

**Towards a relevant framework for establishing the semiology of architecture in Kenya required for architectural dialogue in the creation of a Critical Regionalist Kenyan architecture.**

Submitted by

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## DECLARATION

In accordance with Regulation 4e of the General Regulations G. 57 for dissertations and theses, I declare that this dissertation, which I hereby submit for the degree Master of Architecture (by Research) in the Department of Architecture in the Faculty of Engineering, Built Environment and Information Technology, at the University of Pretoria, is my own work, and has not previously been submitted by me for a degree at this University or any other tertiary institution.



**Anthony Oduor Ralwala**

**30 January 2013.**

## **DEDICATION**

This research study is dedicated to the memory of my late mother, Mrs. Nelly H. Ralwala. Mum, it is a pity that you could not live to witness the occasion of my Master's Degree award.

I also dedicate the study to my loving family; my wife Mrs. Joyce A. Ralwala and my two daughters Nelly and Celine, thanking them for their support, patience and understanding throughout the entire four year period of the study.

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- The members of staff at:
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  - ii. The Kenya National Archives Library.
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## ABSTRACT

### **Towards a relevant framework for establishing the semiology of architecture in Kenya required for architectural dialogue in the creation of a Critical Regionalist Kenyan architecture**

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**DEPARTMENT: Department of Architecture**

**DEGREE: Master of Architecture (by Research)**

The aim of this heuristic research is to develop a framework that is relevant and applicable for use in the description and explication of the semiology of Kenyan architectural artefacts from the paradigmatic perspectives of Phenomenology and Critical Regionalism, which are conjointly proposed for entrenchment into architectural pedagogy and praxis within the Kenyan context.

The research study is initially situated within the global body of existing research in architectural theory through acknowledging the achievements of selected works of past researchers while identifying pertinent *lacunae* with regard to the semiology of artefacts<sup>1</sup> - including the linkages between Kenyan architecture and its evolution, based on both tangible and intangible multivalent aspects of Kenyan culture, derived from politics, tradition, religion, economics and issues of identity as well as a context-specific history as anchor and an epistemology that favours Afrocentricity without entirely disparaging Eurocentricity and is therefore useful for architectural analysis and evaluation - within the architectural heritage of the Kenyan region. The study then addresses some of these *lacunae* by adopting an ecosystemic approach, where the historical milestones and key developments of the Kenyan nation are highlighted and structured using a historical timeline in which the various significant epochs are isolated and selected architectural artefacts therein are analysed within the cultural ecology of each epoch. The issues engaged include colonisation of the country, struggle and attainment of independence from British Imperialism, post-independence governance of the country as well as aspects of totalitarianism and pluralism, African Nationalism, culture, statecraft, *zeitgeist*, socio-politico-economic dynamics and geography which are extensively elucidated and elaborated as

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<sup>1</sup> The term artefact in this study is perceived from a broad perspective that encompasses all tangible natural and man-made cultural items that have architectural relevance. It includes works of architecture, public spaces and domains as portrayed in the place postulate and *Genius Loci* concept of architectural phenomenology that was outlined by Christian Norberg-Schulz (see definition of terms at the end of Chapter 1 as well as the Existential phenomenology of Norberg-Schulz in Chapter 3 of this study).

appropriate, outlining their roles in the genesis and evolution of Kenyan architectural forms and artefacts.

The issues pertaining to the semiology of Kenyan architectural artefacts are then explored from a theoretical position in order to ground the perspectives of the research study within a datum of a broad and integrative architectural theory. The relevance of historicism, typology, language and poetry to the paradigms of Phenomenology and Critical Regionalism is corroborated. The case is presented for the justification of the adoption and inclusion of these two paradigms into the Kenyan context. Existing criticisms and prejudices directed against the epistemological bases of the two paradigms are presented in outline, discussed and evaluated in order to address the extent to which they would invalidate the use of the two paradigms in anchoring the framework that is developed and established herein. The manifestations of the two paradigms within the case study artefact, Kenyatta International Conference Centre (KICC), are exposed and articulated.

After a brief evaluation of the present architectural curricula in Kenya, exemplified by the programme at the University of Nairobi's department of architecture, the methods by which a broader Phenomenology and a more inclusive Critical Regionalism could be co-opted into the existing Kenyan architectural curricula are proposed as a means of introducing rigour in the description and explication of the semiology of Kenyan architectural artefacts and to architectural practice within the Kenyan context. To achieve this objective, it was necessary for this study to consider other aspects of phenomenological philosophy that could be integrated into the proposed (new) curriculum beyond the Existential and embryonic Heideggerian based Phenomenology that was initially proposed and co-opted by Christian Norberg-Schulz. Phenomenology is then presented as a first order theory as well as a second order unitary and integrative theory that can anchor, complement and sustain the practice of Critical Regionalism in Kenya. The new curriculum is presented and motivated. Thus, the semiological explicative and interpretive framework for analysis of Kenyan architectural artefacts is established and substantiated.

Further areas of research, emanating from the considerations in this study, are then proposed as a means of continuing and maintaining the dialogue that is initiated herein, through employing the developed framework to build a *corpus* of the semiology of key architectural artefacts in the Kenyan context. Such a *corpus* will be indispensable in the training of the next generation of Kenyan architects.

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## **CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION**

### **1.0 Preamble**

In the history of contemporary architecture, many avant-garde taste cultures have emerged and with varied political agendas. These have included the transcendence of man, the quest for Universalism and the fascination with geometry, abstraction and emergent technologies (Colquhoun, 1994 [1989]: 236).

Each avant-garde taste culture has represented architectural establishments of which some have endured while others did not, in its way indicating the changing and ephemeral nature of culture and with it architectural concepts and theories (Jencks, 1991: 10).

However, the concept of architecture still endures because of its sustained 'fit' with multiple cultural variables. This is evident in the continuity of building traditions from one generation to the next through iterative use of locally available materials and technology to achieve spatial disposition of functions that cater for individual and community requirements within climatically responsive structures. This results in architecture that resonates with the contexts of culture and particularities of humans, enabling them to secure their place within a specific bio-physical environment.

To achieve an architecture that responds to culture from a wide range of informants and that has qualities that have a long term application, that is culturally dense and not merely commodification, stereotypical or short lived manifestations of fashion, requires that architecture is constructed from an ecosystemic perspective that implies a more holistic understanding of architecture and its role as a medium of cultural manifestation.

### **1.1 Introduction to the study area**

Establishment Kenyan architecture, at present, portrays mainly pragmatic utilitarian concepts as the only valid approaches to architectural design. This state of affairs follows from a period in which the construction industry dominated the infrastructure procurement process emanating from state funds, inclusive of the architectural process, with a resultant lack of demand for architectural quality and independence (Ogot, 1995d: 249). Eventually, economic recession gave rise to stalled public



projects. Many architects were without significant commissions.

The change of Government in 2003 restored confidence to Kenyan and foreign investors, providing a catalyst for economic growth and with it, the construction industry once again became dynamic and rejuvenated. While there is a new opportunity for achieving a built environment with enduring qualities, sadly the procurement process does not demand it and architects indiscriminately approach design from a pragmatic and utilitarian approach as stated before. There exists a situation where, while Kenyan society at large is not oblivious to enduring values inherent to culture, heritage, traditions and a strong bond to a particular bio-physical and cultural context, there is a persistent lack of recognition of these aspects by current Kenyan architects. These are referential sources that can inform design at the levels of form, content and context. Kenyan architects on the whole also demonstrate a disregard of extra disciplinary academics and their influence on architecture.

Apart from the confines of the two Schools of Architecture in Kenya, there is a lack of architectural criticism and a thriving architectural debate and the academics are not taking these practices to the world outside of these confines. Architectural academia also prefers to be silent on the effects of the state's approach to the role of and subsequent procurement of architecture, even when the situation requires otherwise. The only visible personality to consistently critique the state on these matters has been the late Nobel Laureate Professor Wangari Maathai.

The factors that have contributed to the present architectural condition have never been documented. Thus, a critical appraisal of Kenyan architecture has never been undertaken, denying the possibility of a further contemplation of and debate about how it can evolve.

No strong movement in architecture or town planning has been witnessed in Kenya. Architectural research by the Housing Research and Development Unit (HRDU), Housing and Building Research Institute (HABRI) and the Kenya Building Research Centre (KBRC) have mainly concentrated on providing design solutions for low cost housing. No collective position has been taken by professionals and academia to give direction for Kenyan architecture. Few comparative historiographic investigations have been undertaken with a focus on the transference of meaning between epochs or cultures. Kenyan architects have relegated themselves to being passive participants in architectural issues.

Ogot (1995b:192, 194, 210) observes that in post-independence Kenya, an array of issues have led to the emergence of new challenges in urban areas. These include *ad hoc* town planning, corruption and impunity, poverty, unemployment and insecurity and these have compromised the quality of dwellings, transportation and life at large. Anthony Kwame Appiah and Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (2003: 502) observe that:

“Years of economic mismanagement, corruption and political repression, especially after coming to power of President Daniel Arap Moi in 1978, have dimmed Kenya’s early promise...The country is now burdened with massive foreign debt, a failing infrastructure, accusations of widespread human rights abuses, and continuing ethnic tensions.”

Architecture is therefore a major element of any initiative to improve the quality of the built environment and a society’s sense of belonging in and placeness of an environment.

In such an endeavor, there is need for architects to renew their commitment to their profession. Kenyan architects should “insist on taking their destiny into their hands and refuse to play the role of an inert panorama” (Fanon, 1967 [1964]: 125). Anchoring their works in the domain of relevant architectural theory will give their work meaning and symbolism beyond the requirements of utilitarian programmatic, especially architectural theory that involves the particularities of identity, culture, time and place.

This study proceeds to identify relevant theory and subsequent approaches to architecture that will make a significant contribution towards the evolution of architecture of substance that is specific to and expressive of a historic and evolving Kenyan cultural landscape and its peoples.

## 1.2 A brief overview of existing research in the study area and substantiation of the need for further study

The search for appropriate theory to anchor the ongoing study involved the consideration of various theoretical constructs and research methodologies relating to the topic, focusing mainly on semiotics in architecture (as discussed below). This quest began with nineteenth century architects but remains a valid area of architectural enquiry to the present day. Gottfried Semper was pioneering when he declared that the cultural role of architecture was of greater significance than mere adherence to structure and function because architectural “ornament” was “a reflection of culture” and portrayed unique regional qualities (anon: 9). Quatremere de Quincy broadened the limits of architectural theory in order to accommodate ‘formal expressions’, thereby generating a variety of “dissimilar discourses” with regard to the semiology of architecture (anon: 10). John Ruskin’s (anon: 11) *Seven Lamps of Architecture* identified truth, beauty, memory and power as vital architectural parameters and these concepts were later followed up by phenomenologists including Edmund Husserl and Martin Heidegger. Though Eugene Viollet-le-Duc (anon: 12) focused mainly on the restoration of medieval buildings, his additions to these artefacts introduced new dimensions regarding the ‘sanctity’ of history in architectural evolution, by emphasising the perception that alteration and additions could revive and revitalise veiled internal content that was necessary for the comprehension of the semiology of these artefacts.

More recent methods of engaging the aspect of meaning in architecture include: Critical theory with its potential for use to extract and decipher active and passive codes within the Kenyan architectural heritage; a method validated by Chris Abel (2000: 89), who describes it in a tripartite construct as a recourse to the internal language or paradigmatic content of particular works of architecture, through the application of rules and criteria from external sources [both within and without the paradigm, but still limited to the discipline of architecture], as well as appropriation of rules and criteria from other well established extra-disciplinary sources by the method of analogy (ibid); Gestalt Psychology, which was appropriated by Robert Venturi (1977 [1966]: 88) to promote inclusion over exclusion through the consideration of the whole as greater than the sum of its parts. This method is anchored in the fact that “strengthening the parts could then provide solidarity for the whole” (Ogot, 1995d: 259); Comparative analogy (see Venturi ibid: 89-90), has been advocated by Amos Rapoport (2006: 179) as a logical sequel of the elementary natural stage of identification and documentation within the vernacular paradigm. Rosemary Latter argues that analysis should encourage “research and examine other cultures, using a comparative method” (2006: 248) while Paul Oliver reiterates that “comparative research has scarcely begun” (2006: 263). Abel (2000: 95) uses Ian Barbour’s thesis to

structure comparative analogy into a tripartite construct. Positive analogy refers to common attributes; Negative analogy exemplifies attributes that do not intersect while neutral analogy exemplifies unspecified attributes that are not subsets of the positive and negative analogies (ibid). Abel (2000: 81, 82, 84) describes the epistemological function of analogy as the generator of new ideas to enable the understanding of phenomena that we do not yet comprehend and according to him the only means of advancing knowledge; Linguistic analogy is also useful for decoding and interpreting architectural semiology. Abel proclaims that “the language analogy constitutes a perfectly legitimate and even rigorous method of enquiry into the nature of architecture” (ibid: 83). However, one must be conversant with the limitations of analogy because “if we are not careful, the differences between the two halves of the analogy” may deceive us into thinking that “architecture really is a language” (ibid: 84). Abel’s inspiration is Ludwig Wittgenstein’s theory of language as regards social interactions and culture forms, as well as its metaphoric extension (ibid: 85-86) Linguistic analogy has been described as structuralism by Alan Colquhoun (1989: 246), and Charles Jencks stated, in relation to postmodernism that “architecture is a language perceived through codes and that codes and therefore actual seeing differs somewhat in every culture” (1991: 12). Geoffrey Broadbent (1996 [1978]: 124-138), Venturi (1977 [1966]: 100-101) and Michael Graves (1996 [1982]: 86) have all employed linguistic analogy in the analysis of architectural semiology; Disjunctive analysis is a means of decoding architectural semiology, as proposed by Bernard Tschumi (1996 [1988]: 171-172). Inspired by Jacques Derrida's polemic that “ruptures lead to new concepts or structures” (ibid), he urged architects to substitute 'synthesis' with 'dissociation' or 'disjunctive analysis' in order to alter their preconceived perception of form in opposition to function while observing that architecture is incompatible with stasis and autonomy and is never ‘a self sufficient totality’. The method emphasises ‘dissociation, superposition and combination’ to probe and redefine the limits or boundaries of the discipline of architecture while generating new definitions (ibid). Disjunctive analysis can be used to extract architectural semiology from content beyond the established delineated limits of the discipline; Vernacular interpretation was proposed by Roderick Lawrence, (1990: 220), when he outlined seven prevalent methods of studying vernacular architecture. They are ‘the aesthetic/ formalist interpretation’ ‘the typological approach’ ‘an evolutionary theory’ , ‘social and geographic diffusionism’, ‘physical explanations, such as materials and technology, site and climate’, ‘social explanations, including economics, household structures and defence’ and ‘cultural factors including collective spatial images and religious practices’ (ibid). These methods could find application in the rigorous analysis of the semiology of Kenyan traditional architecture, although this study will discuss them in the contexts of architectural phenomenology and Critical Regionalism.

The main purpose of the semiology of architecture is to elucidate the broader meaning inherent in architectural works through recourse to linguistic models centred on the ability of signs to convey meaning (Colquhoun, 1994 [1989]: 246). Perceived as a 'positive science', semiology or structuralism extended architectural discourse beyond function to include cultural determinism and representation (ibid).

Various protagonists are credited with the incorporation and development of semiological studies in architecture after the Modern period came to a close. In the *Language of Postmodern Architecture*, Charles Jencks (1991: 10-20) introduces the concept of codification as a means of characterising the distinctive tenets of the post modern architectural paradigm. Architectural language was broadened to include double coding and cultural codes which target semiology at the levels of multivalence and place-specificity respectively to avoid “confusions in communication” (ibid: 15). Jencks identified *pluralism* (as defined by Robert Venturi) as the dominant discourse within this paradigm and emphasised its ephemeral nature, observing that richness of meaning could only be achieved through differences in style and approach. Jencks (ibid) derived inspiration from protagonists such as Jane Jacobs (in the form of *Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961) and Robert Venturi- in the form of *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* (1966). Jencks’ work is useful to the topic at hand, but the discourse is Eurocentric, even where examples are drawn from regions such as Saudi Arabia and Japan. There is a lack of recognition of Africa within his ‘global village’ as well as the appreciation of African epistemology. Jencks also does not address the multiple nature of culture since he does not extend his discourse to include ethnography, politics, religion, tradition and identity. He focuses only on mainstream architecture and does not consider the vernacular paradigm as worthy of mention. His context is often global. This generates the disadvantage of enabling only a shallow and broad engagement with issues rather than an in-depth analysis. There is a need to address the above *lacunae*.

Venturi’s concept of pluralism in architecture is a perception of architecture as organised complexity and contradiction as pertains to cultural codification. Venturi broadened architectural discourse by challenging the then existing establishment to avoid the picturesque and to promote inclusion rather than an exclusion that was achieved through reductive simplicity and a selectivity of problems that could be solved by architecture. The architectural task was perceived as an “obligation to the difficult whole” through principles of ‘Gestalt Psychology’ and ‘inflection’ (Venturi, 1977 [1966]:

88-96). Venturi introduced the validity of the 'decorated shed' (with meaning derived from the applied form) as opposing to the 'duck' building (with meaning derived from the integrated form) and acknowledged 'ugly and ordinary architecture' as a source of vital symbols, styles, associations, connotations and denotations (Venturi & Scott-Brown, 1977 [1972]: 90-105, 129-165). However, due to his academic context, Venturi's examples were Eurocentric and based on Western epistemologies. Like Jencks, his discourse excluded the intangible aspects of architecture as well as tensions arising from cultural confluence, fusion and conflict.

Christian Norberg-Schulz argues that a holistic perception of architecture is possible only through Heideggerian phenomenology rather than semiology (1996 [1983]: 438). He introduced and validated phenomenology as a paradigm of architectural discourse. Through publications such as *Genius Loci* (1980a), *Meaning in Western Architecture* (1980b) [1975], *Intentions in Architecture* (1963), *Heidegger's thinking on Architecture* (1996 [1983]), he advocates for a regional architecture through proclaiming that functions "take place in very different ways and demand places with different properties, in accordance with different cultural traditions and different environmental conditions" - this results in a "particular identity" (1980a: 8). On linguistic analogy, he asserts that "poetry in fact is able to concretise those totalities which elude science and may therefore suggest how we might proceed to obtain the needed understanding" (ibid). Norberg-Schulz presents a compelling thesis which is rather broad and general. This is justified, however, because his purpose is to incorporate phenomenology into architectural theory and practice. There is a need to further fragment and restructure this broad phenomenology through incorporation into more directed theory and practice, which attempts to use it to achieve a more in-depth probe and which then identifies and extracts its leitmotifs while analysing specific contexts as 'existential places' (Norberg-Schulz, 1980a: 5-23). This process presents itself as a fruitful approach in addressing the issues stated in the introduction to the study and will be tested in this study (see chapters 3 and 4). Although he considers semiology as distinct from phenomenology (Norberg-Schulz, 1996 [1983]: 438), and therefore inadequate for the exposition of architectural meaning, he ignores the intersection of the two paradigms in cultural determinism. From this it can be posed that one may perceive phenomenology as a subset of semiology through recognition of the mutual symbiosis between them. This position will be reflected in the discourse within the ongoing dissertation.

Kenneth Frampton, Alexander Tzonis and Liaine Lefavre have engaged Critical Regionalism as a paradigm that is central to contemporary architectural semiology and practice. In *Towards a*

*Critical Regionalism: six points for an architecture of resistance* (1985 [1983]) and *Prospects for a Critical Regionalism* (1996 [1983]), Frampton (1996b [1983]: 480) proposes Critical Regionalism as the tool to challenge universal architectural approaches through introspection as a means of confrontation, by identifying local cultural and traditional aspects of building that can be used to resist wanton proliferation of universal architectural principles. The universal is perceived as dominating, oppressive and destructive (ibid: 470; Tzonis and Lefaivre, 1996 [1990]: 486). Tzonis and Lefaivre in *Why Critical Regionalism today* (1996 [1990]: 483, 489) identify defamiliarisation as a process of elucidating architectural meaning through deconstruction as a means of reconstruction. Scenography is equated with sacrilege (Frampton, 1996b [1983]: 471, 480) and described by Lewis Mumford's "premium is placed upon the facade" (in Tzonis and Lefaivre, 1996 [1990]: 486). Although Frampton, Tzonis and Lefaivre recognise the advent of globalisation as synonymous with the disappearance of the region, their discourse exhibits *lacunae* such as the lack of a clear definition of a region, a neutral stance towards history and a general silence on other leitmotifs of Critical Regionalism beyond resistance (confrontation) and defamiliarisation. Further research is required to describe and categorise these ignored leitmotifs because a paradigm must have its own "set of rules" (Abel, 2000: 131-132). This counters the position taken by Tzonis and Lefaivre (1996 [1990]: 490), that Critical Regionalism does not have internal motifs as well as the perception of Critical Regionalism as an individual but not a collective paradigm (Frampton, 1996 [1983]: 477). Critical Regionalism is distinct from Nationalistic Regionalism and its practice has the potential to create culturally sensitive and meaningful architecture rather than uniform monotonous architecture characterised by rigid dogmatic adherence emanating from Nationalistic singularity of approach (see Chapter 3 of this study).

Geoffrey Broadbent in *A plain man's guide to the theory of signs in architecture* (1996 [1978]: 124-138), insists that all buildings convey meaning. He argues that Ferdinand de Saussure's 'Theory of signs' must be employed to enable proper communication of meaning in architecture. He invokes the thesis of Charles Morris to structure semiology into pragmatic, semantic and syntactic aspects in order to describe the origin, meaning and combination of the signification system respectively. Like Frampton (1985 [1983]: 16-28) and Venturi (1977 [1966]: 88), he insists on a complete sensorial perception of architecture (ibid). The approach is useful in the explication of architectural semiology but it cannot achieve a complete description of architectural experience, since spiritual and other intangible cultural aspects like taboos and myths may not always be reducible to physical signs. However, the broadened phenomenology that is proposed in Chapter 4 of this study incorporates the decoding of signs as one of the various methods of elucidating meaning within an artefact.

In his semiological analysis of architecture in *A case for Figurative Architecture*, Michael Graves (1996 [1982]: 86-90), presents the method of linguistic analogy, insisting that architecture has a standard and a poetic language, whose character portrays narrative, symbolic, nostalgic and historic aspects. Graves emphasises the centrality of culture to architecture, which must be expressed through figuration and association with anthropocentricity, and argues that a symbolic construct of architecture must isolate the thematic differences of the part and the whole. Graves's discourse is limited to disciplinary content such as space and form but excludes place. His examples are derived from Western, modern and classical contexts, neglecting African mainstream and vernacular architecture. Both Graves and Broadbent are silent on the multivalent nature of culture beyond its traditional dimension. They do not address the role of politics and religion in daily life and their implications on spatial appropriation. They ignore the roles of history, politics and typology in the evolution of architectural semiology.

Chris Abel, in *Architecture and Identity* (2000), argues for a 'responsive architecture' inspired by craft originating in a regional environment with appropriate universal technology. He perceives architecture as identity, (ibid: 141) and is inspired by Norberg-Schulz's definition of phenomenology as "the study of essences" in which "all problems amount to the finding of essences" (ibid: 143). However the quest for essence must be reconciled with the recognition of Jencks' position that architecture is "irreducibly plural" and "an unstable hybrid" (ibid). Abel argues for a broad analogy, including linguistic analogy and its metaphoric extension as a means of generating new ideas upon his synthesis of the contributions of Umberto Eco, Ludwig Wittgenstein and Charles Jencks, (ibid: 82, 84). He proposes a regional architecture that employs culture and technology as the basis for its production (ibid: 163-177), and observes that architecture in developing countries has embarked on the search for "local and other alternative culture-forms" as suitable models to challenge Western hegemony, (ibid: 177). However, Abel's discourse is centred on Eastern and Western epistemologies, which is understandable, because this is where his academic career was based. His discourse excluded the complexities of the African, and in particular, the Kenyan region. These include ethnicity, political authoritarianism, the paradox of multiple identities, scarcity and skewed distribution of resources and their influence on architectural evolution. Such *lacunae* need to be addressed in an attempt to formulate a responsive architecture for Kenya.

Previous studies of African Architecture have focused more on taxonomy than semiology. Such



studies are based on only one epoch and do not look at the transfer of semiology or cross-referencing back to previous epochs. Robert Rukwaro and Sylvester Maina's *Transformation of Maasai Art and Architecture* (2006) and Anzaya Akatsa's dissertation *Continuity and Change* (1984), are successful attempts of integrating various epochs to provide new interpretation, but Chema Katua's dissertation *Colonialism and its impact on Architecture in Kenya* (1989) is anchored in the colonial epoch. This may probably be due to the absence of a chronologically established body of regional African Architecture. There is thus a need to categorise Kenyan architecture into different epochs from 1890 to the present. However such categorisation must recognise the co-existence of different epochs within the same temporal frame and the inevitability of transformation, overlap and fusion due to cultural interaction that results in the evolution of hybrids.

Susan Denyer's *African Traditional Architecture* (1978) is a significant publication that has been used in the instruction of architecture students throughout Africa. Denyer perceived African societies as a homogeneous entity and hence identified the constants within African traditional architecture under themes such as defence, the building process, states and towns, decoration and style and the impact of modernisation. Her work was pioneering as it managed to establish African traditional architecture as a valid area of discourse. Although she set the stage for future research by identifying aspects of analysis that could be used in any particular region, the work is basically a taxonomy and therefore did not address the challenges to this paradigm, as posed by post colonial impacts and policies of the individual African states. The work did not include the urban vernacular exemplified by shanty towns and instant communities. As the discourse was totally Afrocentric, there was minimal reference to Western architectural discourses and silence on the issue of multiple identities resulting from fusion of African and Western education and value systems that could result in new and hybrid taste cultures. It remains necessary to propose a strategy as to how the wealth of knowledge she uncovered can be incorporated into architectural education at a tertiary level as well as mainstream architectural practice to include emergent typologies and typological evolution, as exhibited in new tasks without traditional precedence, such as institutions, office blocks and industrial buildings. This study will address some of these *lacunae* and suggest future areas of research that could engage any remnant exclusions in order to develop a relevant *corpus* of Kenyan architectural heritage.

Paul Oliver has published extensively on vernacular architecture from the 1990s to fairly recently (see List of sources). Oliver, (2006: 268) emphasises that buildings are inseparable from their cultural contexts and validates a multidisciplinary approach to the study of vernacular environments.

He identifies comparative research on societies within the vernacular domain as a significant *lacuna*, observing that “singularities and commonalities” have been ignored in favour of “isolates” (ibid: 263). He co-ordinated the 'Encyclopedia project' which documented the entire global vernacular architecture. This epoch, according to Amos Rapoport, (2006:179) marked a significant shift on vernacular studies from the natural history stage of identification and documentation to the explanatory stage which is comparative, integrative, conceptual and theoretical. The explanatory stage is currently lacking in vernacular studies in Kenya and there is a need to demonstrate how this can be done through case studies of selected vernacular communities in Kenya.

Amos Rapoport (1990, 2006) broadened the limits of vernacular architecture studies by unveiling its dual nature as a process and product, and with multiple characteristics. He introduced a different approach to taxonomy that emphasises polythetic attributes over monothetic ones, insisting that the progressive attitude is to learn from the vernacular through product rather than process characteristics (Rapoport, 2006: 69-101). As he admits, his theory needs further testing in order to validate it. It is surmised that the use of excessive multiple attributes may lead to significant overlap of boundaries rather than distinction between categories and is therefore not useful for this enquiry, as all architecture may then tend towards homogeneity which would be a negation of previous discourse and research.

Apart from the above, there are other researchers who have enlarged the scope of study on the semiology of African architecture. Archaeologists and anthropologists have looked at settlements and built form in a far more integrated manner. It is regrettable that architects have not been involved in these studies as they would have facilitated further enrichment of meaning and interpretation. Bakker (1999) demonstrated how the results from the discipline of archaeology could be utilised for a more ecosystemic integrated process of architectural re-interpretation (ibid: 4). In Kenya, chosen priorities at the National Museum have prevented the initiation of collaboration between architects and archaeologists to expand the interpretation of the history of human settlements. According to Maxon “Far more attention at the national museum [of Kenya] was given, for example, to human origins and the Stone Age than to more recent cultural periods” (1995: 140). This study proposes the need for further inquiry into the enactment of this vital collaboration, in order to expand the developed semiological framework (see Chapter 5: conclusions and recommendations). An example of a recent archaeological study is that of Robert Soper (s.a., but probably 1960-1965), that focused on the Chyulu Hills in Kenya. The study's mandate was broad, tackling issues of geology, water, vegetation

and wildlife but, devoted only a small section to human occupation. It is possible to challenge the findings of the study on the basis of limitations of the excavation equipment employed, which determined the maximum depths that could be reached; the use of obsolete dating equipment, which leads one to question the validity of the chronological interpretation that was formulated and the absence of multiple researchers from varied disciplinary backgrounds to provide a holistic interpretation of the site.

However, anthropologists have been more successful at integrating the intangible aspects of human settlement and culture. Ghanaian anthropologist Eric Ayisi (1992 [1972]) has traced the origins of the discipline of anthropology, citing its founders and their contributions and utilised the theories of modern anthropology, to tackle issues of African culture (including sex and marriage, the family, household and lineage, kinship, succession, systems of governance, social control, judicial processes, religion, rituals and taboo), as well as the impact of colonialism and modernisation on African cultural traditions and the consequent emergent changes. Pat Caplan, Susan Beckerleg, Mohamed Saleh, Assibi Amidu and Paul Musau have extensively studied the Swahili culture and its multiple identities in the contexts of modernisation versus tradition, politics, poetry, song and dance as well as norms and values. Their findings are expressed in Caplan and Topan's (2004) *Swahili Modernities (Culture, politics and identity on the East Coast of Africa)*. The inclusion of the intangible culture with material culture, as demonstrated in this study, will enhance semiological architectural interpretation of cultural expressions in Kenya.

It is easy to discern the dearth of studies that include the intangible with the analysis of the tangible in Kenyan architectural academia. Normative positions within discourse have excluded cultural manifestations like philosophy, belief systems and mores in the understanding of building and dwelling.

A recent study in the area of meaning in a specific regionalist architecture in Africa is that of Amira Osman (2004), focusing on riverine environments of Sudan. The study departed from an ecosystemic perspective following on the approach of Bakker (ibid), and incorporated knowledge from other disciplines. The major contribution of the study was that it broadened the scope of architecture to include artefacts derived from daily life (such as items of clothing as they relate to spatial boundaries) as well as intangible conditions underlying the formation of architecture. However, she excluded the impact of modernisation as a result of the politics of colonisation and post independence governance,

as well as the mainstream architecture of the Sudan region, due to her focus on the northern riverine region.

More recently, Craig Atkins (2008) focused on Critical Regionalism with particular reference to the South African region. A shortcoming of the study is that, in the understanding of the topic, he only concentrated on the philosophy of the protagonist Kenneth Frampton in *Modern Architecture: A critical History* (1980, 1985, 1992), 1985 [1983], 1996b [1983] (see List of sources), *Placing Resistance: Ten Points of an Architecture of Regionalism* (1987; 2007) and *Studies in Tectonic Culture: The Poetics of Construction in the Nineteenth Century Architecture* (1995). He ignored the significant contribution of Norberg-Schulz by referring, in passing, to only two of his published works, ie *The Phenomenon of Place* 1996a [1976] and *Heiddeger's Thinking on Architecture* 1996b [1983], while ignoring the main semiological texts of Norberg-Schulz (1980a, 1980b [1975]; see List of sources). However, a contribution of this study was the fact that the author managed to trace the origins of Regionalism in Africa and the West, as well as to categorise it into its various classes and slightly differing schools of thought. Due to the specific aims and delineation of the study, it was not multidisciplinary and did not address the culture of various regions in which the practice of regionalism was identified. Critical Regionalism was not considered from a broader philosophical point of view. The possibility of intersection of Critical Regionalism with other paradigms such as Modernism and Post-modernism was not explored since it was viewed in counter position to them. The 'architecture without architects' was also ignored. Fusion of Critical Regionalism with the paradigm of phenomenology was not attempted. These *lacunae* will be explored in this study.

Apart from Paul Oliver, Susan Denyer and Amos Rapoport, there are other researchers and practicing architects, both on the continent and globally, who have worked or are currently working on building dialogue to achieve a relevant regional architecture. They include Lindsay Asquith and Marcel Vellinga (2006), Simon Bronner, Hassan Fathy, Henry Glassie, Stephen Lekson, John Turner, Roderick Lawrence, Ronald Lewcock, Trevor Marchand, Suha Özkan, David Stea and Mete Turan, Pierre Jequier, Laurent Sechaud, Antoni Folkers and Joe Osao-Addo, to mention but a few within the vernacular paradigm. Globally some architects have worked within mainstream paradigms but some of their works have retained a regional flavour, exhibiting contextualism. Examples include Charles Correa and Balkrishna Doshi in India, both with extensive *oeuvre* including Sangath and the Institute of Management, Ahmedabad; Alvar Aalto and his recourse to the Finnish vernacular and traditions to express material and texture within the historical, cultural and technical contexts at Viipuri Library and

Saynatsalo Town Hall; Alvaro Siza and his alternative interpretation of modernism exemplifying a recourse to function and typological interpretation rooted in societal cultural concerns, with the appropriation of the universal to suit the local situation, as exemplified by the housing project on the outskirts of Evora and the School of Architecture at Porto University; Luis Barragan and the use of simple limited materials to express culture and tradition in order to portray the prevalent tension between the public and private domains and serene harmonious landscapes characterised by beauty, silence, solitude and serenity; Oscar Niemeyer with masterpieces in Brasilia and the United Nations Headquarters in New York. Though a modernist, his *oeuvre* shows a few select works that are imbued with aspects of phenomenology and Critical Regionalism exemplified by the tension between convex and concave surfaces inspired by colonial Baroque Architecture of Brazil and the multivalent Cathedral Metropolitana (1960), anchored in the cultural identity of the Catholic context with symbolic associations such as the thorn crown of Christ, the blossom of anthers and 'hands in prayer'; Carlo Scarpa and the revival of traditional craft materials in contemporary contexts to generate non-photogenic architecture centred on anthropocentricity to portray pre-industrial approaches and Frank Lloyd Wright with the 'Prairie Style' as a means of confronting European renaissance and neo-classicism by the use of free circulation, gentle sloping roofs with large overhangs and open plans (anon: 1-8).

Amancio (Pancho) Guedes, Gabriel (Gawie) Fagan and Norman Eaton are suitable examples of Critical Regionalist architects from the South African context (Atkins, 2008: 91-99). Leading architectural firms in Kenya such as Symbion International (with practices in Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and Botswana), Mutiso-Menezes and Triad (in Kenya, Uganda and Rwanda) have few select works that portray extensive adherence to the principles of phenomenology and Critical Regionalism. These include the United Nations Gigiri, Nairobi (Mutiso-Menezes), Parliament buildings Nairobi (Triad), Lilian Towers Nairobi, Oshwal Community Centre Nairobi, Shimba Hills Lodge, Sarova Shaba lodge and Mweya lodge (all by Symbion International) and the Kenyatta International Conference Centre (hereafter the KICC) Nairobi, by Karl Henrik Nostvik (<http://www.symbion-int.com/>; <http://www.triad.co.ke/home.htm>; <http://www.kicc.co.ke>).

Despite the existence of such select and relevant Critical Regionalist works in Kenya, there is a persistent lack of research and dialogue on this topic and a prevalent lack of progress in finding relevant architecture to the Kenyan context. Nairobi is one of the few cities in Africa to host a United Nations Agency (the UNEP (United Nations Environmental Programme), UN Habitat and United

Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR). Therefore it should be appropriate that architectural academia in Kenya recognises the role of UNESCO World Heritage Sites (hereafter WHS) in Africa as a means of developing a better semiological understanding of African architecture. Various nomination dossiers of historical vernacular sites and those from the colonial epoch are readily available from the UNESCO World Heritage Centre website (see List of sources) and they provide descriptions and motivations for the preservation of this vital architectural heritage.

Significant selection criteria of a cultural landscape as a WHS include its representation as a “masterpiece of human creative genius” (<http://whc.unesco.org/en/criteria>). This must be interpreted within the contextual milieu of the particular landscape, including the limitations of the existing technology. A building must be “an outstanding example” of “architectural or technological ensemble” to demonstrate “significant stage(s) in human history” (ibid). This indicates that a cultural landscape can exhibit multiple histories established through several epochs. Such is the case for the Kenyan architectural heritage. The International Council on Monuments and Sites (hereafter ICOMOS) *Charter on the Interpretation and Presentation of Sites* (2006) states that “The public interpretation of a cultural heritage site should always clearly distinguish and date the successive phases and influences of its evolution. The contribution of all periods to the significance of a site should be respected.” (ICOMOS 2006: 8, as cited in Bakker (2007: 16)). In order to critically analyse Kenyan architecture, since 1890, in terms of semiology and evaluate its qualities relative to criteria relating to architectural significance, it is necessary to disentangle its multiple histories into various epochs during its evolution, before (synthetically) assembling them in a unitary interpretation. This requires meaning to be equated with interpretation, as presented by Bakker in regards to the South African heritage, when he proclaims that:

“Meaning in a landscape can be mapped as one method of interpretation. An integrated mapping of the ecology of place relies on the principle that any cultural landscape has intended or purposefully encoded cultural meanings, as well as accrued meanings which, through a decoding process, may be read or deciphered from a recognition and understanding of the socially constructed, multi-layered relationships between people and a physical site and related elements” (2007: 20).

The UNESCO WHS selection criteria recognise that “human interaction with the environment” can “become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change” (<http://whc.unesco.org/en/criteria>). This criterion is satisfied by most African traditional architecture, as it faces the onslaught of modernisation. However, the UNESCO WHC recognises the “interchange of human values, over a

span of time” accepting the inevitability of transformation due to pressures from internal and external factors (ibid). It is therefore necessary, in the selection of case studies from both mainstream and vernacular architectural works within the Kenyan context, to emphasise inclusivity so as to reveal any transformations, fusion or formation of hybrids as evidence of cultural interaction which could be the catalyst for this evolution.

A WHS must be “tangibly associated with events or living traditions or with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance” (ibid). This indicates that UNESCO recognises the ‘Universal’, but why should these criteria be limited to tangible associations? The intangible cannot be measured or quantified but it is nevertheless relevant. Some questions regarding the WHS criteria are then pertinent. How can the universality of a belief, idea or artistic work be assessed? How do you demonstrate diversity, originality and uniqueness in a pluralistic society? These questions reflect the subjective nature of the WHS criteria. The ICOMOS *Charter on the Interpretation and Presentation of Sites* provides a better guide for the expansion and enrichment of interpretation by extending it to include the intangible. “Intangible elements of a site’s heritage such as cultural and spiritual traditions, stories, music, dance, theatre, literature, visual arts, personal customs and cuisine should be noted and included in its interpretation.” (ICOMOS 2006: 8, cited in Bakker, 2007: 16).

Examples of WHS in Africa include: Lamu in Kenya, demonstrating a culture that withstood the incursions of Arab, Portuguese and British civilisations and successfully fused them with African customs to produce a living testimony of a unique Swahili architecture; Djenné, Timbuktu and the Tomb of Askia in Mali which demonstrate how Trans-saharan trade and Islam fused religion and culture to produce a forceful and vital earthen architecture of that particular epoch; The Bandiagara cliff, Mali (also known as the Land of the Dogons), show-casing the persistence of social traditions, customs and rituals expressed in a unique earthen architecture that endures in spite of modernisation; The archaeological site of Volubilis in Morocco, exemplifying an exceptionally preserved Roman colonial town that highlights an early intersection of Western and African civilizations, emphasising the role of archaeology to architecture in expanding the understanding of human settlement; Gebel Barkal in the Napatan region of the Sudan as pyramids with a unique typology and assemblage technique; Osun-Osogbo sacred grove in Nigeria as a shrine that reflects Yoruba worship and cosmology; the Tombs of the Buganda kings at Kasubi, Uganda, as a sacred site on a hilltop demonstrating forceful architecture achieved through a collage composition of organic materials that is rich in intangible associations with spirituality and cultural identity. Previously, a former palace of the ‘Kabakas’ or kings,

it indicates how successful change of use can occur within the vernacular; and lastly, the Portuguese city of Mazgan in Morocco, like Lamu in Kenya, is a living testimony of the successful confluence of Western and African civilisations fused and expressed in architecture and town planning. (<http://whc.unesco.org/en/list>).

A link between architecture, criticism and praxis has not yet been established in Kenya. Architectural research at the School of the Built Environment, University of Nairobi, is grouped into various domains including housing and urban design, impact of water and sanitation on settlement, collaboration in low-income housing, thermal comfort, documentation of historical monuments, characterisation of walling materials in Kenya, building maintenance and management and highway design and transportation in relation to construction (<http://www.uonbi.ac.ke/departments/arch-build-sci/research.html>). While this research is relevant, its outcome is not yet in the public domain although the intention is to eventually publish books relating to each category. The school of Architecture at Jomo Kenyatta University has initiated the documentation of all building materials in the coastal region of Kenya with a view to expanding the program to the rest of the country (Kabui, 2007).

Though useful, the ongoing research at these universities is still in the stage of documentation rather than that of interpretation. It can therefore be observed that the search for meaning in Kenyan architecture has been disjointed and incomprehensive. No framework exists to guide the search for meaning within the Kenyan architectural heritage. No dialogue or colloquiums have been initiated to achieve consensus or to indicate the direction for such research. It is therefore imperative to challenge the normative positions taken by architectural academia and practice in Kenya through the normative positions within this dissertation. The *corpus* of knowledge contained herein will be the initial step in constructing an argument for the need of a vibrant critical culture within academia and architectural practice in order to invoke, promote and sustain architectural debate and intellectual interest in Kenya and East Africa at large through the topical issues considered in this research.

The student theses at both Nairobi and Jomo Kenyatta Universities have not succeeded in formulating a holistic picture of Kenyan architecture as the works have been individualistic, fragmented and with varied motivations. Examples include Akatsa (1984) and Katua (1989). As each thesis focuses on the subject of a student's choice, few theses have identified architectural theory as the object of their discourse. Therefore, it is vital to deposit a body of knowledge in which architectural theory and history are indivisible from context, for use in the tertiary education of architects. Such a



*corpus* will not only establish a basis for further inquiry but will also enable the transcendence of the ephemerality that was identified by Jencks (1991: 10) in order to remain relevant to future generations of architects. It will also obscure the role of vested interests such as funding sources in the initiation of directed research. It must be capable of undergoing revisions and expansions to accommodate any new emergent knowledge.

This *corpus* will need to be “aware of certain limitations in crossing the historically delineated professional boundaries which are still clearly delineated” (Bakker, 1999: 7). However, it must “integrate, augment and synthesise existing work in the field” (ibid: 5). Its potential as an “open-ended interpretive tool for further research” (ibid) will be tested upon subsequent use as a basis for more advanced research, when it is employed to investigate the efficacy of an eco-systemic approach to analysing architecture, characterised by the reading of an artefact as part of ecology of contexts.

### 1.3 The choice between Afrocentric and Eurocentric epistemologies

In a letter to the Home Office in 1947, Sir Philip Mitchell, the then governor of Kenya wrote about his Kenyan ‘subjects’:

“How primitive the state of this people is...How deplorable the spiritual, moral and social chaos in which they are adrift” (Davidson, 1992: 179).

This statement represents the prevailing colonial mindset of the period- condemned extensively by widely differing sources seeking to promote Afrocentric discourse within academia- and this is outlined by the author in order to avoid characterisation of the ongoing study as “a slave to intellectual conformism” (Diop, 1962 [1959]: 8). Ola Uduku and Alfred Zack-Williams highlight this Afrocentric position when they state that “any meaningful and authentic study of people of African descent must start and proceed with Africa as the centre, not the periphery; as subject not object” (2004: 8). This is consistent with Lansana Keita (1991: 203) who insists that “philosophy in an African context should seek an African orientation”. This direction is adopted in this study when it focuses on the architectural heritage of Kenya, engaging it within its cultural context of production and evolution.

The colonial mindset was justified on the basis of biased Eurocentric epistemologies. A brief outline of such bias is vital in order to enable future Kenyan architectural researchers to make informed choices between these ‘so-called’ polar epistemologies, in relation to discourse centred on the semiology of any cultural artefact. They can then direct this “cultural mission, not in a prejudiced but in an objective [or tolerant subjective] manner” (ibid: 10), without unjustified disparagement of Eurocentricity.

Philosophical thought in academia “has been determined to a great extent by the ideological

systems of belief imposed on Africa by European scholarship of the pre-colonial and post-colonial eras” (Keita, 1991: 198). An example is the theory of anthropological evolutionism which considered “differences between cultures” as “differences in hierarchy” and was “very much part of the colonial discourse” (Heynen, 2005: 93) - a Eurocentric and racist theory as it entrenched perceptions of superiority of Western cultures (ibid). In concurrence with Heynen, Dismas Masolo (1983: 50) states that:

“This scientific bias not only gives suspicion about its major purposes, but also unscrupulously discriminates the African participation- in the name of the preservation of “scientific objectivity” ”.

Henry Odera Oruka (1983: 59) exemplifies this scientific bias with the “*Master-Slave culture*”:

“Black is treated as evil, ugly, brutal, irrational and un-intelligent. White on the other hand is seen to have all the opposite characteristics of these base qualities. The consequence is a conception of two types of culture treated as permanent and irreducible to each other- the master culture and the slave culture. White civilization is seen as an example of the former while black culture is equated with the latter”. Furthermore “History is the white man’s history; culture is a creation of the *Occidents* and some *Orients*; and in scholarship there is no black contribution” (ibid: 60).

The philosophies of Kant and Hegel also anchored the colonial mindset. Christian Neugebauer (1991: 247, 249) argues that “Hegel’s racism is a well hidden and even unknown fact” while “Kant’s racism is unknown to academic philosophy in Africa and only known to a few circles in Vienna and Frankfurt”. Kant outlined a racially motivated intellectual pecking order with “the White on top” while Hegel associated Africa with staticity, primitivity, lack of history, profligacy, cultural homogeneity, savageness and lack of a proper philosophy (ibid). The aim of this characterisation was to “deprive them [Africans] of any possibility of individual expression” in order to “put them under the obligation of matching the idea one has of them” (Fanon, 1967 [1964]: 17). Oruka (1991a: 7) laments at this “academic and intellectual imperialism” when he states that:

“Postulating that logic, science and critique are un-African and typical *occidental* is an unconscious form of imperialism”

African architectural discourse should seek to correct “these fallacies...ignorance and prejudices” (Neugebauer, 1991: 254). This study is an effort in this direction as it employs the philosophy of phenomenology within a Kenyan context, indicating that scientific academic rigour is applicable to previously marginalised cultures.

Oruka (1983: 57) blames the prevalent double-speak in academia for the continued marginalisation of African epistemologies when he states:

“In academic circles, we sometimes brand and reject ideas of foreign social thinkers as foreign ideological indoctrinations. But on the other hand, we continue to keep intact the academic protocols imposed by the colonial systems. The way out of such problems is to have a clear understanding of the connection between culture and ideology”.

Therefore the way forward is to streamline African curricula on the basis of ideology emanating from African culture and this is discussed further in Chapter 4 of this study. However, Frantz Fanon is skeptical when he proclaims that “the great danger that threatens Africa is the absence of ideology” (1967 [1964]: 186). Since the death of Fanon (1961), academic focus has been directed at exposing

and developing ideology in Africa, especially from a cultural perspective. Oruka (1983: 59) argues:

“Hence, the need for the revival and promotion of African culture is and must also be the need for the founding of a dynamic and consistent socio-political philosophy for modern Africa”.

