applications?

What is the average value of development applications?

What are the main types/category/s of businesses that operate in Eastleigh and to what groups are they most dominant? (somali/kikuyu/kamba/other/foreign)

Who are the hawkers/informal traders and how are they catered for? (spatially)

Social issues and key persons involved

What are the major social problems and how are they addressed?

Are the social problems attributed to particular ethnic/cultural/social groups? (if yes, indicate which)

Who are the councilors of Eastleigh north and respective ward/contact details?

Which NGO/CBO are involved in Eastleigh…and what type of activities are they engaged in?

Finance

What is the performance of the LATF budgeting framework? (copy)

How is the CDF performing?

What are the current urgent financing requirements/shortfalls?

What is the overall amount of revenue value from rates etc for Eastleigh north?

Thank you very much