Oruka presents the case for a “distinction between African philosophy and Western philosophy” on the basis of differences emanating from “historical, cultural and environmental conditions” (1991b: 26). However, in architecture, Afrocentric discourse argues for cultural distinction of architectural expressions through highlighting contextual differences which must be sensitively articulated to achieve identification of architectural artefacts, at least on the basis of culture.

It is therefore imperative to describe some of the contributions of the “great thoughtful minds” of African culture, also called the leading “*intellectual lights*” (Oruka, 1983: 58) – excluding, without prejudice, the highly distinguished achievers such as Ali Mazrui (quoted at length in Chapter 2 of this study), Wole Soyinka, Ngugi wa Thiong’o and Okot p’Bitek (ibid).

Cheikh Anta Diop, a leading cultural anthropologist sought to correct the biased Eurocentric epistemologies through publications such as *The African Origin of Civilization: myth or reality* (1974); *Black Africa: The Economic and Cultural Basis for a Federated State* (1987); *Civilization or Barbarism: An Authentic Anthropology* (1991). Diop (1962 [1959]: 9) presents the quest for an authentic African history, stating that:

“It is possible to go back to this original mould by identifying the outside influences which have been superimposed on it...by doing this the people in question becomes [sic] aware of what is solid and valid in its own cultural and social structures and in its thoughts in general...It becomes aware also of what is weak therein and consequently what has not been able to withstand the passage of time...it can discern the real extent of its borrowings from others and can now define itself in a positive fashion using not imaginary but real indigenous criteria”.

Diop therefore addresses issues of historical validity, originality, authenticity, acculturation and knowledge transposition and this offers suggestions for future cultural research in architecture.

Frantz Fanon “committed himself to the course of human freedom” (Hansen, 1978: 58). In one of his most significant works *The Wretched of the Earth* (1966 [1963]), Fanon presents the case against Eurocentricity by asking and stating persuasively:

“How is it that we [Africans] do not understand that we have better things to do than to follow that same Europe?” (ibid: 252). “We today can do everything as long as we do not imitate Europe, so long as we are not obsessed by the desire to catch up with Europe...European techniques and the European style ought no longer to tempt us and to throw us off our balance...When I search for Man in the technique and style of Europe, I see only a succession of negations of man...Let us combine our muscles and our brains in a new direction...No, we do not want to catch up with anyone. What we want to do is to go forward all the time”.

It is debatable whether Fanon’s ideals- of an Africa existing independently of Europe and its technology- are possible in the field of architecture, which relies heavily on Western construction technology. However Fanon’s (1967 [1964]: 115) vision for Africa embodied in his proclamation:

“We have to hurry to build Africa, so that it will express itself and come into being, so that it will enrich the world of men, and so that it may be authentically enriched by the world’s contributions”

can still be realised through the creation of an outstanding anthropocentric Kenyan architecture.

Christopher Ehret in: *The Civilizations of Africa: a history to 1800* (2002: 3), castigates traditional history books for having “treated Africa as if it were the exemplar of isolation and difference” because:

“the histories they wrote so neglected Africa that in time it became accepted wisdom that Africa had no history, or at least no history worth mentioning”. He further asserts that Eurocentricity uses the term civilization “fallaciously” to present Western culture as “more complicated, artistically more complicated and technologically more advanced than those societies labeled as “noncivilizations” ” (ibid: 6).

Ehret insists that “despite many individual cultural differences” African and Western cultures “share a range of fundamental social and cultural ideas” which indicates that in architecture, as a discipline, both cultural spheres must be treated equally.

Richard Leakey is a leading Kenyan paleoanthropologist with publications such as: *The making of mankind* (1981); *The Origin of Humankind* (2008) and *Origins Reconsidered* (1993) - see List of Sources. Leakey argues that “human consciousness demands explanations about the world” (1993: 340). This requires a critical analysis and understanding of culture in relation to architectural history. Leakey states:

“The more we understand about our history, the more our connectedness to nature becomes apparent, the more we see ourselves as part of nature, not apart from nature”.

Felix Chami is a Tanzanian archaeologist credited with excavation of archaeological artefacts that led to a rethink of the origins of the Swahili prior to the influence of Islamic culture, suggesting “a possible Iron Age” (Shubart, 2002). His publications include: *Historical archaeology of Bagamoyo: Excavations at the Caravan-Serai* (2004); *The Unity of African Ancient History 3000BC to AD500* (2006). The work of Leakey and Chami provide firsthand evidence that helps in the proper writing of African History and this is vital to architects especially as they seek to understand pre-colonial architecture. In this regard, Basil Davidson has written extensively on African History and some of his publications include *The search for Africa: A History in the making* (1994); *The African Genius* (1969); *Modern Africa: A social and political history* (1989); *The lost cities of Africa* (1959); *The African past: chronicles from antiquity* (1966); *A guide to African History* (1965); *Africa in history* (1966); *Modern Africa* (1983); *The Black man's burden: the curse of the nation state* (1992) and *Which way Africa?: The search for a new society* (1971).

Orika is the ‘leading light’ as pertains to African and Kenyan philosophy as he categorised the trends in African philosophy (1991a: 5) and developed the concept and theory of ‘Sage Philosophy’ by indicating that “one effective way to understand a people and their culture is to go through their sages” (1991d: 64). Oruka states that “Sage philosophy should be treated as one of the important trends in the development of philosophical thought in Africa” (1991a: 2). Through ‘philosophical sagacity’ Oruka sought to disprove the main thesis of ethno-philosophy which claimed that “traditional Africa is free from philosophic, rational discourse and personalized philosophical activity” stating that “communal

consensus, a fact typical of most traditional societies, should not be seen as a hindrance for individual critical reflection” (ibid: 1; 1991c: 47; Kaphagawani, 1991: 182, 187). Sagacity entails both “popular wisdom” and “didactic wisdom” described as “sagacity which stops at the practical first-order level” and “sagacity which transcends this level and becomes ratiocinative second-order reasoning” respectively (Oruka, 1991d: 57; Oseghare, 1991: 243). For Neugebauer (1991: 248), the objective of sage philosophy should be “to destroy, criticize and refute...racism...to show its contradictions and ridiculousness” (see also Kaphagawani 1991: 180). The extent to which Sage philosophy can be appropriated into Kenyan architecture for “clarification of concepts, ideas” is debatable because the project suffered a major setback with the death of Oruka in 1995 (Oseghare, 1991: 239). However it portrays potential for incorporation into the analysis and explication of rural vernacular architecture in the Kenyan context.

Heinz Kimmerle is a distinguished Western philosopher who has researched extensively on the subject of African philosophy. Kimmerle (1997: [1]) observes that “the politics of difference turns out to be basically democratic in the sense of treating all human cultures as equal”- a significant shift from the previous marginalising discourse from the West. Regarding philosophy, Kimmerle argues that: “the selection” of academic philosophical material from Western philosophical academies “and the way in which it is used in teaching and research is already an Africanisation of Western philosophies” (ibid; [7]). This validates the ‘Africanisation’ of phenomenological discourse that has been undertaken in the ongoing study. Kimmerle’s work seeks to “set up dialogues between Western and African philosophies” with the aim of enriching Western philosophy (2011: [2]) – further indicating a trend in its formative stages, where Afrocentric and Eurocentric epistemologies co-exist as equal partners with Afrocentric academies acting as referential sources for Western academies – exhibiting the “African optimism” that was described by Diop (1962 [1959]: 197). Kimmerle’s proclamation that the “new approach to African philosophy” demands “a different use of language” echoes the need for a new architectural vocabulary - requisite for the explication of architectural artefacts in Kenya – that is outlined in Chapter 4 of this study.

In *Africa beyond the post-colonial: political and socio-cultural identities* (2004), Uduku and Zack-Williams, as editors, bring out the issues pertinent to Africa including its relation with the African diaspora, politics, Government, economics and civilization from an Afrocentric perspective. They call “for African studies to engage with post-colonial studies” in order to be “relevant to the socio-political and economic needs of Africa” (2004: 1, 3). This clarion call seeks to direct the future of cultural studies in Africa suggesting the need for architectural academia in Africa to establish new links with the African diaspora for symbiotic collaboration.

Hannah Le Roux is a South African architect and academic who authored *Modern Architecture in Post-colonial Ghana and Nigeria* (2004). Some of her research has focused on architectural activism with regard to political oppression. She gives examples of South African architects who were “not remembered for their designs but for the influence of their political positions on events” in order to achieve “freedom and equality” (2007: [1]). She has investigated “public space and how it might become racially inclusive” in order to achieve “urban transformation that comes from a grassroots perspective” (ibid: [2]) - indicating the cultural basis for her research.

Like Le Roux, Heinrich Wolff is a distinguished South African architect and academic. He “believes architecture can and should be used as a force for social change, and to address issues of inequality” (anon, 14). He presents the case for “making the architectural responses for the ordinary citizen...the measure of all projects” (2009: 176). This position emphasises architectural multivalence regarding cultural reference and public participatory strategies and is therefore in sync with the semiological premise of this study.

Nnamdi Elleh is a distinguished architectural academic established in the USA. He has published extensively on African architecture. His research focus is mainly on Africa, as described from a broad cultural perspective, often engaging the scale of the entire continent, as outlined in his work: *African Architecture: Evolution and Transformation* (1997), where he discusses African architecture under the issues of climate, history and religion while addressing the issue of ‘problems in African History’. Kenyan architecture is presented briefly in the book under “Ethnic Groups and house forms in Kenya”, from an overview perspective (1997: 149-152). Elleh proclaims that “Nations use architecture as a rallying point after a crisis” and this is “a great way to plainly see how a society thinks of itself or what its aspirations are” (anon, 13). This study concurs with Elleh’s position, but it should be realised that in Kenya, the periodic flare-ups of violence after cyclic political contests have not found significant architectural expression except for the impromptu shelters of politically displaced persons.

Robert Rukwaro is a Kenyan architectural academic and researcher, whose work focuses on transformations within vernacular architecture exemplified by the Maasai, as well as modernism within Nairobi. Rukwaro urges Kenyan architects to adopt a social system of design, proclaiming that “the social system advocates for the place and people to be the centres of the process of production of built forms” in order to deviate from “built forms that did not address social needs” (2005: 99). This will enable them “to achieve a more Africanized modern architecture of Kenya- architecture that communicates our identity and image as Africans (ibid: 100). Rukwaro’s approach involves the adoption of the theory of social systems- essentially a Eurocentric concept – and appropriates it into Kenyan architectural discourse, indicating how Eurocentricity can be used in the explication of Kenyan

architecture- an Afrocentric project. This is the approach in this study which co-opts the Eurocentric philosophy of phenomenology, conjoins it with Critical Regionalism, a discourse and praxis with Western origins and appropriates them in the framework that is developed within this study, anchored in an ecosystemic Afrocentric epistemology. This is an example of progressive utilisation of Eurocentric epistemology.

In conclusion, it can be stated that the future of Kenyan architectural discourse lies in a harmonious balance of Afrocentric and Eurocentric epistemologies. Oruka (1991a: 5) argues for such a balance when he proclaims that “the ethnophilosophers started with the strong assumption that African philosophy and Western philosophy must and can only be different. But the assumption was a fallacy”. This cautions African architectural researchers who wish to pursue an approach of total disparagement of Eurocentricity that in the era of globalisation and pluralistic tolerance - a synthesis of progressive aspects from both epistemologies is perhaps a better option. Peter Bodunrin (1991: 172, 176) observes that one “must not be charged for being unoriginal or being irrelevant as an African philosopher [or architectural researcher] simply because he is discussing in the African context, issues that have also received attention elsewhere”, arguing that “the philosophy of a country or region of the world is not definable in terms of the thought-content of the tradition nor in terms of the national origins of its thinkers”, suggesting further that the appropriation of critically selected progressive Eurocentric ideas into Afrocentric epistemology is a valid undertaking. Kwasi Wiredu, a distinguished Nigerian philosopher, concurs with this position when he states that “for a set of ideas to be a genuine possession of a people, they need not have originated them, they need only appropriate them, make use of them, develop them...and thrive on them” (ibid). These positions validate the approach with regard to utilisation of phenomenological philosophy in this study as a means of enriching discourse within Kenyan architectural academia. “It is now time to begin self-criticism in Africa”, proclaims Bodunrin (1991: 177). This criticism calls for a critical assessment and “reconciliation of all approaches to African philosophy [and architecture by extension]” as this is “more beneficial and productive than an attempt to consider these approaches as mutually exclusive and antagonistic” (Kaphagawani, 1991: 186). This will require a broadening of architectural focus in Kenya, from emphasis on scientism with regard to function and climatic control, to the pursuit of culturally inspired and culturally sensitive architecture on an equal if not greater level with architectural scientism, in order to generate meaningful architecture.

## 1.4 The research problem

### The Main Problem

How can a phenomenologically based framework, for the semiological investigation and understanding of architecture in Kenya, as a locally relevant vehicle for architectural dialogue and the establishment of a Critical Regionalist approach to architecture in Kenya, be formulated to enrich architectural pedagogy and praxis, as well as influence public policy in the area of architectural curriculum revision and development, in order to develop and direct critical architectural praxis that initiates and sustains public interest and encourages direct or indirect public participation in the evolution of Kenyan architecture?

### The Sub-problems

The listed sub-problems below will be used sequentially to guide and direct the investigation and discourse within this study:

1. Identifying significant vernacular and mainstream architecture from the main phases in Kenyan architectural evolution starting from the colonial period of 1890 to the post-colonial present, inclusive of the paradigmatic content thereof.
2. The application of a phenomenological understanding of architecture to the theories of Critical Regionalism, as a basis for the formulation of a framework for a more relevant and integrated semiological understanding of architecture.
  - 3.1 A critical analysis of the semiology of a selected case study in Kenyan architecture within the established time frame of the study.
  - 3.2 Formulating the format for introducing the semiology of a significant case study in Kenyan architecture as a key component of architectural teaching and practice in Kenya, and understanding how this format can be introduced as a basis for future dialogue on the construction of Kenyan Critical Regionalist architecture.

As the study is heuristic in nature, no hypotheses will be posed. Instead, the above sub-problems are used as the basis in the postulation of propositions and assertions in the premise below.



## **1.5 The Premise of the study**

The premise of this study is a collective synthesis of the sub-problems in 1.4 above regarding the evolution of Kenyan architectural heritage and this demonstrates that during each epoch of the country's history – delineated from the period just prior to 1890 up to the present – certain ideologies that were derived locally, nationally and internationally by the citizenry and from the initiatives of local and national leaders, including policy makers and these determined the embodied intentions, meanings and vocabularies as expressed in the semiology of Kenya's architectural artefacts.

During the colonial era, certain Eurocentric architectonic elements derived from the Greco-Roman tradition - and hence expressing aspects of Western architectural heritage - were built by the British imperialists, as neo-classical architectural artefacts. In the post World War II, the independence and post-independence eras, the International Style, Modern architecture (sometimes referred to as 'tropical modernism' and certain Nationalist inspired and derived forms were included in selected architectural artefacts that were built in the country. It is demonstrated in this dissertation that the tectonic symbols and architectural language of these culturally derived artefacts and their history, as well as the semiological vocabularies and various meanings that they embody have been marginalised or overlooked – particularly vernacular architecture - due to the privilege assigned to colonialist inspired ideologies that are conflated with modernism, modernity, modernisation and national development.

It is further established in this study that the complete explication of the semiology of Kenyan architectural artefacts requires a new approach that employs a broadened architectural vocabulary anchored by phenomenological philosophy to develop a new, revised and augmented architectural curriculum that can serve as a datum for a Critical Regionalist method of architectural practice – and this is demonstrated regarding the semiology of the seminal Kenyan architectural artefact, the Kenyatta International Conference Centre (KICC).

## **1.6 The role of architectural theory in this study**

In terms of identifying relevant architectural theory to validate a study of this scope and nature, the study will critically view existing and validated approaches towards interpreting and attaching meaning to architecture, while understanding their limits or deficiencies for the topic in hand. Two approaches that are currently prevalent in the activity of making architecture that is linked to context and also of interpreting contextually based meaning are phenomenology and Critical Regionalism.

The Ecosystemic approach is integrative and inclusive in nature and geared towards understanding the ecology of ideas and artefacts alike and especially linkages and relationships that carry meaning. The paradigms and subsequent theoretical tenets of phenomenological and Critical Regionalist approaches to understanding architecture will therefore be evaluated from an ecosystemic perspective in order to determine their application value in the construction of an integrated epistemology of meaning that can be used as a datum upon which probable analytic and inferential constructs of interpreting meaning can emerge.

Modern, linear epistemologies are subject to limitations due to their claims to objectivity and the positivism based on truth claims. While the Ecosystemic approach includes the validity of subjective knowledge as well as the relational aspect of knowledge, the antipositivist nature of a phenomenological understanding of architecture will facilitate the identification of interpretive latent and active meanings in Critical Regionalist architecture that may otherwise remain hidden.

The Deductive approach will be employed to relate theory to observations and findings. However, the Inductive approach will be the basis of using the observations and findings to test the validity of the theory, suggesting shortcomings and improvements where appropriate and necessary, giving direction for further investigation (Bryman, 2001: 5-24).

## **1.7 Research methodology**

A critical literature review was taken on the following: Publications on or by relevant international architects, regarding their normative positions and architectural theories as this relates to the need for debate and criticism in architecture, as well as to the approach to making and to interpreting context-related meaning in architecture; Scholarly works or relevant publications on or by Kenyan architects, graduate architects and those of graduate students and alumni from the two schools of Architecture in Kenya from which a geographically localised range of normative positions and approaches to architecture as well as the role of the architect in Kenyan society can be identified and understood in relation to a wider international context as well as within a localised context; Relevant non-architectural publications on the evolving state of the Kenyan construction industry, economy, politics and cultural life, from which the perceived role of the architect within society, as well as changes in that perceived role, can be identified and understood.

The study will focus on the formulation of an ecosystemically founded framework for understanding the ecology of the problem and how aspects from the study will be brought into relation with each other, and from which the analysis of semiology can proceed. This will be achieved through the extension of the aims and techniques of Critical Regionalism which together with broadened aspects of architectural phenomenology will be synthesised and proposed for subsequent inclusion in the augmented and integrated ecosystemically founded framework for interpretation of architectural artefacts within the Kenyan context.

The Critical Regionalist method of dialectic analysis, originated by Karl Marx, exploits paradox as its analytical device and is extensively used by Platonists, Hegelians and Marxists to study reality (Mazrui, 1980: 2). This method reconciles qualities that are contradictory to achieve a unity of opposites (ibid). Abel (2000: 114-120) perceives dialectic opposition as an essential tension of complementary opposites. Dialectic analysis can be considered as a synthesis of dualities which are “the realities of contemporary Africa: the dualities of traditional and contemporary, ethnic and national, indigenous and foreign” (Ogot, 1995c: 217). This analytical method will *inter alia* be used in the explication of the semiology of the case study.

Colquhoun (1989: 237) has validated the use of extrapolation and conjecture as means of semiological analysis. This method is used by Colquhoun in relation to the postmodern thesis of Jean-Francois Lyotard to appropriate extra-disciplinary knowledge into architecture for comparison, analogy and inference. Though subjective, this study will employ this device to extract vital knowledge from disciplines like history in order to expand the analogies, interpretations and recommendations within it.

Juhani Pallasmaa (1996 [1986]: 449), a phenomenologist, has proposed the method of phenomenological analysis to decode architectural semiology. He claims that “the artistic dimension of a work of art does not lie in the actual physical thing; it exists only in the consciousness of the person experiencing it. The analysis of a work of art [and architecture by extension] is at its most genuine introspection by the consciousness subjected to it” (ibid). This study will utilise phenomenological analysis augmented with the leitmotifs of Critical Regionalism to demonstrate that the case study, is an exemplar of Norberg-Schulz's “Existential symbol”, “Existential foothold” and “Existential space” (1980a: 5, 56, 164, 185).

Selection of appropriate examples from the Kenyan context will be undertaken, including the

case study of a prominent architectural artefact in the country, namely the Kenyatta International Conference Centre (see Chapters 2 and 4 of this study). The selected artefacts will mostly be located in Nairobi, the country's capital city. According to Katua, Nairobi “reflects most clearly the country's history than any other Kenyan town. The order in which these buildings were erected and their inherent functions compares favourably with the social, cultural and political history of the country” (1989: 37). The selection will be subjective, as validated by the ecosystemic approach, on the basis of what the author perceives as the greatest potential to capture the *zeitgeist* of the various epochs in a temporal context. The examples will also include vernacular rural traditional community architecture of the Luo, Maasai, Kikuyu and Swahili tribes, selected from a rational basis (see 2.2.5). These communities have been exposed to the impact of modernisation as they are proximal to the Kenya-Uganda Railway, which runs from Mombasa to Kisumu, a colonial project that opened the hinterland to colonial incursions.

The investigation will incorporate theory and knowledge from disciplines other than Architecture. The opportunities of such an investigation has been successfully utilised by Amira Osman (2004), whose study showed that meaning is enlarged and enriched through transcending boundaries in the search for the architectural meaning of an artefact.

The archives at Nairobi City Council, the Ministries of Roads and Public Works, Lands and Housing will provide pragmatic and qualitative information on buildings of civic importance in Kenya.

Active participatory research strategies such as questionnaires and interviews, though effective, will not be utilized in this study which seeks to establish a framework for further research into Kenyan architectural heritage. However, they are proposed for future application in follow up studies that will explore specific approaches employed by Kenyan architects in their practices, to determine the extent to which their works demonstrate passion for the expression of Critical Regionalist architecture.

## **1.8 Limitations**

The lack of previous comprehensive research in this area of study will be a limitation but not an impediment to the study. The study will of necessity identify a suitable collection of codified vernacular as well as formal civic and public artefacts from which deductions can be made. The specific collection will be identified and critiqued in the body of the study.

## **1.9 Delimitations and exclusions**

- 1.9.1 The period under consideration will span from about the year 1890 in order to include artefacts from the period just before colonisation of the country to the present.
- 1.9.2 The literature will be limited to sources that are accessible to the author. The author acknowledges the existence of vast and varied publications on architectural theory and every effort will be made to broaden the list of sources within the limited time and resources (The lack of accessibility to a resource base of international scholarly works has been limiting). The study recognises that the theories of Regionalism, Critical Regionalism and phenomenology are not widely prevalent in Kenya. Due to the dearth of relevant sources, in Kenya, that focus on Regionalism and Critical Regionalism, it will be necessary to quote extensively from any source that the author may deem vital where appropriate, in order for the study to be expansive and complete and thus provide material that may be used didactically in architectural pedagogy when this study is employed as a referential source in Kenyan Schools of Architecture. Wolff (2009: 175) observes that for “so many ex-colonies, the history of indigenous architects is poorly documented” and “the absence of a complete or unified architectural history” yields a “debilitating effect”, indicating “the predicament of contemporary architects who want to locate their work within a continuity of the past.”
- 1.9.3 The case study will be limited to the Kenyatta International Conference Centre (KICC) in Nairobi, in order to demonstrate the efficacy of the semiological framework herein as a means of analysing Kenyan architecture.
- 1.9.4 The study will focus mainly on the Kenyan region. Although parallels and constants can be identified beyond the Kenyan boundaries, this dissertation will exclude the majority of these examples unless they are vital for articulating the research analysis and findings of this study.

## **1.10 Assumptions**

- 1.10.1 The establishment of a relevant movement of Critical Regionalist architecture in Kenya requires the formulation of a locally relevant framework for the semiological understanding of seminal works of architecture in Kenya from 1890, which framework needs to integrate knowledge from various disciplines and broaden the currently inadequate understanding of Critical Regionalism from a phenomenological paradigm.

1.10.2 The Kenyan professional architect has embraced the ethos of lifelong learning and can undergo self examination, evaluation and improvement upon access to relevant material including the ongoing dissertation.

## 1.11 Definition of terms

**Architecture:** According to Norberg-Schulz (1980b [1975]: 220, 221, 226) architecture is the transcendence of man of his specific environmental situation through abstraction of meaningful forms and principles of organisation to facilitate problem-solving and general planning. The main purpose of architecture is to make human existence meaningful (ibid: 226).

**Artefact:** According to Keekok Lee (2000: 184), “The built environment refers to that which is constituted by human artefacts, of which architecture (that is, buildings) is a prime exemplar”. The term ‘**architectural artefact**’ is coined from Lee’s description of artefact to distinguish it from other human artefacts that do not have direct architectural relevance or implication- though these are very few- since architecture caters for all human activities. Nevertheless the term ‘**architectural artefact**’ is used widely in this study to distinguish works of architecture and landscapes as artefacts from other human artefacts such as works of art, including paintings, sculpture and pottery. Previously the term artefact has referred to “any object fabricated by humans” but a necessary condition is that an artefact must be “the material embodiment of human intentionality” (ibid). When Lee further describes an artefact as “a sub-class of human intentionality” which is a technological product, one recalls the thesis of Franz von Brentano whose concept of intentionality was core to the development of the philosophy of phenomenology, which is central to the discourse in this study (Heidegger, 2002b [1962]: 257). “Craft-based” artefacts are encountered within vernacular architecture while “science-induced” artefacts are exemplified by the works of modern architecture (ibid: 185). Drawing on the philosophy of Aristotle as datum or reference, Lee further explains how the four Aristotlean causes “*material, efficient, formal and final*” are separately embodied in an **architectural artefact** which may be “abiotic or exbiotic” (ibid: 185, 186). Ken Taylor (2008) considers the landscape as artefact, when he presents the clarification:

“Landscape from its beginnings, therefore has meant a man-made artefact with associated cultural process values. Here is a holistic view of landscape as a way of seeing- its morphology resulting from the interplay between cultural values, customs and land-use practices”.

Thus, this study considers the landscape as artefact - this also includes open spaces such as parks, gardens and streetscapes. In architectural academics, we speak of ‘landscape architecture’.

Therefore, the landscape is an architectural artefact.

**Critical Regionalism:** “Critical regionalism attempts, through introduction of dual Local and Global identities, to create buildings that are appropriate to their time and place as an alternative strain of humane Modern architecture without the encumberment of restrictive dogmas or overt historical references” (Atkins, 2008: 54). It is possible, upon a critical synthesis of the theses of Critical Regionalist protagonists to disagree with Atkins as pertains to the Modern and antihistoric traits. Culture and history are inseparable.

**Cultural Landscape:** According to the UNESCO definition, a cultural landscape is “the combined work of nature and humans, being illustrative of the evolution of a human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal” (UNESCO, 2005: Section 47).

**Defamiliarisation:** A method proposed by the Critical Regionalists Tzonis and Lefaivre, which employs a critical evaluation and the use of local elements through identification, decomposition and recomposition (Tzonis and Lefaivre, 1996 [1990]: 489; Atkins, 2008: 299).

**Disjunction:** Bernard Tschumi (1996 [1988]: 170) defines disjunction as a limit or interruption linked to the dislocative logic that governs an architectural work. Disjunction is the method by which the delineated boundaries of mainstream architecture may be probed and redefined.

**History:** Norberg-Schulz (1980b [1975]: 226) defines history as a growth of accessible meanings. The ideal history is that of possible symbolisations.

**Interpretation:** “refers to the full range of potential activities intended to heighten awareness and understanding of cultural heritage ...” (Bakker, 2007: 15).

**Meaning in architecture:** Norberg-Schulz (1980a: 5, 23; 1980b [1975]: 220) defines meaning as the basic need of man. It brings into order relationships between man and his environment. As a social phenomenon, meaning is made manifest through symbolism revealed in “Existential Places”.

**Modernism** : Colquhoun (1989: 237) associates modernism with a “positivistic and scientific view of society and culture” expressed in the modernist project that emphasises reason, abstraction derived from industrialisation, science, technique and function devoid of culture, imitation, history and tradition (ibid), to create a semiology that affects social transformation (ibid: 244; Frampton, 1985 [1983]: 16-28).

**Paradigm**: Thomas Kuhn describes a paradigm as “‘a set of beliefs’, ‘a metaphysical speculation’, ‘a new way of seeing’ or ‘an organizing principle governing perception itself’” which may be defined as “‘a universally recognised scientific achievement’, ‘a set of political institutions’ or ‘an accepted judicial decision’” (in Abel, 2000: 131-132). Abel argues for the integration of the paradigm concept into architectural discourse and pedagogy (ibid).

**Phenomenology**: Abel (2000: 143) isolates the definition of phenomenology by Norberg-Schulz adopted from Martin Heidegger as “the study of essences, and according to it, all problems amount to the finding of essences”. Abel perceives the objective of the phenomenological project as the desire to “surmount or put aside preconceptions, especially scientific abstractions, and to try and understand the nature of ‘the things in themselves’” (ibid).

**Place**: Bakker departs from a “phenomenological and a cultural-constructionist viewpoint” to perceive place as a “mental or cultural construct” rather than as a “physical entity” (2007: 19). “The construct of place arises from the synergetic relationship existing between an individual or individuals and a physical site and its related elements, which relationship occurs as the individual/s ascribe/s either perceptual or associational meanings to settings, through a process of environmental perception and cognition (this being either intuitive or through a process of deliberate coding)” (ibid).

**Positivism**: Alan Bryman (2001: 5-24) defines positivism as an epistemology advocating for the application of the methods of natural sciences in research. Positivism aims at the attainment of ultimate knowledge in the world.

**Postmodernism**: Jencks (1991: 12-15) defines post-modernism as a double-coded, pluralistically complex, multi-level architectural language imbued with double logic that is centred on tensions and oppositions to the hegemony of modernism. Colquhoun categorises post-modernism as progressivist or culturalist, engaged with the “transfiguration of modernism” (1989: 237) and its anti-historicist



stance or “a complete disassociation from modernism and a reaction against it in favour of tradition” respectively (ibid).

**Presentation:** “Denotes the communication of interpretive content through the specific inclusion, type and arrangement of interpretive information, physical address and interpretive structure ....” (Bakker, 2007: 15).

**Regionalism:** A movement with its origins in the theories of Lewis Mumford, inspired by technology and innovation without restrictive recourse to traditional forms. Protagonists of Critical Regionalism were inspired by the tenets of regionalism (Atkins, 2008: 301).

**Structuralism:** Colquhoun (1989: 246) identifies structuralism as the post-modern semiological tool of confrontation in reaction to the deficiencies of modern architecture. Structuralism is a linguistic model of semiological analysis, with its origins in the works of Ferdinand de Saussure, appropriated into architecture. Structuralism is engaged with “the ability of signs to convey meaning” and it invariably links function to the cultural context (ibid). For Peter Blundell Jones (2010), structuralism involves the use of “obsessive geometry” as exemplified by Aldo van Eyck’s use of the circle in his projects as a deliberate “breakaway from the banality and supposed rationality of the modernist box”. However Gevork Hartoonian (2010: 276) uses the positions and works of architectural theorists as exemplars to clarify structuralism as a deviation from the historical context as demonstrated by Aldo Rossi and the concept of type; Peter Eisenman with emphasis on the “point, line and plane”; John Hejduk and the narratives of the wall and Bernard Tschumi and the concept of spacing.

**Vernacular architecture:** Oliver (2006: 265) defines vernacular architecture as a transformative, sustainable, adaptive and time-tested architecture that responds to the dynamics of both environment and community. Therefore, vernacular architecture consists of “buildings of the people, built by the people” (Oliver, 2000: 116). In Kenya, this architecture is unique to a given rural community (tribe) or informal urban dwelling units and commercial structures that lack the input of professional architects. Bozkurt Guvenc (1990: 285) considers indigenous, local, home born and community build as vernacular. For the Rev. Petit, vernacular architecture is a style of building that takes into account user requirements, available materials and prevailing environmental and community constraints (Turan, 1990: vii).

## 1.12 The structure of the study

The study is organised around five chapters as outlined below:

**Chapter 1:** Introduction to the Kenyan context- including the need for further semiological studies in Kenyan architecture-, formulation of the research problem and presentation of the research methodology (as well as the role of architectural theory in the study) and the structure of the study.

**Chapter 2:** Identifying significant vernacular architecture and mainstream architecture from the main phases in Kenyan architectural evolution starting from the colonial period of 1890, up to the post-colonial present, inclusive of the paradigmatic content thereof.

**Chapter 3:** The application of a phenomenological understanding of architecture to the theories of Critical Regionalism as a basis for the formulation of an ecosystemic framework for a more relevant and integrated semiological understanding of architecture.

**Chapter 4:** A case study to show how a new semiology of Kenyan artefacts can be developed on the basis of the approach in Chapter 3, followed by an inquiry into the local relevance and suitability of the study as a basis for informing the construction of a phenomenologically grounded Critical Regionalist curriculum in architectural design, theory and history and future dialogue on the construction of a Kenyan Critical Regionalist architecture.

**Chapter 5:** Conclusions and recommendations, including delimitations and counter-arguments of the study, its contributions and opportunities for further research.

## CHAPTER 2: THE KENYAN CONTEXT

### Sub problem 1:

Identifying significant vernacular and mainstream architecture from the main phases in Kenyan architectural evolution, starting from the period just prior to the colonial period of 1890, up to the postcolonial present, inclusive of the contextual and paradigmatic content thereof.

### 2.0 Introduction

This chapter describes interrelated components of the Kenyan context in which architecture resides and is expressed; outlining its biophysical aspects like geography, demography, region based physical resources and accompanying climatic opportunities and constraints, as well as cultural aspects like ethnicity, religion, social systems and discourses, commerce, politics, craft, art and regulatory practice with reference to their impacts on architecture. Reference is made to the Constitution of Kenya for additional emphasis where appropriate. A grasp of biophysical and cultural contexts is not only vital for a contextual analysis of existing Kenyan architecture, but also for a semiological analysis, needed for a future articulation of architecture in Kenya, providing inspiration and motivation for the future generation and production of a contextually relevant architecture.

The intangible context for the evolution of Kenyan architecture is explored in terms of aspects of culture and paradigmatic epochs - these are described at the levels of *zeitgeist* and major events. A historical time-line is employed to structure the prevalent socio-politico-economic structures within a temporal context.

The inevitability of overlap within these systems is acknowledged through the recognition of diversity and non-homogeneity of the Kenyan people and their culture.

Western architectural epochs are used as the frame for structuring phases in the evolution of Kenyan architecture within which smaller local timeframes can in future be inserted. Vernacular architecture and mainstream urban architecture are described from a paradigmatic perspective, analysed and classified further within the Kenyan context.

Throughout the Chapter, the tangible and intangible aspects of Kenyan architecture are

engaged together in order to develop a holistic framework which may then be used as the launching pad for extensive in-depth future studies into Kenyan architecture.

## **2.1 A broad Kenyan context**

Kenya is a multi-ethnic, democratic, pluralistic country with a diverse cultural and rich historical background, spanning the pre-colonial period to the post-colonial present. In describing a Kenyan context, the culture of its people must be the convergence point. Jencks proclaims that “Architecture obviously reflects what a society holds important” (1987: 35) and hence an architect “must make use of the language of the local culture” (ibid: 37). The Constitution of Kenya “recognizes culture as the foundation of the nation and as the cumulative civilization of the Kenyan people and nation” (Republic of Kenya, 2010a: 16).

Architecture is an important cultural expression. The study of Kenyan architecture will investigate the connectedness of architecture to cultural discourse that is distinct to people of Kenya. This position is consistent with Charles Correa's (1983: 10) assertion that culture and identity are synonymous.

Whereas Rapoport (1969), in his work *House, form and culture*, indicated the biophysical environment as less important than cultural influences in the formation of architecture, it remains an important influence to understand their interrelationships, and will become increasingly so as the need for the making of sustainable architectures becomes more prevalent. The study will therefore situate Kenyan architecture within interrelated bio-physical and cultural contexts.

### **2.1.1 Major milestones in Kenyan history**

The development of a framework for a relevant contextual analysis of Kenyan architecture must recognise its evolution. In this study this evolution is delineated to include the vernacular just preceding the pre-colonial era, the various expressions of architecture in the colonial era and the post-colonial era up to the present. Cheikh Anta Diop (1962 [1959]: 70, 143, 144) observes that precolonial African [Kenyan] societies exhibited matriarchy and “the necessity of having a strong central power transcending the individual and co-ordinating the work, administrative and cultural infuation [sic]...this was implicit in the material conditions of existence” and “private right” was “subordinated to public right”. Since architecture, culture and civilisation are linked (Correa, 1983: 10; as mentioned in 2.1

above), it is vital to articulate the major historical epochs in Kenya to comprehend, *a priori*, the extraction of architectural semiology within the Kenyan context. The historical time-line below highlights these epochs while acknowledging that multiple tangents and off-shoots can be deduced in addition to those that are indicated. The epochs are therefore not meant to be exhaustive in a historiographic sense but rather intended to guide the classification adopted in this study. The need for recourse to history as a means to forging disciplinary understanding has previously been employed by Ogendo and Ojany (1973: 1) in rationalising the temporal geography of Kenya.

TIME OR PERIOD	EPOCH/CONSEQUENCES	IMPACT ON CULTURE INCLUDING BUILT ENVIRONMENT AND ARCHITECTURE
<b>Before 1890</b>	Segregated independent African traditional tribal societies characterised by barter trade (Mazrui, 1977: 23), as well as sedentary mining communities.	Extensive proliferation of vernacular architecture. Tribal typology and style straits. Regional adaptations. Purity of architectural forms of expression and expression cannot be expected. However, each community maintained its own identity giving architectural distinctions that are still evident today due to unique internal regulation mechanisms.
	Internal conflict (Soja, 1968: 12-13).	The need for a warrior culture (Mazrui, 1977: 110; 1978: 15; 1980: 123). Architecture providing security, even by digging traps around homesteads.
	Inland trade, including slave trade (ibid: 15)	Opening up of hinterland leading to the introduction of new construction materials and decorations. Collaboration through pacts and intermarriage. Acculturation as well as evolution of traditional cultural systems.
	Arab influence (mainly Omani majority) and Islam at the Kenyan coast (Hodges, 1971: 98)	Acculturation and evolution of traditional cultural systems. Cultural fusion of Islam into indigenous coastal populace including birth of Swahili culture and architecture (Bennett, 1978 [1963]: 5; Hodges, 1971: 84; Soja, 1968: 15).
	Contact with non-Islamic culture of Meroe/Punt.	Introduction of monumental architecture at the Kenyan coast for sacred places and burial sites including tombs.
<b>1884-1885</b>	Congress of Berlin. Scramble for and partition of Africa (Mazrui 1980: xiii).	Borders of European colonisation. Birth of the Kenyan nation, through amalgamation of varied tribal cultures expected to “share a new collective identity” (Mazrui, 1977: 107, 297). A “Polyglot of strangers” formed a “harsh and forceful” “coherent state” (Ochieng’ and Atieno- Odhiambo 1995: xiv). Intra territorial borders drawn without regard to culture and tradition to create regional enclaves resulting in widespread population redistribution (Soja, 1968: 23, 24, 48; Ogot, 1995a: 67).
<b>1888</b>	Formation of imperial British East Africa Company (Bennett, 1978 [1963]: 2).	
<b>1890 onwards</b>	Colonialism and its aftermath, including: Advent of Christian missionaries (Soja, 1968: 16). Conversion to Christianity (Mazrui, 1978: 1; 1977: 31-32; 1980: 124). Shift from barter system to capitalistic system (Mazrui, 1977: 38). Imposition of Western education system (Mazrui, 1978: 42). Fragmentation of traditional culture systems.	Introduction of new architectural typologies including churches, hospitals and schools. These provided an ‘unchallenged’ forum for subjugating African culture, portraying colonialism as the only substitute for traditional “governments” (Ayisi, 1992 [1972]: 106; Mazrui, 1977: 32; 1978: 4, 42; 1980: 50-51). Collaboration between imperialist and Christian missionaries through propagation of a submissive Christian doctrine (Mazrui, 1977: 38, 94; Fanon in Hansen, 1978: 76). Shift from polytheist ancestral worship to monotheism. Abandonment of traditional worship sites and shrines. Condemnation of African traditional religions as heathenistic and inferior. Death to ‘warrior tradition’ and general abandonment of tradition (Mazrui, 1978: 16; 1980: 123). Severance from traditional customary bondage due to new definitions of community, taste, family and consequently new architectural requirements due to reduction in homestead sizes.
	Acculturation (Mazrui, 1977: 31-32; 1980: xvi, 46-52), as well as the evolution of traditional culture systems.	
<b>1896-1902</b>	Construction of Kenya-Uganda Railway (Soja, 1968: 16). Provision of access to hinterland.	Increase in acculturation of population of rural areas, rapid industrialisation and urbanisation, due to fast mode of travel. Development of major cities along the railway line including Mombasa, Nairobi, Nakuru and Kisumu. Marginalisation of regions away from railway line such as the North Eastern province, which remain under developed up to the present

		day. Spread of urban and architectural typologies to hinterland.
<b>1914-1918</b>	World War 1 and the use of Kenyan natives as carrier corps (Hodges 1971: 82).	New perspectives on Africans place in the world. Emergence of the need for self-governance.
<b>1919</b>	Post World War 1 period. The emergence of the educated African elite (Hodges, 1971: 90); Agitation for African self-determination. Onset of primary resistance to colonial rule (Mazrui, 1977: 27).	Coercive land and collaboration treaties with native tribal leaders of the Kamba, Maasai, Kikuyu and Taita to enforce tribal zones and impose the highly agriculturally conducive 'White Highlands' (Soja, 1968: 16-17, 19-20, 23, 59; Hodges, 1971: 83, 95-98). The land question takes centre stage in National dialogue with the enforcement of Crown land Ordinances. The proliferation of native squatters. Architectural developments, which are biased in the favour of the colonialist, imperialist populace.
<b>1934</b>	Formation of the Board of Registration of Architects and Quantity Surveyors (BORAQS) in Kenya (Republic of Kenya, 1978: 55).	The emergence of architecture practice within Kenya (versus fully imported types). Introduction of regulation and institutionalisation of professional practice. However there is no training of architects yet within the Kenyan territory. The domination of architectural practice in Kenya by non-indigenous architects. The prevalent architectural styles may be categorised as indigenous vernacular, neo-classical, English vernacular and imperial modernism together with all their variants. The onset of external influence of the Bauhaus and the International Style.
<b>1939-1945</b>	World War 2. The use of Kenyan natives as combatants and part of the British contingent (Atieno-Odhiambo, 1995b: 31).	Post war disparagement, disregard and marginalisation of African contributions to the war effort. Therefore, lack of recognition of indigenous war heroes. No evident architectural expression of the impact of African contribution except for the small scale monument on Kenyatta Avenue, Nairobi, as a tribute to the World War 2.
<b>1945-1963</b>	Onset of secondary resistance to colonial rule and the major struggle for independence (Atieno-Odhiambo, 1995a: 1). Emergence of Mau-Mau activity (ibid: 34-40).  Propagation of African Nationalism (Maloba, 1995: 7; Mazrui, 1977: 26).	Extensive awareness of the need for political representation and civil rights. Focus on justice through the High Court and Parliament as significant institutions and cultural artefacts of this period.  Fortification of colonial residences and offices to ward off Mau-Mau resistance. Widespread construction of prisons and police stations. Limited access to public administration offices by the indigenous populace. 'Villagization' introduced in the Kikuyu reserves to counter anti-imperialist insurgency, transforming dispersed homesteads into nucleated settlements through provision of social facilities and improved infrastructure (Soja, 1968: 53, 59). This new social order introduced rapid development (ibid).
<b>1952-1959</b>	Declaration of the State of Emergency by the Imperial government (Atieno-Odhiambo, 1995b: 37; Bennett, 1978 [1963]: 134).	Restricted movement and political activity of the indigenous populace. Trial of Kenyatta and the 'Kapenguria six'. Murder of key Mau-Mau leader, Dedan Kimathi. Imprisonment of Kenyatta (This prison has now been declared protected National heritage site). Persistent resistance to colonial domination through institutions like the trade union movements, signifying the role of Solidarity House in Nairobi, as an artefact of indigenous determination.
<b>1960-1963</b>	Adoption of Lancaster Constitution through conferences in 1960, 1962 and 1963 (Ogot, 1995a: 69)  Independence from colonial rule and the end of imperialism in 1963 (Ochieng', 1995: 85) The formation of the Republic of Kenya and the beginning of self-determination in 1964. The onset of the Kenyatta era (ibid: 83).	Independence and the restoration of Kenyan (African) pride and dignity is the most significant <i>zeitgeist</i> of this period. (Maloba, 1995: 16; Ogot, 1995a: 61). The peak of African Nationalism, with annual nationwide celebrations to the present day, to commemorate this prestigious epoch. Cultural artefacts of the period include public places such as Uhuru Park and Uhuru Gardens.  The renaming of public buildings and city streets to substitute imperial names with indigenous African names e.g Nairobi school to replace the Prince of Wales school (Katua, 1989: 40).

<p><b>1963-1978</b></p>	<p>The Kenyatta era (Ochieng', 1995: 83-144)</p> <p>Formation of the Architectural Association of Kenya (AAK) in 1967 incorporating all professional practitioners in the construction industry (Mulyungi, 2005: 5).</p>	<p>The end of racial segregation in Kenya. Access to architectural training and services now based on merit and financial ability and not race. Introduction of the HARAMBEE movement with the consequent wide spread and large scale construction of schools, hospitals and other public infrastructure (Maxon, 1995: 127).</p> <p>Initially this architectural 'mouth piece' was gagged by timidity and self-preservation, and therefore conformed to the positions of the ruling elite. It was therefore silent on acts of impunity by the establishment including forest excision and grabbing of public land.</p>
<p><b>1978-2002</b></p>	<p>The Moi era, characterised by Nyayo philosophy but also prevalent corruption, impunity and human rights abuses (Maxon &amp; Ndege, 1995: 151-235).</p>	<p>Monopolisation of architectural services through nepotism and corruption. Large local architectural commissions awarded to 'politically correct' architects and para-architects as well as international architects with access to the state mechanism, in the belief that local architectural production may be of inferior quality.</p> <p>No significant architectural works for the majority of local professionals apart from the domain of private sector housing. Significant architectural commissions of the period include works by TRIAD architect such as Times Towers, and works with Moi patronage such as Moi University, Pangani Girls' School and Sunshine Secondary School by para-architect Harbans Singh.</p>
<p><b>2003 to the present</b></p>	<p>The second liberation of Kenya credited with political pluralism and the expansion of political space (Ogot, 1995d: 239-260)</p> <p>The Kibaki era</p> <p>Promulgation of the new Kenyan constitution with far-reaching political and administrative reform in 2010</p>	<p>The onset of tolerance within the public domain. In architecture, Pluralism is observed in architectural forms, taste and expression although this seems intuitive rather than a consequence of rational synthesis.</p> <p>Widespread development of public infrastructure by the state. Rejuvenation of architectural practices with rampant proliferation of speculative architecture in the form of office blocks and middle income to high income housing units, as evidence of a thriving industry.</p> <p>Celebration of the multi-ethnic identities within the Kenyan nation. Decentralisation of development with a strong focus on the newly established counties, which is expected to promote architectural diversification of practice. An optimistic future for Kenyan architecture as a result of the 'death' of monopolisation of access to large clients including the Kenyan government</p>

Table 2a: A historical timeline summarising the chronology of significant epochs in Kenyan history.

### 2.1.2 A brief demographic and geographical synopsis of the Kenyan nation

According to the 2009 Kenya population and housing census, the population of Kenya is 38.6 million people with an annual growth rate of approximately 3.0% (Republic of Kenya- Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2010: 18, 20). Only 2% of the population has achieved University level education (ibid: 23), while 51% has achieved primary level education (ibid: 22). 30% of the active population is urbanised (ibid: 24). These facts have obvious architectural implications including the provision of sustainable socio-economic development (ibid: 29) and meeting the large demand for decent housing that is enshrined as part of the economic and social rights in the Kenyan Constitution (Republic of Kenya, 2010: 32). Consequently, there is less architectural patronage as only the rich Kenyan elite can

afford architects' architecture (Fathy, 1973: 21). The majority of Kenyans can only access architectural services within the vernacular domain (Oliver, 2000: 116, 117). There is less take up of architectural studies and therefore the Kenyan nation has only 1500 registered architects serving a population of 38.6 million Kenyans.

The new Constitution of Kenya (2010) envisages the political administration of Kenya through 47 counties as enumerated in its First Schedule (ibid: 176-177). Some of the counties are already completely urbanised. These include Mombasa, Nairobi City, Nakuru and Kisumu. With the devolution of funding to all counties, the pace of urbanisation will increase as a result of a more "equitable sharing of national and local resources throughout Kenya" (ibid: 113). This should result in reduced pressure on existing urban infrastructure and congestion as well as the expansion of slums and informal settlements.

Kenya's most populous tribes include the Kikuyu, Luhya, Kalenjin, Luo, Kamba, Kisii and Maasai although there are more than forty ethnic tribal groupings within the country (see Fig. 2k and Tables 2b & 2c below for impact of geography and climate on economics and architecture). Ethnic pride permeates the existential sphere of most Kenyans. This is evident in the prevalence of customs and traditions that have withstood acculturation due to colonisation of the country. Within the vernacular domain, the prevalent architectural forms of expression were anchored in and regulated by community cultural practices which were manifested in all spheres of life. Vernacular buildings utilised the available resources from the immediate context, although later, due to acculturation emerging from trade, tribal conquests and intermarriage, resulted in the introduction of crafts including iron mongery. However, these were not employed structurally within the built forms, perhaps due to lack of requisite technology.

Economic activity within the country is largely diversified as shown in the Table below. The responses to the emergent demands from these various economic sectors have largely moulded the architectural scenario in Kenya.



ECONOMIC ACTIVITY	EFFECT ON KENYAN ARCHITECTURE	EXAMPLES
<b>Mechanised agriculture.</b>	Demand for administrative offices, factories and housing for workers.	Multinational plantations such as tea farms in Kericho.
<b>Peasant farming.</b>	Proliferation of extensive vernacular architecture emanating from daily existential requirements of inhabitants such as housing, storage of farm produce and structures for livestock keeping.	The ethnic rural traditional architecture of tribal Kenyan communities.
<b>Pastoralism, nomadism.</b>	The demonstration of flexibility in construction to promote temporary settlements erected through reuse and recycling of traditional materials.	The transhumant architecture of the Maasai, Samburu, Borana and Rendille tribes.
<b>Local trade.</b>	Demand for market centres, shops and offices to facilitate internal trade.	The Village Market Runda, the Sarit Centre and Westgate shopping malls in Westlands, Nairobi as modern symbols of urban trade.
<b>International trade.</b>	Demand for export processing zones, bulk cargo handling and storage facilities.	Fish and agricultural produce processing facilities in Thika.
<b>Transport and regional communication.</b>	Erection of airports, bus terminuses, railway stations and ship docking yards in Kenyan ports.	Jomo Kenyatta International Airport and Nairobi Railway Station.
<b>Heavy and light industries.</b>	Zoning of Nairobi City by the Imperialists to include a separate industrial zone, with great demand for factory and office space.	Apart from the formal industrial areas in Nairobi South and Baba Dogo Areas, light industries have mushroomed in many mixed urban developments both formal and informal.
<b>Construction.</b>	The architectural domain of operation sustaining individual and corporate practices in Kenya. A major economic activity with formal and informal scales.	Erection of housing units initiated by market forces, including speculation. State and individual participants.
<b>Cultural promotion and entertainment.</b>	Demand for facilities to celebrate the various ethnic identities within the Kenyan nation.	The Kenyatta International Conference centre as a facility that houses various festive activities in Kenya, including those with state patronage. Others include Bomas of Kenya and the Carnivore restaurant in Nairobi.
<b>'Jua Kali' (self-employed) artisans.</b>	The proliferation of urban vernacular characterized by <i>ad-hoc</i> informality.	This sector is the greatest employer of the Kenyan adult population promoting self-reliance and informal economic activities.

Table 2b: Types of economic activities in Kenya (adapted from the Constitution of Kenya (2010: 186-188).

### Images of influence of economic activities



Fig. 2a: Arch. Unknown. Sketch of Workers' Housing at Kericho Tea Farms. 2011. The housing is standardised, lacking individuality thereby promoting anonymity. A worker is a mere component in the efficient mechanistic system.



Fig. 2b: No architect. Traditional Kikuyu rural homestead. Bomas of Kenya. 2011. The granary is centrally positioned signifying its vital position to the community.



Fig. 2c: Architect Unknown. Brookside dairies, Ruiru. 2011. The large farm in a semi-urbanised region indicates the confluence of agriculture and industry as compatible economic activities.



Fig. 2d: Mehraz Ehsani architects. Village Market, Gigiri. 1995. The use of a residential language in a shopping complex. An interplay of surface textures. The multiple courtyards and agora exhibit complementary public activity.



Fig 2e: Architect unknown. Chandaria Industries, Baba Dogo. s.a.



Fig. 2f: Architet unknown (probably Ministry of Works). Jomo Kenyatta International Airport, Nairobi. s.a., probably 1960.



Fig. 2g, Architect unknown. Canivore Restaurant, Nairobi. s.a. 1980.



Fig. 2h: Architect unknown. Speculative housing, Nairobi. s.a., 2005.



Fig. 2i: Architect unknown. Canivore Restaurant, Nairobi. s.a. 1980.



Fig. 2j: No architect. Jua Kali Sheds at Gikomba, Nairobi. 2011.

The physical geography of Kenya emphasises its central location in East Africa. Kenya has common boundaries with Uganda to the West, Tanzania to the South, Ethiopia to the North, Sudan to the North-West and Somalia to the East (Ogendo & Ojany, 1973: 1). The access to the Indian Ocean through the port of Mombasa [and soon the port of Lamu] enables Kenya to serve landlocked neighbours such as Uganda (ibid). Only 1.9% of Kenya's territory is occupied by water. Consequently, extraterritorial acculturation of the Kenyan populace began from the Kenyan Coast with Arabic, Portuguese and British influences in a temporal order. Two-thirds of Kenyan land is desert or semi-desert (ibid). This implies that there is a shortage of arable land within the country. Extensive pressure exists on the modes of land use in relation to agriculture and construction affecting population distribution and densities. Mainstream urban architectural development is unaffected by these land pressures because developments are regulated by the economic forces of demand and supply. However, within the rural areas, the previously extensive homesteads have now significantly reduced in size, due to changing needs arising from new definitions of community and family as well as preference for economic land utilisation rather than construction.

Kenya's climate is localised and modified by the large variation of altitude [caused by the presence of mountain ranges including Mount Kenya, Aberdares, Elgon and the Mau Summit as well as the Great Rift Valley] and the great lakes such as Lake Victoria (ibid: 66). Seven climatic zones are identified within the country. Norberg-Schulz (1980a: 32-49) observes that the most significant character of a landscape is its extension, characterising landscapes phenomenologically as romantic, cosmic, classical and complex (see chapter 3 of this dissertation). This classification is applicable to the Kenyan context and is therefore integrated within the various climatic zones. The table below and

the map of the country illustrate these zones as well as the results of geography and location on architecture.

ZONE	LANDSCAPE	CLIMATE TYPE	EXPECTED ARCHITECTURAL RESPONSE
<b>The Coast.</b>	A complex synthesis of Classical, Cosmic and Romantic landscapes containing the Indian Ocean, the Mombasa Island and Coastal Mangrove swamps.	Modified Equatorial Climate (no dry season; high average temperatures and humidity all year round; lower rainfall totals than typical Equatorial climates with maxima in May and October (Ogendo, 1973: 64-67).	Use of wind catchers and  Internal courtyards for adequate cross ventilation and thermal cooling.  Orientation to capture monsoon winds.  Balconies and terraces for outdoor sleeping and night activities.  Narrow streets for sun shading and wind tunnelling.
<b>The Kenya Highlands (formerly known as the White Highlands).</b>	A Classical strong natural multifarious landscape promoting human complementary co-existence with nature.	Modified Tropical Climate. The high altitude ensures much cooler temperatures (Ogendo & Ojany, 1973: 64). The climate is “pleasant and fresh” and is described as “the best climate in Kenya” (ibid: 67).	Limited fenestrations via small sized openings.  Lack of the need for climatic amelioration (Meir & Roaf, 2006: 215-230).  Need for capacitive insulation to provide warmth at night for thermal comfort.
<b>The Lake Victoria Basin.</b>	A Classical landscape containing valleys, rivers and low lying lands including Ahero and Awasi. A continuously changing vibrant microclimate.	Modified Equatorial climate. The large water body ensures rainfall throughout the year but with lower totals than in a typical Equatorial climate (ibid). The basin results in a temperature increase with the Lake providing the much desired cooling effect (ibid).	Use of pitched roofs to tackle frequent storm water run offs. Courtyards for requisite cross ventilation of habitable spaces.  Basement tanking of high rise structures to counter high levels of ground humidity.  Embankments and dykes to control seasonal flooding.  Overhangs to protect wall plaster from erosion by occasional heavy rains. Moderate settlement density.
<b>The North-Western Border.</b>	A Classical landscape containing large water bodies within varied ground relief (Mount Elgon) and forests.	Modified Equatorial climate due to the high altitude. It is a continuation of the climate of eastern and northern Uganda (ibid).	Architecture that is derived from human interaction with natural landscape to provide orientation and harmony.  Moderate density with courtyards for cross ventilation of habitable spaces. Moderate built fabric with walls of moderate thickness to tackle weather elements.
<b>The Narok, Southern Taita and the Kwale Areas.</b>	A Romantic landscape with various microclimates due to the changing ground relief and presence of water bodies.	Tropical climate. The high altitude of the Loita hills creates a cooling effect that yields a more tolerable climate in comparison to neighbouring semi-desert regions (ibid).	Distinct settlements with a variety of architectural forms based on proximity to a particular microclimatic context.  Large fenestrations located in North-South orientation to capture adequate daylight without solar heat gain as well as for cross ventilation.

<b>Eastern Kenya.</b>	A Complex land but tending towards the Cosmic due to semi-desert climate.	Tropical continental and semi-desert climate. It is characterised by low rainfall, large clear skies and large variations of day and night temperatures. This is the vastest climate in the country (ibid).	Clear skies demand limited fenestration to avoid glare and solar heat gain. A mixture of resistive insulation for habitable daylight spaces and capacitive insulation for sleeping rooms to trap warmth for nocturnal comfort.  Requires vertical separation or compartmentalisation of human activity.
<b>North Kenya.</b>	A cosmic (desert) landscape	Desert climate. This region receives very little rainfall. It is characterised by high winds which ensure the lack of cloud cover (ibid).	Resistive insulation through high thermal massing and  Internal courtyards for microclimatic control and adequate ventilation.  Large openings on the interior of the court to capture natural day lighting but the size is limited by the need for warmth at night due to the lack of cloud cover.

Table 2c: Geographical Zones in Kenya (adapted from Ogendo & Ojany, 1973: 64-67).

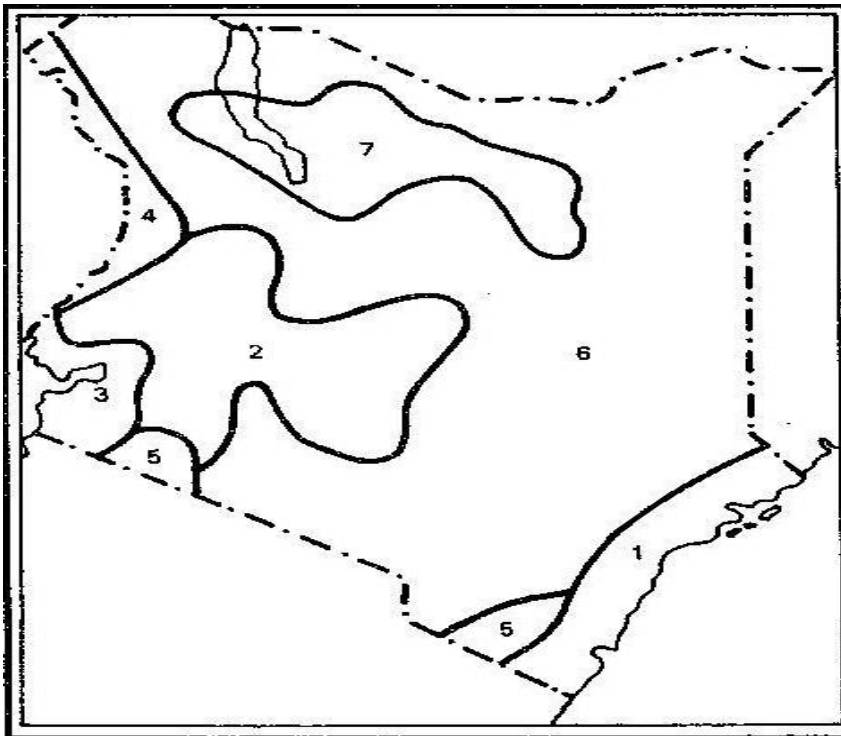


Fig. 2k: Map of Kenya indicating the climatic zones.

**Key**

1. The Coast.	6. Eastern Kenya.
2. The Kenya Highlands.	7. Northern Kenya.
3. The Lake Victoria Basin.	
4. The North Western Border.	
5. The Narok and Southern Taita and Kwale Areas.	

It is vital to understand the various climatic zones because architectural solutions exemplify man's response to climate challenges. Paul Oliver (1990: 153) observes that through the process of trial and error, vernacular architecture has arrived at the correct strategies for moderating the effects of climate on the comfort of the occupants of structures within this paradigm. Kenyan examples include modern rain water harvesting and the emergence of urban agriculture through the use of vegetable gurney bags in Kenyan slums. The poor illumination levels in Maasai *Manyattas* and the smoke build-up within them indicate the unresolved issues within the vernacular domain.

As a framework for elucidating architectural semiology in Kenya, this study takes the position that future analysis of Kenyan architecture should explore and explain the extent to which the vernacular and mainstream architecture of the various climatic regions have emerged as responses to these particular climatic forces.

### **2.1.3 A brief survey of the Kenyan politico-administrative system**

During the period under consideration various governance systems have been witnessed in Kenya. They include the multifarious self-governments of African traditional societies in the pre-colonial period, British imperial rule and the various sovereign state or Republic Governments of the post-colonial period (Ayisi, 1992 [1972]: 110; Atieno- Odhiambo & Ochieng' 1995: xiv – xvii; Ochieng', 1995: 83-109; Ogot, 1995b: 187-214). The formal governments of the imperial and post-independence periods have had a profound influence on Kenyan architecture and these are considered later in this chapter under the 'statecraft' category.

Politics are inextricably linked to architecture both at the levels of ideology and governance (see *Bearers of Meaning* by J. Onians). The nation-state is a major player in resource mobilisation and re-distribution, as well as the maintenance of prevailing socio-economic class structures (Ochieng', 1995: xiv, 86). Contemporary Kenyan architecture therefore exemplifies the priorities of the political class, thus the extraction of architectural semiology must inevitably delve into the political domain. Significant works of architecture with extensive political patronage include prime properties in Nairobi's Central Business District belonging to both the Central Government and the Nairobi City Council such as the Kenyatta International Conference Centre (KICC), Parliament Buildings, State House, Continental House, Times Towers and various Government offices in 'Community' including the Ministries of Land and Housing, Water, Transport and Communications and Roads and Public Works.

Charles Jencks has adopted a method of political classification as a strategy for analysing 'Modern Movements in Architecture' (Jencks, 1985 [1973]: 31-94). In this approach, architectural concepts are motivated through six political ideologies, namely, the logical; the idealist; the self-conscious; the intuitive; the activist and the un-selfconscious traditions. Though successful, because it is pluralistic, the classification is rather general and only loosely linked to political governance when totalitarian and authoritarian regimes are discussed (ibid: 185-186).

In this study, a more specific approach to politics is undertaken within the Kenyan context. The architecture of the country is viewed as an expression of the prevalent political culture at both levels of ideology and governance and the 'State' is recognised as the main actor in this domain although *zeitgeist* and other generators of architectural form are acknowledged. The table below is a brief synopsis of the various political establishments and their influence on Kenyan culture including architecture.

GOVERNMENT TYPE	CHARACTER OR POLICY DESCRIPTION	IMPACT ON CULTURE, BUILT ENVIRONMENT AND ARCHITECTURE
<b>Traditional pre-colonial governance systems.</b>	Multifarious traditional self-governments (Ayisi, 1992 [1972]: 10). Self-autonomy and self-sufficiency with inherent symbiosis amongst neighbouring units, exemplifying barter trade, warrior culture and internal pressures of territorial expansion (Ayisi, 1992 [1972]: 100-101; Mazrui, 1978: 15; 1980: 123; Soja, 1968: 3)	Stable core but a diffuse periphery due to migrations, conquests and population pressures that sustained continuous expansions (Soja, 1968: 8, 10, 13). Preliminary intra-territorial acculturation, exchange of cultural craft technologies like ornaments, tools, beads and pots but not architectural wisdom. Cultural autarchy entrenched as an autonomy that promoted moderation with regard to consumption (Nursey-Bray, 1974: 27; Patel 1974: 185). Development of sustainable architecture that co-exists harmoniously with the natural environment due to limited use of natural resources, energy and available materials.
<b>Imperial/colonial governance system.</b>	British imperial rule (Atieno-Odhiambo & Ochieng,' 1995: xiv-xvii). Imperial dominance established through racial arrogance manifested in racial segregation and exclusion (Mazrui, 1978: 11; 1980: 23).	Elimination and reduction of diseases such as small pox and rinderpest as well as death to "internecine warfare" and inter-tribal conflicts. (Benett, 1978 [1963]: 5; Hodges, 1971: 84, 85; Soja, 1968: 12, 17, 53). The removal of these forces of destruction and the enactment of native reserves led to the consolidation of tribal identities expressed through propagation of cultural festivals, rituals and truth to architectural forms. However cultural fusion and acculturation produced new taste cultures through the desire of new and alien forms and materials. New typologies in the form of schools, churches, offices, hotels, factories and courts are introduced based on racial prejudice, promoting racial segregation.
<b>The Kenyatta era 1963-1978 (Ochieng,' 1995: 83-109)</b>	"Suppression of political dissidents", "erosion of civil liberties" and "arbitrary rule" (Maloba, 1995: 17). Continuation of "colonial economic infrastructure and policies" (Ochieng,' 1995: 91, 93, 106).	Entrenchment of indigenous societal stratification with the uppermost echelon controlling commerce, education and other key sectors of the economy (Mazrui, 1977: 34, 298; Maxon, 1995: 102; Ochieng,' 1995: 192). The ministry of public works commissions large scale projects including public

		universities, state lodges, offices, schools, hospitals and markets, inspired by the principles and policies of African Nationalism including the 'Harambee' spirit that mobilised funds for the onset of community projects.
<b>The Moi era 1978-2002 (Ogot, 1995b: 187-214).</b>	The short comings include: the emasculatation of the Kenyan Constitution by an Executive that suppressed the Legislature and the Judiciary, rampant land grabbing, nepotism and gross social injustices. Public oppression, tribalism and corruption. Economic marginalisation of the politically 'incorrect'. 'Nyayoism' propagated as a continuation of Kenyatta era's cultural and economic policies.	Popular culture emerges with intensive celebration of sovereignty tempered with intolerance to criticism and totalitarian tendencies. Construction of sports stadia (Nyayo stadium, Moi sports Centre, Kasarani), Nyayo House as a government administration centre, Nyayo wards, Nyayo tea zones as evidence of populist political tendencies.
<b>The Kibaki era, 2003 to the present.</b>	Political and governance reforms to provide a fresh start through national political re-commitment to democratic principles. Increased transparency within the Civil Service including the introduction of performance contracts.	The new Kenyan Constitution forecasts and targets high economic growth and investments into Kenya (Republic of Kenya, 2010: 25-38). Enhanced political representation (ibid: 55-57, 63-67; 114-118). Increased tolerance and patriotism (Atieno-Odhiambo, 1995a: 2). Pluralism, with its origins in the multiparty democracy struggles of 1990-1992 is finally acknowledged as the key character of the Kenyan nation. Architecturally, tolerance in the form of the reduction in dominance by leading architectural establishments, through the sustenance of a variety of taste culture and celebration of individuality as well as political and cultural differences becomes the key central themes of this period.

Table 2d: A temporal presentation of Government in Kenyan history.

The Kenyan Constitution recognises that political power belongs to the Kenyan people, thereby fostering a pluralistic culture in the country (Republic of Kenya, 2010: 13). The success of the new political and governance structure that is currently under implementation, as directed by the new Kenyan Constitution, is based upon mutual action and co-operation as well as effective methods of dispute resolution when any conflict arises (ibid: 121), though the challenges of national cohesion will still arise from politics of self-preservation, nepotism and tribalism.

The impact of this new political dispensation on Kenyan architecture will be evident immediately, when the devolved administrative counties generate new demands and commissions for architectural practices.

#### 2.1.4 The role of craft

Within Kenyan rural vernacular architecture, craft and decoration are inseparable from the daily existence of inhabitants because they are enshrined in the tribal philosophy that regulates this domain. Abel describes "true craftsmanship" as "the result of a combination of artistic intelligence and technical



dexterity” (2000: 43). This perception can only be valid in the evaluation of a particular craft, if the local culture in which the craft resides is comprehended *a priori*. Standards of beauty and levels of technology within a culture determine the propagation of craft technology in a community, making it impossible to rank the craft of one tribe as superior to another. Oliver categorises traditional craft as a vernacular know-how that embodies the “collective wisdom and experience” of a community through a hierarchy of delineation that incorporates inherited knowledge and societal values including spirituality and gender differentiation (1990: 147, 149). This is true within the Kenyan context.

In Kenya today, craft is practiced both at individual and community levels. Amongst the Maasai, the women constructed the individual dwelling units (Rukwaro & Maina, 2006: 62). Luo women perfected the art of plastering intricate patterns on the floors of houses, while the Swahili engaged specialised artisans to craft extensive decorations on doors and entrance to houses (Ochieng, 1979: 17; Ghaidan, 1975: 48-49). Such specialised skill evident in traditional craft and decoration recalls the Venturian ‘decorated shed’ that is synonymous with architectural inclusivism as well as Hassan Fathy’s ‘local signature’ or Marcel Vellinga’s ‘Local dialect’ that honour originality and uniqueness of culturally responsive architectural solutions (Venturi & Scott-Brown, 1977 [1972]: 90-105 ; Fathy, 1973: 119; Vellinga, 2006: 88, 90).

The role of craft in cultural propagation is evident amongst the Luo, where the interior architecture of houses exemplifies furniture that is crafted beautifully from wood and straw; the Swahili showcase the famous Lamu doors, while the Maasai craft productions are now considered part of a vital Kenyan heritage that is highly commercialised for sale to tourists (Rukwaro & Maina, 2006: 89).

The combination of traditional craftsmen and their practices, collective community experience and belief system regulated architectural developments within indigenous rural vernacular in Kenya (Stea & Turan, 1990: 107). This demanded a highly structured apprenticeship system propagated through instruction in effective division of labour, rituals of site preparation where appropriate, the proper understanding of materials and their limitations coupled with effective handling to avoid wastage and effective dispute resolution mechanisms within the building process (Marchand, 2005: 53-54).

Religious practices were also incorporated into the practice of traditional craft, when Hindus employed the use of sculptures and statues of their gods extensively to decorate the exterior and

interior surfaces of their temples. This can be observed at the Visa Oshwal Mahajanwadi in Ngara, Nairobi.

In order for architects to appreciate the role of craft as an instrument of cultural preservation, it is imperative to highlight the distinctions between craft production and high technology manufacture, as outlined in the table below.

ASPECT	CRAFT	HIGH TECHNOLOGY
<b>Quality</b>	Cannot be produced in large quantities due to high demand of production time and scarcity of specialised skills.	Favours mass production due to individual automation.
<b>Uniformity</b>	Promotes variety since no two artefacts are entirely identical.	Promotes standardisation as all products are alike in every aspect.
<b>Aesthetic</b>	Human oriented, promoting individuality.	Machine oriented promoting technological advancement.
<b>Level of technology</b>	Use of locally available materials like wood and stones (masonry).	Highest level of technological sophistication employing synthetic materials like metals and concrete.
<b>Texture</b>	Natural, rough, unrefined.	Artificial, smooth, polished, sleek and highly refined.
<b>Context</b>	Informal.	Formal.

Table 2e: A comparison of aspects of craft and high technology.

Fathy (1973: 36, 43) observes that the future of a sustainable architecture relies on the inclusion, promotion and incorporation of traditional skills and craft into mainstream architectural work in order to propagate, support and perpetuate established building traditions. In Kenya today, star architects lack the appreciation of the vernacular traditions and abhor local craftsmanship perceiving it as out-dated and lack the professional competence required to respond sensitively to pertinent issues within local cultures (ibid).

It is lamentable that the levels of craft within both vernacular and modern societies in Kenya are in a state of decline. Oliver (2006: 264, 265) attributes this to the constant threat of acculturation emanating from the cultural onslaught resulting from imperialism, coupled with the advent of electronic media that has weakened traditional systems of knowledge transmission and propagation.

Parliament buildings in Nairobi portrays the extensive incorporation of stone sculptures on some of its facades as an attempt at including skilled traditional craft into modern architecture, a successful venture in Afrocentricity. 'Jua Kali' (informal craft artisans) continues to create new handicrafts such as rainwater drain pipes, gutters and iron roofing materials for use within Kenyan vernacular architecture. Ironmongery, initially observed as a persuasive craft for barter exchange in traditional societies, is currently employed in Kenyan institutional architecture as a modern craft. This is one aspect of building that has not yet been standardised except for taps, door handles and staircase handrails that are readily available from manufacturer's catalogues. Various designs of burglar proofing of doors and windows, gates, and stair case balustrades are abundant in contemporary Kenyan architecture demonstrating that craft and originality can withstand acculturation pressures emanating from alien taste cultures.

Traditional craft originated from traditional customs and was practiced through negotiation between craftsmen and clients within the tribal communities in Kenya (Lawrence, 2006: 114). Such architectural participation is absent in contemporary Kenyan architecture due to the absence of democratic choices that promote and regulate skilled craft technologies within the local culture.

Traditional craft enabled the sensorial perception of vernacular forms that were inspired by cosmological principles and anthropomorphic considerations which were manifested in the visual and tactile expressions of the materials employed (Oliver, 2006: 264) This indicates the potential of incorporating traditional craft into Kenyan architecture to promote Critical Regionalist solutions, in pursuit of a trans-optical architecture that invokes all the human senses in order to transcend scenography (see Chapter 3). Government intervention is therefore necessary in the realisation of this pursuit, because the Kenyan state is the custodian of the national architectural heritage. Regulation of the content of electronic media, in consultation with the key players (AAK and BORAQS) is an initial step in promoting cultural pride. The restoration of traditional craft and extension of commissions to master craftsmen to revive and sustain the practice of skilled crafts is central to the rejuvenation of dormant cultural and artistic practices and know-how (Fathy, 1973: 35, 36, 38). This is compatible with the role of the Kenyan architect who should favour cultural continuity rather than 'museology'.

### 2.1.5 The Kenyan architectural regulatory context

The architectural profession in Kenya, as in other Commonwealth countries, is highly regulated. Mechanisms for regulation have been established through an act of Parliament *The Architects and Quantity Surveyors Act*, Chapter 525 (CAP 525) of 1934. This is the main regulating legislation and it establishes the Board of Registration of Architects and Quantity Surveyors (Republic of Kenya, 1978 [1934]: 57).

Other relevant legislations and laws include:

- 1) The Physical Planning Act (Republic of Kenya, 1996).
- 2) The Sectional Properties Act (ibid, 1987).
- 3) The Building Code (ibid, 1968), specifically the Local Government By-Laws regulating Building and Grade II Building.

In harmony with the enactment of the new Constitution of Kenya 2010, the Building Code and CAP 525 have been revised and await the necessary Parliamentary approval for enactment. The formation of a National Building Authority is also expected.

Despite the above regulation, the politics of ethnicity, corruption and nepotism have led to violations of Building By-Laws and encroachment of unqualified persons into the architectural profession (Maloba, 1995: 17; Ogot, 1995d: 249). The new Constitution provides opportunity to tackle and weed-out any persistent impunity within the construction industry.

The Kenyan Government, through its chief architect at the Ministry of Roads and Public Works, is a major actor in the construction industry. The Government has commissioned various large scale projects including universities, State lodges, offices, schools, hospitals and markets.

The interests and continuous professional development (CPD) of the individual architect are catered for by the Board of Registration of Architects and Quantity Surveyors (hereafter BORAQS), as well as the Architectural Association of Kenya (hereafter AAK), being an umbrella body that incorporates all professions in the construction industry including architects, town planners, quantity surveyors, engineers, project managers and environmental consultants.

Other regulating bodies that determine or control development in Nairobi and other Kenyan urban regions include:

1. The National Environmental Management Authority (NEMA) – for environmental legislation enforcement and control.
2. The Nairobi City Council (for zoning, plot ratios and coverage).
3. The Kenya Railways Corporation (for plots adjacent to the railway lines).
4. The Kenya Airports Authority and the Kenya Civil Aviation Authority (for plots adjacent to the airports and along the landing and take-off paths of flights).
5. The Kenya Bureau of Standards (for the standards of materials employed within the building industry).
6. Other urban councils, the Kenya Ports Authority and the Kenya Power and Lighting Company.

Research in the construction industry in Kenya is mainly undertaken in:

1. The Kenya Building Research Centre at the Ministry of Roads and Public Works.
2. The Housing and Building Research Institute (HABRI) at the University of Nairobi (formerly HRDU).
3. The Schools of Architecture at Jomo Kenyatta University and the University of Nairobi.

BORAQS hosts two mandatory continuous Professional Development (CPD) programmes annually. AAK hosts one annual convention. In these fora, practicing architects converge to share views and experiences, taking common positions on major national and political issues such as urbanisation, development, public procurement and even regional integration in relation to professional practice and the new Constitution of Kenya (2010).

It is the position of this study that the recommendations in Chapter 4 should be comprehended in the context of the above architectural regulatory context as regards the proposed levels of intervention required to entrench Critical Regionalism into Kenyan architectural training and practice.

The table below is a summary of the actors within the architectural profession at both levels of practice and training in Kenya.

BODY	ROLE WITHIN KENYAN ARCHITECTURAL REGULATORY CONTEXT
<b>Republic of Kenya through the Ministry of Roads and Public Works.</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Enforcement and implementation of government policy; Design and construction supervision of civic (public) buildings, including housing for civil servants.</li> </ul>
<b>Kenya building research centre.</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Research into the built environment, and appropriate technologies.</li> </ul>
<b>Board of Registration of Architects and Quantity surveyors (BORAQS).</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Regulation</li> <li>Registration</li> <li>Policy with regards to architectural curricula and training.</li> </ul>
<b>Architectural Association of Kenya. (AAK).</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Political activism</li> <li>Awards of excellence</li> <li>Registration</li> <li>Regulation</li> <li>Members of world architectural bodies including the African Union of Architects (AUA) and the Commonwealth Association of Architects (regional and global representation).</li> </ul>
<b>Kenyan Universities.</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>University of Nairobi (UoN) School of Architecture.</li> <li>Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology (JKUAT) School of Architecture.</li> <li>Research into architectural training and practice as well as pertinent themes with regard to housing and urbanisation.</li> <li>Training of student architects.</li> </ul>
<b>Housing and Building Research Institute.</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Located at UoN.</li> <li>Research and training into appropriate technologies and new materials targeting low-cost housing.</li> </ul>
<b>Registered architects.</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Professional practice.</li> </ul>
<b>Other Professionals within the Kenyan construction industry.</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Including engineers, town planners, project managers and environmental consultants.</li> <li>Collaboration as well as marketing consortia for turnkey projects.</li> </ul>
<b>Clients.</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Architectural patronage</li> <li>Varies from consultation to project implementation and supervision.</li> <li>Guiding and informing architectural practice with regard to requirements.</li> </ul>

Table 2f: A synopsis of the Kenyan architectural regulatory context.

## 2.2 Kenyan cultural ecologies

Various forces within the Kenyan context have inspired moulded, catalysed or provided direction for Kenyan architecture. Climatic forces have been extensively outlined in architectural curricula and by vernacular architecture and mainstream architectural researchers including Isaac Meir and Susan Roaf (2006: 215-229) and Chris Abel (2000: 215-216, 228-229) respectively. Green architecture imperatives have also been extensively formulated and discussed by researchers such as Herbert Girardet (2000: 15-29); Tom Wooley (2000: 44-54); Simon Guy and Graham Farmer (2000: 73-84). This study will therefore not engage the green architecture paradigm and will only mention the climatic responses of vernacular architectural environments as considered in Table 2c above and the case study in Chapter 4 where appropriate.

Like Rapoport (1969), Henry Glassie emphasises that “environmental modification is of less importance than social organization in shaping homes” (1990: 277-278), arguing that climatic responses are secondary to social interactions. This study will therefore dwell on the forces that shape social interaction as evident in cultural ecological aspects of Government and politics, religion, economics and history.

Franz Boas (Ayisi, 1992 [1972]: xix) describes nomothetic and idiographic methods of analysis seeking to discover general laws or regularities and a detailed cultural exposition respectively under the theory of 'historical particularism'. The nomothetic approach is now considered obsolete. However, the idiographic approach will be adopted in this dissertation to expose particular aspects of Kenyan culture and their impact on Kenyan architecture. The inevitability of change in society must also be acknowledged. According to the Comtean dynamic theory of social change, progress is equated with the development of knowledge as outlined in the table below (ibid: 95).

DEVELOPMENTAL STAGE	KEY ATTRIBUTES OF SOCIETAL KNOWLEDGE	ARCHITECTURAL IMPLICATIONS
<b>Lowest (simple)</b>	Theological or/ and Fictive	'Simple' architecture which is almost non-existent in Kenya today.
<b>Intermediate</b>	Metaphysical or/ and Philosophical	Rural vernacular architecture exemplifying pragmatism in climatic response. Organisation evolves from cultural principles based on customs, rituals and taboos. For the urban vernacular economic hardship acts as the main generator of its architecture.
<b>Highest (complex)</b>	Scientific or/ and positive	Mainstream urban Kenyan architecture exemplifying a synthesis of multiple parameters including culture, climate, history and technology to develop appropriate built form.

Table 2g: Knowledge development (adapted from Ayisi (1992 [1972]: 95).

Kenya, described as a transitional society by Soja (1968: 1), portrays all three levels of change identified above. The simple stage is prevalent in rural areas exemplifying minimal contact with external influence, while the complex stage is already entrenched in the urban areas. The transition is a change from traditional to modern systems and is induced by competition between tradition and innovation (Ayisi, 1992 [1972]: 95; Soja, 1968: 1).

Ayisi's thesis describes social change as a two-tier process (1992 [1972]: 100). Structural change alters the components of society including the family unit and kinship, while organisational change is perceived as the adoption of new methods of action manifested in the economic and technological sectors of the society. Ayisi further identifies the most significant aspects of change as economic, religious and political (ibid). Societal change may therefore be described as cultural change because these three aspects find expression within the cultural domain.

Bethwel Ogot (1995c: 214) outlines a tripartite development strategy that is consistent with societies in transit, drawing examples from the Kenyan context.

DEVELOPMENT STAGE	KEY CHARACTERISTICS	EXPRESSION IN KENYAN ARCHITECTURE
<b>Initial priority</b>	Economic and technological concerns including capital formation and increased economic output.	The Kenyan situation immediately after independence (the Kenyatta era). Focus on rapid industrialisation, economic growth, urbanisation and infrastructure development. The onset of the dominance of institutional over vernacular architecture.
<b>Social concerns</b>	Social tensions, conflict and disharmony arising from the implementation of the initial priority. "Social justice: equity and human rights" issues (ibid), threatening to destabilise society.	Too much state control through its role in resource mobilisation and distribution (the Moi era). The entrenchment of totalitarian tendencies and popular architecture through construction of 'Nyayo' monuments, 'Nyayo' wards, sports stadia, Moi University and schools.
<b>Cultural mitigation</b>	The realisation that the "development paradigm is not an economic matter but a cultural one" (ibid). Cultural concerns are addressed as a means of mitigating the social concerns thereby providing an "alternative approach to development" (ibid).	Pluralistic architectural approaches evident in the acknowledgement of the diversity inherent in the cultural ecologies of the nation. The Bomas of Kenya was a pioneer cultural project, although its main focus was preservation rather than mitigation, which should be the means by which architecture addresses societal concerns in Kenya.

Table 2h: Societal development strategy- adapted from Ogot (1995c: 214).

Development has been falsely equated with modernization, which in Kenya has been perceived as a shift from traditional to Western systems because modernity is incompatible with tradition (Ogot, 1995c: 214-215). This shift, characterised as social mobilisation, is extensive as it



involves institutional change, behavioural, occupational, habitual, residential, cultural identity and political transformations (Soja, 1968: 3), whose precondition is the abandonment of traditional institutions in favour of Western systems (Ogot, 1995c: 215). Such regressive perceptions of development are only successful in achieving technological transfer (ibid), but not in the achievement of sustainable progress. At the View Park Towers and the Anniversary Towers, the misconception of a so-called superiority of Western architectural typologies led to the introduction of the 'Miesian' glass box in Nairobi, thereby creating environmental hazards due to the high solar heat gains, glare and the extensive use of permanent artificial lighting, ventilation and air conditioning in a region endowed with plenty of sunshine and open spaces that permit natural ventilation. Kenyan architects need to understand Kenyan culture, societal sub-cultures and their architectural expressions, in order to provide contextually relevant solutions. Apart from addressing "the tastes of a rapidly growing consumerist social class, the bourgeoisie..." (Maxon & Ndege, 1995: 170), they must also comprehend the stratification of contemporary Kenyan society. Modernisation in Kenya has entrenched skewed societal development greatly widening social gaps that existed prior to colonisation (Soja, 1968: 101, 106). Class struggles characteristic of the prevalent class structure are now prevalent. Ogot observes that the "Kenyan society is fragmented into three main discordant elements" (1995c: 231). These are "the wealthy and insecure elite", "the poor and frustrated urban working class" and "the peasantry" (ibid). The wealthy have initiated private sector architectural housing developments in upmarket estates such as Muthaiga, Lavington, Kyuna and Loresho in Nairobi. These are fortified through masonry perimeter walls, barbed wire, burglar proofing, guards (*Askaris*) and more recently the proliferation of 'gated' communities. The working class is housed in rental units inspired by rampant speculative development with a minor degree of home ownership. Kenya is "a nation dominated by small-farm peasant producers." (Maxon & Ndege, 1995: 164). This shows the extent of poverty in the country. These peasants are in the rural and urban vernacular domains. In the analysis of Kenyan architecture, it is therefore vital to articulate the tradition and culture of Kenyan society in order to develop a more holistic perception of the pertinent architectural issues. This position is consistent with the recognition of the multiplicities of identities within the Kenyan context (Ogot, 1995d: 235), through the affirmation of the fact that the pursuit of "national identity" is "basically a cultural question" (ibid).

The task of tracing the genesis of ideas with "extensive roots" such as the genesis of Kenyan architecture is "extremely difficult" (Soja, 1968: v). Nevertheless, it must be undertaken to elucidate and extract its semiology.

### 2.2.1 The role of culture

The Kenyan nation is a cultural construct that portrays collectivity and individuality simultaneously. With more than 40 indigenous tribes, as well as locals of foreign descent (including Arabs, Indians and Europeans), the Kenyan cultural landscape is multicultural, exhibiting contemporary cultural pluralism (Ogot, 1995c: 234).

According to Okot p'Bitek, "Culture is philosophy as lived and celebrated in a society" (Ogot, 1995c: 233). Therefore architectural philosophy must be anchored in concepts of culture of a society. Ogot emphasises that "any meaningful art [and architecture by extension] must reflect the dynamic [sic] and contradictions of the society of the artist. It must have form, content and history." (ibid: 225) Therefore the process of extracting architectural semiology demands an analytic dissection of a society's or subculture's culture to expose the vast wealth of experiential meanings contained therein. This is the phenomenology of architecture.

Piddington defines culture as the totality of material and intellectual equipment of a people that satisfies their social and biological needs enabling them to adapt to their environment (in Ayisi, 1992 [1972]: 1). Malinowski defines culture as a whole that includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, customs, capabilities and habits acquired by man in a societal context (ibid). From these definitions, it can be deduced that culture embodies a multiplicity of meanings anchored in human lifestyle relative to the environmental context. Ayisi (ibid: 2) recognises this symbiotic affinity between culture and the geographical environment and extends the above definitions to include religion, behaviour and cultural artefacts. Architecture can therefore be considered as the practice of a specialised culture as mentioned previously in Kenyan cultural ecologies above.

Hasu Patel (1974: 183) observes that it is impossible to shield and insulate Africa [Kenya included] from external influence. Ali Mazrui (1980: 119) describes Africa [Kenya included] as a "cultural melting pot" that is continuously bubbling. This is due to the concurrent convergence of scientific and cultural paradigms on the continent (ibid: 49). This has led to inevitable cultural fusion (Mazrui, 1977: 31; Patel, 1974: 183), exemplified by the resultant cultural homogenisation due to exposure and adoption of a varied material culture induced by globalisation and international travel (Patel, 1974: 175-176). It is therefore valid to expect an expression of this homogenising cultural influence in Kenyan architecture due to the adoption of Western and other external taste cultures, especially amongst the bourgeoisie.

Ogot proclaims that “Culture contributes to an individual's or nation's sense of identity by providing bases of social integration and offering guidelines to action during periods of uncertainty.” (1995c: 215). It can then be deduced that culture is central to individual and collective identities fused to achieve social cohesion, providing direction and validation for social action.

Any questions within the Kenyan architectural scenario require a departure from the local culture in the formulation of solutions. Mazrui (1980: 66) has outlined the three identities of an African, expressed in a tripartite hierarchical structure as the 'tribe', the 'nation-state' and 'race'.

These three identities are synthesised in 'the identity of an individual' which is then perceived as a distinct personality moulded by liberal thought and choice. Architectural semiology must then seek to expose the expression of these multiple identities including religious and ideological dualities such as Christianity and Marxism as well as Christianity (or Islam) and ancestral region (ibid: 53-54).

Mazrui (1980: 47-48) elucidates seven functions of culture in societies (see the Table below). The comprehension of these functions is a pre-requisite to the extraction of semiology in any cultural landscape.

<b>FUNCTION OF CULTURE</b>	<b>DESCRIPTION</b>	<b>IMPLICATIONS FOR ARCHITECTURE.</b>
<b>Perception</b>	Culture provides a detailed method of comprehending reality and establishing a 'world view'.	Guides the experience of architecture (phenomenology). Perception is subjective. It may be individual, informed by personal experience (history) or communal, with society giving a collective world view.
<b>Evaluation Standards</b>	Culture provides the criteria or basis for the distinction between dichotomies such as 'good and evil', 'beautiful and ugly' and 'legitimate and illegitimate' (ibid).	Determines judgement pertaining to 'goodness of function, utility and beauty, recalling the Vitruvian trilogy. Good architecture must therefore be culturally relevant, appropriate and responsive to its context, emphasising that culture is the most critical element in its evaluation.
<b>Motivation</b>	Culture directs action, providing inspiration for excellence. It also prevents action in select situations.	Conditions cultural sensitivity, governing issues of functional separation emanating from cultural prohibitions such as maintenance of adequate distance between parents and their teenage children. Demands that architecture must respond to societal norms, taboos and rituals in order to remain relevant.
<b>Medium of Communication</b>	Culture provides the language of social interaction including conditioning behaviour and mode of dress (ibid).	Modes of architectural communication are linguistic, departing from local culture. Architectural issues like organisation, functional disposition, decoration and hierarchy are conveyed via language.
<b>Stratification</b>	Culture generates and reveals societal stratification expressed as 'status, rank or class' manifested as a 'pecking order' (ibid).	Traditionally, societal rank was expressed through differences in decoration, livestock, wives and homestead sizes. Contemporary societal hierarchy expresses prevalent class struggles.
<b>Mode of Production</b>	Culture is invariably linked to economics. 'The means and modes of production' may be perceived as 'culture change or economic progress' (ibid).	The production of cultural artefacts must be viewed from the cultural ecology of their contexts, informed by their genesis and phenomenological sedimentation.

<b>Definition of Identity</b>	Culture provides answers to pertinent questions such as 'who we are' and 'who they are' (ibid).	Identity is a cultural construct. Variations in architectural style indicate a multiplicity of identities.
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Table 2i: The seven functions of culture (adapted from Mazrui, 1980: 41-48).

This study will take cognisance of these expressed functions of culture in the description and evaluation of Kenyan architecture. However, it is necessary to distinguish between progressive and regressive culture in order to select cultural aspects that are compatible with and suitable for integration within the framework that is being developed within this study. Wole Soyinka cautions Africans against “the fascination of the past” (Ogot, 1995c: 220), while Okot p'Bitek admonishes Africans “against irrelevant traditionalism” (ibid: 233). Therefore, the centrality of culture to Kenyan architecture must be outlined from an open minded position, rather than that of an obsolete cultural romanticism. The past-future dialectic is always present, providing a guide to future action based on an evaluation of the past. The Kenyatta International Conference Centre in Nairobi is a successful re-interpretation of traditional African architecture applied to a modern urban context. However, the Bomas of Kenya are regressive restatements of the rural traditional vernacular.

According to Ogot (1995c: 216), the Kenyan Government recognised that culture was central to economic growth and the dispersal of the consequent benefits. Therefore, architectural development and other changes induced by economic and social progress had to be cognisant of the “cultural dimension” (ibid). A detailed investigation into Kenyan architecture should be undertaken to reveal the methods by which political approaches, if any, have been expressed both at tangible and intangible levels. However, detached acceptance of the rapid acculturation and self-contempt [of tradition] are evident through wanton acceptance of Western modes of architectural production. Mazrui (1980: xvi, 2) observes that African countries [Kenya included] are presently undergoing acculturation due to Westernisation (This holds true for the 1980's, but of course currently also holds true for Oriental and Middle Eastern cultural influences on the continent). He continues to declare that all educated Africans are victims of cultural bondage (Mazrui, 1978: 13) and consciously or subconsciously demonstrate the cultural inferiority of their heritage, exposing a self contemptuous attitude towards their culture (ibid: 18; 1977: 105). This negative attitude justified positive Government actions regarding preservation and continuity of Kenyan cultures.

The intervention of statecraft in the Kenyan cultural domain was formalised by the Kenyan

Government, in its Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965 (ibid: 218). This was a synthesis of previous positions taken by leaders and scholars in the socio-cultural field (ibid: 216). Although it engaged the adoption of capitalism from a socialistic perspective, it also formulated a collective strategy with regards to the “ethos of traditional culture” (ibid). This study will then refer to this cultural intervention as Kenya's cultural policy, expressed as a synthesis of the four-fold positions outlined in the table below (ibid: 216-217).

CULTURAL STRATEGY	DESCRIPTION	IMPLICATIONS FOR ARCHITECTURE
<b>PURIST</b>	May be described as a cultural romanticisation focusing on true commitment to cultural heritage and “preservation of cultural traits, beliefs and practices” (ibid). Traditional knowledge and practice with 'contemporary relevance' was to be identified. (ibid).	This strategy focuses on 'museology'. It is regressive as it is devoid of new interpretation. It promotes stasis through pragmatic conservation (preservation), ignoring temporal continuity.
<b>TRANSFORMATIVE</b>	This school advocated for a “more dynamic and creative view of culture” through “creative innovations” that express “the needs and aspirations of contemporary society” through substitution of “ethnic festivals and rituals” with institutions including churches, political parties, sports organisations and trade unions (ibid).	For this school, political independence meant cultural diversification, through adoption of new and alien architectural forms and typologies irrespective of their suitability to the Kenyan context.
<b>INNOVATIVE</b>	This school recognised that Kenya could not “isolate itself from the scientific and technological developments that were taking place in the world” which needed to be harnessed in order to develop the “cultural heritage” and promote “national unity” (ibid).	This school validated Western architectural models as superior to the indigenous ones with regard to solving architectural problems. Adoption of these models was viewed as progressive and in sync with modernisation.
<b>DUAL SYNTHESIS</b>	The cultural project was perceived as a dialectic synthesis of opposite dichotomies including “traditional and contemporary” realities, “ethnic and national” identities and “indigenous and foreign” artefacts (ibid).	Embraces architectural pluralism through recognising that multivalence enriches meaning. This provides direction for the future of Kenyan architecture.

Table 2j: A synthesis of cultural responses as expressed in Kenya's cultural policy (adapted from Ogot, 1995c: 216-217).

Future analysis of Kenyan architecture should reveal the extent to which the four-fold cultural policy has manifested itself in the architectural scenario of the Kenyan nation. A detailed investigation into Kenyan architecture should be undertaken to reveal the methods by which political approaches have been expressed both at tangible and intangible levels.

This study does not advocate for cultural isolation (Mazrui, 1977: 99) or cultural dependency (ibid: 32) within the Kenyan architectural scenario. What is required is an honest cultural probe to reveal the beneficial constants of traditional culture while incorporating progressive aspects of

universal culture. This is the architectural paradigm of Critical Regionalism, which recognises the Kenyan Government's perception of culture as "a unique way of life peculiar to a people, encompassing social institutions, values, norms and ethics as well as attire and various forms of artistic and literary expression" (Republic of Kenya, in Maxon, 1995: 139). The prevailing cultural pluralism must therefore be perceived as a catalyst for societal advancement, whether at the literal level of expression through the national music festival- including politically inspired "song and dance" (ibid: 226-227)- or the incorporation of modern technology to propagate Kenyan culture and perpetuate multiculturalism, even within architecture (Patel, 1974: 173, 182).

### **2.2.2 The role of culture: Statecraft**

According to Soja, the nation-state "has been recognized almost universally as the most potent organizational form for the initiation, dissemination and perpetuation of modern ways of life." (1968: 1) He continues to state that "the belief that the nation-state is the pivotal unit of human organization lies at the heart of the spreading world culture" (ibid). The role of the nation-state in shaping the practice of architecture is evident both as a facilitator or initiator, as well as a stimulator and a regulator, influencing architecture at both tangible and intangible levels, setting the pace and giving direction for future development.

William Ochieng' and Atieno-Odhiambo (1995: xiv) define the state as "an organ of society which arises out of the development in society of irreconcilable antagonisms, or struggle among social classes with conflicting economic interests." They continue to assert that the state is a product of societal stratification and an instrument of social control by the ruling elite (ibid). This position is consistent with that taken by Wunyabari Maloba (1995: 14, 21), namely that the state is a political tool for the protection of the economic interests of the bourgeoisie through the maintenance of existing class structures by emphasising institutional continuity rather than advocating for change. These definitions embrace the Marxist principles of "dialectal materialism, historical materialism and class struggle" (Mazrui, 1977: 30).

However, when applied to architecture, the above positions are inadequate because they are selective. When the Kenyan Government commissions projects such as administrative centres, law courts, prisons and police headquarters, the initiative may be perceived as an extension of the Marxist class struggles where the bourgeoisie seeks to dominate the proletariats and peasants. However,

when the Kenyan state constructs public hospitals, public universities, markets, schools and cultural centres, it exemplifies affirmative action that seeks to mitigate the effects of societal stratification on the lower echelons of the community. This social aspect of the state has been ignored by the definitions above.

To comprehend the role of the state in the semiology of Kenyan architecture, the social and political aspects of statecraft must be outlined. The table below is a summary of the cultural responsibilities of the Kenyan state and their impact on cultural ecologies of the nation, including architecture.

<b>FUNCTIONS OF AND ACTIONS BY THE KENYAN STATE</b>	<b>IMPACT ON CULTURE AND CULTURAL ECOLOGY</b>	<b>IMPLICATIONS FOR ARCHITECTURE</b>	<b>EXAMPLES OF RELEVANT &amp; SIGNIFICANT WORKS OF ARCHITECTURE</b>
<b>Development planning</b> (Soja 1965:105)	Agricultural re-organisation, expansion of education, resettlement programs and community development (ibid).	Stimulating and sustaining architectural demand through commissions for developments in industry, factories, housing and offices.	Kenyatta National Hospital tower, Industrial area of Nairobi, public Universities such as Nairobi, Moi and Kenyatta.
<b>Economic control</b>	Resource and capital mobilisation and its redistribution (Ochieng' & Atieno-Odhiambo 1995: xiv). Introduction of the Constituency development fund (CDF) by the Kibaki regime.	Mainstream architectural production in Kenya is anchored on a capitalistic market economy that exhibits speculative tendencies to derive maximum gain from unregulated market forces. Focus on rural development due to CDF, but architects are not yet <i>bona fide</i> members of CDF.	Extensive proliferation of speculative architecture in the form of housing units and office blocks like the Peponi Plaza, Westlands, Nairobi and Nyayo High rise estate, Embakasi, Nairobi.
<b>Political control</b> (Maloba 1995: 18).	The state is a major employer through the national Civil Service. State corporations and agencies are deployed for "capital mobilisation and the transfer of capital to Kenyan citizens" (Ochieng,' 1995: 86).	The private sector architectural genesis & developments in Kenya through individual initiatives, politico-cultural or religious <i>zeitgeist</i> are off-shoots or extensions of the public sector initiatives as most economically privileged citizens have a direct or indirect relationship with the state.	The Nyayo House and parastatal headquarters such as Kencom House and The Kenya Power & Lighting's Electricity House, all in Nairobi CBD are public sector examples. The Yaya Centre, Sameer Industrial Park and the Windsor Golf and Country Club are private sector examples.
<b>The dissemination of politico-cultural information</b>	Until the onset of political pluralism in 1991, the state controlled "communications media" through "monopoly over economics and power" (Maloba, 1995: 18).	Praxis within Kenyan architecture has not yet appreciated or taken into account, public input and involvement in architectural projects apart from a few occasions such as organised architectural competitions.	The recent Wangari Maathai institute is a relevant example of an architectural competition that invited both local and foreign solutions.
<b>'Harambee' movement.</b> (Maxon, 1995: 127)	This informal self-help method of raising funding for architectural development permeates all aspects of Kenyan culture. It is "a partnership between the political elite and the governed" initiated by Kenyatta government (ibid).	The influence of the movement is extensive, targeting mainstream as well as vernacular architecture. The low and medium scope projects have been initiated without the input of architects.	Oshwal Centre & Chandaria wing at MP Shah hospital, Nairobi. Informal construction of schools, political party offices and churches.
<b>Preservation of</b>	Direct efforts by the state include cultural preservation of	Although state efforts at historic and cultural preservation must be	Fort Jesus, Mombasa, The Nairobi Province (now County)

<b>national cultural artefacts.</b>	monuments and structures and the preservation of historic artefacts (Maxon, 1995: 139-140).	acknowledged, architectural conservation is not yet a key state priority. Pertinent questions such as conservation criteria, public involvement and lack of architectural input abound.	headquarters, 1912 and the Uhuru Gardens as examples of artefacts with state protection to ensure architectural conservation.
<b>Prioritising as well as directing national cultural research.</b>	Establishing cultural research centres and institutions like the Institute of Development studies (IDS) at the University of Nairobi focusing on African archaeology, history, social anthropology, musicology, linguistics, oral literature, traditional arts, crafts and belief systems (Ogot, 1995c: 218-219).	Why was architecture forgotten in this national cultural effort? In order to direct national architectural discourse from the periphery to the centre of state priorities, Kenyan architects must employ political activism through encouraging public participation strategies.	The National Museum of Kenya headquarters in Nairobi as a centre of Kenyan cultural oriented research. The University of Nairobi's Institute of African studies and the faculty of architecture, design and development.
<b>Naming of public artefacts</b> (Maxon, 1995:140)	Major urban streets and public institutions accorded African names in a major state effort to eradicate the remnants of colonial domination.	This role of the state should be incorporated into architectural praxis and training in the form of a new and augmented vocabulary (see chapter 4).	Nairobi's Uhuru Park & Uhuru Gardens, Moi Avenue, Kenyatta Avenue, Moi University & Jomo Kenyatta University, being examples of public artefacts with appropriate African names.
<b>International obligations and co-operation.</b>	Dissemination of foreign aid and grants often with strings attached as an example of neo-colonialism. Post-independence international scholarships for targeted Kenyan students (Mazrui, 1978: 44-45).	Genesis or inspiration for selected works in Kenyan architecture, with a major Western component at the level of inception or input. The propagation of Western taste cultures through cultural fusion of African and Western ideals.	The United Nations centre in Gigiri, Nairobi. The World Bank headquarters in Nairobi. Western Consulates, High Commissions and Embassies such as the Canadian and American ones in Gigiri, Nairobi.
<b>Control over the instruments of national communication.</b>	The engagement of state-owned mass media and the use of song dance and literature to disseminate cultural and political propaganda (Maxon, 1995: 139-140). Emphasis on social cohesion and sovereignty as well as the quest for a Kenyan national dress.	Kenyan architectural practice is yet to take advantage of the state's communication facilities to sensitise the public on pertinent issues in the built environment like the need for development control and pressure on existing infrastructure.	The Kenya Broadcasting corporation headquarters along Harry Thuku Road in Nairobi is a suitable example. Communications Centre of Kenya in Kangemi, Nairobi.
<b>Social control and Social policy</b> (Maxon, 1995:143)	Expansion of healthcare, Universal primary education and eradication of prevalent racial segregation evident in public institutions (ibid). Decolonisation and the promotion of Afrocentricity through initiation and revision of academic curricula at the University of Nairobi (ibid: 142).	This aspect of statecraft provides architects with a forum for the development of a contextually relevant and locally appropriate Kenyan architecture by questioning Western models as well as through the restoration of indigenous pride as an expression of national prevalent <i>zeitgeist</i> .	Bomas of Kenya, in Nairobi, for preservation of national cultural heritage as an integral part of the Kenya National Museums. Establishment of cultural centres at the Kenyan Coast to preserve Swahili culture. The Utalii College, Nairobi, to celebrate local Kenyan culinary crafts for sampling by foreign tourists.
<b>Abuse of state machinery.</b>	Introduction of multiple licenses as a means of selective economic control and acquisition of private capital and wealth (Atieno-Odhiambo & Ochieng,' 1995: xvii; Maxon & Ndege, 1995: 173). Distribution of state resources through "ethnic calculus" (Maloba, 1995: 21).Introduction of biased legislation (Ochieng,' 1995: 106). The preference for continuity of colonial institutions (ibid: 91, 93, 106).	Skewed architectural development due to the prevailing societal stratification in favour of the domination of the upper social class regions in urban areas. Lack of development of relevant & appropriate Afrocentric institutions and policy frameworks. Rampant excision of forest covers in Nairobi to create room for housing development at the Karura Forest.	The Yaya Centre, Nairobi, where the concept of 'spot zoning' was introduced to rationalise a high-rise mixed urban development within a residential area in total violation of City Council By-Laws. The Nyayo House, Nairobi, perceived as the main centre that validates and enforces biased policies by the state.

Table 2k: The impact of statecraft on architectural development in Kenya



The Kenyan context portrays intricate linkages between statecraft and cultural determinism. This will be tackled in detail in the role of economics in section 2.2.4.

### Images of the impact of statecraft on architectural development in Kenya.

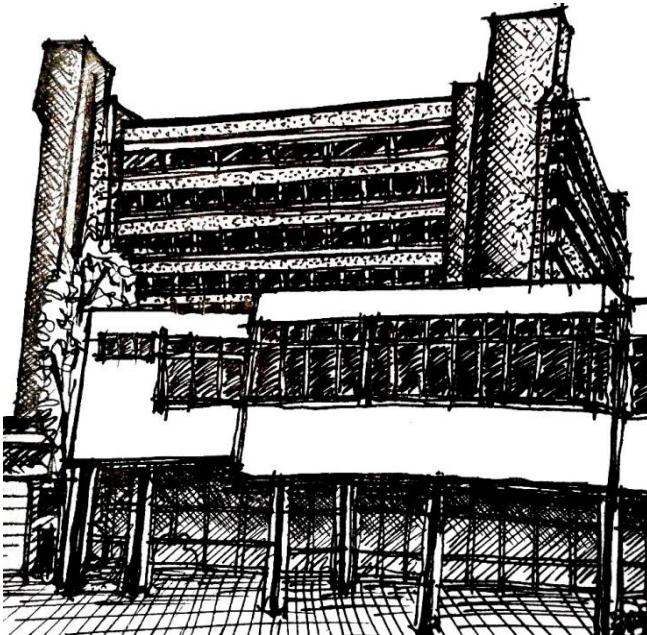


Fig. 2l: Ministry of Public Works in collaboration with others. Sketch of Kenyatta National Hospital, Nairobi. s.a. 1975. The new casualty wing, is based on the modulator, just like the tower, indicating continuity of solid- opening bands on the façade.



Fig. 2m: Architect unknown. Kenya Pipeline, Industrial Area, Nairobi. s.a. 1975. A project central to the economic of the hinterland, ensuring sufficient stock of petroleum reserves.



Fig. 2n: Architect unknown. Speculative Office Block, Westlands, Nairobi. 2011. A postmodern composition, showing interplay of glass and concrete on a concrete convex façade but devoid of historical allusion.

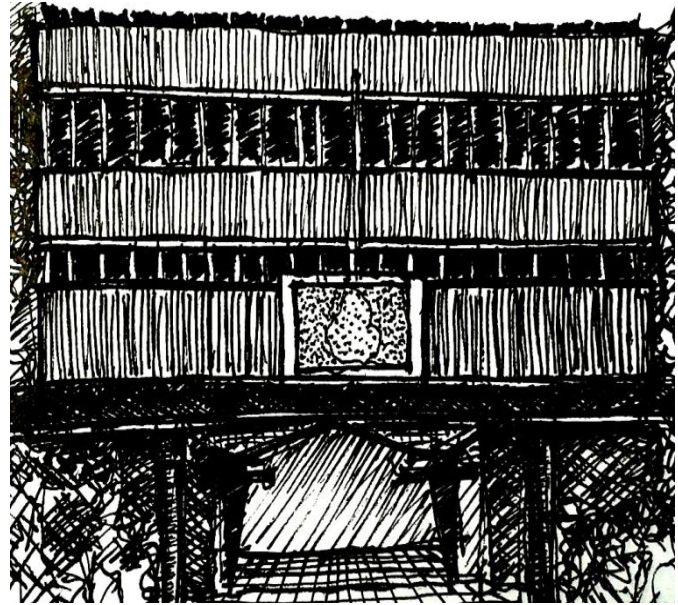


Fig. 2o: Architect unknown. Administration Block, Nairobi University, Nairobi. 1956-1962. A grand entry with throughway circulation into the postmodern quadrangular courtyard flanked with walkways.

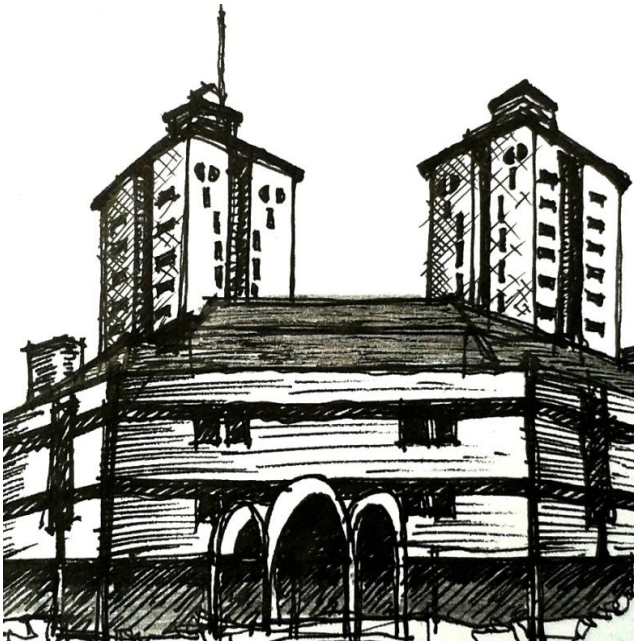


Fig. 2p: Architect unknown. Sketch of the The Yaya Centre, Hurlingham, Nairobi. s.a. 1987. The grand archway entry into the mall is visible. A controversial project that introduced the concept of spot zoning into Kenyan urban architectural language.



Fig. 2q: Planning Systems architects. Windsor Golf and Country club. 1992. It restates the English vernacular through use of bays, dormer windows, broken hipped roofs and vertical chimney stacks in a harmonious composition.



Fig. 2r: Symbion International. The Aga Khan Hospital, Nairobi. 1992. The use of a residential typology for an office building is a welcome contrast- and homely.



Fig. 2s: Architect unknown. Fort Jesus, Mombasa.s.a. A relic in need of architect-supervised restoration to provide lessons on Portuguese-swahili cultural tensions.

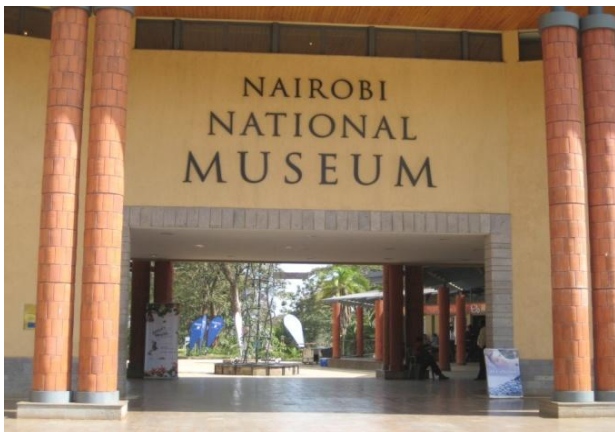


Fig. 2t: TRIAD architects.Nairobi National Museum. 1986; 2007. The strong use of colour is a significant deviation from the usual Modern architectural language, devoid of colour



Fig. 2u. Mutiso Menezes International. The United Nations, Gigiri. s.a. A harmonious composition of low key buildings in a humanized configuration.



Fig. 2v: J.L. Richards architects. Canadian Embassy, Nairobi. 2003. The composition's white facades recall the modernist purity. The oblique planes, however, are in sync with the characteristics of postmodern space.



Fig. 2w. Architect unknown. The Kenya Broadcasting Corporation entrance. s.a. An artefact employed as a mouthpiece of the nation-state, issuing edicts and pronouncements- statecraft.



Kenya Utalii College

Utalii Hotel, Nairobi

Fig. 2x: Architect unknown<sup>1</sup>. Utalii College and Hotel, Nairobi. s.a.  
A facility that is central to the hotel and tourism industry in Kenya.

### 2.2.3 The role of culture: The tripartite concept- Tribe, nation and race

Although race is now a discredited concept, it is nevertheless relevant to the ongoing discussion from a historical perspective- Kenya's most populous tribes include the Kikuyu, Luhya, Kalenjin, Luo, Kamba, Kisii and Maasai, although there are more than forty ethnic tribal groups within the country. The idea of Kenyanness that transcends ethnic stereotypes is only evident when Kenya is viewed in counter position to other nations during international sporting competitions including athletics and Olympic championships. Political rhetoric and propaganda on sovereignty of the nation has not yet achieved the much publicised national cohesion indicating the entrenched tribal and ethnic identities in Kenya.

Ethnic identity generates ethnic pride, which currently manifests itself in tribal customs and traditions that have withstood acculturation as a result of imperial domination. Within architecture, transformations have occurred due to shifts in taste cultures including the adoption of new materials, synonymous with social status and prestige but the cultural principles of organisation have largely been retained. Amongst the Luo, strict adherence to rituals and taboos is still prevalent as exemplified

<sup>1</sup> The terms 'Architect unknown' and 's.a.' imply that at the moment of writing this dissertation, the architect of the project in question and its year of inception or completion are unknown to the author respectively- the author made every effort within the limited time and resources to

by the requirements such as the inability to house an aged parent in the same house as an adult owner.

For traditional Kenyan societies, the layout and disposition of housing units in the organisation of homesteads was based on tribal customs which bestowed a distinct hierarchy amongst the occupants therein. Each tribe had its own criteria of organisation. For the Luo, the first wife's hut was the largest and was located at the end of the main axis originating from the main entrance of the homestead (Ochieng', 1979: 11). For the Maasai, the settlement had a circular configuration like the Luo, but the housing units were located at the periphery in an introverted arrangement that focused on the cattle Kraal at the centre, celebrating their pastoralist and nomadic lifestyle (Rukwaro & Maina, 2006: 81, 82).

Rituals such as rites of passage, circumcision and burial ceremonies demanded versatility and multivalence in relation to spatial usage and each tribe had a unique response in the celebration of these feats. Places of worship and other sacred spiritual sites were derived from and located within the natural landscape according to tribal customs, signifying a distinct tribal identity. For the Gikuyu god, the residence was atop Mt. Kenya, while for the Luo, ancestral spirits resided in Lake Victoria. Denyer (1978: 116) observes that "personal and community identity" was manifested through unique tribal decorations that conveyed "assertive and protective" messages to promote "morale, pride and solidarity". Architecturally, such decorations derived their validity from truth to available materials (ibid).

In terms of social interaction, activities such as trade were assigned unique days of the week termed as market days. Market grounds had various other uses during the days that they were not being used for trading purposes. These included wrestling and informal public gatherings (Ochieng, 1979: 8). Each tribe celebrated its identity through such fora with unique musical instruments and cultural rituals (ibid: 19, 20).

Although new materials and taste cultures may have been adopted in the transformation of traditional rural lifestyle, communities such as the Luo and Maasai have retained their cultural principles of homestead organisation and disposition of functions within housing units. Male circumcision is still mostly traditionally administered by the majority of tribal communities ensuring the continued retention of requisite ritual performance sites within the rural vernacular setting. Sacred

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gain access to this information without success. The archives of the Nairobi City Council are in need of modernisation. The dates given are accurate to the author's knowledge. Corrections and revisions are, however, still welcome.

places of worship such as Mount Kenya for the Kikuyu are still traditionally revered although the advent of Christianity has altered the fundamentals of worship throughout the entire nation, leading to the abandonment of ancestral worship in a major shift to monotheism and hence the erection of formal structures such as churches rather than outdoor open to sky informal sites. Modern materials and their permanence qualities have challenged the nomadic and livestock keeping practices of the Maasai. The creation of strict administrative boundaries and land ownership has resulted in preference for permanent agricultural settlements and lifestyles in rural Kenya. Tribal cultural practices such as the meat eating festivals of the Maasai (Rukwaro & Maina, 2006: 66) and bull fighting amongst the Luhya indicate the versatility and multiplicity of rural spatial usage to accommodate various activities including public meetings, outdoor drying and storage of agricultural produce for informal outdoor markets with specific market days. This spatial multivalence is observed throughout the country.

Within the informal settlements in Nairobi (the slums), tribal identity is key to harmonious occupation. Kikuyus reside in Mathare, Luos in Korogocho and Luhyas in Kangemi and Kawangware. This demonstrates that Kenyans derive security and comfort from ethnic associations. However their vernacular architecture does not portray variations that can be attributed to ethnicity due to their significant and extensive similarity, which can be discerned upon critical observation.

National cohesion has not yet been achieved, despite all the positive efforts implemented after the post-election violence in 2008. Sovereignty issues remain within political rhetoric and propaganda. Architecturally, a unique Kenyan identity is absent because of the multiple identities that exist within the nation. Could the public clamour for a national dress code extend and evolve into the demand for a national architecture? Would this be desirable when we recall the shortcomings of Fascist Spain?

Although the dangers of overt politicisation of cultural symbols for political mileage are evident in Kenya (Ogot, 1995c: 234), it is also evident that the sustenance of constituent cultures requires active political participation by all members of the community. Manipulation of ethnicity for 'political mobilization' can lead to the "erosion of cultural values, conflict and even violence" (ibid). This was the Kenyan scenario in the post-election violence of the period 2007-2008. The Muthurwa (Landhies Road) Hawkers' Market is an example of an attempt at re-interpreting a universal traditional institution that transcends ethnicity. Its shortcomings include the rushed construction to achieve completion before the 2007 General Elections and consequently its inability to cope with the huge volume of clientele, inadequate sanitation facilities, dilapidation due to poor workmanship and 'heavy' congestion as a result of poor architectural resolution of vehicular and pedestrian circulations as well as parking

challenges at the Market's peripheral interface. These 'universal' institutions will still be relevant in the future but the principles of Critical Regionalism (see Chapter 3 of this study) should be employed in their re-interpretation to ensure a successful intervention.

Prior to independence, racial segregation was employed as a tool of imperial domination and submission. The introduction of Scheduled Areas (European districts) and Non-scheduled Areas (native reserves) led to skewed economic development driven by imperial and indigenous interests respectively (Soja, 1968: 56). Urban regions were zoned in clearly delineated morphologies with compartmentalisation of distinct European, Asian and African districts (ibid: 48-49). Up to the present day, Asians prefer to reside in Parklands, Westlands and Pangani estates in Nairobi, while the indigenous African populace in the low and middle income categories reside in Nairobi's Eastlands (Rukwaro, 2005: 100). However, 'collective' culture can provide the means of resolving prevalent tensions and conflicts, generated by ethnic and racial differences, through recourse to "traditional humanistic ideals, such as pride, respect, self-confidence, dignity, industriousness and communal spirit" (Ogot, 1995c: 231). The pursuit of a national identity even through Kenyan architecture is more crucial today as a valid effort in the quest for social cohesion within the country.

For indigenous Africans [Kenyans], acculturation is the greatest challenge to their tribal identity exposing itself amongst the educated elite in a self-contemptuous attitude towards their culture (Mazrui, 1977: 105; 1978: 18). Fanon criticises this self-contempt when he proclaims that "the black man becomes whiter as he renounces his blackness and his culture" (Hansen, 1978: 73). Architecturally, traditional methods and styles of building are now shunned in favour of Western modes of production. Only the Maasai, Samburu, Pokot and Turkana proudly adorn their traditional attire, although their traditional architecture has since undergone multiple transformations due to internal and external pressures (Rukwaro & Maina, 2006).

The use of English as the main language of communication in Kenya has also propagated rapid acculturation. Such prevalent favour of alien languages and attire provide evidence for cultural domination of traditional systems by Western ones (Mazrui, 1977: 31, 105; 1978: 14-15; 1980: 2; Patel, 1974: 176). Ogot (1995c: 221, 223) declares that "the choice of language" and the use to which language is put are central to a people's definition of themselves in relation to their social and natural environment. Therefore the language of architectural communication is central to cultural restoration which is described as the "restoration of dignity and identity of a people" (Maloba, 1995: 17). Spatial appropriation, decoration systems and the language of architectural communication are vital to the

tripartite identity of tribe, nation and race. However, cultural obsolescence must prevail so that the natural death of traditions that have been surpassed by technological and scientific advancements, including superstition and witchcraft, can be allowed to occur (Mazrui, 1978: 19-20; 1980: 47). Within architecture, this death may mitigate the impact of “cultural change and urban social conflict” to enable a harmonious co-existence and expression of this tripartite identity (Patel, 1974: 181). It should be noted that in post-modern societies, outlived or contested concepts of nation, race and tribal identity are also being revised, which also demands a more complex concept of the role of architecture in this regard.

#### **2.2.4 The role of culture: economics**

According to Maloba (1995: 19), culture is materialistic and is therefore invariably linked to economics. Architectural built-form is an expression of material culture and its development is pegged upon the prevailing temporal economic systems. Thus, to comprehend Kenyan architectural development, recourse to government economic policies and intra-territorial economic systems is vital.

Nairobi enjoys the status of a regional economic centre within the East African region (Maxon, 1995: 113). This is evident in the presence of a large number of international businesses and multinationals like petroleum companies, commodities and consumables, pharmaceutical and other industries as well as organisations like UNEP, UNHCR, World Bank, IMF, Government Embassies and NGO'S including the Red Cross and World Vision, all prominently located within their headquarters and thereby contributing significantly to the architectural character of the city.

According to Ochieng' (1995: 83), the Kenyan economy, at independence, portrayed peripheral underdevelopment characteristics namely, “the preponderance of foreign capital, the dominance of agriculture, the limited development of industry and heavy reliance on export of primary products and imports of capital and manufactured goods. The lack of diversification was evident from the large percentage of the population that derived sustenance from agriculture (Maxon, 1995: 117). Consequently, peasantry and poverty are widespread nationally, leading to uncontrolled slum development and congestion in urban areas. To mitigate the abject poverty and capture the politico-economic aspirations of the populace, it was necessary to enact equitable socio-economic development projects, irrespective of social class or race (Ochieng', 1995: 91). This was to be achieved through rapid expansion of infrastructure and communication networks and institutional development including the construction of hospitals and educational facilities (ibid: 83). However,



Uduku and Zack-Williams (2004: 2) lament the regression that has arisen from the “Structural Adjustment Programmes” of the IMF and the World Bank which have “increased poverty, dependency and political instability”. The table below is a synopsis of the contributions of economics to Kenyan cultural ecologies, including architecture.

<b>ECONOMIC ASPECT OR PARAMETER</b>	<b>EXPLICATION, TARGET OR CONSEQUENCE</b>	<b>INFLUENCE ON KENYAN ARCHITECTURE</b>
<b>African Socialism</b> (Ochieng,' 1995: 84-85)	Hypocritical rejection of “Western capitalism and Eastern communism” by the Kenyan state (Ochieng,' 1995: 83). The aim was to eradicate economic inequalities arising from colonisation (Ochieng,' 1995: 89). Preference for continuity rather than change has led to class conflicts and tensions (Maxon & Ndege, 1995: 152, 165).	This was expressed as 'African Nationalism', perceived as cultural nationalism aiming to restore “indigenous institutions and customs” through recourse to African culture and African Natural Law (Mazrui, 1977:105; Nursey-bray, 1974: 31-34). Artefacts include KICC, Bomas of Kenya, Uhuru Park and Uhuru Gardens.
<b>Economic policy</b>	Formulated and disseminated through Development plans and Government Sessional Papers targeting all sectors of the economy including construction, education, health, agriculture & industrisation (Maxon, 1995: 127, 137; Maxon & Ndege, 1995: 153, 156-159, 166-168).	The construction of significant parastatal headquarters such as Kenya Pipeline (Industrial Area, Nairobi) and Kenya Power and Lighting House in Parklands, University of Nairobi's Main Campus and Kenyatta National Hospital tower.
<b>Population expansion</b>	Increased demand for housing in urban areas due to high levels of rural to urban migration	Proliferation of large-scale informal housing settlements in urban areas including Kibera, Mathare and Kangemi in Nairobi modifying traditional “cultural patterns of life” (Mazrui, 1980: 65). Entrenchment of the trilogy owner, renter and slum dweller in urban areas and land owner versus squatters in rural areas.
<b>Empowerment of the populace economically.</b>	“Individual ambitions and occupational aspirations” are driving capitalistic “accumulation of surplus” and commerce (Mazrui, 1980: 65). Devolution & decentralisation through 'VISION 2030', Prioritisation of regions and local industries (Maxon & Ndege, 1995: 152, 153, 156). Constituency development fund.	The emergence of new taste cultures and introduction of new materials and styles of construction into Kenyan architecture such as marble, granite, ceramic tiles and highly polished and sleek external finishes for high rise structures such as NSSF building in Nairobi. This concept is fast extending to the rural areas to create stylistic collages.
<b>Adoption of a Western Capitalistic System.</b>	Originated from British Imperialism (Ochieng' & Atieno-Odhiambo, 1995: xiv). Propagated by “multinationals and private investors” mobilising huge capital and introducing inappropriate technology to Kenya to create economic dependency through coercion upon and collusion with the state mechanism (Ochieng,' 1995: 90; Maloba, 1995: 14; Maxon & Ndege, 1995: 167, 169; Fanon 1967 [1964]: 126).	'Shrines' of capitalism include Barclays Plaza, Kencom House, Central Bank headquarters, Co-operative Bank House and Stanbank House, all in Nairobi CBD. Foreign architects providing consultancy to multinationals have created inappropriate and insensitive structures, altering the visual cultural landscape.
<b>Agricultural incentives and stimuli.</b>	Formulation of land policies. Fragmentation of large settler farms into settlement schemes (Maxon, 1995: 110, Ochieng,' 1995: 88). Cash crop production is favoured over food crop self-sufficiency (Maloba, 1995: 15).	Emergence of plantation estates and factories with marketing centres in Nairobi. Kenya Tea Development Authority House (KTDA) and Kenya Planter's Coffee Union House (KPCU) in Nairobi are suitable examples.
<b>'Jua-Kali' contribution</b>	Craft oriented technology within the informal industrial sector arising from the inability of the vast majority to raise huge capital for mainstream industrial development (Maxon & Ndege, 1995: 169). “Easy entry and exit, low capital requirements” (ibid).	Further collaboration between mainstream architecture and 'Jua- Kali' will provide urgent solutions to low cost housing in Kenya. The use of local resources, recycling waste and “easily adaptable technologies” are merits that have led to the use of stabilised soil blocks, construction of large storage tanks for rain water harvesting and handcarts for manual transport of building material. Iron mongery, rain water drainage

		pipes and iron sheets for roofing and walling are crafted.
<b>Extra-territorial trade, collaboration and neo-colonialism.</b>	The Kenyan economy is extroverted and heavily dependent on foreign trade and tourism (Maxon & Ndege, 1995: 152-153, 174). Negative balance of payments, high inflation rates and huge foreign debt (ibid). Imposition of neo-colonialist strategies through IMF and the World Bank (ibid: 154, 165, 173).	Sameer Industrial Park and Export processing zones are cultural artefacts in this domain. Safari Park Hotel, Mara Serena, Mara Sarova, Nairobi Serena, The Hilton, Grand (Laico) Regency, and Intercontinental Hotel are suitable examples.
<b>Technology, including technological change as a stimulus for economic growth</b> (Patel, 1974: 173, 175, 184).	Appropriate technology is bound to economic forces due to its forceful and passive impact on culture and society (Patel, 1974: 176-178, 180). Development of tensions, dislocations and inequity are material aspects of technology that provide visual distinctions and evidence of accumulation exposing societal stratification (ibid: 182).	Technological advancement in industry has created mass production and standardisation techniques like prefabrication which has led to stereotyped solutions that yield monotony in Kenyan architecture. Critical Regionalism is urgently required to apply choice in isolating the relevant aspects of the “practical arts” such as architecture (ibid: 173-174). This will mitigate the cultural homogenisation imposed by uniform standards of modern technology.
<b>Political instability</b>	The 1982 coup attempt (Maxon & Ndege, 1995: 154). The post-election violence of 2007.	Economic decline due to reduced investment impetus resulting in stagnation or complete abandonment of architectural projects.

Table 2I: The role of economic aspects in Kenyan architectural production.

The current Kenyan government continues to show commitment to poverty alleviation through the adoption of global initiatives such as the millenium development goals (MDGs). However, regressive ethnicity enacted through nepotistic political leadership has abused the economic strategy of the state through skewed land allocations, forest excision and impunity with regards to development control mechanisms such as plot ratios, coverages and road reserves (Ogot, 1995d: 249).

Oruka (1983: 60) describes neo-colonialism as collaboration between “leaders [who] are seen as surrogates of the former masters with whose consent and periodic checks they receive their legitimacy as leaders”. In architecture, intervention by BORAQS should ensure the incorporation of local architects into multinational projects to mitigate the emergent cultural externalities, countering the propagation of neo-colonialism through poverty alleviation and other counteractive measures (Atieno-Odhiambo & Ochieng, 1995: xiii; Ogot, 1995c: 230; 1995d: 240, 260).

### 2.2.5 The role of culture: overarching discourses, religion and philosophy

Various discourses can be identified upon a discerning probe of the historical and present cultural landscapes of the Kenyan nation. This study will only concentrate on selected aspects of national import within this discourse- though Kenyan politicians have been the most vocal in its articulation and propagation- and their architectural significance. Kenyan colonial history has been

extensively discussed (Mazrui, 1977: 103). This led to the construction of artefacts such as the Kenyatta International Conference Centre that sought to express a new beginning for Kenya, entirely divorced from its colonial heritage; National integration and cohesion has dominated public debate, especially since the post election violence of 2008 (ibid: 295, 299). Questions regarding the role of architecture in promoting a harmonious social co-existence in urban areas- with multiple ethnic compositions- have been raised, with regard to architectural mitigation of large scale potential ethnic conflict arising from identity tensions; Constitutionality and its focus on rights of citizens, representation and governance including devolution, culminated in a new constitutional dispensation in 2010. The architectural commissions that will be generated by the demands of these devolved units will be central to propagating Kenyan Critical Regionalist architecture, as recommended in this study. Therefore this study is timely from this perspective; Economic development and progress in several sectors- including education and health- has been the central focus of all Kenyan Governments since the attainment of independence in 1963 (Mazrui, 1978: 1). Expansion of education and health has resulted in widespread construction activity in Kenya, resulting in significant works of architecture such as Kenyatta National hospital and public Universities such as Nairobi University; Ethnicity and its role in the distribution of national resources as well as the determination of political dominance within statecraft, which has led to economic marginalisation and skewed distribution of wealth (Mazrui, 1977: 295, 298). Thus Northern Kenya has been largely ignored in terms of urban architectural development.

Kenya, as a nation, exemplifies a multiplicity of religious approaches within its various cultural constructs. The dominant religions include Christianity, Islam and Hinduism in its variants of Sikhism and Jainism as well as African traditional religions (Mazrui, 1977: 91). Atheism and agnosticism are not significant or widespread in Kenya.

African traditional religions are polytheistic, based on ancestral worship, providing an “important mechanism for social control” (Ayisi, 1992 [1972]: 89). Ancestral worship was performed in serene sites within the physical landscape which incorporated shrines that contained altars where ritualistic sacrifices could be conducted. With regard to ancestral worship Oruka (1983: 58) proclaims:

“One great achievement in morals which many traditional African cultures have, as a distinction above the Western cultures, lies in the sphere of the reverence for and communication with the dead”.

Due to the conducive Kenyan climate, sacred sites were often open to sky and semi- enclosed which for the Kikuyu could be under the shade of a Mugumo tree for minor worship or the slopes of Mount Kenya for grand communal worship (Denyer, 1978: 52). For the Kipsigis worship shrines and altars were located inside traditional houses (ibid). Religion was an integral and indistinguishable partner in

daily life and sophisticated worship was performed by intermediaries and traditional priests (ibid: 53). Therefore, physical expression of religious traditional architecture was informal, emphasising location, serenity and sanctity rather than tangible construction.

Religion is inseparable from and anchored within a symbiotic relationship with the prevailing social philosophy. Masolo (1983: 44) proclaims that “philosophy cannot ignore its dependence on culture”. For Rukwaro and Maina (2006: vi), philosophy is an ideology that emanates from an individual’s identity, origin, aspirations, encapsulated within religion, rituals, social organisation, taboo, myth and belief systems which may be secular or supernatural. These beliefs enable the comprehension of the “human-environment relationship”, providing the means for a harmonious co-existence (ibid).

Traditional philosophy was manifested in a social organisation system evident in a clear lineage or clan structure that could be patrilineal or matrilineal. Social status and fame was conferred upon an individual based on wealth, which was enumerated in the form of wives and children promoting polygamous cohabitation. This clear delineation extended into division of labour based on age and gender roles through delegation of decision-making within the family unit and community.

Ayisi (1992 [1972]) observes that traditional societies enforced social control through rituals and taboo. These rituals could be individual or communal, including the performance of funeral and mortuary rites (ibid: 90). Control was achieved through taboos that required the “maintenance of physical distance” through “restriction of movement within certain social fields”, including “contact with a person or object” (ibid: 91). Violation of such prohibitions was punishable by banishment or ostracisation. However, ritual purification and sanctification could be employed to redress these violations in order to pacify ancestors and restore offenders to the community (ibid: 90, 91). Superstition was also incorporated into the belief system. Taboos regulated “wealth accumulation”, “morality standards”, “teamwork”, individual and communal privacy (Rukwaro & Maina, 2006: 4, 7). Traditional architecture therefore ensured the enforcement of prohibitions through spatial and functional dispositions exemplified by the transhumant Maasai settlement and architecture where sons built their homestead separately from their fathers’, but within the same parcel of land (ibid: 58). Privacy gradients within the individual house ensured limited access to certain spaces only by immediate family members (ibid: 59). Privacy concerns extended into the homestead with public, semi-public, semi-private and private categorisations of space, evident in the use of hierarchical courtyards and transition spaces (ibid).

Christianity is perceived as an inseparable partner of the imperialist project (Mazrui, 1977: 89). Christian missionaries were educators propagating a doctrine of eternal damnation and turning “the other cheek” to enforce obedience, submission and subjugation (ibid). Christianity portrayed African indigenous worship as inferior, “animistic” or pagan (Denyer, 1978: 52). These missionaries built and operated distinguished schools, sometimes within church enclaves. These include Precious Blood Girls’ School, Riruta, Consolata Secondary School, next to Consolata Shrine, Westlands, Nairobi and Catholic Parochial School within Holy Family Basilica grounds, Nairobi.

Christianity diminished the stature of African traditional religions through utilisation of English for instruction in education, thereby establishing new standards of life and perception with regard to ‘morality’, ‘perspectives’, ‘prejudices’, ‘virtues’, ‘vices’ and taste cultures, which according to Jomo Kenyatta, aided the imperialists in taking possession of African land (Mazrui, 1977: 90, 91).

Within the vernacular domain, the construction of Christian churches in Kenya has “imitated European prototypes” but on a modest, human scale rather than grandiosity (Denyer, 1978: 53, 54). These churches exhibit ephemerality through the use of rusticated, cannibalised and recycled materials within collage compositions.

Catholicism has continued to utilise a historicist, conformist and revivalist attitude in the institutional architecture of its churches. The cruciform is visible in both plan and form that emphasises grandeur and worship focus at the altar, similar to the worship in Italy. This is evident at the Holy Family Basilica, the Consolata shrine, St. Peter’s Clavers in Nairobi CBD, Our lady of Visitation, Makadara and St. Joseph’s Church, Jericho. The Holy Family Basilica is arguably the most prominent Catholic Church in Kenya. Its architecture demonstrates the successful use of light as a design tool, coupled with vertical stained glass windows, proportionately erected on the façade to emphasise verticality and the heaven-ward direction, creating a serene internal atmosphere ideal for worship. Both the exterior and interior surfaces showcase the brutal expression of concrete to portray durability and permanence by minimising maintenance costs. The use of pitched roofs, the altar, the cross and the whole form emphasise verticality as the direction to God’s abode. The Catholic Parochial School however demonstrates geometric expressionism, through the use of pilotis to elevate the cubic form, freeing the ground for vehicular parking and children’s play, indicating the central role of the church in the education of the nation.

More recently, the Don Bosco Shrine in Upper Hill Nairobi (1995) indicates the re-interpretation of Catholicism within the African context, confirming that Afrocentricity has permeated the official

positions of the catholic churches in Africa through the reformed principles of Kenyanisation of liturgy and worship. This church portrays critical revivals of traditional African architecture with a typology originating from the individual African hut (house) but now applied to a place of worship to emphasise contextualism. The three conical circular forms at the roof level signify the egalitarian partnership within the Holy Trinity. These conical forms rest on a circular cylinder, which is anchored on an elevated pedestal. This elevation creates prominence and hierarchy with the ground level, emphasising the act of entering a shrine that is characteristic of both Christian altars and traditional worship sites. The church indicates a significant break with the cruciform plan and form, preferring organic form treatments, rather than a rectilinear organisation, thereby implying that the individual identity of the African Christian is indeed multiple.

Protestantism is also prevalent in Kenya. The All Saints Cathedral, Nairobi, is a restatement of Gothic architecture synthesised with the English vernacular. At the Nairobi Pentecostal Church along Valley Road, Nairobi, a postmodern rejection of tradition is the preferred concept. Neither the cruciform nor African traditional architecture can be discerned from the form of this church. This is however justified because the Pentecostal church embraces activism rather than conformity through stressing the onset of a new life upon the acceptance of Christ, an act that reveres the new and abhors the old culture and tradition. The interior of the church exhibits the layering of interpenetrating planes through an upper gallery that juts out into the lower main worship space. Juxtaposition of form is observed through emphasis on verticality, achieved through a harmonious assemblage of a multiplanar cantilevered composition into a unitary whole. The brutal concrete is reminiscent of the Corbusian Ronchamp with select openings that create serene lighting within the worship space, augmented by the use of natural sky lights. The Light House church along Ngong Road, Nairobi, is also a significant protestant cultural artefact.

The entry of Islam into Kenya was via the Kenyan Coast where the “fusion of Arab and local cultures produced the Swahili civilisation with its own language and architecture” produced in “durable coral and cement” (Denyer, 1978: 54). The culturally inspired architecture of the Swahili at the East African Coast (including Kenya’s towns of Mombasa, Malindi and Lamu) has been extensively documented and is therefore only briefly mentioned in this study (see Ghaidan (1975); Caplan & Topan (2004)). This architecture demonstrates urbanism (streets for human social interaction), single-storeyed housing that addressed privacy issues, social ranks- servants occupied the lower rooms and owners the upper levels- and climatic amelioration due to the prevalent humidity of the region (ibid).

The establishment of trade routes in East Africa by Islamic traders also propagated the religion accompanied by its architecture (ibid). The Islamic religion, however, does not proscribe any particular form for buildings of worship and “open to sky” worship is also equally valid (ibid).

Nevertheless, architecture of Islamic origin is prominent and extensive in Kenya. The Jamia mosque in Nairobi’s CBD is a significant Islamic cultural artefact. It portrays a Cosmic architectural style (see Chapter 3). However, its enclosed square or courtyard is inappropriate because it does not interact positively with the street front. This indicates that privacy was more significant than contextual responsiveness. The central location of the mosque is a testimony to the fact that the Muslim minority are still an integral part of the Kenyan nation. The building is however ‘dwarfed’ by surrounding buildings and this arguably reduces its grandeur. The obligation to Friday prayers in a mosque (Denyer, 1978: 54), has led to the emergence of a unique cultural tradition in the vicinity of the mosque. The call to prayer by the Muezzin and the occasional protest against the political establishment on Fridays are a unique addition to the contextual flavour. The orientation of the Jamia Mosque towards Mecca (ibid), its domes, mirhab, minarets and Islamic arches showcase a forceful architectural composition. The influence of this Mosque has also positively extended to the immediate context. The neighbouring Jamiat Mall and hotel portrays a critical contextualism in an elongated building whose canopy is beautifully adorned with proportional Islamic arches. The linear organisation of the shops coupled with their elevation above the street level is reminiscent of the Islamic bazaar, satirically contained in a modern architectural glass enclosure, an artefact which extends the street into its upper floors and shops, indicating a successful fusion of Islamic and modern architectural styles as evidence of the multiple identities of religion and modernity.

Hinduism was introduced in Kenya by immigrants who were employed during the construction of the Uganda Railway and later by the influx of prominent traders such as the famous Jee Van Jee (Katua, 1989: 7). The Hindus and other Asians have mainly restricted themselves to the confines of their communities, preferring to excel in private business enterprises and trade rather than significantly participating in the political and civil affairs of the Kenyan nation.

The Khoja Mosque is a significant architectural artefact of the Ismaili community. The Sikh temple in downtown Nairobi portrays the prominence of the community in Kenya. According to Katua the Khoja Mosque was a “religious building around which community life evolved” (1989: 39). Through this building the Asian populace wished to reassert their rising “political clout” through their acquisition of their coveted inclusion into the country’s Legislative Council (ibid). Its composition is neo-classical

emphasising anthropomorphic proportions via its arched and square fenestrations, earthen coloured machine stone cladding, and corner solution (ibid). Though monumental, the classical columnar orders and external colonnades are absent, reducing its grandeur.

More recently, the Oshwal community and Religious Centre in Nairobi Westlands by the prominent Symbion International architects (2001) is a recent re-affirmation of the prosperity of the Asian community well-entrenched and in control of Kenya's commerce and trade. It employs geometric expressionism to recreate an Indian architecture in sync with modernity due to the absence of human sculptures and other architectural handicrafts on its façade. The cuboid form is roofed with circular domes. The fenestrations consist of standardised repetitive rectangular openings with neo-classical proportioning systems that emphasise an anthropomorphic scale, articulated on a painted façade. This monumental cultural and religious centre is devoid of typical ornamentation of Indian religious architecture thereby signifying a social shift in an attempt to distinguish places of community functions from religious sacred worship sites. The beautifully landscaped grounds therein are utilised daily by the community for evening walks and exercise and provide a good outflow space for community functions, capturing the peaceful and adequate Nairobi natural lighting and ventilation. Other significant architectural artefacts unique to this community include the Visa Oshwal Mahajanwadi and the Swaminarayan temple along Forest Road, in Nairobi.

The concept of "religious syncretism"- "the blending together of ideas from different religious traditions" (Ehret, 2002: 15, 91), has not been tackled within this study and is proposed as an area of future research within Kenyan architecture. The contribution of religion at the levels of identity, practice and education in Kenya and consequently to its architectural development is significant. The description of only a few architectural artefacts within this domain is necessitated by the limitations identified within this dissertation (see Chapter 1).

The prevalent national philosophy during the Moi era (1978-2002) was the 'Nyayo' philosophy whose main slogan was peace, love and unity. The extent to which the 'Nyayo' philosophy was manifested in the temporal architecture of the period is unclear, but may be the subject of future architectural inquiries. Cultural pride and identity, synonymous with the philosophical principles of African Nationalism, have generated national demands for expression of Kenyan identity in the designs of public artefacts, including seals and logos of national institutions, which currently portray cultural insignia exhibiting inspiration by Kenyan origins (Mazrui, 1977: 27, 105). However, this demand is yet to be vocally articulated with regard to works of architecture within the premise of



national dialogue- perhaps due to public incompetence at comprehending works of architecture in general- as architectural artefacts are perceived to be elitist. Pluralistic ideologies - anchored in liberal philosophy- seems to be the future direction that national dialogue will focus on, and this should generate and sustain architectural variety of expression, requisite in the entrenchment of a phenomenologically grounded Critical Regionalist architecture in Kenya (ibid: 20-25, 33, 40; see Chapter 3 of this study).

### Images of selected religious, cultural artefacts in Kenya



Fig.2y: Architect unknown. The Jamia Mosque, Nairobi. 1906. Commissioned by Syed Maulana Abdullah Shah. Evidence of Cosmic Islamic architecture. The regular rhythm of the arches, the domes, the minarets- all in a harmonious unity.



Fig 2z: Architect unknown. Khoja mosque, Nairobi. 1920. Symbol of establishment of the Ismaili community in Kenya. An architectural landmark that acts as an obelisk to the public.



Fig. 21a: Hughes and Polkinghorne architects. Holy Family Basilica, Nairobi. 1960. Previously a cathedral at the time of design. A key religious artefact based on the cruciform plan, emphasising verticality.



Fig. 21b. Architect unknown. The All Saints Cathedral, Nairobi. 1922. A synthesis of the English vernacular with Gothic design. However, the new additions to the project have 'stifled' the site.



Fig 21c & 21d: Symbion International architects. Oshwal Centre, Nairobi. 2001. The artefact is a collage synthesis of traditional Indian architecture- without the use of sculpture- abstracted geometry, surface decoration, proportioned openings, colonnaded walkways and a central dome. Perhaps the case of an entangled aesthetic formulation that was not harmoniously resolved.

### 2.3 The founding contexts for modes of Kenyan architectural production.

Jencks (1987: 12) has developed a matrix method of analysing the modes of architectural production. This tripartite system is categorised as private, public and developer initiated and distinguished on the basis of design method, economy of scale, ideology, client-architect relationship and style. This method is not suited to the Kenyan context as it ignores the contribution of culture and community to architectural production. It also lacks anchor in temporal evolution and ignores the role of intangible forces such as *zeitgeist*.

This study has addressed the shortcomings identified above and employed culture, including politics and *zeitgeist* as the means of structuring the modes of Kenyan architectural production. The overlap of the classification system employed is inevitable but the framework can be improved upon to yield newer methods of presentation and interpretation. The architectural and cultural landscape of the Kenyan context is therefore considered under traditional systems, imperial systems, African Nationalist systems, totalitarian systems and pluralistic systems. The modes of architectural expression employed in concretising these systems are also identified within each category in order to achieve a unitary presentation.

In the time frame under discussion, the modes of architectural expression are initially broadly

described through established architectural paradigms including vernacular architecture, neo-classical architecture and stylism, modern architecture [with all its evolutions] and post-modern architecture [with all its evolutions]. Ayisi (1992 [1972]: xxv) argues that it is impossible for an African writer to depart from established Western epistemologies and “conceptual frames of reference” and still achieve outstanding intellectual work. Tom Mboya insists that the imperial project bequeathed significant national institutions and though “We may introduce certain superficial innovations but the principles and so much of the machinery remain the same” (Ochieng, 1995: 93). Ayisi and Mboya refer to the sociological and political contexts respectively but their positions can be appropriated into architecture, using them as a justification for employing Western categorisations of architecture as the initial means of analysing and classifying Kenyan architecture, in recognition of the work of previous architectural researchers. The “innovation” advocated for by Mboya will be evident when each paradigm is further fragmented into divisions that are appropriate to the Kenyan context.

The pre-contact Kenyan setting prior to colonisation and the traditional systems of the Kenyan communities and the works categorised as 'architecture without architects' in colonial and post-colonial Kenya, are all within the vernacular mode of architectural expression. The imperial project and post-colonial statecraft show-case neo-classical and modern architecture and the prevailing *zeitgeist* whether political, nationalist, cultural, economic or plural and liberal employ both modern and post-modern architectural expressions. Each paradigm will be tackled within its founding context together with any dialectics therein, to enlarge interpretation within a temporal dimensional framework advocated for by Peter Gould to examine political, social and economic behaviour [including architecture] (Soja, 1968: 2).

### **2.3.1 Traditional systems and the vernacular.**

The Kenyan pre-colonial setting had various distinctive features that continued well into the colonial period. However other features have since been permanently transformed due to extensive colonial incursions. They will be described in 2.4.2. These pre-colonial traditional societies could be characterised as “periodically splintering, regrouping, agglomerating and solidifying” with the aim of attaining an elusive equilibrium that could be perceived as stability (Soja, 1968: 13). Dynamism and continuous transformation are therefore key descriptors of this fragile system.

Geographically, the prevalent systems were “small units, ethnically circumscribed and inwardly focused” (ibid: 3). Pastoralism and agriculture were the dominant economic activities and pastoralists

dominated in terms of military might and power (ibid: 8, 23). These ethnic enclaves exhibited mutual co-operation at the levels of conquest and trade, despite the large extent of fragmentation between them and any physical barriers and buffers such as forest and mountains (ibid: 11, 15, 19, 23; Hodges, 1971: 84 – 86).

In Kenya today, various ethnic communities exhibit varied but similar vernacular architecture which confers a unique identity upon each group. This provides evidence for the spirit (*Genius Loci*) that ensures the continuity of this vulnerable paradigm which is vast and extensive within the Kenyan context. This is consistent with Oliver's (2000: 116, 117) observation that ninety percent of the entire global dwelling units are vernacular in nature. This position also justifies Gideon Mulyungi's (2007) proclamation at the AAK/ BORAQS conference in Nairobi that ninety percent of all buildings in the city of Nairobi have been realised without professional architectural input.

Kenya enjoys a tropical climate that is characterised by plenty of sunshine for most months of the year. This climate enables the majority of domestic and social activities to be performed in natural daylight. The ability to extend activities outside vernacular structures makes the structures energy efficient as the demand for artificial task lighting is greatly reduced. Lindsay Asquith (2006: 129) reiterates Oliver's position that vernacular architecture sustains multiple functions without irrelevance and does not accommodate redundant spaces within it. This is evident in the multiple functions of spaces that portray multivalent characteristics within the traditional housing units of the Luo, Maasai and Kikuyu. Politically, these communities were governed by a council of elders, even though the societies were amalgamations of 'acephalous' Kinship units whose unity had a purpose of providing a mutual front to counteract pressures emanating from the natural environment and aggressive neighbours (Hodges, 1971: 86, Soja, 1968: 10). These communities also portrayed cultural autarchy, a form of sovereignty that was expressed through the principle of self-sufficiency (Mazrui, 1977: 99; Nursey-Bray, 1974: 24, Ayisi, 1992 [1972]: 100 – 101). This does not mean that these societies were entirely closed as they had a stable core with a porous periphery. Mazrui (1977: 99) observes that "there was inadequate stimulation from any but the most contiguous cultures". The process of acculturation occurred at a slow pace and was achieved through close contact and enabled by trade, collaboration and intermarriage. The stable core is evident through continuation of archaic practices such as wife inheritance- for the Luo (Mazrui, 1980: 52) and symbolic marriages exemplified by women marrying other women [amongst the Kikuyu] (ibid: 58).

Kenyan rural vernacular exemplifies organisation around central courtyards with a light solid massing to facilitate adequate cross ventilation. Most domestic, communal and social activities are performed outdoors due to the conducive climate. Cooking is mostly done under special but separate structures or even within the main traditional hut. Smoke from such cooking repels insects (Oliver, 1990: 154). Openings at the joints of roofs and walls allows for adequate cross ventilation. The traditional huts function as sleeping zones and also enable the interaction of the elderly with young adults and children for several hours on each night and this allows the propagation of community customs, rituals and taboos. Young children also take the opportunity to learn about their folk tales and legends.

Contemporary levels of conspicuous consumption were absent in the Kenyan rural vernacular because the prevailing systems discouraged capitalistic accumulation which was ensured through socialistic principles that resulted in a lack of surplus (Mazrui, 1977: 24). According to Patel (1974: 184), the advent of technology has encouraged capitalistic production, promoting material culture, thereby necessitating a redefinition of the concept of poverty. Very few people could be described as poor in traditional rural Kenya as material culture had limited forms of expressions such as more livestock, wives and children.

Economic advancement of the Kenyan rural population has resulted in the accumulation of disposable wealth increasing materialistic consumption. Vernacular house forms and geometry have been altered to suit the tastes for new materials such as corrugated iron sheets. The circular typology has been substituted by a rectangular counterpart due to ease of roof construction.

However traditional Kenyan architecture displays intangible cultural principles of communalism, egalitarianism and equity as well as homogeneity of expression. As part of material culture, uniformity of standards and material usage, spatial appropriation and physical form portray the small scale, rudimentary technological techniques of assemblage consistent with the socio-economic dynamics of these traditional systems, anchored in a domain where cultural practice is the key motivation and determinant of architectural production. In Kenya today, the principles of traditional rural architecture have been fused with taste cultures inspired by the acculturation due to colonisation and this has resulted in the evolution of Kenyan vernacular architecture which may be classified as:

1 **RURAL** Vernacular: This consists of community or tribal architecture, both public and domestic,

commonly referred to as African traditional architecture. It includes any changes and transformations within this category which have occurred due to the imperial project and increased societal contact. The variants identified are thus **conservative** rural vernacular and **transformative** rural vernacular.

- 2 **URBAN** Vernacular: This consists of the majority of dwelling structures within the Eastlands area of Nairobi City. It includes slums such as Mathare and Kibera and other informal settlements as well as informal public structures such as markets, churches, schools and light industries. No architect is usually involved in such works. **Adhoc** urban vernacular exhibiting non-uniform contextual composition and **collage** urban vernacular portraying the 'cannibalisation' of available materials and their juxtaposed assemblage to create individual variety are identified.
- 3 **HYBRID** Vernacular: This refers to commercial or institutional architecture, within the Kenyan context, that exemplifies a dual or multiple synthesis of traditional African architecture and modern or postmodern architecture and their multiple variants. This synthesis may be a restatement of a vernacular form in a new context (**historicist**) - Bomas of Kenya or a re-interpretation of a traditional concept (**eclectic**) - Mara Sarova. The vernacular may also provide inspiration as a form generator (**adaptive**) - the KICC and the Safari Park Hotel. These hybrid variants are synonymous with the "local dialect" advocated for by Vellinga (2006: 88, 90) and by Fathy as the "local signature" (1973: 19).

The requisite attributes for the distinction of the vernacular within the Kenyan context include:

- The lack of professional input as an example of "architecture without architects".
  - The location of a structure within a particular urban zone. Zoning was a concept of the imperial project and was entrenched in the country's Building Code. The city of Nairobi was fragmented into regions based upon race and societal stratification. Vernacular build is evident in zones that are occupied by the urban proletariat.
  - The lack of tenure that is guaranteed by title deeds. This leads to the erection of temporary structures synonymous with vernacular build.
  - The use of cheap and locally available construction materials which are perceived to be inferior by 'high architecture'. These include stabilised soil blocks, thatch, cow dung, mud and corrugated iron sheets in a unitary composition.
  - Spontaneous growth characterised by constant structural changes and expansion. This includes the establishment of instant communities such as slums and shanty towns. Examples

include 'Mukuru Kwa Njenga', 'Kibera', 'Korogocho' and 'Kawangware', to mention but a few.

- The use of traditional African architecture and its structural forms as “root forms” for form generation. Examples include the KICC, City Cabanas, Safari Park Hotel and Lilian Towers in Nairobi City.

In Kenya, the rural vernacular exemplifies aspects of a self-regulatory system; therefore it does not need regulatory intervention. However, the urban vernacular has a different build system where most dwellers are tenants and therefore do not participate in the design of their dwelling units which are subject to market forces, unlike in the rural vernacular. The urban vernacular does need an informal regulatory system in order to provide infrastructure and services (Vellinga, 2006: 1).

The Kibera slum is the consequence of societal stratification, urbanisation and wage labour. Its proximity to Nairobi's industrial area and the rich Lavington suburbs indicates its convenience and easy access to the work stations for the urban proletariat. The high densities and poor infrastructure within it have resulted in the destruction of traditional cultural practices due to cultural fusion, with most occupants perceiving it as a temporary abode, with their real homes being in the rural areas.

The KICC is the most significant and identifiable structure in Nairobi CBD. It exemplifies a multivalent architecture that straddles several paradigms portraying geometric expressionism (the cylinder, cube and cone). The Amphitheatre recalls a traditional African hut in counter position to the helipad (an inverted cone). It emphasises both horizontality and verticality appropriately capturing the *Genius Loci* of Nairobi. Its spacious galleries, extensive grounds and striking external landscaping with key sculptures and water features give it a defining and prominent character. This 'pride' of the Kenyan nation hosts prominent local events and international conferences- see Chapter 4. The Safari Park Hotel revives the traditional conical roofs covered in wooden shingles that confer an earthen colour in a poetic composition that creates a false exterior for a richly furnished and modern interior within an urban setting. This contrast enables the structure to blend perfectly into its highly landscaped surroundings of plush lawns, waterfalls and rock gardens. Through adapting a traditional form to a new context (hotel rather than a house), and the enclosure of new functions, the structure justifies the typological extension into its grand scale and proportion, capturing the ideals of a phenomenological Critical Regionalist architecture (see Chapter 3).

The Mara Sarova is an existential abode in the wild Mara National Park, an original

interpretation of the co-existence of humanity within a natural landscape. It derives its *Genius Loci* from the spirit of Maasai traditional architecture on its facades but contains exquisite modern finishes and amenities to secure the comfort of tourists. This composition is Critical Regionalist as it could only fit in the Kenyan context. Its rough external texture, rhythm, human proportions and scale, earthen colours and use of locally sourced timber for ceilings and floors confer upon it a sculptural quality within the rough landscape.

This study will not give a detailed account of the individual tribal (community) vernacular architecture, as this has been extensively covered by studies of staff members as well as several individual student dissertations and theses at the University of Nairobi. Examples include *Traditional architecture- settlement, evaluation and built form* (Anyamba, 1994); *Kenyan Maasai architecture in a changing culture* (Rukwaro, 1997); *African traditional architecture: a study of the housing and settlement patterns of rural Kenya* (Andersen, 1977); *Traditional Turkana architecture* (Chege, s.a.); *Traditional architecture as a dying phenomenon- domestic architecture of the Kisii* (Borura, 1984); *Culture and architecture: the Luo of Kenya* (Aduke, 1986); *Continuity and change in architecture: the case for Africa: a look at the Akamba* (Musembi Mumo, 1991); *Continuity in Swahili architecture* (El-Maawy, 1992); *Embu architecture in time perspective* (Ngetho, s.a); *Kikuyu traditional architecture* (Babu, 1983/84); *Kikuyu traditional architecture: in search of new directions* (Gituto, 1984); *Response of Kikuyu pre-colonial architecture to the environment* (Wachira, s.a.); *Traditional African architecture and its place in the modern context* (Karanja, 1989); *Architecture for a culture in a transition: effect of culture on a Kipsigis architectural landscape* (Bett, 2002). However, the vernacular domain will be analysed and described further in Chapter 3 within the topics of Phenomenology and Critical Regionalism

### Images of the influence of Vernacular and traditional systems

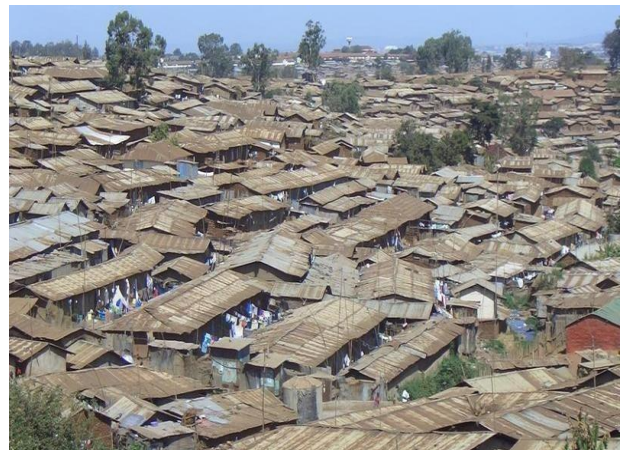
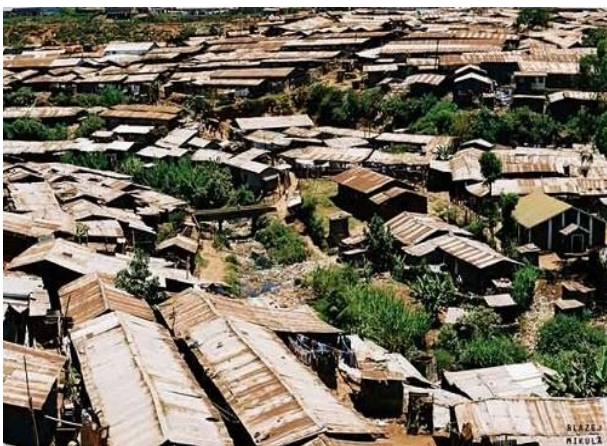


Fig 21e& 21f: Kibera slums, Nairobi. 2011. An exemplar of the urban vernacular. A spontaneous community, with urban challenges.





Fig 21g: Karl Henrik Nostvik. Kenyatta International Conference Centre, Nairobi. 1973. An artefact with traditional symbolism in its form genesis.



Fig 21h: Architect unknown, probably Symbion International. The Mara Sarova, Maasai Mara. s.a. A lodge that used the *Manyatta* as its referent in form genesis.

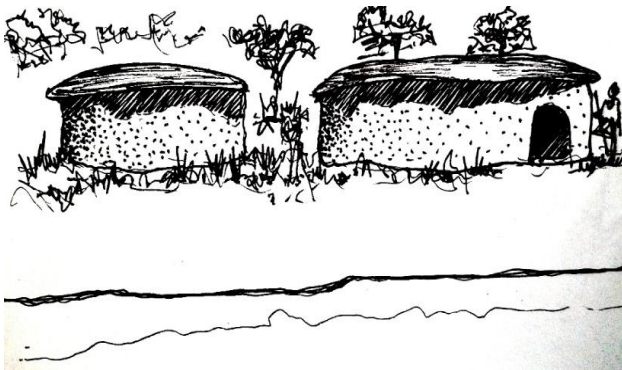


Fig 21i: Maasai traditional housing units. Sketch to show curved perimeter walls of the *Manyatta* and the curved entry into the dwelling units. The almost flat roof indicates unresolved climatic response within the vernacular domain as regards heavy rainfall. Previously suited to their nomadic lifestyle, the shift to agricultural lifestyle has led to reinterpretation of the vernacular form.



Fig. 21j: Kikuyu traditional Hut. The shift to a rectangular typology was influenced by the ease of roof construction. Transformations within the vernacular have retained the rectangular typology but corrugated iron sheets have replaced thatch as roofing material.



Fig.21k: Kayole Estate, Nairobi. 2011. Evidence of vernacular urban sprawl. The *ad hoc* structures are without architectural input.



Fig.21l: Ministry of Public Works. The Bomas of Kenya, Langata, Nairobi. 1973. A historical restatement of the pre-colonial traditional vernacular.

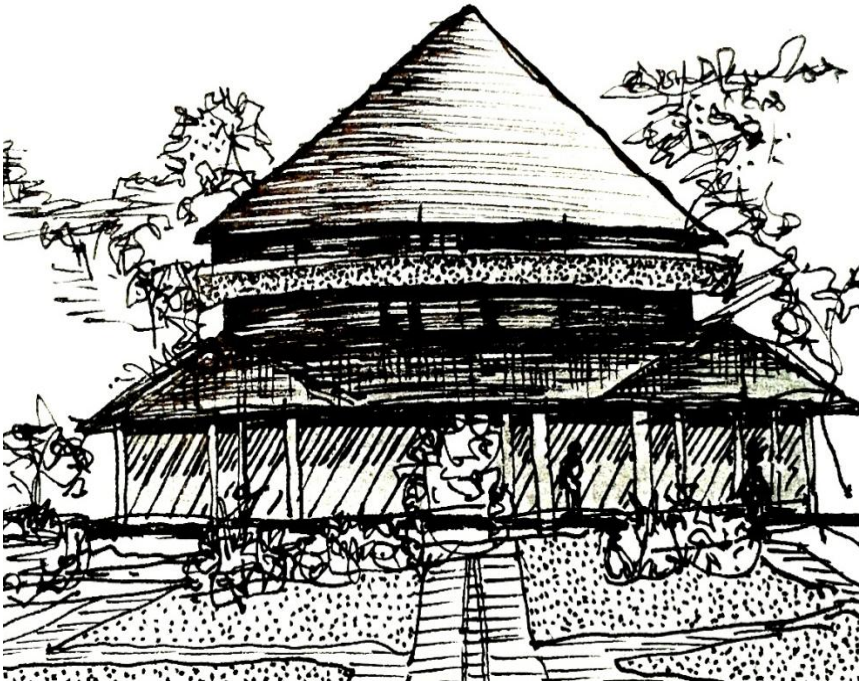


Fig.21m: Architect unknown. The Safari Park Hotel, Nairobi. s.a. The composition recalls the Nietzschean superscale and exemplifies re-interpretation and re-use of the traditional vernacular, successfully, despite the violation of scale- this is justified by the accommodation of new functions, a hotel rather than a house. This is contextually appropriate and symbolic.

### 2.3.2 Imperialist systems

The imperialist project- from the position of the British imperialists- was perceived as a “civilizing mission” which was based upon biased and racist Western and Eurocentric scientific epistemologies that portrayed the African culture [including Kenyan architecture] as worthless, leading to the “falsification” of Kenyan history (Ayisi, 1992 [1972]: xi, xiv; Fanon, 1967[1964]: 120; Mazrui, 1977: 95-96; Maloba, 1995: 10-11; Ogot, 1995c: 216). Rukwaro (2005: 100) describes the architectural impediments and prohibitions imposed on indigenous Kenyan natives by the imperialists:

“People were alienated in the development of modern settlement physical form...The siting and planning of new settlement did not consider the indigenous social system...Only the males were allowed in and to be employed within the city [Nairobi]...The white settlers were not comfortable with the presence of Africans in urban areas since they felt [that] they were not civil enough to live in the city...Planning and service provision were done along racial lines”.

The destruction of Kenyan culture was initiated when imperialists coerced African chiefs into renunciation treaties at the onset of colonisation (Mazrui, 1980: 121, 124; Fanon, 1967 [1964]: 117). Fanon castigates imperialist oppression because “the colonizer controls the political destiny of the colonized, who is not allowed to participate in the political processes that affect him” (Hansen, 1978: 71). The result was the cultural capitulation of Kenyan natives, described crudely by Mazrui (1980: 1, 50) as a cultural 'rape', which propagated ethnic divisions in preference to national unity, through imposition of Eurocentricity that employed technology as a cultural instrument to propagate class struggles and escalate urban tensions (ibid: 65; Nursey-Bray, 1974: 27; Patel, 1974: 181). Colonial architectural masterpieces such as the Railways Headquarters and the Norfolk Hotel were temporal neo-classical monumental structures that portrayed colonial supremacy in counter position to the mundane traditional African housing units. Le Roux (2004: 440, 445, 447) observes that within colonial architecture:

“The imbalances between the power of the coloniser and colonised subjects to construct space, translate into a form of racial displacement- the formation of a cool, white space that pushes aside a local and black one” because the building boundary “operates as an instrument of colonial power’s ability to perpetuate certain representations of place and to maintain stereotypical identities on either side of the dividing line of its interior and exterior territories”. These boundaries are “fundamentally ambivalent” and “tensions arising from their conjunction produce new and symbolic enacted meanings”.

British imperialism “helped transform cultural differences into ethnic animosities and it established enduring transformation” (Appiah & Gates, Jr., 2003: 502). Thus, the cultural attitudes and perceptions of the citizenry were irreversibly transformed (Mazrui, 1980: 124).

The impact of colonialism upon Kenyan culture and tradition was phenomenal and embraced both positive and negative aspects. Fanon, highlights “the efforts of the colonizer to to humiliate and dehumanize the native” (Hansen, 1978: 76). For Mazrui (1965: 1, 5), “...the colonial fact was the most

important liberating factor that the African mind has experienced in historical times” and was “...at once a political bondage and mental liberation”. However, Maloba (1995: 9) is skeptical, describing the domineering and oppressive imperial strategies as the precursors to the nullification of the “so-called benefits the Africans derived from the colonial rule”. This study will maintain a neutral stance on this emotive epoch. The table below is a synopsis of the impact of colonisation on Kenyan culture.

COLONIAL ASPECT	IMPACT ON KENYAN CULTURE	INFLUENCE ON KENYAN ARCHITECTURE
<b>Collaboration between Christian Missionaries and British Imperialists</b>	The propagation of Christian religion as well as that of Western secular education, setting the stage for colonialism as a substitute to traditional “governments” (Ayisi, 1992 [1972]: 106; Mazrui, 1977: 32; 1978: 4, 42; 1980: 50-51).	Construction of churches and schools which provided an unchallenged forum for subjugating African culture leading to its eventual capitulation (ibid).
<b>Biased imperial land policy</b> (Soja, 1968: 17, 53).	The introduction of Scheduled Areas (European districts) and Non-scheduled Areas (Native reserves) led to skewed economic development driven by imperial and indigenous interests respectively (Soja, 1968: 56). This resulted in skewed education policies, in favour of the imperialists, neglecting the natives producing uneven geographic development (ibid: 61-62; Ogot, 1995a: 66). The indigenous population was also 'proletarianised' as large native populations migrated as squatters and labourers into the Scheduled Areas (Soja, 1968: 53).	The colonial land strategy altered the material culture of the Kenyan people both positively and negatively. The resultant cultural fusion and acculturation produced new taste cultures that found expression within the vernacular paradigm for the natives and the neo-classical and modern styles for the imperialists. Rapid urbanisation ensued with a morphology that portrayed the relegation of the indigenous natives to the periphery as evidence of a racially motivated imperial system which altered the existing landscape (Maxon, 1995: 111; Soja, 1968: 48-49).
<b>Imperial indirect rule policy</b>	Ensured that there was no social interaction between the imperialists and natives and no possibility of intermarriage because of enforced segregation, which was then institutionalised at every level of society (Ayisi, 1992 [1972]: 112; Mazrui, 1977: 104; 1978: 11; 1980: 23). Consequently, an alien class structure was imposed in Kenya, in which social stratification was racially motivated and enforced through legislation (Atieno-Odhiambo and Ochieng,' 1995: xv). The social hierarchy was a pyramid with regards to economic strength, establishing the Europeans at the apex (though they were the minority); followed by Indians, Arabs and the indigenous Kenyan natives (the majority) at the base of this quaternary social pyramid.	The political impact of colonialism resulted in the proliferation of racially segregated institutions. “Hotels”, “schools, residential areas and public lavatories” were constructed with the aim of ensuring the maintenance of social distance between “black and white” (Mazrui, 1977: 104; 1980: 66; Maxon, 1995: 111). Colonial architecture was then clearly distinguishable from that of indigenous natives in terms of technological supremacy, permanence of materials, grandeur and aesthetic formulation. Tribal enclaves, reserves and bomas were enforced as residential regions of natives (Atieno-Odhiambo, 1995b: 25, 26). Prisons and detention facilities for dissenting natives contrast the large settler farms containing factories and housing units for both European owners and indigenous workers (ibid: 36, 37, 39).
<b>Key economic objectives and contribution</b>	The economic exploitation of indigenous Kenyans (Maloba, 1995: 12). Mazrui, (1977: 108) perceives it as a “cost-benefit” analysis of “territorial annexation” seeking to decant surplus population and establish new markets for goods and services, through the introduction of capitalism into Kenya, as a “system of exchange based in part on capital accumulation and investment of profits” (ibid: 24). Although capitalism was incompatible with the subsistence economies of traditional Kenyan communities (ibid), it was realised through forced taxation and labour (ibid; Atieno-Odhiambo & Ochieng, 1995: xiv, xv, xvi; Maloba, 1995: 8; Fanon, 1966 [1963]: 103). The indifference to the native populace resulted in the implementation of selective investments to achieve “short-term	Introduction of the “private property” concept (Mazrui, 1977: 23; Ochieng,' 1995: 87) and the inculcation of values and individual economic ambitions upon the natives that were incapable of realisation (ibid: 24). Architecture started to be perceived as an individual rather than a communal undertaking. Architectural production became skewed in favour of the imperial population due to the uneven geographical development that arose from biased economic priorities (Ogot, 1995a: 66). The identities of the native populace and the imperialists were incompatible and the difference became evident in the evolving distinct architectural expressions. The shift in ethnic power from pastoralists to agriculturalists due to the curtailment of large population migrations hindered the propagation of the

	<p>profits” ensuring the lack of self-economic determination by the natives, and their economic marginalisation (Maloba, 1995: 8-9). The interests of the imperialists were propagated in all sectors of the economy including the enactments of privileges in agriculture such as increased mechanisation, allocation of the bulk of the educational capital and resources to colonial schools and stagnation of natives within the colonial service (Atieno-Odhiambo, 1995b: 27-29, 33; Mazrui, 1978: 43; Soja, 1968: 61-62).</p>	<p>transhumant architecture of the Maasai natives (Soja, 1968: 23).          The weakening of traditional authority and systems by the imposition of colonial rule enabled the natives to embark on the transformation of existing vernacular architecture through a new rethink of form, existing typologies, spatial functions and material usage (ibid: 53).          The entrenchment of ethnicity facilitated an increase in inter-ethnic contact which enabled natives to draw cultural distinctions between themselves and others, including their architectural expressions (ibid: 48, 53, 106).</p>
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Table 2m: Impact of Imperialism on Kenyan culture including architecture.

Imperialism introduced both neo-classical and modern architectural paradigms into the Kenyan context. Evidently, Classical architecture was revived eclectically without any re-interpretation. Greco-Roman architecture was the consequence of a classical landscape synthesis, whereas in Kenya, neo-classical architecture is not inspired by landscape considerations. It is debatable whether it is the product of historicist revivals because its appropriateness would then be questionable. The complementarity between classical architecture and public spaces, as is evident in Greco-Roman architecture, is totally absent in the Kenyan scenario (Norberg-Schulz, 1980a: 160). The typologies of the Greco-Roman period are absent in Kenyan architecture, though their suitability and relevance would have also been questionable. However the Roman re-interpretation would have been compatible with the Kenyan urban context because of its good climate which facilitates outdoor activities and promotes human interaction and socialisation, characteristic of traditional Kenyan societies, which were “an ideal of peace, of justice, of goodness” as well as religious optimism (Diop, 1962 [1959]: 195).

The chief Government architect of the colonial period, prior to formation of BORAQS was J. A. Hoogterp who invited the distinguished South African architect, Sir Herbert Baker, to design the most significant architectural artefacts of this period. Baker preferred the neo-classical architectural style, which was executed with finesse at Kenya Railways Headquarters in 1929, State House (Governor’s residence) and the High Court (now the Supreme Court) in 1935- all located in Nairobi and retaining their grandeur as imposing landmarks. The City Hall, designed by Cobb and Archer architects in 1934 is also monumental but does not exhibit extensive use of the Classical column Orders.

The pertinent question is why neo-classical architecture is so readily appropriated to portray different political ideologies that exhibit no common basis in Kenya such as imperialism, authoritarianism and African Nationalism. Classicism has been extensively appropriated to convey

British commercial and imperial interests as well as social democratic ideologies within Europe (Colquhoun, 1994 [1989]: 205). The appropriation of classicism by political ideologies is only one of multiple interpretations which is unavoidable because architecture is “bound to the sources of finance and power” (ibid: 243). As a paradigm whose recovery entails imitation through reproductivity, classicism has the potential to host varied and contradictory meanings within its vast “ahistoric aesthetic values” and a particular history that is not devoid of political connotations (ibid: 201, 205). It is then possible to classify Kenyan neo-classical architecture against this paradigmatic background as **totalitarian** classical architecture, **imperial** classical architecture and **intuitive** classical architecture and each of these may be subdivided into historicist and eclectic tiers. The totalitarian category is exemplified by the administration block of Moi University and the administration blocks and hostels of Sunshine and Pangani Girls' secondary schools in Nairobi. There are many suitable examples within the Imperial category but some structures have since undergone change of use, which though regrettable, indicates the versatility of classical architecture which is consistent with its flexible internal functional content. The High Court and the Kenya Railways headquarters in Nairobi have retained their original functions. The Nairobi School, Jamhuri School and the Kenya High School have undergone name changes upon independence but are still true to their original functions, though somewhat diversified. However the McMillan Library, Kenya National Archives and Kenya Commercial Bank headquarters have undergone internal modifications to accommodate change of use with their facades remaining intact. Intuitive classical architecture has been included in the classification to accommodate the work of current Kenyan architects who draw inspiration from Greco-Roman or post-modern classicism.

The intuitive category does not have significant examples that are worthy of mention, at present. This is perhaps indicative of the fact that classical architecture is a dying language within Kenyan architecture. Kenyan architects shun classicism because of its association with imperialism or totalitarianism or may even be lacking an understanding or appreciation of its semantic codification.

The Norfolk Hotel in Nairobi is a “social and cultural landmark” that recalls the English vernacular, a colonial masterpiece that was built in 1900 to promote colonial “aristocracy and adventure”, thereby signifying racial supremacy of the White settlers (Katua, 1989: 37). As the “House of Lords” it became the “place of land transactions” that did not acknowledge the local culture, forbidding the entry of any natives (ibid). It derived its grandeur from the imposing arches and colonnades that dominated its extensive horizontality, (photographs from 1912), (ibid). Being the key

imperial cultural artefact of the period, its monumentality was central to the desire for supremacy and dominance of the natives by the imperialists.

The Railway Headquarters (1929) is a grand, bold neo-classical composition that was erected to celebrate the completion of the Uganda Railway, back in 1902 (ibid: 45). Its thick masonry walls, heavy Doric columns and metal balustrades signify “strength and permanence”, indicating the intention of the imperialists to endure in this foreign abode (ibid). As a three storey office building, it employs “axiality” and “symmetry” coupled with grand “archways” to achieve a “majestically imposing” character (ibid). The strict adherence to order recalls colonial regimentality and fortification in sharp contrast to the organic composition of traditional architecture, confirming the entry of a ‘new’ and ‘mighty’ administrative regime.

The High Court is a “looming, overpowering” and domineering neo-classical symbol of colonial domination that was built in the period 1930-1934 to counter the political activism and rebellion by the native populace (ibid: 41). Its imposing façade and internal courtyards with classical columns indicate its desire to impose order upon the non-submissive natives (ibid). This artefact contrasts the informal justice system of traditional African societies where justice was administered by the council of elders within a familiar community context rather than an alien judge enforcing biased laws including racial segregation and forced taxation. Elleh (2005a: 29) condemns such “segregation practices based on race, class, religion and ethnicity” and observes that its architectural implementation was “through the distribution of [such] urban amenities”.

Other colonial monumental neo-classical artefacts of the period are The City Hall, The Kenya National Archives and The Mc Millan Library in Nairobi, which exhibit pointed external walling, raised pedestal entry, Doric columns and human scale on rhythmic facades (ibid).

The Karen Blixen residence in Nairobi, built in 1912, is a typical colonial residence that is currently preserved as part of the National Museums of Kenya. In contrast to traditional vernacular architecture it exhibits a large eastern facing verandah, with large windows to capture tropical sunshine with emphasis on clear racial separation through distinctive expression of master and native servant domains, an eclectic composition inspired by the English vernacular (ibid: 31-33). This residence should be viewed in contrast to the relics of the native urban houses of the colonial period within Muthurwa and Makongeni estates in Nairobi, which were rationalised by their proximity to the

work station (The Railway Station). The row housing signified the death to traditional African architecture through loss of variety and individuality.

Any future recourse to classicism within the Kenyan context must draw inspiration from the Roman interpretation of the Greek model as mentioned previously. The Romans “humanized” classical architecture by drawing it from the hills [including Acropolis] and co-opting it into daily structures within human existence such as “palaces”, “facades” and “courtyards” (Norberg-Schulz, 1980a: 164). They also introduced two new extra classical orders: Tuscan and Composite, and incorporated the cardinal points in all their civic structures thereby expressing cosmological symbolism (ibid: 165). Whether it is through the creation of new classical orders or the co-opting of Afrocentric caryatids, the classical paradigm is ripe for interpretation within the Kenyan context at both levels of the individual building unit and urban spatial dynamics. The post-modern witty classicism inspired by “ellipsis and irony” is entirely absent in the Kenyan context and may provide additional inspiration, despite Classicism’s undesirable association with “class domination” as well as authoritarianism (Colquhoun, 1994 [1989]: 201, 205; Jencks, 1987: 38).

In Kenya, the Modern Movement in architecture has been associated with progress, because it denoted societal modernisation, which according to post-independence Kenyan leaders, who revered colonial lifestyles, implied a significant shift towards Western political and socio-economic systems (Ogot, 1995c: 215). Soja (1968: 4) associates modernisation with rapid urbanisation catalysed by improved transport and communication, thereby destroying “traditional ethnic compartmentalization”, through developing education and substituting a subsistence economy with monetary exchange. This geographical progress is concretised architecturally by the adoption of modern architectural systems over traditional ones. William Curtis (1996: 579) emphasises that modernisation is achieved with “mechanization of technology” and globalisation of national economies entailing the adoption of advanced technological systems, perceived to be superior to traditional ones in the pursuit of a Universal architectural aesthetic. This process is motivated by contextual change, which is extra disciplinary in origin (Colquhoun, 1981: 68-69), exerting “social and technological” pressures upon architecture, necessitating a radical revision of architectural rule systems in order to address rapid land development induced by economic growth resulting in new “patterns of settlement work” and a consequent shift in taste culture to accommodate exotic materials (ibid).



The classification of Modernism in Kenya has not yet been attempted within the discipline of architecture. Curtis (ibid: 567) observes that colonisation employed modernism to portray “foreign economic or political control” through “brainwashing” of the educated indigenous elite by insisting that Modernism was “relevant and unavoidable” as well as progressive. This position demonstrates that Modernism was co-opted to achieve imperial political agendas. Hayward and Oliver (1990: 127-128) argue that it portrayed “anti-imperialist” characteristics denoting “freedom and willing co-operation” instead of imperial oppression thereby offering hope and solutions to persistent architectural and societal problems, further arguing that Modernism has been hijacked by the “imperialism of Western capital” from the dominant colonial forces. This reveals that international finance and multi-nationals are employing or have employed Modernism to propagate and perpetuate their internal objectives in the Kenyan context.

Colquhoun (1994 [1989]: 247) argues that new architectural meanings arise from the “modifications of an inherited structure”. Consequently, this study synthesises the politico-economic and socio-cultural agendas of Modernism to classify the paradigm in Kenya into the following categories: Imperial Modernism initiated and propagated by the British Imperial project in Kenya (Curtis, 1996: 685); Anti-imperial or Nationalistic modernism, capturing the *zeitgeist* of colonial resistance and the Nationalistic forces including African socialism (ibid); Commercial or Capitalistic Modernism propagated through international finance, disseminated by multi-nationals operating in Kenya as well as private sector initiatives exemplified by architectural speculation. Projects within this category include the View Park Towers, Ambank House and Anniverary Towers in Nairobi CBD (see Colquhoun, 1994 [1989]: 245); Intuitive Modernism, exemplified by both foreign and locally trained architects as a result of Eurocentric based training in architectural schools. This may be a deliberate historicism in admiration of the Modern period or the admiration of the works of the Masters of the paradigm. Its appropriateness is however debatable; Monumental or Dehumanising modernism is the modernist expression of totalitarian tendencies by Kenyan regimes wishing to portray political domination through recourse to architectural largesse incorporating new and grand techniques. These categories may further be subdivided into rationalistic (pragmatic and practical), reductionist, progressive (promoting continuity), reactionary and transformative (emphasising rejection, usurpation or disruption) tiers.

This classification rejects Colquhoun's assertion (ibid: 247), that architecture is a “natural and an arbitrary system” by invoking the principles of Cerebralism and Voluntarism that were

advocated for by Renato Poggioli in his Modern discourse (Ralwala, 1996). In such categorisation, it is inevitable to employ “selection and exclusion” in order to “create conceptual order out of the overwhelming complexity of detail” emanating from the vast and dynamic Kenyan context (Jencks, 1985 [1973]: 11).

Prior to independence, there were no indigenous architects in Kenya. David Mutiso, a founder of the architectural firm - Mutiso Menezes International - was the first indigenous architect, having been trained at the University of Sheffield (UK). Initially, Mutiso worked at the Ministry of Public Works where he rose to become the chief Government architect. He collaborated with Karl Henrik Nostvik in the design of the KICC, Nairobi (1973). The training of architects at the University of Nairobi was enhanced and facilitated by the design and execution of the Faculty of Architecture, Design and Development building at the University of Nairobi in 1971 by the architectural firm of Paul Kjaergaard and Partners. This building employed a brutal reinforced concrete structural frame whose main facades were composed of a ‘crate’ of horizontal and large oblique vertical precast concrete slabs grouted onto columns and beams at the perimeter of the building- for sunshading- reminiscent of the Corbusian *brise soleil*. The large windows are appropriate for daylighting the interior space which is open planned and flexible for partitioning as required by the users.

However, Modern architecture had already been established earlier in Nairobi by foreign architects who practiced under the regulation of BORAQS – already in existence since 1934 - (see Chapter 2 of this study). Selected examples include the firm of Dagliesh Marshall Johnson, who designed the Eagle House, Nairobi (1969); The International House (International Life House), Nairobi (1971); Housing at Changamwe, Mombasa, for the National Housing Corporation (1970); The Entertainment Centre at the Bomas of Kenya, Nairobi (1973). The firm of Cobb, Archer and Scammell and its architects Hurle Barthe and A.D. Gaymer worked on the redesign and renovations of The New Stanley Hotel (now The Stanley), Nairobi (1964) (see Katua, 1989: 58-61). Chuda Associates designed The National Housing Corporation Headquarters, Nairobi (1975); Richard Hughes practiced in Kenya from 1957-1976 (anon, 15), designing the Moi Estate, Nairobi (1968), the Alliance Girls school chapel, Kikuyu (ibid, s.a.) and other prominent buildings (ICEA, Nairobi; Development House, Nairobi and Halls of residence at the University of Nairobi). Mutiso Menezes International designed The Jomo Kenyatta Memorial Library at the University of Nairobi, The Medical Training School at the Kenyatta national Hospital (1977); Mathare Mental Hospital, Nairobi; Buruburu Housing Estate phases I to V (1975-1983). Peer Abben designed The Parklands Arya Girls High School, Nairobi; Arya Nursery

School, Nairobi; CMC Motors, Nairobi and Housing at Gigiri Estate, Nairobi. Erica Mann was “the lead regional planning and development officer” in Nairobi who participated in the development of Nairobi’s Master Plan (1948) as well as the Master planning strategy of Mombasa (Tiven, 2011: 154), probably in collaboration with H. Thornley Dyer (anon, 16).

This study will, however, focus on two key architects of this period- Ernst May and Amyas Douglas Connell. Both architects are credited with the development of a ‘tropical modernism’ in Kenya (Ogura, 2005: 87; Rendell & Sharp, 2008: 182-187). Selected projects of May include the Delamare Flats, Nairobi (1939); the Aga Khan Girls’ High School, Kisumu (1952); The Aga Khan Maternity Hospital, Kisumu (1952); Nairobi Girl Guide Headquarters (Ogura, 2005: 82), and the Oceanic Hotel, Mombasa (1951) (Tiven, 2011: 156). Connell designed Parliament Buildings and its extensions, Nairobi (1952, 1963); Aga Khan Hospital Nairobi (1956-1962); Hotel and Catering Training College, Karen, Nairobi (1968); The Netherlands Embassy, Nairobi (1970); Dutch Ambassador’s House, Muthaiga, Nairobi (1970); Friends Community Centre, Ofafa Maringo, Nairobi (s.a.) and Outpatients clinics at King George V Hospital (now Kenyatta National Hospital), Nairobi (s.a.), to mention but a few (see Rendel & Sharp, 2008: 182-187).

Ernst May was a vice president of CIAM – International Congress of Modern Architects - as well as Frankfurt’s chief architect, where he worked with leading Modern architects including Walter Gropius and Mies Van der Rohe (Ogura, 2005: 81; Tiven, 2011: 147). The advent of modernism in East Africa is credited with the arrival of May in Tanganyika in 1934 (Ogura, 2005: 81). May established his architectural practice in Kenya in 1937 (Tiven, 2011: 149). The recurrent architectural concepts and motifs in May’s work include the extensive use of flat roofs; *pilotis* to provide large walkways for public recreation and to mitigate against intense tropical heat, exemplified by the Aga Khan School, Kisumu (Ogura, 2005: 84, 86), as well as to “provide parking and keep dust out from the units” – which were a “conjunction of geometric shapes” while employing recessed or covered windows and doors “to create pockets of shade” as an adaptation to “local climatic and material conditions” (Tiven, 2011: 152). May’s modernism was in sync with the demands of the Kenyan elite of this period including the prominent white settlers such as Lord Delamere and the Ismaili spiritual leader Aga Khan III (Ogura, 2005: 81, 82; Tiven, 2011: 149). May’s “attitude towards Africans” was “arrogant and paternalistic” through his approach of “differentiating city neighbourhoods architecturally and ethnically” in a “logic of cultural difference” which “presupposed a racial order” (Tiven, 2011: 152). In the “native house”, which was a re-interpretation of the traditional African hut but constructed with

modern materials, he “hoped to help acculturate Africans”, but the close resemblance to the African hut led to the rejection of the “native house” by the same Africans who demanded identical housing to that which May designed for the white elite (ibid: 151).

Amyas Connell came to Kenya in the early 1950’s “at the invitation of colleague and friend Thornley Dyer” who was the chief Government architect of the period (Rendel & Sharp, 2008: 182-187). Connell founded one of the leading architectural firms in Kenya – TRIAD architects - in 1963 and was the President of East African Architects’ Association (1954-1955) (ibid). Unlike May, who was influenced by the *Bauhaus* school of thought, Connell was inspired by Corbusian modernism which was evident in his architecture, for example in the design of the legislative assembly at Parliament Buildings in Nairobi (1963). However, his attitude to Africans and their architecture, like that of May, was insensitive as he “attempted through his architecture to express the mixed ethnic and cultural nature of East African life by promoting a more regional modern architecture, seeking an authentic African architecture without recourse to mindless vernacularism or tribal pastiche” (ibid) – a clear indication of white supremacist thought. The Corbusian inspiration was most evident in the design of the Nurses Home at Aga Khan Hospital in Nairobi (1956-1962), which was awarded a RIBA bronze medal (ibid). At this hospital, Connell employed “the route promenade” concept as a “link between the wards and the operating theatres” and re-interpreted the Corbusian *brise soleil* for sunshading as “light shelves” at the facades; He devised a spiral “concrete external staircase” at the rear facade of the Nurses Home reminiscent of Le Corbusier at Pessac and “walkways, stairs and lifts” that resembled “Le Corbusier’s Armee du Salut building in Paris (ibid). In these projects, Connell was able to reconcile “Corbusian influence and rational thinking with a gradual acceptance of local conditions” (ibid).

Significant artefacts that exhibit Modernism in Kenya include: The Hilton in Nairobi - a purist, reductive, monumental modernist artefact and a literal, univalent, geometric expressionist composition of a cylinder atop a cuboid without any attempt at abstraction or concealed metaphor. Recalling the largesse of Boule and Ledoux, it is a landmark building that provides orientation and existential foothold in Nairobi’s CBD (see Chapter 3). It shuns the lower societal strata by financially prohibiting access to the public majority. However it interacts positively with the street through its arcade and shops, even if it is difficult to decipher its conceptual inspiration. The closure of the arcade at night limits its contribution to city night life.

The Hotel Intercontinental in Nairobi portrays a capitalistic, reactionary, ahistorical geometric

expressionism that emphasises horizontality and purity of form within an anthropomorphic scale that contradicts dehumanising modernism. It ignores its immediate context in an amalgamation of public activities on the ground floor (bars and lounges) with vertical separation of residential functions (hotel) rooms on upper floors.

The Stanley (formerly New Stanley Hotel) is a mixed urban development in Nairobi CBD with shops on the ground floor, a café and hotel on the upper floors, promoting a positive symbiosis with the streetscape, although the recently introduced physical barrier to promote privacy at the cafe is regressive. Designed by architect A. D. Gaymer in 1964 and more recently modified by Symbion International, its white surfaces recall modernistic purity and the International Style (Katua, 1989: 61). Though “continuous remodeling and reconstruction” have significantly altered its original character (ibid), its corbusian pilotis and long horizontal balconies make it an urban landmark that is a rational, pragmatic and capitalistic modernist continuum.

The View Park Towers in Nairobi (1990) is a dehumanising, disruptive and reductive modernist artefact that is a restatement of the ‘Miesian glass box’ without a Critical Regionalistic evaluation of its appropriateness (Ralwala, 1996). An environmental hazard, it uses glass extensively on its facades without double glazing to enable air circulation, resulting in glare to motorists and park users. A ‘greenhouse’ that relies on artificial ventilation and supplementary artificial interior lighting, this office building emphasises its status as an architectural misfit through its deliberate ahistorical, anticontextual character. Its oblique planes in plan and on its facades coupled with the linkage bridge on the uppermost floors are positive eclectic revisions that suggest a transformative modernism. The Lonrho house and Anniversary towers in Nairobi CBD are also within this category.

The Barclays Plaza (1993), by Triad Architects, in Nairobi CBD is a rationalist capitalist modernism, a typical mixed urban development with an appealing form that exhibits successful use of solar glass to allow for adequate ventilation of its interior spaces through double glazing and discontinuities on its stripped glass facades without causing glare to motorists. A reactionary modernism (to the criticism leveled at View park Towers), it is ahistorical and speculative without the typical expected corner solution.

The Fuji Plaza (1994), in Nairobi Westlands was designed by the Iranian architect, Mehrzad Ehsani. It exhibits an intuitive, reductive, reactionary and transformative modernism that portrays a

clever juxtaposition of geometric shapes on large pilotis that define a lounge and restaurant outflow space on the main ground floor. The structure is based on the use of the Corbusian modulator but in the form of a diagonal grid that is superimposed upon a rectilinear grid to allow for oblique planes in plan, elevation and form, thereby achieving a re-interpretation of the typical tripartite elevation in an urban context. Its black and white facade indicates the absence of polychromy, suggesting ahistorical purity within a racially integrated context, thereby emphasising political neutrality and hybridism.

The Times Tower, Nairobi, is the tallest building within the CBD. Designed by Triad Architects, it was initially built for the Central Bank of Kenya but currently houses the prominent Kenya Revenue Authority. It exhibits a monumental capitalistic modernism within its tripartite elevation characteristic of typical office buildings. Its emphasis on verticality through the use of simple, planar, smooth, sleek, alternate solid and glass facades coupled with expensive tiled external and internal finishes recall its efficiency in revenue collection. However, its grandeur portrays its dehumanisation through its insensitivity to the human scale and the loss of individuality evident in its fenestrations. Other tenets of Modernism such as machine aesthetics and reverence for technology are evident in the cultural artefacts outlined above.

### Images of the influence of imperialist systems

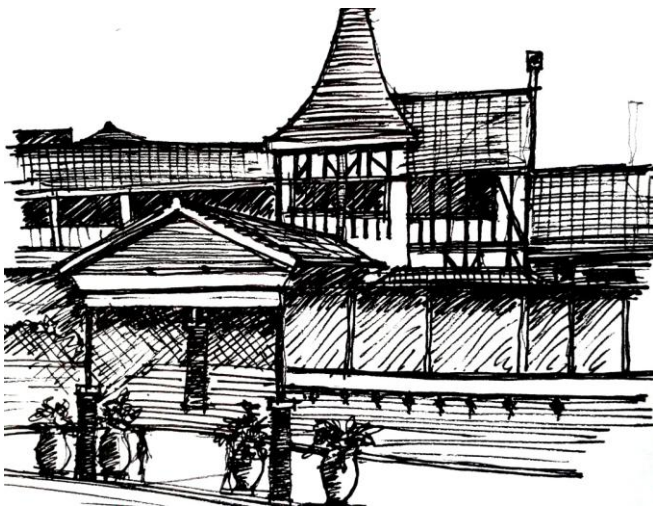


Fig 21n: Architect unknown. The Norfolk Hotel, Nairobi. 1904. A restatement of the English vernacular. This artefact signified the establishment of Kenya colony as a white settler abode.



Fig. 21o: Herbert Baker. The High Court, now The Supreme Court, Nairobi. 1934. An exemplification of neo-classical architecture, a harmony of the Doric Order, arches, stone masonry in grandeur.



Fig.21p: Rand Overy and Maxwell architects. The Macmillan Library, Nairobi. 1928. The fence in the foreground is reminiscent of colonial segregation, a barrier between the white elite and the natives. A neo-classical artefact with pointed joints on the façade walling. The lion sculpture on the paved entry signifies the union between classical perfection and the untamed Kenyan colony.



Fig. 21q. Chief architect, Kenya Railways. Makongeni Estate, Nairobi. s.a. Detached units in a linear configuration. Each unit contains several houses within it. This estate portrays the colonial mindset regarding the lack of individuality by the Kenyan native, justified by the colonial prohibition of workers' families in urban areas.



Fig. 21r: Ake Sjorcken, arch. The Karen Blixen residence, Karen, Nairobi. 1928. The artefact is now part of the National Museums of Kenya. The long colonial verandah is evident, as well as the English dormer window. The hipped and gabled roof creates further visual harmony of form.



Fig. 21s. Gurdit Singh. Kipande House (now KCB building), Kenyatta Avenue. 1935. An example of change of use of a neo-classical artefact. The green KCB signs on the facades destroy the harmony and perfection of the visual language.



Fig. 21t: R. A. Sutcliffe. Structural Engineer. The Kenya National Archives (formerly Bank of India), Moi Avenue, Nairobi. 1957. An example of destroyed neo-classical purity- painted polychromic facades and a change of use. Architects should be consulted prior to making changes to these artefacts.

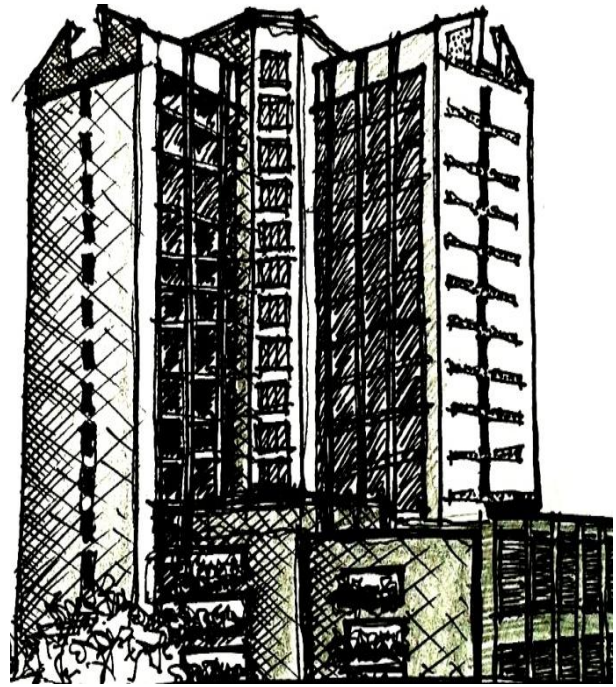


Fig. 21u. TRIAD architects. The Barclays Plaza, Loita Street, Nairobi. 1992. The absent corner solution is evident. The lack of vehicular parking was addressed by providing parking space on upper floors. The tripartite elevation is visible. A harmonious unity of solar glass and concrete.



Fig.21v: Planning Systems architects. The Lonrho House, Nairobi. 1990. The architects James Archer and Trevor Andrews designed the building facing significant site constraints. The extensive use of glass can lead to a 'green house' within the tropics requiring inappropriate use of artificial air conditioning.

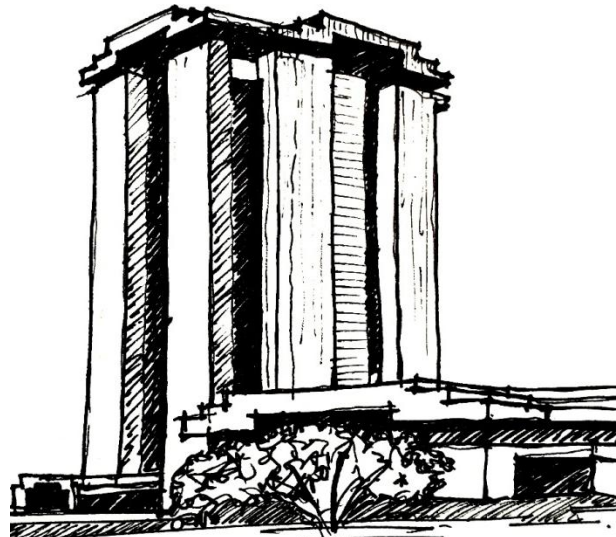


Fig. 21w. TRIAD architects. The Times Tower, Haile Selassie Avenue, Nairobi. 1997. Initially designed for the Central Bank of Kenya, it is now occupied by The Kenya Revenue Authority. The basement cash storage facility is now redundant.



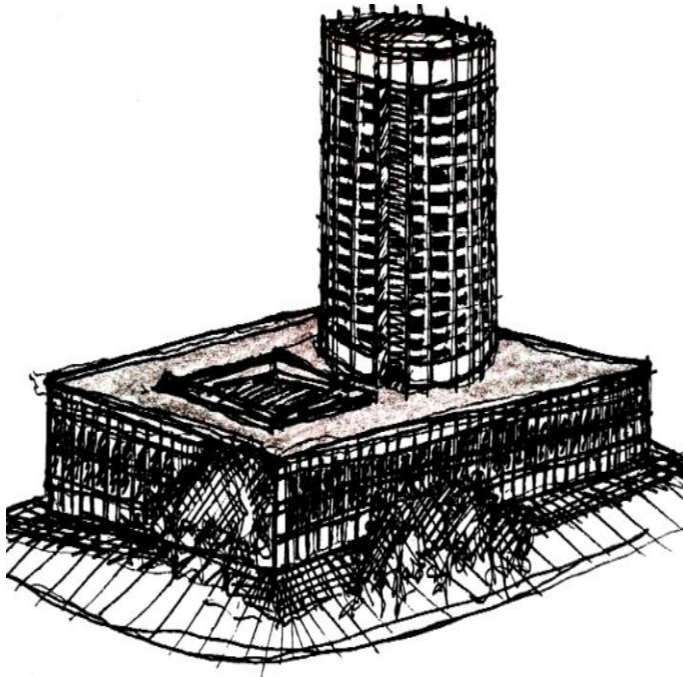


Fig. 21x: Architect unknown. The Hilton, Nairobi. 1969.

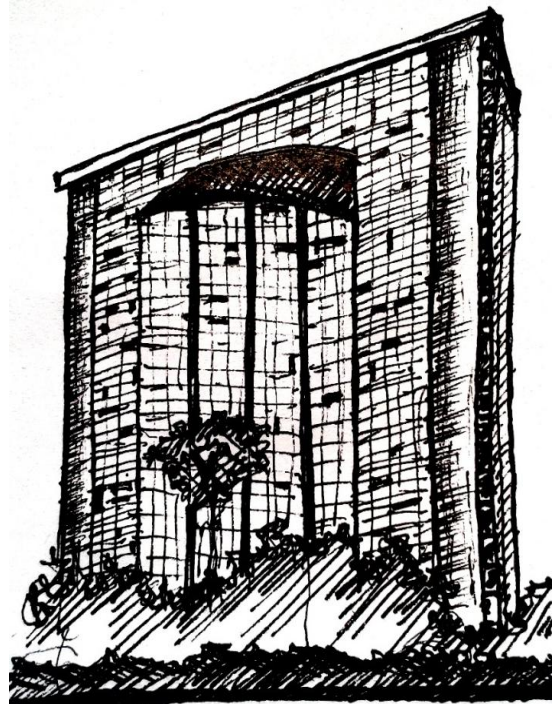


Fig. 21y: Harbans Singh. View Park Towers, Nairobi. 1990.

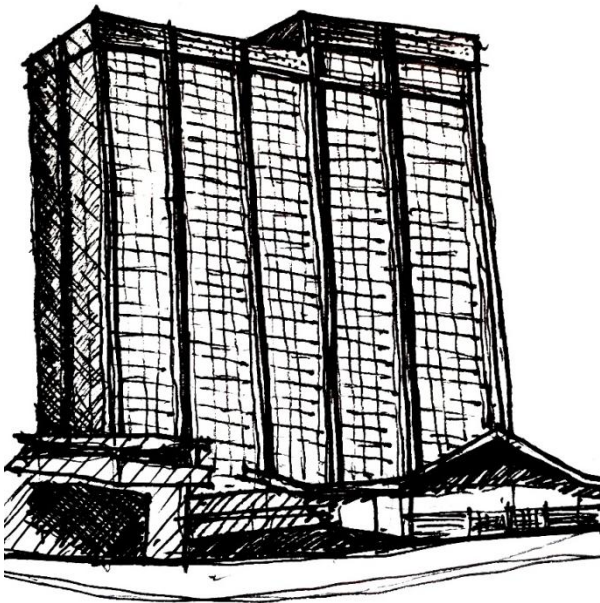


Fig. 21z. Hughes and Polkinghorne. The Anniversary Towers, Nairobi. 1990. The use of small tiles on the shear walls led to the nickname 'bathroom complex' in this modernist artefact.



Fig. 22a. Cobb and Archer architects. The City Hall, Nairobi. 1934. A major neo-classical artefact that is also a landmark and obelisk in the city as the seat of the Governor, Nairobi County.



Fig.22b: A.D. Gaymer; Cobb, Archer and Scamell architects. The Stanley (formerly The New Stanley Hotel), Nairobi. 1964. Initially, a colonial artefact, rebuilding and remodeling has given the building a Modernist look in the 'pure white' exterior.

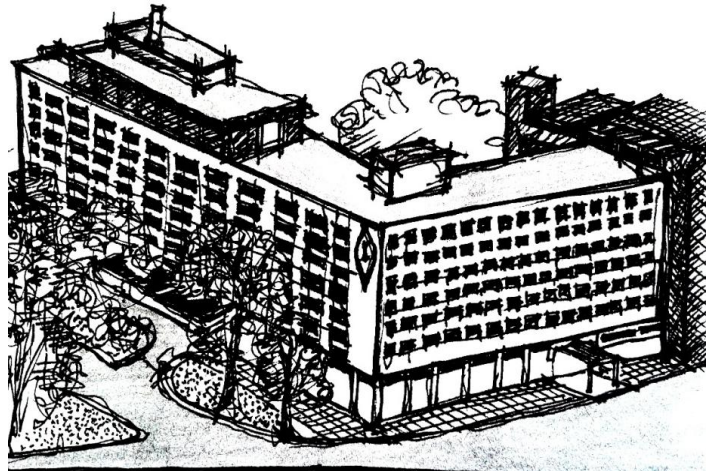


Fig. 22c. William B. Tabler architects. Hotel Intercontinental, Nairobi. 1975. Derived from geometric cubism, a structuralist approach, it exhibits the Corbusian pilotis, giving a covered recess on the ground level. The fenestration: human-scale sensitive, opposing modernist dehumanization.

### 2.3.3 African Nationalism

This epoch straddles the two historical periods from pre-independence to a few years after the attainment of self-determination in 1963. Mazrui (1977: 29) finds it imperative to distinguish between nationalism and anti-imperialism, describing anti-imperialism as a negative assertion with the objective of resisting foreign exploitation and associating nationalism with the quest for agitation for the rights of the exploited indigenous populace, a positive or affirmative undertaking (ibid). A deeper probe into this distinction reveals that nationalism required anti-imperialism for its effective realisation and therefore the two will be considered inseparable in this study. The Kenyan nationalists were “so obsessed with giving an African dimension” to their actions, including those directed at works of architecture (Fanon, 1967 [1964]: 171). Elleh (2005a: 30) proclaims that nationalist leaders of this period “took advantages of architecture as the means of resolving and entrenching political powers” and the architectural monuments erected “announced conflated messages to the citizens”. Thus, Davidson argues that in this way, nationalism revealed its two facets- “its capacity for enlarging freedom and its potential for destroying freedom” (1992: 52). This lack of clarity of architectural communication denied the citizenry the requisite identification with the artefacts of the nationalist epoch.

The table below is a synopsis of the milestones within African nationalism including their cultural and architectural implications where possible.

MILESTONES IN AFRICAN [KENYAN] NATIONALISM	INSPIRATION & INFLUENCE ON KENYAN CULTURE	IMPLICATIONS FOR KENYAN ARCHITECTURE
<p><b>Objective of liberation</b></p>	<p>The “liberation of the continent” and the concept of Pan-Africanism through Kwame Nkrumah’s agitation for continental unity and eventual formation of Organization of African Unity (OAU) (Maloba, 1995: 8; Mazrui, 1978: 1; Kaphagawani, 1991: 188). The Nationalists emphasised that independence from imperial rule was critical to addressing glaring “economic and social” injustices of the imperial project (Maloba, 1995: 8). For Fanon (1967 [1964]: 105) the objective of liberation was more radical entailing “the total destruction of the colonial system, from the pre-eminence of the language of the oppressor ...that in reality maintains the former colonized in the meshes of the culture, of the fashion, and of the images of the colonialist”. This is echoed by Bodunrin (1991: 164).</p>	<p>This was to be achieved through long-term objectives such as Africanisation (Kenyanisation) of the civil service and “politics, economy and culture” [including the architecture] of the nation (Ochieng and Atieno-Odhiambo, 1995: xii; Atieno-Odhiambo 1995b: 30; Nursey-Bray, 1974: 27). Independence was therefore closely linked to the policy of African socialism, perceived to be capitalism in “socialist clothing” (Ogot, 1995c: 218). However, mainstream architecture remained an elitist practice due to the high capital requirement.</p>
<p><b>Resistance and protest against imperialism</b></p>	<p>There was need to protest against “racial prejudice”, “political domination” and “cultural humiliation” which was inspired by extensive imperial “prejudice and contempt” (Mazrui, 1978: 9–10). There emerged nation-wide political activism. Locally, Nationalism was widespread and the press was its mouthpiece in the fight for independence (ibid: 5). Mass media wielded enormous power and public influence and could easily be employed in the precipitation of a national political crisis (ibid: 7). Atieno–Odhiambo (1995: 33) observes that 'Uhuru' (independence) was the uniting theme of all struggles pertaining to nationalism and anti-imperialism, whose objective was the restoration of African dignity, pride and respect through self-determination and autonomy (Maloba, 1995: 11; Mazrui, 1977: 25, 27). These struggles can then be described as resistance to colonial rule. Mazrui (1977: 17) categorises the resistance as primary or secondary. Primary resistance was by leaders such as Mekatilili wa Menza and Orkoiyot, Koitalel arap Samoei. However, secondary resistance was the panacea of the educated Kenyan elite who appropriated Western institutions including the political party and trade unions for anti-imperialist activism (Atieno – Odhiambo, 1995: 26).</p>	<p>The “tea-kiosk” was the forum for the propagation of political propaganda. These physical structures were the convergence points for political leaders and their supporters within the native populations, promoting rural enterprise (Atieno-Odhiambo, 1995b: 30). These 'kiosks' were a vernacular improvisation, a new typological response to an emergent societal need.</p> <p>The educated Kenyan elite also appropriated new and 'superior' taste cultures into architecture as a result of exposure into the lifestyles of the colonialists both locally and abroad. Their office spaces were located in 'downtown' areas of Nairobi CBD. However these have since been demolished and redeveloped.</p>
<p><b>The state of Emergency and its upliftment</b></p>	<p>The Mau Mau phenomenon was the military arm of Nationalism and it engaged in occult practices such as oathing and waged a bloody combat against imperial domination leading to the declaration of a State of Emergency in 1952 (Atieno-Odhiambo, 1995: 26, 34, 35-36; Benett, 1978 [1963]: 116, 132-134). Anti-imperialism was fueled and motivated by the desire of the natives for inclusion and participation in governance, the persistent land question with regard to unfair annexation, excision and oppressive policies as well as unfair taxation of the native (Benett 1978 [1963]: 129; Maloba, 1995: 8, 16; Ochieng, 1995: 88)</p>	<p>The success of Nationalism in Kenya is evident from the uplifting of the state of emergency by the imperialists in 1960 and the attainment of independence which heralded the withdrawal of the colonialists; an epoch that is widely perceived to be a “rebirth of African dignity and pride” (Ochieng and Atieno-Odhiambo, 1995: xi; Maloba, 1995: 16; Ogot, 1995a: 61). Honouring freedom fighters culturally, even by works of architecture has been a key national objective.</p>
<p><b>Political independence [Uhuru]</b></p>	<p>The struggle for independence in Kenya has been equated to the agitation for a national identity which was to be concretised through the persistent quest for a cultural identity that involved the recognition of the vital role of culture in national liberation (Maloba, 1995: 7, 19). Political propaganda has ensured that the tremendous achievement of independence has been enshrined in the minds of all the citizens.</p>	<p>The recognition of 'freedom fighters' as national heroes with the creation of a national day in their honour, the erection of the statue of the freedom martyr Dedan Kimathi on Kimathi street as well as the creation of Uhuru gardens and Uhuru Park in Nairobi are positive cultural efforts in recognition of the achievement of independence.</p>

<b>The Kenyatta era</b>	The Kenyatta era (1963–1978) is associated with widespread national economic development including the commissioning of large and small scale construction projects (Maxon, 1995: 143).	Both mainstream and vernacular architecture of this period requires an in-depth probe in order to assess whether recourse to African traditional systems or the adoption of Western models as a result of widespread acculturation was the main motivating factor.
<b>Cultural Nationalism and its political offshoots</b>	The immediate post-independence period fits the cultural nationalism that was identified by Mazrui (1977: 105), which he associates with the restoration of “indigenous institutions and customs”. Nursey-Bray (1974: 31-34) observes that cultural nationalism was inspired by traditionalism and necessitated the recourse to African culture and African Natural Law as a basis for inspiration and as a moral authority to fill the huge void or “vacuum” that arose from the exit of imperialism, in order to counter cultural arrogance propagated by the imperial project.	The enactment of national 'shrines' such as the 'Bomas of Kenya' and the 'Kenyatta International Conference Centre', which have been elevated to the status of significant national monuments, can be considered as progressive impacts within Kenyan architecture. However, recourse to traditional Kenyan architecture to provide inspiration has not been a national priority in response to the exit of imperialism.

Table 2n: The impact of African Nationalism on Kenyan culture including architecture.

Nationalism was driven by the desire to “rid the continent of the Eurocentric theories of economic development and cultural change” (Uduku & Zack-Williams, 2004: 3). This necessitated the exploitation of “different political and economic ideologies from around the world in order to advance their causes” (Elleh, 2005: 30; Fanon, 1966 [1963]: 134). Thus, Wolff (2009: 179) describes the trajectory of nationalism in a tripartite sequence:

“The subject of the [sic] nationalism aims to dominate competing (contradictory) cultural phenomena or forms of identity formation...At the birth of a [sic] nationalism very creative work is done in establishing the defining features...With a nationalism having been defined, it requires subscription and perpetuation of its defining features...Having to reconfirm its basis, it forecloses innovation and can be dangerously exclusionary in its practices”.

Further research is required to determine the extent to which the Kenyan nationalists adhered to their objectives regarding architecture because Fanon (1967 [1964]: 122), warns that “It takes the people little time to realize that nothing fundamental has changed” despite the extensive nationalist rhetoric.

As the capital city of Kenya, most architectural works inspired by African Nationalism are concentrated mainly in Nairobi- probably for the greatest impact to the entire Kenyan nation as well as non-citizens- rather than in other urban centres. These works include:

**Uhuru Park**, off Uhuru Highway in Nairobi, a buffer zone (green belt) that softens the solid building masses between Nairobi CBD and Community regions, thereby providing visual relief and park facilities including outdoor relaxation and boat rides. This site captures the *Genius Loci* of the Kenyan nation and is identifiable with the entire populace regardless of ethnicity. Its multivalent associations include the Promulgation of the Constitution of Kenya 2010, the Presidential swearing ceremony 2003, multiple political rallies, religious crusade and focus of any national protests against the establishment. A significant cultural artefact, its terraced earthen seating surfaces coupled with the Afrocentric stage design make it a vital modern agora, capable of sustaining its multiple functions.

**Uhuru Gardens** were established as a cultural artefact to perpetually celebrate the tremendous achievement of independence from colonial rule. However they are less successful when compared to Uhuru Park due to limited access by the public majority as a result of the adjacent military barracks and their significant distance from the city centre. Competition from the nearby Nairobi National Park that attracts domestic and foreign tourists and the lack of frequent visits by politicians has diminished its prominence thus the need for public sensitisation to restore its glory.

The **Bomas of Kenya** is a cultural project built by the Ministry of Public Works. It is a historicist re-construction of traditional villages of selected Kenyan communities. It is a restatement of the original rather than a cultural re-interpretation that is justifiable from the viewpoint of a cultural museum that clings on to pre-colonial heritage by continuous propagation of cultural dances and festivals including traditional African cuisines in a modern setting. However it does not address the issues of cultural fusion, transformation, acculturation and modernisation. The 'Nitzschean' superscale evident in the main multipurpose hall is a positive re-interpretation but its literality is a draw-back in comparison to the eclecticism at the Safari Park Hotel.

**Buruburu** housing estate by Mutiso-Menezes International is an attempt by the Nairobi City Council to address the persistent, unresolved questions of housing its residents. These three bedroomed bungalows and maisonnettes targetted the middle class. The adequate provision of amenities for recreation, shopping, schools and hospitals coupled with the extensive use of courtyards to capture natural daylight and allow for cross ventilation and children's play make it successful in the quest to show that indigenous Africans were quite capable of good governance. However, its original character is now masked by unplanned extension structures by residents who have not adhered to the original standards of planning and construction.

The **Kenyatta National Hospital** is the largest referral hospital in East and Central Africa. It exemplifies the extensive use of the Corbusian modulator and brutal concrete. Its anti-contextual nature, use of flat roofs and geometric expressionist tower indicate its modernist concepts. It is a functional 'machine' with its many wards and specialized units. An architectural largesse, it portrays the initial stage in the realisation of the Nationalistic objectives of fighting disease.

**Monuments** such as the Nyayo monument, tribute to the Second World War and statues of Jomo Kenyatta, Dedan Kimathi and Tom Mboya were erected with the aim of honouring national and war heroes in order to celebrate victory and political reign. Of these, the most successful is the Tom Mboya statue whose erection involved part pedestrianisation of the space between the Kenya national Archives and the Stanbank House, coupled with the provision of adequate seating for informal socialisation and meetings. Architecturally, the ‘Mausoleum’ by Fred Mburu (1996), was a successful proposal by a student, at the University of Nairobi, indicating how national heroes could be honoured collectively by the country. The Kenyatta Mausoleum, adjacent to Parliament Buildings, is visited annually to commemorate his death but the restricted access to the general public is a disadvantage.

In Kenya, the nationalist political establishment mulled over “how to deploy modern architecture” in ‘developing’ the country after “the housing stock had been shared” amongst them (Elleh, 2005a: 31; 2005b: 208; Heynen, 2005: 96; Fanon, 1966 [1963]: 124). However, much more effort is required to identify architecture- across the country- that is associated with Kenyan Nationalism. An expected impediment will be the lack of indigenous architects within that period of time, as most architectural projects were realised under the direction of foreign architects within the imperial system. Perhaps, post-independence architecture should be examined at the intangible level in order to determine whether the spirit of Nationalism was captured, if at all. However, the question of urban slums in Kenyan cities will be a glaring shortcoming of this epoch because “the greatest and most tragic failure of most anti-colonial movements was that they stressed the national or state-national questions in disfavour of the social one” (Neugebauer, 1991: 255; Elleh, 2005: 208). This led Fanon to radically posit that:

“there had been no decolonization in Africa because the colonial structures had not been destroyed...what happened at independence was the Africanization of colonialism” (Hansen, 1978: 38).

This position is not entirely true for the Kenyan context- however sections of the populace, especially the lower echelons of societal strata, may be sympathetic to it.

## Images of the influence of African Nationalism.



Fig.22d: Karl Henrik Nostvik. Jomo Kenyatta statue at the KICC, Nairobi.1973. Incorporation of sculpture as antithesis to modernism.



Fig. 22e. The Uhuru Park, Uhuru Highway, Nairobi. 2011.

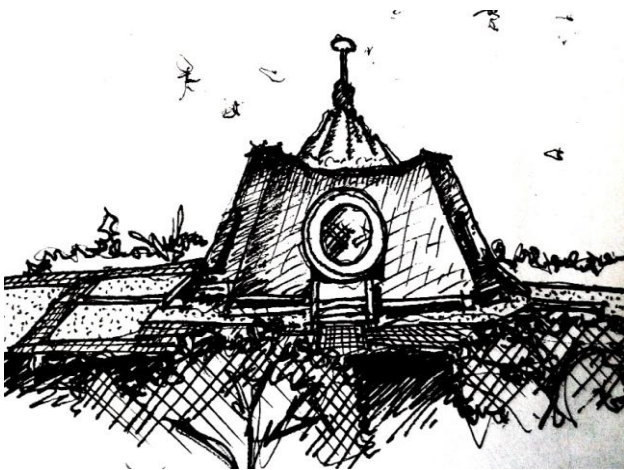


Fig. 22f. Creator Unknown. The Nyayo Monument at Uhuru Park, Nairobi. 1988. The artefact was in celebration of ten years of Moi 'Nyayo' Rule. It is the abstraction of a mountain and Moi's fist on his 'rungu'- a symbol to totalitarian populism.

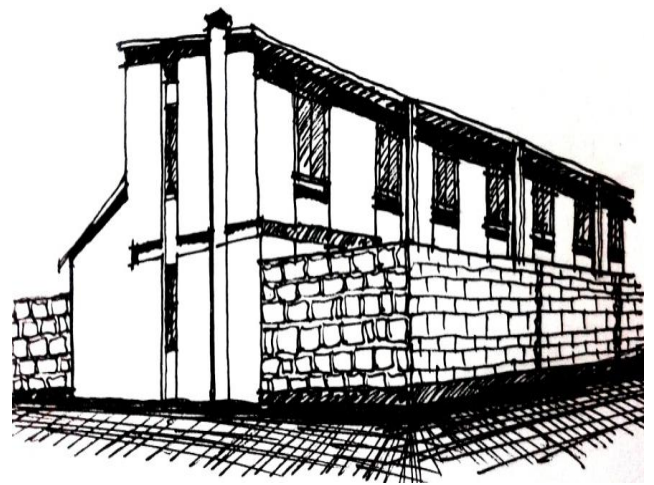


Fig. 22g: Mutiso Menezes International. Buruburu Housing Estate, Nairobi. 1975-1983. The estate was to portray the great achievement of African self governance in housing.



Fig.22h: Architect unknown. Buruburu shopping centre, Nairobi. s.a. The project shows that the futuristic planning of Mutiso Menezes was successful with regard to provision of future social amenities.



Fig. 22i. Creator unknown. Tom Mboya Statue on Moi Avenue, Nairobi

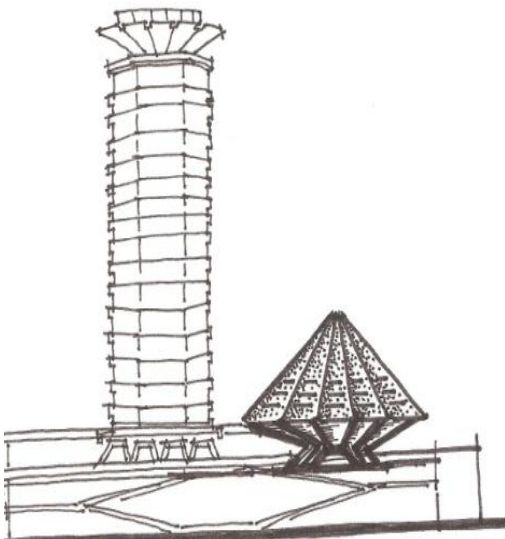


Fig. 22j. Karl Henrik Nostvik. The Kenyatta International Conference Centre. Nairobi. 1973. A most significant cultural artefact of African Nationalism- see Chapter 4.

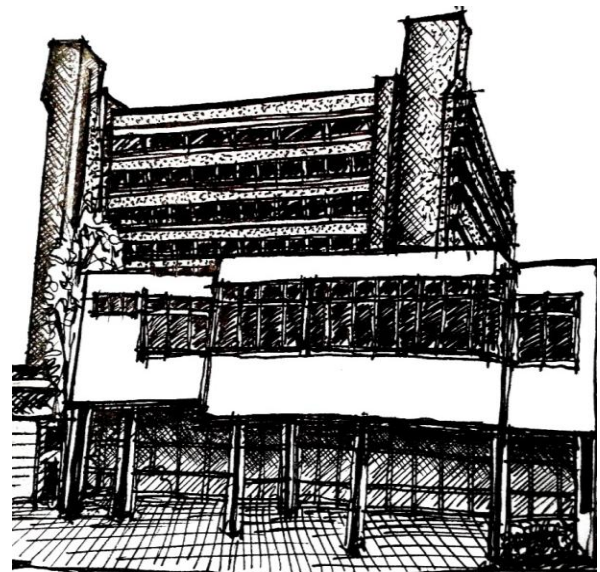


Fig. 22k. Ministry of Public works in collaboration with foreign architects. The Kenyatta National Hospital, Nairobi. s.a. The leading public referral hospital in East Africa.



### 2.3.4 Totalitarian systems

The lack of political accountability is the genesis of totalitarianism. In Kenya, colonisation of the country has been described as a dictatorship (Maloba, 1995: 9). Didier Njirayamanda Kaphagawani (1991: 180) perceives totalitarianism as “authoritarianism, permanent control of all aspects of life, politics included, ensuing in people doing things against their will”. Post-independent Kenyan governments have not been entirely totalitarian but due to internal causes such as widespread ethnic nepotism and social corruption, they have exhibited totalitarian tendencies (Mazrui, 1980:119). These tendencies drive the leaders to “delve into a mythical national chauvinism” in order to “legitimize their dictatorship and atrocities” (Neugebauer, 1991: 256). Fanon (1966 [1963]: 134) proclaims that:

“It is true that such dictatorship does not go very far. It cannot halt the process of its own contradictions. Since the bourgeoisie has not the economic means to ensure its domination...it is preoccupied with filling its pockets as rapidly as possible...the country sinks all the more deeply into stagnation...And in order to hide this stagnation and to mask this regression, to reassure itself and to give itself something to boast about, the bourgeoisie can find nothing better to do than to erect grandiose buildings in the capital and to lay out money on what are called prestige expenses.”

Fanon’s proclamation is in sync with the period 1978- 2002 when totalitarian tendencies and their manifestations in Kenyan architecture were most prevalent.

The table below summarises key aspects of totalitarian politics and their influence on Kenyan culture and architecture.

TOTALITARIAN ASPECT	INFLUENCE ON KENYAN CULTURE	ARCHITECTURAL IMPACT
<b>Consolidation of power while ensuring the continuity of colonial administration models.</b>	Maloba (1995: 7, 17, 21) states that post-independence African regimes (Kenya included) were authoritarian states in which “suppression of political dissidents, arbitrary rule and erosion of civil liberties” because of “one-party” politics [KANU in the Kenyan case], that curtailed “political pluralism, mass political activism and participation” as a result of continuity and adherence to the colonial model of governance (Ogot, 1995d: 239). The aim is to “consolidate political power and to impose their political and economic dominance on the state.” (Ochieng, 1995: 94, 104, 106).	The continuation and adoption of Western models and values and “maintenance of inherited economic institutions” as well as the engagement of foreign professionals [and architects] as a result of “Kenya’s heavy reliance on Western capitalist countries for skilled manpower, development and technical grants and trade.” (Maloba, 1995: 18, 20, 21; Ochieng, 1995: 106). Western architectural typologies such as the modern office blocks evident in Nyayo and Nyati Houses.
<b>Political oppression even via oppressive legislation</b>	Mazrui (1980: 132) observes that the “power structure of a state can become terroristic.” This stage is achieved through issuances of political edicts and abuse of state machinery to stifle opposition and dissent. Ochieng (1995: 94, 104, 106) isolates the “Preventive Detention Act” of 1966 linking it with the authoritarian strategy of imprisonment or detention to ban freedom of speech.	The imposition of inappropriate architectural solutions on a populace that has been denied participation or involvement in key decision making processes (Ochieng, 1995: 106). In architecture, criticism of largesse and inappropriateness was stifled. ‘White elephants’ such as the Eldoret Airport and Turkwell Gorge project are erected.
<b>Prioritisation of military activity</b>	Maloba (1995: 18) laments the use of the military for political intervention in Africa [Kenya], in order to perpetuate authoritarian rule. In Kenya, military might has been celebrated extensively during National holidays and festivals to sub-consciously inculcate a culture of submissiveness in the populace.	Future architectural discourse should indicate the extent to which the politics of oppression, domination, submission, self-preservation and perpetuation have been rationalised and expressed as part of intangible political culture within Kenyan

<p><b>Economic monopolisation through statecraft</b></p>	<p>Totalitarianism in Kenya is linked to the Mazrui concept of “retribalization of politics” in which an ethnic calculus is employed in the distribution of wealth and opportunities, leading to rampant unemployment in Kenya (Maloba, 1995: 17; Ochieng, 1995: 106). Kenya has been described as the “land of a few rich people and millions of poor folk” (Ochieng, 1995: 91).</p>	<p>architecture. Consequently, many indigenous Kenyans cannot access architectural services. Skewed architectural development in favour of the communities of the ruling elite. The Kikuyu and Kalenjin are therefore the wealthiest communities in Kenya with artefacts such as the Eldoret Airport and the Thika superhighway as key projects.</p>
<p><b>Foreign aid and finance</b></p>	<p>Ochieng’ (1995: 91) observes that political regimes in Kenya have portrayed totalitarian tendencies exhibiting an elite or “indigenous bourgeoisie who are ruling in collaboration with international finance”. Monetary influx from foreign sources has led to the construction of facilities enjoying state patronage. The Moi International Sports Centre at Kasarani in Nairobi was funded by the Chinese government and designed by Chinese architects and engineers.</p>	<p>Developmental grants have been in the form of aid packages, where foreign powers have insisted on the engagement of foreign architects limiting the contribution of local architects to implementation, supervision and co-ordination of logistics, stifling local talent. Incorporation of local architectural input could mitigate cultural issues of appropriateness that have since emerged from such projects.</p>
<p><b>Recourse to Afrocentricity</b></p>	<p>This is a cultural tool that is employed in order to perpetuate and celebrate possession of power by the authoritarian elite.</p>	<p>The construction of national monuments throughout Kenya to celebrate ten years of the Moi regime in 1988 is a suitable example of misdirected cultural zeal and political sycophancy.</p>
<p><b>Cultural exploitation</b></p>	<p>The totalitarian systems have also been propagated through “selective resurrection” of obsolete aspects of traditional Kenyan culture, such as tribal monarchies in order to “reinforce the power and authority of leaders” (Maloba, 1995: 20). This bold abuse of traditional culture is aimed at short-term political expediency.</p>	<p>Totalitarian preference for architectural monumental expression has been expressed through cannibalisation of Classicist styles and Modernist architectural principles, fused into Kenyan cultural artefacts such as schools with Moi patronage and Moi University.</p>

Table 2o: The impact of totalitarian aspects of statecraft on Kenyan culture, including architecture.

With regard to architecture that evolves out of totalitarian tendencies, Hannah le Roux (2004: 450) observes that “in their capacity to be reused, re-imagined and repossessed, buildings are never completely in the hands of power” because building boundaries have the potential to become “place[s] of emergent identities”. Notwithstanding the possibilities of transformation, significant architectural artefacts of the totalitarian category include the Nyayo House, the Nyati House, Moi University administration block, Pangani Girls’ Hostels, Sunshine Secondary School administration block, Moi Sports Centre Kasarani, Nyayo Stadium and Nyayo Monuments at Uhuru Park and Uhuru Gardens.

The main administration building of Moi University (1985) is neo-classical, imposing in grandeur and stature, befitting its status as an institution of higher learning hence the need for recourse to fundamentals and origin of knowledge symbolised by classicism. However it is anticontextual given its location in Eldoret, an agricultural town undergoing rapid urbanisation.

The Nyayo House is an architectural artefact associated with the Moi regime and is synonymous with the Nyayo philosophy, a key political proclamation of the period. However its

infamous torture chambers located within the basement recall the extensive suppression of political dissidents to curtail criticism and free speech that included opinion on public works of architecture. A key government administrative office building its multivalent code embraces the paradigms of modernism and postmodernism within its totalitarian categorisation. The grand imposing façades exhibit geometric expressionism which is abstracted rather than literal. A post and lintel construction with a central stacked core of lifts and staircases, its earth coloured surface pigmentation (orange, yellow and brown) and repetitive egg crate sunshading devices on its facades confer upon it a unique distinct identity that is appropriate to the Kenyan context as the colours exist within the traditional vernacular. Its open planned interior recalls the postmodern egalitarian concepts. However the offices have since been partitioned indicating disharmony between architectural intention and user requirements. Its drawbacks include the double banking of offices which give rise to its poorly lit corridors.

### Images of the influence of Totalitarian Systems

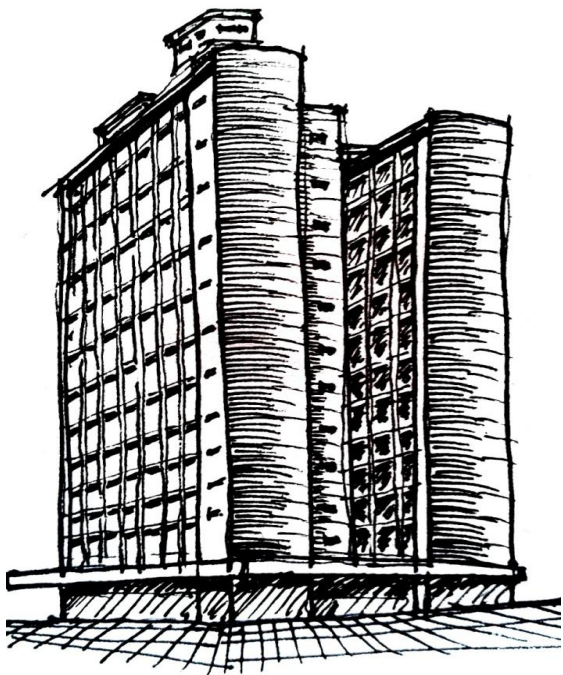


Fig. 22l. Ministry of Public Works and Ngotho architects. The Nyayo House, Nairobi. 1982. The use of strong orange and brown earthen pigmentation on the facades is a deviation from modernist aesthetics. An architectural largesse its 'torture chambers' in the basement were central to capitulating resistance to *Nyayoism*.



Fig. 22m. The Uhuru Park, Nairobi. 2011. The park is popular with the public and politicians alike, for relaxation and enjoyment or political rallies respectively.

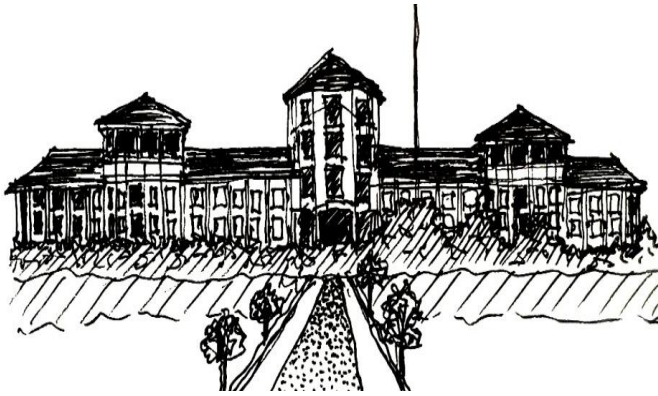


Fig. 22n: Harbans Singh. The Administration block at Moi University. 1985. A re-interpretation of neo-classical architecture.

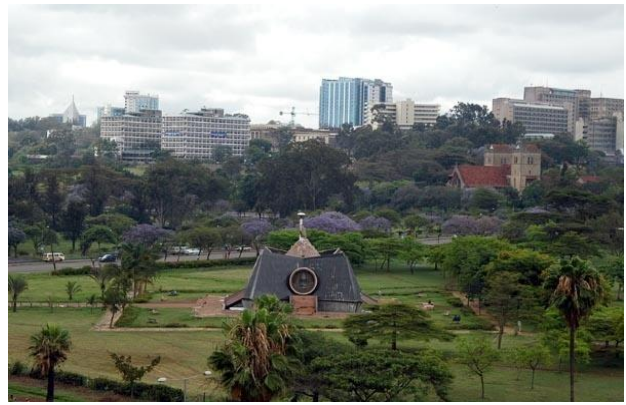


Fig. 22o: Creator unknown. The Nyayo Monument at Uhuru Park, Nairobi. 1988. The park is a buffer between two dense urbanities.

### 2.3.5 Pluralist systems

Presently, the Kenyan nation can be described as a pluralistic society. This can be traced to the eve of independence, where according to Maxon (1995: 110), pluralism exemplified the amalgamation of a populace that portrayed varied racial, ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Pluralism is enshrined in the present Constitution of Kenya which describes Kenya as a “multi-party democratic state” in which the government has the responsibility to “promote all forms of national and cultural expression” within a polity where citizens enjoy extensive freedoms in recognition of their inherent diversity (Republic of Kenya, 2010: 14, 16). Kenyan architecture must therefore embrace unity through diversity. The table below is a synopsis of pluralistic aspects of contemporary Kenya and their influences on culture, including architecture.

ASPECT OF PLURAL KENYA	INFLUENCE ON KENYAN CULTURE	IMPACT ON THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT AND ARCHITECTURE
Contemporary issues and their societal hierarchical associations.	Atieno-Odhiambo (1995a: 1) outlines the challenges of post-colonial existence in Kenya as “national unity, patriotic endeavour, economic development, social and spiritual space, the valorization of the cultural heritage and the definition of Kenya’s place in the world.” indicating a hierarchy of issues that exist within the plural Kenyan society. The peasants and proletariats are engaged with issues of daily sustenance while the political elite tackle issues of national integration and cohesion.	The architecture of plural Kenya should capture and express these socio-economic tensions within the politico-cultural dynamics of the nation. The hierarchy evident is based on grandeur with the economic elite driving the agenda of mainstream architecture while the peasants operate in the rural and urban vernacular. Slum upgrading efforts in Nairobi’s Kibera and Mathare represent the intersection of the two polar architectural paradigms.
Competition for scarce resources.	Mazrui (1980: 44) asserts that the “enlargement and modernization” of African [Kenyan] economies has yielded a cut-throat competition for scarce resources propagating class antagonisms and conflicts due to politicisation of ethnic reproduction in order to achieve ethnic	Skewed architectural efforts are evident in favour of urban areas where the drive for profits has resulted in widespread speculative architecture that does not effectively tackle the design requirements and variations within the populace.

	supremacy.	
<b>Population growth and ethnicity.</b>	Mazrui (1977: 35-36, 295) observes that "ethnicity and stratification" are inevitable issues within the modern African [Kenyan] society and this constitutes both "a richness and hazard", threatening national unity through widespread "ethnic consciousness." Mazrui (1980: 44) argues that class struggles and conflict will persist in society due to politico-economic advantages that arise from securing access to state resource mechanisms.	Slums and instant communities which are extensive in urban areas are evidence of socio-economic challenges arising from societal stratification due to a rapid population growth. Mainstream office-blocks and hotels, such as the NSSF building and the Grand Regency in Nairobi, express the patronage by indigenous and foreign political elite, driving the national economy.
<b>Neo-colonialism.</b>	Kenya does not exert complete authority and control over her territorial resources due to "dependency and under-development" (Mazrui, 1980: 114). This has led to the emergence of extra-territorial political control categorised as neo-colonialism.	Societal stratification, economic challenges and neo-colonial political coercion should be evident upon probing the various modes of architectural production and expression in Kenya. The construction of the American and Canadian Embassies in Nairobi are suitable examples.
<b>An extroverted, vulnerable and exposed national economy.</b>	Mazrui (1977: 295) describes the prevalent tension that sustains the intra-African conflict [including Kenya], as the product of persistent factors with an economic and ethnic genesis. Exposure to global economic dynamics, a skewed balance of trade, heavy importation of goods and services exert pressure on citizens.	Prioritisation of architectural issues by the state has been hindered by other significant national concerns including the provision of adequate healthcare and expansion of education. Activism by Kenyan architects can lead to their inclusion in these public efforts through provision of architectural consultancy.
<b>Response to advent of technology.</b>	Through reference to mass media and industrial technology, (Patel, 1974: 181) elucidates the double coded nature of technology which propagates Western value systems but may also be employed to perpetuate African traditions. Pluralism offers choice regarding the appropriateness of representation and selection of technology and technique.	Positive responses to technology are exhibited in the architecture of resorts in Kenyan where architects have successfully synthesised Afrocentricity at the levels of form and material usage to offer an indigenous cultural expression to tourists as an alternative to their Eurocentric or Asiatic backgrounds. The morality of commercialisation of culture is debatable but the re-interpretation and re-discovery of traditional Kenyan identity is progressive.
<b>Rationalisation and choices in the selection of Western models.</b>	The Kenyan nation is at cross-roads, grappling with "rebellion" and "imitation" with regard to Western systems and institutions (Mazrui, 1980: 3). Competition between variant value systems of colonial heritage and traditional culture demands a critical synthesis within Kenyan pluralism (Nurse – Bray, 1974: 23). An example of such a synthesis is the appropriation of "new forms of association" including trade unions coupled with the retention of "traditional forms of social organizations" including tribal leaders and council of elders (Patel, 1974: 180)	Critical Regionalism in architecture isolates beneficial principles of universalism which are co-opted into selective aspects of traditional culture to ensure continuity. This dual synthesis is anchored in the utilisation of technology which according to Patel (1974: 181) can be appropriated to "underpin and perpetuate pluralism." Extensive use of machine aesthetics and standardisation of architectural components evident in works such as The View Park Towers generate monotony of architectural expression.
<b>Inclusivist and participatory approaches.</b>	Pluralism can only be sustained through "political empowerment of the citizens" and this requires "massive participation" in the Kenyan political system to counter the propaganda by the political elite who portray the biased perception that participation in politics is a dangerous undertaking with the aim of eliminating competition (Maloba, 1995: 16-17; Ogot, 1995d: 260).	Participation is a key descriptor of pluralism and within architecture, it is evident through inclusivist approaches such as extensive consultation with the local context in order to express local culture as well as the promotion of architectural competitions which provide a forum for the convergence of ideas with the aim of isolating and utilising the most progressive ones. The recent architectural competition for the design of the Wangari Maathai Institute at the University of Nairobi that was sanctioned by both BORAQS and AAK was progressive.
<b>Decolonisation.</b>	The promotion of decolonisation to entrench pluralism thrives upon democratic and liberal principles which are key indicators of a pluralistic	Since architecture provides the means for expression of societal concerns and prevalent tensions, it is expected that post-colonial

	society. Economic decolonisation of the country will be evident when “foreign economic exploitation and cultural dominance” are eliminated from the “national productive forces” including architectural genesis (Maloba, 1995: 19-20).	Kenyan architecture should exhibit pluralism with its inherent diversity to portray cultural romanticisation and acculturation. Architectural decolonisation is urgent in order to promote conceptual equity between Western and African models.
<b>Liberalism and democracy.</b>	Ogot (1995d: 244) outlines the virtues of pluralism as “good governance, public accountability, the rule of law and social justice” which are enshrined in the Gestalt Perception of democracy (ibid: 259). These principles ensure the usurpation of totalitarianism by offering “the beneficial resolution of conflicts” to achieve social harmony (ibid: 247). Ogot (ibid: 254) associates pluralistic democracy with tolerance. Atieno-Odhiambo (1995a: 2) urges Kenyans to embrace “tolerant patriotism”. Tolerance thus demands the accommodation of divergent ideologies and ideals to “forge consensus” on national issues (Ogot, 1995d: 254).	Slum upgrading efforts in Mathare and Kibera in Nairobi, where the Catholic Church and the UN Habitat respectively, have engaged slum dwellers through incorporating local architectural talent in an attempt to improve housing standards as well as ensure income generation for the economically marginalised are examples of architectural tolerance in Kenyan scenario because they exemplify the unity of multiple taste cultures. A vibrant critical culture which can act as a check and balance system against the proliferation of architectural authoritarianism can then be entrenched.

Table 2p: The impact of prevailing pluralism on Kenyan culture, including architecture.

Postmodernism is a pluralistic architectural paradigm consistent with the liberal environment that permeates contemporary African and Kenyan society. Neville Wakefield (1990: 55) argues that the semiological project, such as this study, is tasked with the “ideological analysis of meaning”. Within the postmodern movement, semiological analysis focuses on the cultural context (ibid: 21). In this paradigm, meaning is “dispersed across a much larger site of struggle or contestation” (ibid: 20). This implies that the plural nature of the paradigm is an obstacle to its own definition; an indication that the limits of the paradigm are not strictly delineated and the distinctive attributes of the paradigm are broad exhibiting both regions of consensus and conflict. Wakefield (ibid: 29) observes that the postmodern condition is antithetical to artistic [architectural] and stylistic dominance because it facilitates simultaneity which ensures that the thriving of a variety of [architectural] stylistic practices. Taste cultures and design attitudes therefore compete for popular approval though no single approach is considered superior.

Jencks (1987: 80) has formulated an evolutionary tree for Postmodern architecture, as an effluent of Postmodern discourse that structures the architecture into different categories based on the approaches undertaken. These include historicism, straight revivalism, neo-vernacular, *ad hoc* urbanist, metaphor metaphysical and postmodern space. Though applicable to the global context, the structure is not entirely relevant to the Kenyan context because Kenyan Postmodernism cannot be rigidly delineated into these categories. The categories show overlap that is not deliberate but intuitive. However, the central theme is the conveyance of the meaning within this architecture which is

achieved through the use of multiple tenets from more than one category as identified by Jencks and stated above.

Kenyan Postmodernism can then be structured into more appropriate and contextual categories. These categories are subject to revision, expansion and debate. It should also be noted that there is extensive overlap between the categories indicating that most buildings actually exhibit multiple characteristics due to their multivalent nature. This provides evidence for simultaneity and hybridism within it (Wakefield, 1990: 29). The examples below are only illustrative and are neither exclusive nor exhaustive:

**Cultural romanticisation** focuses on history and culture in order to re-interpret tradition and capture contemporary *zeitgeist* (Bodunrin, 1991: 67). It may be **contextual** or **anti-contextual** depending upon the attitude of the architect towards contextual parameters (Jencks, 1987: 110, 122, 132). The Chancery along Nairobi's Valley Road is in this category.

**Resistance** Postmodernism challenges prevalent architectural establishments through positing varied reactions to existing architectural establishments, particularly the death of modernism (Foster in Wakefield, 1990: 29). Examples include the Sankara Hotel in Nairobi's Westlands and Doctor's Plaza at the Nairobi Hospital.

**Reaction** Postmodernism portrays the Humanist tradition (ibid). This focuses on humanity once again in opposition to the modernist dehumanization (Colquhoun, 1994 [1989]: 84). Examples include the Kencom House in Nairobi's CBD, the Village Market in Gigiri, Nairobi, the Sarit Centre and the Westgate Mall in Nairobi's Westlands.

**Collage**, as a pluralistic Postmodernism, is all inclusive in terms of material usage and content with the aim of expressing the liberal values of Kenyan society (Jencks, 1987: 78). The University of Nairobi's main campus buildings along Harry Thuku Road, University Way and the Slip Road are suitable examples when viewed as a unitary composition.

**Allusive** Postmodernism expresses technology, politics, commerce, history and any other emergent theme within the Kenyan context. This category also includes **eclectic re-interpretation** (Jencks, 1987: 82, 88, 122, 124, 131). Suitable examples include the Nation Centre in Nairobi's CBD, The Nyayo House and The Co-operative Bank along Haile Selassie Avenue.

**Latent** Postmodernism exhibits concealed codes that require contemplation, thereby yielding multiple interpretations. It also desires to extend some of the attributes of modernism in a “nascent state” (Colquhoun, 1994 [1989]: 17, 243; Lyotard, 1989 [1979]: 79). The International Life House, Lillian Towers, ICEA building and The Nginyo Towers are in this category.

**Intuitive** or internally generated postmodernism uses the motifs of the paradigm subconsciously due to bias in formal architectural training. A suitable example is the Yaya Centre in Hurlingham, Nairobi.

The Parliament building is a key landmark in Nairobi CBD. It houses the legislative arm of the government and hosts significant national events such as the reading of the national budget. Its monumental exterior contrasts the simple disposition of functions within it. It captures the *zeitgeist* of the nation in its prominent location and its stature is expressed by its image on the country’s currency. The strong earthen pigmentation on its facades and the brown egg crate sun shading devices creates harmony with the landscape and its context. However the decorative images symbolizing the nation’s ornament and craft that are portrayed on its facades have been labeled as satanic by certain Christian sects. The composition expresses a positive ambiguity between geometry and organicity as well as formal versus informal parametric resolution.

The Jee van Jee Gardens is a public park that acts as a buffer zone within Nairobi CBD. Its informal character places it within this category because it acts as a postmodern space exhibiting pluralism and collage in its multiple functions and user variety. Though cut off from the rest of city life, it promotes social interaction through public preaching and provision of relaxed seating. As a transitory space it is shunned by a section of the urbanites for security reasons. Its limited social amenities prevent it from being frequented by the middle and upper social strata.

The ICEA building expresses postmodern capitalism. Its monumental character is derived from its grand size emphasised by a polychromic exterior that employs earthen brown colours which create a permanence that accommodates its harmonious surroundings. As a speculative office building no specific client is targeted, apart from the owner and this gives rise to latent and nascent codes. The use of geometric acute and obtuse angles in plan, results in oblique walls for the upper floors creating non-rectilinear interior spaces, which permit a scenic setback at the podium level, enhanced by verticality.

The Lillian Towers by Symbion International is a humanistic symbolic postmodernism inspired by the configuration of maize seeds on a cob which was then adapted to suit the configuration of



rooms in this exclusive hotel. The geometrical synthesis of form is evident in the superimposition of a deconstructed cylinder onto a vertical cuboid that stacks lifts and staircases for vertical circulation. The fenestration on each room recalls the human scale that results in undulations and rhythms on its external surfaces, giving prominence to each unit within the harmonious whole. Its white exterior is a nascent re-interpretation of the modernist purity of form which is homely and welcoming to the patrons in this case.

The International Life House is an office building which expresses a resistance postmodernism that wishes to do away with modernistic purity of white exterior surfaces through its brown earthen colours on its facades. Its polychromic exterior finishes give it a sleek expensive look while allowing for the play of light and shadow to capture temporal rhythm with the progress of each day. It targets the upper and middle class clientele, thereby shunning the public majority. It has a poor relationship with the street and the ground floor plaza is dormant and devoid of human activity portraying architecture of exclusion that does not contribute to the greater urban co-existence within Nairobi's CBD.

The Kencom House along Moi Avenue is a major urban monument familiar to the public majority within the Nairobi CBD because of its prominent location beside a major bus stop and transit point within the CBD and is thus 'experienced' by thousands of Kenyans on a daily basis. It is described by positive metaphors such as a landed cruise ship or a bus that is about to leave the stop because of its multiple human sized fenestrations on its facades and the extensive use of concrete pilotis coupled with its plastered and painted exterior wall finish. It exhibits a poor response to the street by its perimeter fence that locks out the public majority apart from the customers seeking to gain entry into the ground floor banking hall and the offices on the upper floors.

The Serena Hotel at Uhuru Park in Nairobi is a humanistic, contextual and resistance postmodern cultural artefact with polychromic rough textured exterior surfaces finished in coloured stones embedded in plaster. Its large welcoming exterior windows capture the expansive Nairobi daylight and air to offer stunning views of Uhuru Park. The landscaping is in sync with the serenity of the surrounding park creating a harmonious continuity. Its vast clientele includes tourists and the upper echelons of the Kenyan nation such as the political class. It is a place of refuge from city hardships and the demands of modern living through offering a thriving, relaxing existential foothold (see Chapter 3).

The Chester House is a mixed urban development (MUD) in Nairobi's CBD with shops and arcades on lower floors successfully separated from the residential flats on upper floors with each housing unit expressing the human scale via an individual balcony. These balconies recall the 'settler balcony' (Katua, 1989: 63); and collectively confer upon the building a residential quality that is distinctive from the other cultural artefacts within the CBD. The composition is an eclectic, collage, humanistic postmodernism with tensions arising from the dialectic opposition of the functions contained within it. Its part-unplastered walls give it a rough texture and 'homely' feel providing a welcome relief from the architectural monotony of the surrounding offices. This artefact has adequately taken up the challenge of providing housing within the city centre as an equally rewarding enterprise at par with modern office buildings. However, the use of prefabricated and standardised components indicates a latent and nascent postmodern affiliation.

The Chancery along Nairobi's Valley Road is an expression of a historicist postmodernism that is anti-contextual through the revival of the English vernacular or country architecture. The use of high pitched tiled roofs and machine-cut stone walling on its facades coupled with white painted and red brick-faced surfaces creates a harmonious composition that promotes architecture of memory. Though a modern office block, it is not stereotypical as is often the case with most speculative development in Nairobi. It may be described as a synthesis of English and local Kenyan architecture which signifies post-independence egalitarian co-existence amongst previously antagonistic races.

The Nation Centre housing the leading Nation Media Group is an eclectic contextual postmodern artefact located along Kimathi Street in Nairobi's CBD that captures the *zeitgeist* of pluralistic Kenyan society. Its two towers above the podium level contrast the single KICC tower and are therefore associated with the two finger multiparty political salute that was widespread during the clamour for political pluralism. Its positive metaphoric associations include the black and white newsprint motif evident in its painted plastered facades. The form recalls binoculars directed skywards but this has elicited criticism that an oblique or horizontal direction would have been more appropriate in capturing the continuous unfolding reality on the ground (Ralwala, 1996). The miniature pyramidal skylights atop the two towers are an eclectic re-interpretation of a revived historical model whose diminished scale is suitable for its altered function; lighting rather than burial (ibid). The large red antenna recalls the *Maasai* spear and is thus multivalent as it supports the dual functions of symbolism and communication (ibid). The imposing concave colonnade on the ground floor is grand

but oppressive in scale contrasting the convex surfaces of the circular towers in a dialectic opposition of abstracted and literal geometry respectively.

The Nginyo House, by AAKI architects, along Nairobi's Koinange Street is a postmodern contextualist building whose form is generated by contextual forces such as the shape of the site and location within Nairobi's prime CBD. This MUD has a positive response to the streetscape with a welcoming corner entry that is open to all and sundry leading into the atrium within. Its sloping canopy signifies a shift in taste from the previous horizontal cantilevered counterparts. Its appropriate use of solar glass is effective in achieving desirable day lighting levels without the unwanted solar heat gain. The human scale, evident in the entire composition, is an effective resistance to modernistic dehumanisation.

The Doctors' Plaza at the Nairobi Hospital by AAKI architects is an intuitive postmodern resistance artefact that is both anti-historicist and anti-contextual as a protest to existing typological forms, whose architecture concentrates highly on facades that do not suggest any linkage to its internal functions. It is reminiscent of the 'Venturian' decorated shed with a language that is inappropriate to a typical hospital or office block image. It portrays an individualistic aesthetic formulation that signifies the taste culture of architectural elitism.

The Village Market in Gigiri, Nairobi, is a humanistic postmodern composition that positively integrates open spaces within the built form to create a harmonious collage relationship of complementary functions through activities such as shopping, recreation, picnics, outdoor excursions, golf, a lively food court and a thriving hotel. Its agora, curio shops and *Maasai* market days are concepts that are successfully borrowed from African traditional architecture. Its re-interpretation of residential architectural typology employs brick faced surfaces, white painted plaster, off-cut stone facing on external walls and red tiled pitched roofs to create a homely feel for its multiple functions.

The Sankara Hotel in Nairobi's Westlands exhibits capitalistic postmodernism through the use of planar neutral surfaces that neither conform to nor protest against the existing architectural context. The sleek expensive interior finishes target the upper Kenyan class with its bourgeoisie consumerist and capitalistic culture. The human scale and proportions employed contrast the modernistic purity of its exterior painted walls. It is an anti-historic and anti-tradition composition that represents utilitarian architecture that seeks to offer nothing beyond the satisfaction of program requirements and adherence to City Council regulations and bye-laws.

The Grand Regency Hotel along Nairobi's Uhuru Highway is an intuitive resistant postmodern artefact which employs the play of solid and glazed surfaces on its facades in order to emphasise verticality. The use of brown solar glass as a climatic control device coupled with its cream painted solid areas confer upon it a polychromic quality that is evident both externally and in its internal atrium that is decorated with balconies. The building is associated with grand public corruption as it was built with funds from the infamous Goldenberg scandal. It pursues an exclusionist policy that leads to a poor relationship with the public majority and streetscape.

The Sarit Centre and the Westgate are premier shopping malls in Nairobi's Westlands. As cultural symbols of elitism, they signify the entrenchment of a capitalistic consumer culture in Kenya thereby inducing postmodern segregation based on financial wealth and economic power. The collage of activities therein include shopping, conference and exhibition facilities, cinemas and offices for consultants, indicates architectural versatility that is practical and speculative in order to accommodate changes in tenant occupancy. The modular system within them is capable of adjustment to suit the ephemeral architectural needs of contemporary society. The imposing triple and quadruple volume atria indicate grandeur and facilitate adequate ventilation for the huge volume of patrons. The sleek imported finishes for external and internal surfaces seem designed to induce shock in customers in order to achieve effective persuasion.

The Co-operative Bank House (commonly referred to as the 'bomb blast house' after the 1998 terrorist attack in Nairobi, is located along Haile Selassie Avenue in Nairobi's CBD. It is a nascent, allusive and symbolic postmodern building with an unforgettable form that recalls positive metaphors such as the lady or the naked feminine figure or the huge wine glass thereby symbolising delicateness and elegance of form which is emphasised by its extensive glazed surfaces within two huge concrete piers that act as vertical shear walls that are required for stability. After the successful endurance of the terrorist bomb blast the building continues to espouse images of permanence within the cityscape.

The University of Nairobi's main campus is one of the most significant postmodern cultural artefacts in Kenya. It consists of a quadrangular postmodern space with adjacent pedestrian walkways that embraces ambiguity as an open yet closed space that is undefined and extensive, yet defined by the landmark buildings on its periphery. The sculptural 'fountain of knowledge' is appropriate to the independence of thought within this abode which is synonymous with the highest scholarship.

The axiality and circulation within this space recalls the transitory nature of student life at this institution. The Taifa Hall building regularly accommodates debate and socialization through formal and informal fora in order to generate criticism that acts as a 'check and balance' against societal oppression even by authoritarian administrations. This pluralistic harmonious composition of human scaled buildings promotes egalitarianism in a collage expression that is complementary through tolerance. The Jomo Kenyatta Memorial Library is a postmodern artefact that employs emphasis on oblique angles and geometry within bands of horizontally alternating solid and glazed external surfaces that enclose a multivolume atrium within. The plaza on its ground floor is an extension of the quadrangle as a pre- functional and post-functional space with relaxed informal seating. The Taifa Hall on Gandhi Wing portrays a strong use of earthen colours to promote unity and harmony of composition. Its semi-enclosed court is multifunctional enabling a good indoor-outdoor symbiotic relationship as it accommodates the outflow from public lectures and the restaurant within thereby acting as an extended lobby or transitory space which eventually unites with the main quadrangle. The University bookshop has a rough textured facade that consists of large creamy brown coloured stones embedded in mortar. The saw-toothed undulating roof upon the multivolume shopping and office space within contrasts the modernistic flat roof. The rhythm is well captured by the alternating solid and void curtain walled façade which appears to be suspended but also acts as a large sun shading device for the glazed wall behind it. The Geography (Hyslop) building employs multiple hollow circular cylindrical concrete devices assembled as a curtain wall that emphasises climatic sun shading as their main intention. The ground floor recalls the Corbusian approach of surrendering the entire space to pedestrian circulation and public amenities such as washrooms and toilets, through the use of raised pilotis. However the typical Corbusian roof garden is absent. The ED II building has a walkway that fronts the quadrangle. Its white external surface recalls modernistic purity tempered with horizontal white mullions for sun shading. Its raised entry is a harmonious continuity of circulation into the vast lobby within it.

## Images of the influence of Pluralist Systems



Fig.22p: Jee Van Jee. The Jee Van Jee Gardens, Nairobi . s.a.



Fig 22q: Richard Hughes architects. The ICEA Building, Nairobi.s.a.



Fig.22r: Dagiiesh Marshall. The International Life House, Nairobi. 1971. A structuralist approach synonymous with Peter Eisenman.



Fig. 22s. Architect unknown. The Chancery, Valley Road, Nairobi. s.a. The use of high roof pitches, cantilevers and 'warm' brick.



Fig.22t: Beglin Woods architects. The Sankara Hotel, Westlands, Nairobi.2010. The lack of historical reference is evident. The roof appears unresolved and in disharmony with the rest of the composition. The colours on the facades are neutral and timid and the imagery elitist as only the architect can decipher it, if it exists.



Fig. 22u. Mehrzad Ehsani architects. The Village Market, Gigiri, Nairobi. A successful collage composition. The hybrid unity of architectural language with functions and activity. 1995.



Fig.22v: Architect and Planner unknown<sup>2</sup>. The University of Nairobi's maincampus. 1956-1962. Note the quadrangle and walkway on the left, the white EDII building in the rear, the University of Nairobi bookshop with its' sawtoothed roof and canopy walkway at ground level. The walkway links the gabled entry proceeding to the right towards the Taifa Hall and restaurant. A collage postmodern composition.

<sup>2</sup> The author was unable to obtain the names of the architect and planner of the University of Nairobi, despite several visits to Nairobi City Hall. The archives are in need of modernisation. However, the information is referenced under the code 209/ 8407. When these archives are modernised, the architect and planner will be known and can thus be acknowledged appropriately in pedagogy and research.



Fig.22w and 22x: Amyas Douglas Connell, TRIAD architects. Parliament Buildings, Nairobi. 1952; extension 1963- showing the Clock Tower and National insignia and brutal concrete colonnade reminiscent of Le Corbusier at Assembly Hall, Chandigarh. Though initially commissioned by the British Imperialists, it is now associated with African Nationalism- because Parliament is one of the three major arms of Kenyan Government.



Fig.22y:Connell. Parliament Buildings, Nairobi. 1963- showing traditional craft decoration. This signified the onset of self-governance and self determination generated by the *zeitgeist* of this key epoch. The artefact is a tribute to African Nationalism.



Fig. 22z. Architect unknown. The Serena at Uhuru Park, Nairobi. s.a. Its earthy colours and large windows are in sync with the colours and openness in the park In the back ground sits Joel Nyaseme's NSSF Building, Nairobi. s.a.



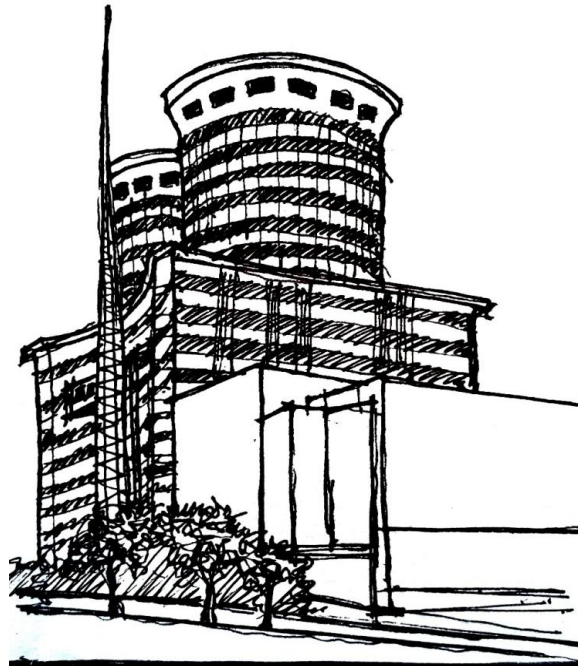
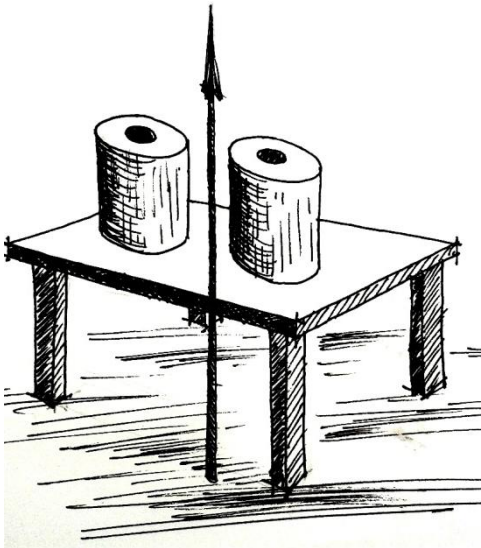


Fig. 23a. Henning Larsen and Planning Systems architects. The Nation Centre. Kimathi Street, Nairobi. 1997. The building is associated with various images and metaphors: newsprint, zebra, a Maasai spear (the red antenna), binoculars, two toilet rolls on a table, political pluralism (multipartyism). The two towers are also perceived as giant columns- an appropriate association to newspaper columns. The building houses the Nation Media Group, which publishes Nation Newspapers- a local daily.



Fig 23b: Architect unknown. The Co-operative House, Nairobi . s.a.



Fig. 23c. T.S. Nandhra. The Sarit Centre, Westlands. Nairobi. 1982



Fig 23d: Vamos and Partners. Kencom House, Nairobi. 1973.



Fig 23e: Symbion International. Lillian Towers, Nairobi. 1984.



Fig 23f: Bowman Associates. The Westgate Mall, Nairobi. 2006.



Fig 23g: Chudha international. The Grand (Laico) Regency Hotel, along Uhuru Highway. Nairobi. 1991.



Fig 23h: F. G. Mungai, AAKI architects. The Ngingo Towers, Koinange street, Nairobi. 1995. The artefact relates positively to the street.



Fig 23i: Covell Mathews and Partnership. Chester House, Nairobi. 1980

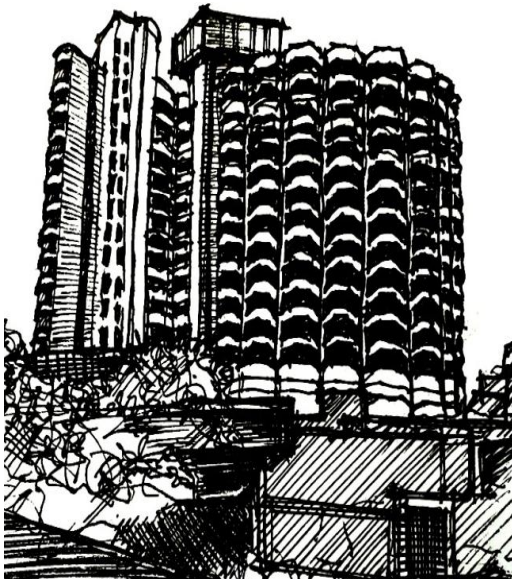


Fig. 23j. Symbion International. The Lillian Towers, Nairobi. 1984. The design of the rooms in this hotel was inspired by maize seeds on the cob.

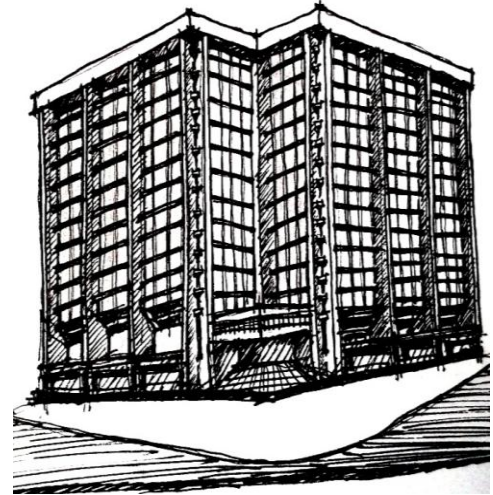


Fig. 23k. Dagliesh Marshall. The International Life House, Nairobi. 1971. Sketch drawing to show the Eisenmann structuralist approach to the facades. Lines and planes are evident.

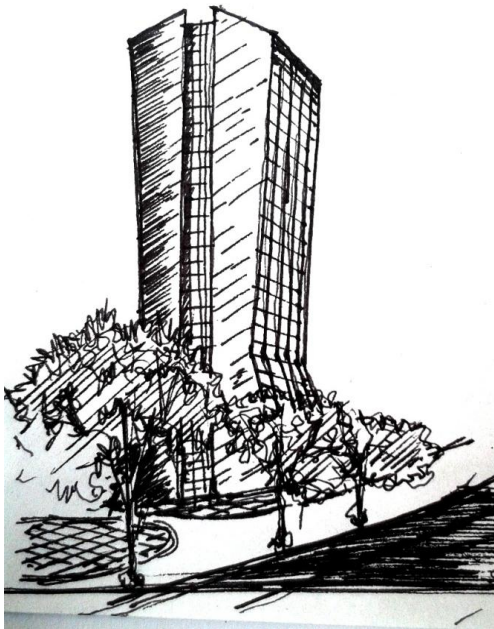


Fig. 23l: The Co-operative House, Haile Selassie Avenue, Nairobi.s.a. The building recalls the abstracted figure 8 of a slender lady.



Fig. 23m: The abstraction of this sketch,emphasising the outline reveals the imagery associated with fig. 23l.

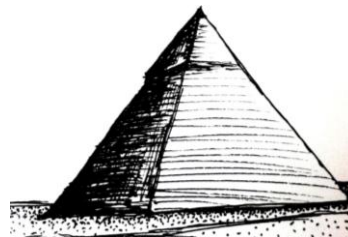
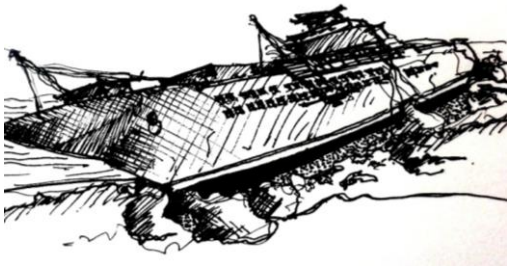
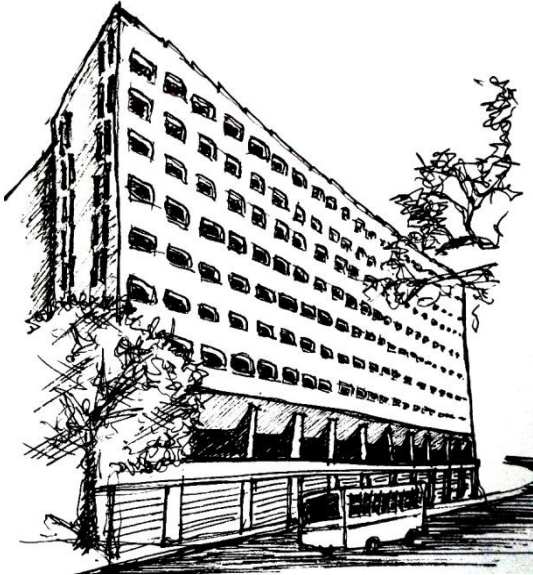


Fig. 23n. Vamos and Partners. Kencom House, Nairobi. 1973. Illustrations to explain the imagery associated with the design. It has been referred to as a bus, due to the human-scale repetitive windows on its facades as well as the major bus stop just beyond its perimeter. Others perceive it as a wrecked ship as it does not have any immediately adjoining buildings. An architectural largesse, it has been associated with a large rock or an abstracted mountain or pyramid by association, but not from a geometric perspective.

## 2.4 Recapitulation

This Chapter described the Kenyan bio-physical and cultural contexts with regard to the practice of architecture and its regulation. As with climate and geography on the one hand, ethnicity, culture, economics and politics were outlined on the other as part of the constitutive forces that shape Kenyan architecture, including statecraft and *zeitgeist* which are politico-economic and socio-cultural offshoots. A historical time line was employed within a politico-cultural context to structure and categorise Kenyan architecture as vernacular or traditional, modern, neo-classical and post-modern together with their multiple variants, within a system that originated from Western epistemology. This system was appropriated into the Kenyan context through further analysis that recognised the specific contextual characteristics that were pertinent to the founding and practice of Kenyan architecture.

The classification was then motivated in order to demonstrate its relevance to the Kenyan context, whose socio-economic and politico-cultural dynamics was synoptically outlined to be in sync with these paradigms. Therefore a framework has been established, from which future analysis and interpretations of Kenyan architecture can emerge. It is open ended and subject to further debate to include works that straddle various paradigms or those that are anti-paradigmatic and hence difficult to categorise.

The enactment of the new Constitution of Kenya in 2010 has placed the country on a liberalist, democratic trajectory. It is hoped that uncontrolled speculative development and its inherent profit motive will be curtailed and replaced with a system in which relevant authentic Critical Regionalist architecture substitutes the rampant architectural development that has been witnessed in Kenya in recent times. This 'irrelevant' architecture offers only a 'tank and container system' with little intellectual output evident within it. Stereotypical, mass produced, culturally insensitive and contextually inappropriate solutions should be avoided at all costs.

The next Chapter engages further architectural theory that is relevant to the analysis and extraction of semiology within the Kenyan context. Phenomenology and Critical Regionalism are two theoretical paradigms that can be utilised to enlarge interpretation and distinguish between contextually appropriate and inappropriate architecture.

## CHAPTER 3: PHENOMENOLOGY AND CRITICAL REGIONALISM

### Sub-problem 2:

The application of a phenomenological understanding of architecture to the theories of Critical Regionalism as a basis for the formulation of a framework for a more relevant and integrated semiological understanding of architecture.

### 3.0 Introduction

It is necessary that a theoretical framework for the analysis and interpretation of the meanings in Kenyan architecture will reside within an appropriate and substantiated paradigm and accompanying epistemological framework.

This chapter seeks to explain the paradigmatic content and epistemology of the Phenomenological and Critical Regionalist understandings of architecture. A brief epistemological analysis of each theory, including the descriptions and definitions of the main concepts, is undertaken. Each theory is evaluated to expose its application value as components for an architectural semiotic framework.

Eventually the two theories are synthesised to identify the recurrent characteristics of phenomenologically based, Critical Regionalist architecture. These characteristics are derived from the similarities in the theoretical basis of the two paradigms - together with their abilities to function conjointly - and they constitute the components of a framework from which the meaning of Kenyan architectural heritage can be analysed and interpreted in support of formulating an appropriate architecture for the region.

### 3.1 Architecture and meaning

#### 3.1.1 Architecture

Architecture is a cultural activity that is as old as the existence of purposefully conceptualised and created space. Vernacular responses to the need for shelter and cultural expression in built form were formalised and abstracted in the emergent Bronze Age urban civilisations, with accompanying normative positions and theories of architecture. There are many definitions of architecture, most containing an inherent complexity that, from a paradigmatic position, attempt to stress or reconcile the many pluralist or dualist tensions existing in the knowledge field, including that of art or science, a

*priori* or experiential knowledge, imaginary or real, abstract or pragmatic, to name a few. A pluralist view of architecture enables us to appreciate the broad scope of architecture as a discipline and indicates to us the danger of narrowing architecture and equating it to each definition in isolation.

### **3.1.2 A historicist, empiricist view of Architecture**

A precise definition of architecture is impossible to achieve as the discipline is vast and sources referential and supportive content from many other disciplines. Architectural practice portrays an architect as a multitalented professional with a good understanding of engineering, building works, commerce and law. The practice of architecture is inclusive and on this basis, the theory of architecture must be accommodative.

Pluralism must prevail as each architect attempts to carve out a niche for him/herself within the profession. Each architect must, upon completing training and embarking on practice, synthesise for him/herself a definition of architecture that is most appropriate to his/her context, practice or firm. There is definitely no correct or wrong as the history of architecture will reveal to any discerning architect.

However, consensus must be achieved regarding approaches that promote sustainability within the profession and the global environment at large. Collective positions must be respected and architectural history must be the central resource from which the future of architecture can find vital lessons to tackle persistent problems of urban renewal, mass housing and architectural expression.

In contradiction to the rationalist view of architecture, the empiricist view of architecture holds that the making and understanding of architecture rely on an experience of the world and in the world – additionally the historicist view holds that architecture has existed before our time in specific contexts with specific significance, and that we deem ourselves related to that past. The theories of Phenomenology of architecture and Critical Regionalist architecture reside in these two realms. This dissertation is empathetic towards the Phenomenology of architecture and Critical Regionalism in architecture, as it recognises the potential of these two architectural theoretical positions in articulating contemporary issues, such as the lack of identity in the built environment, while focussing on the creation of multivalent, place specific and culturally sensitive architecture that emphasises and prioritises sustainability and environmental conservation. Therefore it will consider perceptions of architecture from the perspectives of the main protagonists, namely the architectural phenomenologist thinker Christian Norberg-Schulz and the most vocal originator of the idea of Critical Regionalism, Kenneth Frampton.



Some of the most revealing perceptions of architecture by Norberg-Schulz (1975, 1980) are outlined below:

- “The true purpose of architecture is to make human existence meaningful. All other functions such as the satisfaction of mere physical needs can be satisfied without architecture” (Norberg-Schulz, 1980b [1975]: 226)
- “The architectural form is a concretisation of a particular set of existential meanings” (ibid: 225). Thus the semiology of architecture (semiotics) is a vital tool that seeks to decode inherent meanings in Kenyan architecture as proposed in Chapter 4 of this study. The exposition of internal poetics within architectural paradigms will reveal their inherent constitutional framework (see Phenomenology and Critical Regionalism in this chapter).
- “Architecture should be evaluated in relation to the historical situation and cultural tradition” (ibid: 226)
- “Architecture involves an evaluation or choice of alternatives in order to satisfy human needs and is thus related to human actions and intentions” (ibid: 225). Choice is critical to the operation of a theoretical framework as outlined in the epistemology of the proposed Kenyan curriculum (see Chapter 4).
- “Works of architecture must take into account the desire for continuous adaptation and change” (ibid). This change may be interdisciplinary or extra disciplinary (see architectural metabletics as outlined in Chapter 4).
- “Architecture is a symbol system expressing the characters and spatial relations which constitute the totality man-environment” (ibid). This is the context developed within this study in which the operational domain of architecture is perceived as an ecology that is anchored within the human bio-physical environment.

Kenneth Frampton, on the other hand, perceives architecture as distinct from building (1996c [1990]: 518-528) because architecture can revive the sensorial nature of man by appealing to all the five senses, to realise the Heideggerian cosmological symbolism that links all built form to the earth and the sky. Relevant architecture must evoke human emotion. This justifies, *a priori*, the pivotal role of phenomenology to contextually appropriate and meaningful architecture. This study concurs with Norberg-Schulz and Frampton on Heideggerian phenomenology but proceeds further to broaden, extend and delimit the current architectural boundaries to propose the inclusion of the positions of other leading classical phenomenologists like Edmund Husserl and Merleau-Ponty, as well as contemporary ones like Don Ihde, Maurice Roche and Bernard Curtis (see Chapter 4).

An examination of the above positions taken by the key protagonists indicates the multivalent nature of architecture as well as its centrality to meaningful human existence. Change, historicism, meaning and symbolism, place, typology, culture, language and phenomenology of intention and human experience are all alluded to above. These allusions will then be examined in more detail in pursuit of a theoretical construct that will serve as the datum for the formulation of the framework.

### 3.1.3 The search for meaning in architecture

Meaning is ambiguous, with multiple interpretations due to its denotative and connotative qualities. Geoffrey Broadbent (1996 [1978]: 125) insists that no building is exempt from symbolism or carrying meaning, taking the position that once architects accept this inevitable fact, their comprehension of architectural semiology will be enhanced with a view to improving the design of buildings in order to enable them to convey their meanings better.

The search for architectural meaning is an interdisciplinary exercise focussing on aspects of geography, ethnography, culture, anthropology, religion, tradition and politics as well as the disciplinary-specific contents of history, technology, detailing, typology and form. The referential, indicative or signification aspects of exposed or concealed meaning, implies that such meaning can be direct and literal or multi-layered with levels of symbolism as outlined in the Table below.

ASPECT OF MEANING IN ARCHITECTURE	ORIGINATING SOURCE	EXPLICATION, MOTIVATION OR INSPIRATION
<b>CONTEXTUAL</b>	"Meaning is demonstrated by an act of gathering" (Norberg- Schulz, 1980a: 17, 18).	The Heideggerian fourfold of earth, sky, divinities and mortals constitute what is gathered (ibid). The semiology of an artefact is anchored in its context.
<b>CULTURAL</b>	Culture enables the "collection of symbol systems that allow for conservation or transmittance of experienced meanings" (ibid, 1980b [1975]: 222). The translation of human experience portrays meaning as a cultural object (ibid, 1980a: 17).	Consequently, meanings are portable, capable of exceeding geocentric limitations through cultural diffusion to enable translation and transposition.
<b>PSYCHOLOGICAL</b>	"Meaning is a psychological problem which cannot be solved through control of production and economy alone" (ibid, 1980b [1975]: 227).	The rigid tools of industrial standardisation indicate a hierarchy of meanings in the search for architectural meaning as meaning is psychic and subjective, being manifested in the physical and spiritual realms.
<b>APPEARANCE</b>	"The meaning of a phenomenon is the context in which it appears" (ibid, 1980b [1975]: 221).	The appearance is both visual and tactile, indicating the link between architectural semiology and phenomenology.
<b>PLACE SPECIFICITY</b>	Meaning is a basic need of man, ordering the relationships between man and his environment through symbolic manifestation (ibid, 1980b [1975]: 220; 1980a: 5, 23).	The meanings sourced from the Kenyan context are unique to it and could be different in other regions.
<b>TECTONIC</b>	"The meaning of a building is related to its structure" (ibid, 1980a).	The analysis of the structure of a building, through its tectonic details, materials and typological sequences are valid methods of obtaining architectural meaning.
<b>UNIVERSAL</b>	The construction of similar buildings on different sites liberates architecture from the limits of geographical location (ibid, 1980b [1975]: 226)	The rapid transmission of architectural knowledge in the present age entails the risk of emergence of a monotonous, uniform architecture.

Table 3a. Aspects of meaning in architecture.

Norberg-Schulz proclaims that "the problem of meaning in architecture is hardly understood and there is much research to be done" (1980b [1975]: 227). Diop (1962 [1959]: 196) insists that "things must have a meaning". Oruka (1983: 57) declares that such meaning should be sourced on

“the basis of a cultural domain” because this is where “ideological and other socio-political beliefs acquire meaning and truth-value”. These positions validate the study herein, in its quest to formulate a framework for the description of the inherent meanings in Kenyan architecture, by proposing the explication of meaning through the paradigms of Phenomenology and Critical Regionalism. This does not invalidate other possible approaches but indicates a preferred method that is informed by contemporary architectural research, debates and criticism.

### 3.1.4 Culture and architecture

Culture is a global as well as a local concept (Ayisi (1992 [1972]: vii). For Oruka (1983: 57), culture “celebrates achievements in *thought, morals and material production*” and entails the totality of a people’s knowledge, beliefs and values, behaviour, goals, social institutions...tools, techniques and material construction”. Culture may thus be structured into “material culture”, “social culture” and “spiritual or covert culture” (Masolo, 1983: 46). According to Eric Ayisi (ibid: xiv), African cultures were previously viewed in biased Western epistemological contexts and categories. Such outside viewing of a culture is inappropriate as the concept of culture is locally unique. Even in a country like Kenya, each of the 42 ethnic groups (tribes) has a unique and vibrant culture even though various similarities exist between them - this indicates the presence of shared culture that transcends locality and ethnicity.

Culture embodies a multiplicity of meanings anchored in human lifestyle relative to the environmental context (see Chapter 2). Ayisi (ibid: 2) recognises this symbiotic affinity between culture and geographical environment and perceives cultural informants to be religion, behaviour and works of art, like artefacts and paintings [and architecture by extension]. The practice of architecture is therefore the practice of a specialised culture.

For Norberg-Schulz, “human freedom is the freedom of choice between culturally determined possibilities” (1980b [1975]: 222). Such freedom can only be exercised through the participation of an individual within a particular culture, thereby creating internal architectural variety within a collective language due to differences in spatial requirements and aesthetic concerns. Furthermore,

- “Participation in a culture results in the interaction of one’s private existential space with the public existential space.” (ibid). This justifies the concept of community or tribal architecture, evident in rural Kenya, which may be analysed via existential phenomenology.
- “Participation in a culture means that one knows how to use its symbols through perception and representation.” (ibid: 223). This is justifiable in rural Kenya but contestable in the Kenyan urban context where the public majority

has no input in the evolution of its mainstream architecture.

Alan Colquhoun (1996 [1983]: 208) observes that culture cannot exist independently of history, being a product of historical development through embodiment of past memories. The culture of a people is always in a continuous state of transformation and its study is a historical exercise whose outcome reveals the sequential progress of cultural ideas and artefacts within a historical timeline (see Chapter 2 of this study).

The development of culture occurs in a dynamic way, involving human interaction with geographical and temporal contexts (ibid). The inevitability of adaptation of a culture in response to these internal and external forces ensures the growth of a culture by a process which assesses and modifies the various integral meanings and their associated symbolic attributes. Therefore changes in cultural perceptions act as catalysts for architectural semiological transformations. These modifications occur in an analogous manner to the human life cycle. Cultural artefacts are 'born' when incorporated into a particular culture. They continue to 'live' through their symbolic attributes but 'die' when rendered obsolete. Fort Jesus at the Kenyan Coast and other conserved architectural monuments and relics by the Kenyan government are exemplars of this analogy.

The concept of cultural borrowing creates a 'hybridity' that is characteristically inherent in all cultures (ibid: 208). The search for architectural meaning must take cognisance of this hybrid content of design, which can vary relative to levels of cultural homogeneity, exposure and openness to change. Various constants exist throughout the tribal cultures in Kenya and this is evident in the similarity of architectural expressions, ranging from house form to material usage and decoration. Although Nationalism and modern technology have greatly facilitated intercultural exchanges, each community still celebrates its individual identity (which identity can be composed of many autochthonous and extraneously borrowed aspects), hence creating cultural diversity in the entire country, thereby sustaining conceptual and visual distinctions in their architecture.

### **3.1.5 The role of language and poetry**

Language is a method of human communication, a style or faculty of expression, a system of symbols and rules or a specialised professional vocabulary (Oxford English Reference Dictionary, 1996: 804). All these definitions are valid in architecture, where Michael Graves (1996 [1982]: 86) identifies the standard language and the poetic language as the two forms of architectural language

that are separable yet complementary. The standard form is intra-disciplinary and universal, while the poetic is subjective and individual, focussing on regional and local aspects.

These forms exist in literature which, as with architecture, Graves continues to portray as cultural form (ibid), observing that the standard language is pragmatic and technical but the poetic language is figurative, associative, anthropomorphic and culturally sensitive. Thus, the standard language is confined to the internal content of architecture and is utilitarian, while the poetic language is extra disciplinary, ritualistic and symbolic (ibid: 86). Graves therefore indicates that poetic language is synchronised with architectural phenomenology as both require an anthropomorphic reading of nature (ibid, 88).

The perception of architecture as a visual language (Nesbitt, 1996: 110), is a linguistic analogy. The semiotics of language studies signs and symbols based on the theory of the 'signifier and the signified' (ibid). The extent to which semiotics can be employed in the search of architectural meaning is debatable as all architecture cannot be reduced to a system of signs. Semiotics and architectural analysis are not isomorphic sub-disciplines because their tools of communication as represented by words versus concepts or materials versus assemblage do not indicate a one to one correspondence. The Table below is a synopsis of the relevance of language to the semiology of architecture:

ASPECT OF POETRY OR LANGUAGE	EXPLICATION OR MOTIVATION OF RELEVANCE TO THE SEMIOLOGY OF ARCHITECTURE
<b>Description of experience</b>	"By means of language, the experiential generalisations necessary to man may be talked about, described and conserved" (Norberg-Schulz 1980b [1975]: 222). This is the purpose of the phenomenological project in architecture.
<b>Experiential transmission and transposition</b>	"Language makes possible the transmission of experience from one generation to another" (ibid). Architectural genealogy can enable the experience of artefacts to be structured in order to facilitate their comprehension.
<b>Spatio-temporal continuity</b>	"For architectural theory, it is important to understand space in concrete terms rather than as an abstract system of semiological relations" (ibid: 223). By this Norberg-Schulz does not condemn architectural semiology but argues for a structured and legible system rather than a concealed and elitist abstraction.
<b>The naming process</b>	The power of language lies in its ability to confer names to things and phenomena thereby enabling their comprehension and recognition. This indicates the synthesis of an object's meaning in relation to its context (see proposed architectural vocabulary in chapter 4 of this study).
<b>Symbolic expression</b>	"The concretisation of characters presupposes a language of symbolic forms." (ibid, 1980a). "The symbolic function complements man's ability to abstract and generalise" (ibid, 1980b [1975]: 222). Architectural character can only be effectively expressed through symbolic language. This enables the man-made place to be related to natural place, thereby conferring meaning.
<b>Conservation of already established truths</b>	"The basic purpose of any kind of symbol is to conserve the inductions of man" (ibid). Language is necessary in the symbolisation of meanings that are derived from natural laws.
<b>Environmental restructuring</b>	"Any object is a tool to bring order (meaning) into certain relationships between man and his environment" (ibid). Experiential meanings that arise from the interaction of man with his physical and cultural environment can thus be structured.

Table 3b. Aspects of architectural language and poetry.

For Venturi (1977 [1966]: 161), architecture is a symbol first and a form second, hence poetry is ranked ahead of scenography. By insisting that all architects must first subscribe to a formal language that includes symbolism and rhetorical applique (ibid), he seeks to promote a multivalent architecture characterised by a pluralism of approaches.

A complete description of the proposed framework is only possible with the inclusion of language and poetry as a means of explicating the rational and empirical aspects of Kenyan architecture within phenomenological theory and Critical Regionalist practice.

### **3.2 Phenomenology**

In the *Stanford encyclopedia of philosophy*, David Woodruff Smith (2009: [1-23]) outlines the philosophy of phenomenology, its origins and historical development (see the full document at <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2009/entries/phenomenology>). According to Smith (ibid: [3]), phenomenology studies the structures of consciousness as experienced by the first-person. At the core of experiential structures is intentionality. Experiences of or about objects are directed towards the object themselves, and arise from the object's contents or meanings. Experience is extended to include thought, perception, emotion, imagination, volition and action (ibid: [4]). (See also Chapter 4 of this study for the inclusion of phenomenological epistemology into the proposed curriculum).

It is debatable and contestable whether the first-person should be an individual as it could be a group of people, a community, an institution or even an academic discipline. The only requirement is the ability to contemplate upon, analyse and describe the experience because phenomenology is anthropocentric. The philosophy of phenomenology can be co-opted into architecture, in order to adequately describe cultural and architectural experiences as the means of explicating the semiology of architecture.

The definition of phenomenology as a science that focuses on phenomena rather than ontology is inadequate (Webster's dictionary, 1971: 1345). Phenomenology as a philosophy is unbounded, extending beyond the limits of sensory perceptions to focus on intentions with their inherent and related meanings. The formulation of a better understanding of phenomenology and its constructs necessitates recourse to philosophy (see Chapter 4 on the argument for the inclusion of an extended phenomenology in pursuit of Critical Regionalist architecture for Kenya).

### 3.2.1 A historical synopsis of phenomenological philosophy

Smith (2009: [15]) describes the core fields of philosophy as a fourfold. These are ontology, epistemology, logic and ethics. They focus on studying beings, knowledge, valid reasoning and 'right' and 'wrong' respectively. The fourfold is viewed as a minimum, hence he proceeds to include phenomenology as the fifth core field that focuses on studying experience. This indicates to us the significant position that phenomenology occupies within the discipline of philosophy.

Smith's thesis is that phenomenology has been practiced unconsciously both within and without the discipline of philosophy and is therefore both ancient and contemporary. Various philosophers have emphasised, selectively, the fundamental nature of one of the above five fields in philosophy, proceeding to rank them. Although they differ about which field is the most prominent, Edmund Husserl ranked phenomenology first (ibid: [4]). The extent to which phenomenology can act as a basis for the other four fields of philosophy is debatable although Smith presents a compelling argument in its defense.

Phenomenology is also a historical movement in philosophy that is tasked with the provision of models that offer explanations for meanings related to the experience of various phenomena (ibid: [10]). This portrays the typological-historical dialectic aspect of phenomenology as it can be structured further into various subsets (see 3.2.4). Many philosophers have engaged in the discourse of phenomenology and its development, but Smith identifies the four main figures, with their particular contributions to this specific field. In a historical sequence, they are Edmund Husserl, Martin Heidegger, Jean-Paul Sartre and Maurice Merleau-Ponty. They are considered to be the classical phenomenologists (ibid: [11]). He proceeds to provide a description of their contributions and its synopsis is as follows:

Husserl defined phenomenology as a science whose essence was the consciousness of the first-person's experience which was manifested as intentionality. Heidegger emphasised the centrality of the context (then world) to phenomenological experience and the revelation of exhibited meanings in different human activities. Sartre recognized the centre of consciousness as a phenomenon. By interpreting different experiences in significant situations, he broadened his understanding of phenomenology, using it as the foundation for the Existentialist philosophical approach (Norberg-Schulz's phenomenology of architecture is Existentialist but anchored within the philosophy of

Heidegger). Merleau-Ponty engaged phenomenology at the levels of body and mind insisting that the two were inseparable in the contemplative perception of things (ibid: [11-14]). Multiple approaches with significant variations have been employed by philosophical thinkers in the development of comprehensive understanding of the human experience through phenomenological analytical constructs of associated meanings. This study is one attempt at situating the philosophy of phenomenology within the practice of Critical Regionalist architecture. (A more broadened inclusion of phenomenology is tackled in Chapter 4)

The potential of phenomenology as an anchor and generator of ontological dialogue is evidenced by Max Van Manen (2007 [2002]) as he traces the origins of contemporary philosophical movements such as existentialism, post structuralism, postmodernism, feminism and cultural critique to the philosophy of phenomenology. Derrida proclaimed the philosophy of deconstruction of texts, which is essentially a phenomenology of language (Smith, 2009: [17]). Deconstruction inspired a significant select section of the postmodern movement in architecture. The classical phenomenology of Heidegger was a key inspiration to the leading protagonists Norberg-Schulz and Frampton as they developed their theories on the phenomenology of architecture and Critical Regionalism respectively.

### 3.2.2 Historicism and Phenomenology

Colquhoun (1996 [1983]: 202) presents three meanings that are associated with dictionary definitions of historicism: historicism as a theory of history; an attitude towards history that focuses on past traditions and institutions (thereby portraying a cultural focus) and an artistic practice that derives its inspiration from past styles and forms. The artistic practice promotes both historicist and critical regionalisms. Past forms are available for reinterpretation and insertion into new contexts either in a critical manner (defamiliarisation) or for conservation (see section 3.4 of this study).

The theory of history presents historicism in the context that all socio-cultural phenomena are historically determined and all truths<sup>1</sup> are relative, indicating the link between history and the

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<sup>1</sup>Heidegger (2002b [1962]: 276 – 277) highlights three categories of truth. The first is the Husserlian 'noema' of "being – identical to the presumed" and is a truth established on the basis of identity to the object in question (ibid). It is the undisputable truth. Secondly, true knowledge is characterised by intentionality (ibid). Such knowledge is derived from lived experience and is directly related to human comportments. What one experiences is indeed nothing but the truth itself. Thirdly, truth is "being-real" and such truth refers to what gives demonstrative identification or legitimacy to knowledge (ibid). Such truth may be based on tangible or intangible evidence and it includes technological instrumentation that can directly measure sensorial perceptions such as comfort or heat or it may be based upon inherent physical properties such as texture or strength. However, truth based on cultural norms must be tempered with caution because cultural variations result in different perceptions of reality. These three categories of truth will be the main reference whenever the concept of truth is discussed in this study. In fact Norberg-schulz's concept of architectural truth embraces these three categories of Heideggerian truth.



phenomenology of architecture (ibid). If it is accepted that all socio-cultural phenomena are sourced from and shaped by history, then the truth (the architectural creation) is only relative and not absolute. Therefore the current truth must be compared with another previous truth that exists within the historical context of the current truth in order to ascertain its validity. These previous truths are regional types. The concept of typology originates from these archetypes that are available for architectural consumption (see typology in 3.3.4). History is therefore both an origin and a referential source.

Norberg-Schulz (1980b [1975]: 226) categorises history as factual or ideal. Factual history has a narrow focus, concentrating on the history of buildings and their utility. Ideal history is broad and incorporates the possible symbols, growth of knowledge and the individual's contribution to cultural development. In the proposed framework factual history should be used to document architectural artefacts in the Kenyan context. This will enable structuring of the past using 'ideal' history to interpret human experiences in the search for meaning within the Kenyan context. This will then achieve the definition of history as a growth of accessible meanings (ibid).

History is meaningful only when it results in new perceptions of the existential dimension (ibid, 1980a), indicating the indispensable role of history to the phenomenology of architecture. It provides lessons on how man achieved a 'spatial foothold' (1980b [1975]: 227) and can therefore be used to educate and sensitise the public on how to improve the understanding of the symbiosis between man and nature, thereby promoting man's harmonious existence on earth. This position is similar to the objectives of sustainable architecture and bio-regionalist theories.

The history of architecture is equivalent to the history of culture which is the history of meaningful symbolic forms (ibid: 226). Architecture cannot exist independently of a cultural context since architectural symbols are also cultural symbols. Thus the history of architecture is a subset of the history of culture.

Colquhoun (1996 [1983]: 209) asserts that history is central to architectural criticism as it provides both the concept to be criticised as well as the tools and universal standards to facilitate the criticism. Therefore the framework developed herein provides a critical basis for sustaining debate and criticism regarding architectural semiology within the Kenyan context. This self-regulating aspect of history that sieves out inferior and obsolete concepts enables timeless and tested concepts to thrive

through multiple revisions and iterations resulting in the emergence of new and multiple realities. Recourse to historicism is therefore a means of contextualising meaning in architecture.

### 3.2.3 Position of Phenomenology within architectural discourse

The introduction of phenomenology into mainstream architectural discourse by Norberg-Schulz was a means to “find ways for architecture to regain cultural and social relevance” (Otero-Pailos, 2002: 240). Therefore, it was necessary to challenge “modern society and its technologies” (ibid: 336). Progress in architectural history and theory could then only be achieved through establishing “dialogue with philosophy” (ibid: 442). This dialogue is still on-going at present; with architectural phenomenologists providing further subjective interpretations of their understandings of its application to theory and praxis (see Chapter 4 of this study). This quest for an ‘authentic’ experience of architecture, for Frampton and Norberg-Schulz, seeks “to unite theory and practice” in order to ensure that they become indistinguishable (ibid: 5, 410).

Frampton describes architecture as “irredeemably mixed with the life-world” because it is “a context for culture” as well as a “cultural expression” (1999: [2]). This position indicates that valid architecture can only be based on the interaction of humans with each other in their bio-physical environment. Phenomenology provides a means for exposing and explicating this life-world in order to achieve clarity of architectural communication.

Colquhoun (1996 [1983]: 252) links the creation of socio-spatial schemata to man’s identification with a place by arguing that relationships between man and the environment are phenomenal. Such an environment may be physical as with built form or intangible and contained within the cultural context of an architectural artefact and this justifies the use of phenomenology in the proposed framework. The significance of the phenomenal world as a generator of experiences that require a semiotic explication indicates the relevance of phenomenology to architecture as it is the means to “give meaning to contemporary life” by providing “architectural ways to identify with the world” (Otero-Pailos, 2002: 330).

### 3.2.4 Types of Phenomenology

Smith (ibid: [10, 11]) describes the seven areas of focus of traditional phenomenologists (who were influenced by the classicists), citing his source as the *Encyclopedia of Phenomenology* (1997). This indicates the progression of the theoretical discourse evident in its multiple categorisations during its formative stages. The Table below is a synopsis of its evolution.

TYPE OR ASPECT OF PHENOMENOLOGY	KEY ONTOLOGICAL FOCUS OF DISCOURSE
<b>Transcendental &amp; constitutive</b>	Focuses on the constitution of objects while disregarding their relationships with the natural world. This tier has a limited application potential to architecture as the relationships that emanate from cultural interactions are significant and often expressed intangibly within built form.
<b>Naturalistic &amp; constitutive</b>	Assumes that conscience is natural and constitutes things in a natural context. This is relevant for architecture where human intentions originate and sustain architectural solutions.
<b>Existential</b>	Focuses on human existence and its experiences based on the concept of free choice and action as postulated by Sartre (for a more detailed discussion see epistemology inclusion in Chapter 4 of this study).
<b>Generative &amp; historicist</b>	Studies how experiential meaning is generated by historical processes over time. This confirms the centrality of historicism to the phenomenology of architecture as discussed in 3.2.2.
<b>Genetic</b>	Focuses on experiential meanings and their genesis. This is useful in the semiology of architecture indicating that the approach adopted in this study where meaning is developed from multiple genetic factors such as language, typology, historicism and culture is valid.
<b>Hermeneutical</b>	Interprets experiential structures to develop an understanding of human interaction and things within it (see Chapter 4 for the argument on the proposed inclusion of hermeneutics into the new curriculum).
<b>Realistic</b>	Focuses on the structures of consciousness and intentionality as postulated by Husserl through assuming that the external world cannot be materialized by consciousness (see Husserlian Lebenswelt, epoche, noema and noesis in chapter 4).

Table 3c. Types of Phenomenology.

### 3.2.5 The Existential Phenomenology of Norberg-Schulz

Heideggerian phenomenology was the datum upon which Norberg-Schulz anchored his phenomenology of architecture thesis relating architecture to both the natural and man-made environments (see Norberg-Schulz 1980a, 1980b [1975] and 1996b [1983]). In his writings about the phenomenology of natural and man-made places, Norberg-Schulz (1980a: 17, 18) describes architecture as a concretisation of existential meanings within the man-environment totality whose purpose is the exposition of truth. Dwelling is portrayed as the poetic achievement of an existential foothold and is realised when the multiple forces within a particular place are resolved to achieve a harmonious synthesis known as the *Genius Loci*, the 'Spirit of Place' (Schulz, 1980b [1975]: 225; 1980a: 5, 17, 18). These and other key concepts in the formulation of architectural phenomenology by Norberg-Schulz are presented in the Table below:

CONCEPT	MOTIVATION OR EXPLICATION	EVALUATION OR CRITIQUE
<p><b>Architectural Truth</b></p>	<p>A thing gathers world to reveal the truth in it and set it into work. A thing is a physical body. It is real and not a scientific abstraction. In architecture, a thing is a building, ornament, work of art or even a landscape (1980a: 10, 18, 24, 25). Gathering the world enables the thing to operate and fulfill its purpose, permitting dwelling (1980a: 17, 18, 22, 23; 1996: 432, 433, 435). The gathered "fourfold" (world) consists of the earth, sky, mortals and divinities. Architectural works cause 'presencing' by revealing the truth thereby preserving it. This opens up the world, enabling the earth to keep what is gathered and revealed (ibid: 431, 433). 'Setting the truth into work' is the main purpose of architecture (ibid).</p>	<p>The thing (architecture, building) extends, delimits and emphasises the context to expose any hidden meanings. This indicates that people's fates are inseparable from that of their surroundings (1980a: 18; 1996b [1983]: 431, 436, 437). Truth (see Heideggerian tripartite construct in footnote on page 145) in architecture is therefore evaluated from a contextual perspective.</p>
<p><b>Genius Loci</b></p>	<p>Schulz (1980a: 11, 17, 20, 21) traces the origin of this concept to the ancients who considered the Genius Loci of a place as that "opposite" that man had to counter in order to reside peacefully in any given location. This perspective is inadequate as it portrays the natural and contextual forces as always perpetually adversarial to man. However, the landscape is multifarious and although menacing locations exist within it, large extents are habitable, conducive and sustainable provided man respects and nurtures nature and its processes (ibid: 18). Norberg-Schulz (1980a: 10, 13, 23) identifies only two types of genius loci, the natural and the man-made. Pure natural places, devoid of human intervention are almost non-existent.</p>	<p>Genius loci may be better described as the spirit of a place which man must comprehend to enhance or complement nature. Sustainability of natural and man-made environments can be achieved by visualising, complementation, symbolizing and gathering of the entire context (ibid: 17). Genius Loci may be <b>natural</b> (minimum interaction between man and the environment). Geographical features such as Mount Kenya, the Indian Ocean, Lake Victoria and the Great Rift Valley contribute to the genius loci of their contexts; <b>Man-made</b> (Kenyan cities like Nairobi, Mombasa and large portions of rural Kenya) or <b>Hybrid</b>, a harmonious co-existence with nature without domination (Kenya National parks with built in tourist lodges).</p>
<p><b>Place postulate</b></p>	<p>Defines and explains terms and concepts that Norberg-Schulz uses continuously in his thesis e.g. <b>Enclosure</b>: a distinct area divided from its surroundings by a physical, implied or natural boundary (1980a: 58). A <b>domain</b> is a basic enclosure (Schulz, 1980b [1975]: 224); <b>Boundary</b>: a threshold at which something commences its presencing (1980a: 13; 1996 [1983]: 431). Not stagnation, achieves separation and unity of outside and inside, providing enclosure and spatial direction. It is inviting, facilitating contemplation to yield discovery; <b>Space</b>: a three dimensional organisation of elements constituting a place, portraying the dual property of extension and enclosure (1980b [1975]: 223, 224; 1980a: 11). <b>Place</b>: a tangible totality of material, geometric and texturally distinct character; irreducible to its constituent properties (1980b [1975]: 224; 1980a: 6). <b>Path</b>: a directional element and a structuring tool of man's environment subdividing it into domains (ibid, 1980a: 19). <b>Existential place</b>: an embodiment of experienced meanings constituting a framework for man's actions, with characteristics determined by experiential processes, properties and relations (1980b [1975]: 223). It is polycentric varying from the house to the city. <b>Dwelling</b>: an existential foothold achieved through the process of orientation and identification, a synthesis of the total man-place relationship (1980b [1975]: 224, 1980a: 5, 19, 20, 21, 23). <b>Landscape</b>: a lived or inhabited space between earth and sky manifesting the fourfold; it is not mathematically isomorphic but its topological relationships indicates areas where place development is favourable (1980a: 40, 48; 1980b [1975]: 224). <b>Identification</b>: familiarity of man with surrounding landscape (environment) through recognition of its potentials and limitations as a result of inhabiting it (1980a: 22, 42). <b>Orientation</b>: position of man in relation to his immediate environment is derived from the natural structure of a place, providing man with emotional security through centres, paths and domains that give direction, enabling dwelling and meaningful experience of the environment (1980a:</p>	<p>Distinctions of paths, streets and roads should establish hierarchy indicating scale within the Kenyan context. Questions persist about establishing domains within places in Kenya. Should functional criteria, activity, income, scale of development or similarity of construction be employed as the key determinants? Various characteristic components in rural and urban landscapes should be identified and debated prior to enactment of domains. Disentanglement of different webs and labyrinths in complex places such as cities should make the architectural character more legible. Places like the Bomas of Kenya that embrace cultural museology, must be included even though they are historicist and 'non-existential'. Physical attributes can be documented within existing terminology but psychic aspects will be interpreted and explicated by co-opting the broader phenomenology outlined in Chapter 4. Communal living in urban and rural settings should be compared and documented through relationships based on function, material usage, spatial disposition, occupation patterns and human activities. This will provide a means of assessing the success of non-professional as well as architectural interventions in the Kenyan built environment and existential landscape at</p>

	5 19, 20). <b>House:</b> “the central place of human existence”; a point of departure and return (1980b [1975]: 224). Its temporal qualities are the origin of man’s co-ordinate system. <b>Articulation:</b> making precise a particular character to achieve distinction and identity (1980a: 14).	large.
<b>Environmental Levels</b>	The classification of natural and man-made environments into different tiers is dependent upon geographical location and magnitude as well as human activity as portrayed by cultural anthropology (1980b [1975]: 225, 226; 1980a: 15, 16, 17). This classification is successful to the extent that it positions any architectural or cultural artefact in a global and local context. It ranges from the most natural to the most man-made structure within a given locale, thereby exemplifying Critical Regionalist connotations. In order of rank, they are: Continent, Country, Region, Landscape, Settlement, Building, House or Dwelling, Artefact, building element, detail or ornament. The combined reading of an artefact in the context of all its environmental levels constructs a unique identity and location for the artefact. The phenomenology of architecture can structure individual and societal experiences and perceptions along these levels yielding multiple, multilayered meanings. The Environmental levels within a natural place can be categorised further as containing micro, medium and macro spaces within them (Schulz, 1980a: 32, 33). This classification is based upon human scale and purposes. Although micro-spaces are too small for any significant human purpose they still deserve respect as they support animal life and biodiversity. Rabbit burrows and snake holes are suitable examples. Medium-spaces relate exactly to the human scale, providing an exact fit for human dwellings. Macro-spaces are too large relative to the human scale. Such spaces include spaces that are inaccessible to man for dwelling purposes e.g. high altitude mountainous regions.	The underlying assumption here is that all architectural artefacts exist within a physical structure and possess a unique name and identity. The adoption of environmental levels into Kenyan architecture should ensure that the life cycle temporality of key artefacts is considered as this classification seems to be rigid by not accommodating change and transformation, acculturation or physical relocation of inhabitants within it. Could the classification be superfluous given the individual differences conferred upon crafts and artefacts? How does one classify the intangible environmental? Chapter 4 of this study tackles the ‘intangible’ within the section on phenomenological epistemology as an attempt to address this issue. All places bear a relationship to their contents and contexts both physically and culturally.
<b>Dimensions of natural understanding of place</b>	A cultural construct that identifies five modes through which man can develop a natural understanding of the environment (1980a: 24-32). It exhibits mythical qualities. A synopsis of this construct is: the recognition of the natural forces as a point of departure in relation to tangible things and elements. Cosmic symbolism is in this category. The rain and the path of the sun in the sky symbolise creation and birth or death respectively (ibid: 24, 25, 27). It requires abstraction of a systematic order from natural events, both variable and constant. Natural order is directional as exemplified by gravity, the course of the sun and the flow of rivers (ibid: 28). Characterisation of natural places is through anthropomorphic relationships and natural associations (ibid, p. 28, 31). The appreciation of light is through symbolic recognition of its divine nature as a varying but natural phenomenon (ibid: 31, 32). The significance of time is expressed in natural rhythms of seasons as a dimension of constancy and change (ibid: 14, 32). The five dimensions are thing, order, character, light and time.	This cultural construct can be extended to man-made places as well. The dimensions can be used to construct an understanding of the <i>Genius Loci</i> of any particular place in the Kenyan context. It is debatable whether all understanding of architecture is derived from nature. Could there be any experiences inherent in built form that may not be natural? Are all scientific explanations for observed and experienced phenomena a reflection of the order and processes in nature? To what extent should architecture derive inspiration from nature? Such approaches may allude to disciplinary paradigms such as bioregionalism.
<b>Character</b>	<b>Character:</b> a general atmosphere of a place or space, which is its most comprehensive aspect that configures particular actions to specific places through the articulation of materials and form (1980b [1975]: 225; 1980a: 6, 11, 14). Spatial character may thus be classified as: <b>Natural</b> and relating to the attributes of physical objects within a space, including things, material attributes (weight and hardness), the cardinal points and the sun for orientation; <b>Human</b> and personified by social objects. Human action is related to gender or personality type; <b>Spiritual</b> and anchored in cultural objects (ibid). The beliefs and values that are not comprehensible through abstraction of the natural are then relegated to the spiritual realm to find characteristic expression.	These categories by extension are also valid for human places and spaces. Both spatial and environmental characters instill varieties of experiences to man and these embody tangible and intangible phenomenological qualities that can be extended to architecture. The evaluation of cultural artefacts and social objects in terms of their natural, human and spiritual characteristics that are all jointly manifested within them is relevant to the framework herein.
<b>Archetypes of place</b>	A classification system characterising all types of places as romantic, cosmic, classical or complex (1980a). <b>The Romantic:</b> refers to architecture and landscapes which exhibit inclusivism, incorporating a multiplicity of phenomena while embracing	The complex archetype would perhaps best accommodate the complexities inherent in contemporary pluralistic Kenyan society. Previous pursuits of

	<p>dynamism and continuous change. General meanings are indicated by spontaneity and variety embodied in complexity and contradiction in a local approach that recognises the place of each individual in the collective whole (ibid). <b>The Cosmic:</b> refers to architecture and landscapes distinguished by monotony and permanence of structure. An absolute static and universal order is manifested through lack of variety while geometry expresses dehumanisation and monotheism (such as in Islam). Cosmic space is regular, grid-like or labyrinthine and abhors sculpture (ibid). <b>The Classical:</b> Though not easily identifiable in African contexts, such landscapes and architecture represent perfection in a harmonious marriage between man and nature that is achieved through unity of topology and geometry. The lacks of variety and monotony and stasis or dynamism are expressed in intelligible organisation and construction that is logical, human and organic to achieve both an articulate order and imageability (ibid).</p> <p><b>The Complex:</b> while the romantic, cosmic and classical archetypes are pure, most architecture and landscapes are a synthesis of these three archetypes and are thus considered as a hybrid complex. The complex archetype selects qualities from each of the three archetypes and employs them to achieve a unity of expression (ibid).</p>	<p>puristic expressions in architecture yielded shallow and non- contemplative solutions. This study proposes that these four archetypes be employed by architects in their designs after subjecting them to a critical and typological interpretation to assess their relevance to the particular context. When used to analyse architecture the above classification has the potential to reveal the phenomenological qualities of spatial experience and promote their understanding. This can also serve as a basis for the Critical Regionalist approach in its aim of reconciling the local with the global.</p>
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Table 3d. Synopsis of Norberg-Schulz's Existential Phenomenology.

### 3.2.6 The Leitmotifs of the genius loci concept in architectural phenomenology

The recurrent themes below are identifiable in any *Genius Loci* irrespective of its architectural composition or location. The variety inherent in the genius loci of different regions arises from the possibilities in assigning ranking orders to these themes. This prioritisation avoids architectural monotony. The list is not exhaustive and could undergo expansion especially when each theme is further categorised into several subthemes. The main themes are summarised in the Table below:

LEITMOTIF	EXPLICATION OR MOTIVATION	CRITIQUE OR EVALUATION
<b>Identity</b>	Norberg-Schulz has coined the term 'stabilitas loci' which argues that any place should conserve its identity (ibid: 18, 19).	Every place has a unique identity and architecture must focus on the essence of this identity order to preserve it in the embodiment of the built form.
<b>Harmony</b>	A place should be multifarious exhibiting a rich content that portrays both the old and the new (ibid: 18).	This implies that a place must achieve a balance between its natural qualities and man's intervention in order to harmonise its past with the present in a synthesis with its future. This will be revealed in its spatio-temporal qualities.
<b>Contextualism</b>	According to Norberg-Schulz all places embody an inside-outside relationship and are not independent of their contexts (ibid: 12, 23). This statement is an interpretation of the Heideggerian concept of truth in the thing that gathers the world as a fourfold reality.	The context should then be discernible in any architectural solution irrespective of the relationship that it adopts with its locality. Contextual meanings will be exposed whether introversion, extroversion or a neutral attitude is chosen by the architect in the concretisation of the built form.

<b>Adaptability</b>	The permanence of genius loci must be accompanied by the flexibility to accommodate change within it (ibid: 18).	This means that any modifications undertaken in a locality in response to forces of change of use, growth and emergence of new functions must retain the essence of the place as embodied in its exposed and hidden meanings.
<b>Diversity</b>	<i>Genius Loci</i> accommodates the processes of birth, death, rebirth, revival and obsolescence to create a rich and diverse content. A place must be multipurpose in nature (ibid).	The synopsis of this theme is that the variety inherent in the multiplicity of functions avoids monotony, thereby generating multiple meanings. Pluralism is superior to singularity.
<b>Iconology</b>	The landscape structure in any place is iconic, having synthesised the eternal environment order and is therefore the embodiment of its natural <i>Genius Loci</i> and a tangible form which can serve as a model for the harmonious organisation of public buildings and urban planning (ibid: 10, 17, 18).	This iconology can be extended to dwelling units and other man made places, both private and semi-private, as they reveal their contexts during 'presencing'.
<b>Durability</b>	The changes in the structure of any place should not alter the essence of its <i>Genius Loci</i> (ibid: 18). It must be capable of withstanding the test of time. Man's activities cannot destroy the <i>Genius Loci</i> of a particular place but can conceal it sufficiently so that it may no longer be recognisable.	Since <i>Genius Loci</i> manifests the spirit of a place, it is expected to be immortal through analogy to other spirits encountered in religion and culture. When comprehended, the <i>Genius Loci</i> of any such abused place can be restored through a radical shift in the environmental practices of the affected communities.
<b>Historicism</b>	The <i>Genius Loci</i> of any place is determined by the fundamental and natural laws of that locality (ibid: 17). Any <i>Genius Loci</i> must conserve its essence in emergent and unfamiliar historical contexts (ibid: 18).	To comprehend it adequately, a historical synthesis of the place should be undertaken as it will unearth any concealed original rules. Unfamiliar contexts pose new challenges to this essence and the meanings that it embodies. The strategies to counter these challenges should be revealed when a historical analysis of the context identifies how past challenges were overcome.
<b>Symbolism</b>	Norberg-Schulz (1980b [1975]: 224; 1980a: 39, 40, 45) identifies a broad spectrum of symbols from ancient to modern times in a historical and varied context. Examples include the symbolisation of cosmic parameters such as the sky and path of the sun simultaneously with life processes portrayed by the polar opposites of birth and death by ancient civilizations.	The <i>Genius Loci</i> concept embodies both psychic and physical qualities. The process of gathering and revealing the world generates a rich symbolic content. Modern American cities symbolise an egalitarian society to express their political system of democracy through open planned organisation concepts. This symbolic constitution confers a poetic aspect to <i>Genius Loci</i> , necessitating contemplation by mankind during its visualisation, complementation and enhancement (ibid).
<b>Sustainability</b>	A sustainable <i>Genius Loci</i> will provide man with an "existential foothold" enabling him to dwell poetically on earth. (ibid, 1980b [1975]: 224; 1980a: 20, 21, 42).	The immortality aspect of the genius loci concept outlined previously in the durability theme is best concretised in the all-inclusive leitmotif of sustainability. Generally, there exists a skewed distribution of natural resources and habitable places on earth. However when the exploitation and consumption practices of humanity are tempered with the multi-disciplinary concept of sustainability, man may strike harmony with nature, the source of sustenance.

Table 3e. Leitmotifs of the *Genius Loci* concept of phenomenology.

### 3.2.7 The Critique of Architectural Phenomenology

Criticisms, prejudices and accolades have been directed towards architectural phenomenology thereby indicating its potency in the sustenance of dialogue in theoretical discourse. Since “architecture is culture politics” (Frampton 2007 [1987]: 380), culture must be a key parameter from which these perspectives must be evaluated.

Norberg-Schulz’s phenomenology is perceived as a “weak theory” since it does not give “an indication of the desired result” except for “a bundle of untested principles without a formal outcome” (Ignazi de Sola Morales in Vidler, 2011: 102). This position is unjustified since the determination of architectural forms of expression prior to design would eliminate creativity and originality in design solutions, promoting uniformity rather than variety that is derived from the cultural parameters in a given locale. Norberg-Schulz’s phenomenology of architecture was pioneering in its attempt to situate architecture in a cultural context in order to promote the entrenchment of effective communication of intended architectural meanings within built form. This is the position from which it should be evaluated and is thus consistent with Beata Sirowy’s proclamation that “the mediating, anti-dualist character” inherent in phenomenology “makes it a relevant framework in the search for a more inclusive conceptual basis for sustainable architecture” (2010: 172).

For Frampton (2007 [1987]: 381, 382, 385), phenomenology is a means to promote the sensorial experience of architecture rather than shallow visual scenographic images, which for Otero-Pailos has the purpose of training architects in the technique of ‘vision’, thereby reducing their “over fascination” with technology in order to unite architectural theory and praxis in the quest for “cultural and social relevance” (2002: 3, 5, 240, 330, 331, 336, 341, 410).

Otero-Pailos observes that critics perceive Norberg-Schulz as a “vulgar interpreter of Heidegger” (2007: [14]). This indicates intolerance because philosophical hermeneutic interpretations and linguistic semiotic devices are subjective. The interpreter has a right to his or her own point of view. Consensus in architecture cannot be reached via coercive theoretical positions. Other critics state that “Norberg-Schulz used Heidegger as a theoretical mask to add philosophical credibility to the visual project of modernism, at the precise moment modernism seemed destined to die” (ibid: [18]). This critique is not accurate because in *Genius Loci* (1980a), Norberg-Schulz discusses classical, romantic and complex architectural expressions in places such as ancient Rome, Prague, Khartoum and Chicago. His discourse is descriptive and not prescriptive, being centred on meaningful places with minimal reference to modernism.



Heideggerian truth (see Chapter 4 of this study) was misread by Norberg-Schulz as a “purely visual phenomenon” from the position that vision was “the ontological first principle of understanding and communication” (ibid). In fact, a deeper vision that is beyond literality enables a more thoughtful contemplation upon and comprehension of architectural artefacts. In this regard, Norberg-Schulz was justified in the emphasis on holistic rather than literal vision.

Otero-Pailos (ibid: [16]) alleges that for Norberg-Schulz, “truth was revealed in images”. In architecture, the image remains a tangible artefact. Norberg-Schulz’s phenomenology of architecture was not superficial as it concentrated on architectural content that was inspired by and derived from culture that would create meaningful existence on earth (see 3.2.5 above).

Elie Haddad (2010: 88) observes that Norberg-Schulz’s structuralist framework and background was an impediment to his phenomenology of architecture thesis which should have indicated ways for overcoming mind-body duality (ibid: 98). Therefore such a phenomenology has limited applications, implying “a return to vernacular architecture” or “espousal of a “figurative” postmodern architecture” (ibid: 98). In this criticism, Haddad does not recognise the multiple types of phenomenology and their variants (see 3.2.4 above). Why does he choose to focus on Merleau Ponty’s interpretation in phenomenology of perception while ignoring the other classical phenomenologists? (see 3.2.1 above). Haddad’s position is inaccurate as Norberg-Schulz never prescribed any ideal archetypes to architects. The focus on visual appearance of architecture was insignificant in comparison to cultural embodiment that could yield meaningful dwelling on earth. The architectural possibilities with regard to phenomenology are multiple, beyond vernacular and postmodern associations. An example is that of this study which proposes the fusion of a broadened phenomenology with the praxis of a more inclusive Critical Regionalism (see Chapter 4 of this study).

Haddad (ibid: 98-99) continues to observe that the success of architectural phenomenology is limited as it does not address the socio-political dimensions of architectural production choosing instead to focus on “formal manipulation of parameters such as tactility or vision”. Indeed, Norberg-Schulz extensively explored links between natural landscapes and architecture and did not describe other cultural aspects like politics or colonialism (this *lacuna* has been addressed in chapter 2 of this study with regard to the Kenyan context). However, this cannot justify the entire condemnation of his thesis. Can meaningful architecture be realised when sensorial experience of architectural artefacts is absent? How can we then secure identity through orientation and achieve an existential foothold? (see place postulate in 3.2.5).

### 3.2.8 Phenomenology and the Kenyan Context

The place postulate of Norberg-Schulz and the *Genius Loci* concept have been identified as key aspects of architectural phenomenology. These components are extensively portrayed in Kenyan vernacular architecture. In this study, the Kenyan vernacular is categorised as rural, urban or hybrid. The rural vernacular exhibits a hybrid *Genius Loci*, which is revealed through the understanding of a community's culture. Education is a vital component of this hybrid *Genius Loci* and enables it to adopt sustainable strategies. Apprenticeship and formal architectural training within the rural and hybrid vernacular constitute the education which is requisite for the propagation of the hybrid *Genius Loci* (Marchand, 2006: 53, 54). The urban vernacular portrays man-made *Genius Loci*. The Kenyan urban vernacular is yet to fully express its *Genius Loci* as it is stifled by external pressures that include land restriction, legality issues, inadequate infrastructure and cultural confusion that arise from the confluence of different tribal community cultures (Fathy, 1973: 20, 21, 34, 52).

Sustainability was identified as the “all inclusive” leitmotif of the *Genius Loci* concept. Özkan’s (2006: 108) proclamation that vernacular build expresses the highest form of sustainable architecture is an indication that vernacular build embraces phenomenology. This is consistent with Fathy’s (1973: 62) declaration that the vernacular should not be read in isolation but must be considered within the socio-economic dynamics of the entire community through recognising its quest to achieve sustainability, which may be perceived as a maintenance rather than a disruption of the prevailing ecological stability (ibid). The vernacular therefore embodies the individual and collective experiences of a particular community because “the people behind these buildings look at the good of everyone rather than at profit making” (Heynen, 2005: 95).

The vernacular also demonstrates other leitmotifs of the *Genius Loci* concept. It expresses identity at both the levels of the individual as well as the community. Fathy's (1973: 27) tradition of individuality is characteristic of vernacular build. Vernacular expression of community identity is inferred through Glassie's assertion that “all architecture is cultural” (1990: 284).

The vernacular portrays a harmony that encompasses the past and present contexts and if its principles are maintained, the harmony should extend into the future. This is exemplified by the moderation in vernacular consumption of renewable resources that occurs in an atmosphere that is devoid of conflict with nature and culture (Guvenc, 1990: 293, 294). Contextualism within the vernacular has been identified as a synthesis of a community's culture, tradition, climate and environment to create an architecture that exhibits adaptability through an evolution that is anchored in

continuous change and transformation (ibid: 292; Fathy, 1973: 43). This results in a diversity that is exemplified by a variety resulting from the expression of individuality- consistent with Hilde Heynen's position that buildings are not "aesthetic objects...devoid from their cultural contexts (2005: 94).

Vernacular iconology focuses on cultural symbols and values which are then expressed through traditional craft, decoration and ornamentation that are incorporated within vernacular buildings to enable the realisation of Fathy's elusive "signature" (Asquith & Vellinga, 2006: 181).

The historical probe of a place should reveal its *Genius Loci* to indicate how past challenges were surmounted in order to provide vital lessons for the future. Vernacular historicism is consistent with Rapoport's (2006: 181) observation of continuous experimentation in the search for appropriate technology. Cosmic symbolism within the vernacular is consistent with the Hiedeggerian gathering of the four fold that consists of the earth, sky, divinities and mortals (Norberg-Schulz, 1980a: 17-23). Fathy (1973: 57) describes the vernacular courtyard as a space whose boundary supports the dome of the sky. The sky is the upper enclosure of the courtyard that enables individuals to possess their own portion of it (ibid: 56).

The durability leitmotif of the *Genius Loci* concept is an inherent characteristic of the vernacular. Glassie (1990: 280) proclaims that vernacular architecture is an archive of a community's history. This indicates that the vernacular has a spatio-temporal dimension. Güvenc declares that the principles of vernacular build are "time-tested" (1990: 293). Oliver (2006: 265) describes vernacular architecture as "time-honoured" and "truly sustainable" with centuries of evolution. These positions demonstrate that the durability leitmotif is entrenched within the vernacular.

The place postulate of Norberg-Schulz is successfully manifested within the vernacular. The Environmental Levels (see elaboration of term in 3.2.5 above) establish a complete classification of all items within the vernacular, ranging from the African continent to an individual hut. The rural vernacular landscape may be described as a natural place, although it is not perfect as a result of man's intervention to achieve a harmonious existence. The vernacular ignores the micro-spaces within it but reveres or worships the macro-spaces. For the Kikuyu tribe, their god *Ngai* resided atop Mt. Kenya, while the Luo considered Lake Victoria as the abode of good and evil spirits. The anthropomorphic medium scale is the stage for human intervention within the vernacular.

Vernacular space deviates from the place postulate as it displays relatively little or no abstraction. Fathy (1973: 40) observes that peasants do not talk about art, they create it. Nature is

incapable of any complex abstraction. Vernacular place exemplifies the 'existential' place. However the enclosures and boundaries within the rural vernacular are not rigidly compartmentalised. They are fluid and organic except for the most private sections such as the sleeping domains of parents. The human, natural and spiritual spatial characters are all expressed within this existential place.

Vernacular architecture is consistent with the romantic archetype as it is characterised by the "tradition of individuality" which creates a variety that is dynamic and inclusive (ibid: 27). Vernacular archetypes are neither classical nor cosmic as they do not celebrate geometric perfections and proportions. Vernacular forms exclude the complex archetype due to the absence of the cosmic and classical variants. The romantic archetype within vernacular architecture may then be described as a composition that portrays purism.

Norberg-Schulz (1980a) argues that existential dimensions are independent of historical and socio-economic conditions. It is evident that no aspect of vernacular architecture is devoid of these parameters, whether tangible or intangible. Experimentation within the vernacular domain is locked in its history and the inherent growth is inseparable from socio-economic factors.

The five dimensions of understanding of 'place' are evident upon a critical probe of the vernacular. 'Thing' refers to a vernacular structure or artefact. The rural vernacular portrays natural and human orders that are established by topographical features and tribal customs respectively. Vernacular character is spatial but with an individual flavour that makes every place unique. Unlike other cultures which held light in great reverence, the Kenyan vernacular communities have a different concept of God, as mentioned above for the Kikuyu and Luo. It can be stated with near certainty that no Kenyan tribe worships the sun. Time within the rural vernacular is linked to climate and seasons, the path of the sun in the sky and human activities like planting, harvesting and circumcision. The Luo name their children according to the time of day in which they are born, portraying the link between temporality and vernacular culture.

As mentioned previously, the vernacular *Genius Loci* ensures the identity and orientation of each inhabitant within its domain thereby providing emotional security (Norberg-Schulz, 1980a). Each individual engages the immediate environment from his or her dwelling unit which is the point of physical and emotional reference that enables man to achieve the 'existential foothold' that was described by Norberg-Schulz (ibid). The urban vernacular manifestation of phenomenology is discussed in the case study of the Kenyatta International Conference Centre in Chapter 4.

### 3.3 Regionalism

Although Regionalism is a marginalised theory in architecture due to its “misunderstood and neglected discourse” (Canizaro, 2007: 12), recourse to regionalism in architecture is justifiable on several fronts, emphasising its suitability to the Kenyan context. Rapid globalisation has destroyed regional cultures and annihilated the family unit (Le Corbusier, 2007 [1991]: 271-272). This has created the “fear that the world is coming to a dreadful uniformity and monotony” resulting in a “universally standardized and abstracted environment” (Neutra, 2007 [1939]: 278; Pallasmaa, 2007 [1988]: 129). Modernism and the International Style reduced architecture to restrictive dogmas within “a purely formalistic approach” in which “the feelings, the sentiments and the interests of the occupants” were neglected (Giedion, 2007 [1954]: 320; Mumford, 2007 [1947]: 290; Ozkan, 2007 [1985]: 102). Regionalist approaches seek to address these pertinent issues and *lacunae* to create architecture that is “place and culture-specific” because it is a product of its “place and time” (Speck, 2007 [1987]: 71, 76; Pallasmaa, 2007 [1988]: 133).

The theoretical basis of architectural regionalism is situated in “pluralistic postmodern theory”, cultural theories, linguistic and philosophical critical theories, “theories of place such as contextualism and site-specificity” (Canizaro, 2007:16-18). Regionalism also sources its references from disciplines such as philosophy (especially phenomenology), cultural criticism, anthropology and sociology (ibid). This multidisciplinary overlap indicates that regionalism can enable collaboration between architecture and other support disciplines to achieve holistic explication of cultural architectural artefacts as was suggested in Chapters 1 and 4 of this study.

Regionalism portrays historicist tendencies as “the past informs the future” (Pavlidis, 2007 [1991]: 165). It elicits passion, motivating the populace through a process which “accepts, rejects, adjusts and reacts” and therefore resists or mediates between local and universal architectural forces to create architecture that is permeable to external influences, thereby indicating its potential to establish regional architectural identity (Harris, 2007 [1978]: 66; Speck, 2007 [1987]: 70; Barker, 2012: 109-110; Canizaro, 2007: 16; Mumford, 2007 [1941]: 100).

The issues tackled within architectural regionalism are voluntary including contextualism in “the respect for the immediacy and situatedness of everyday life” which is perceived as a “commitment to the community” in recognition of the need to “serve physical and spiritual needs of people” and generate architecture that is suited to the prevailing climate and socio-cultural context through holistic

architectural approaches that articulate both tangible and intangible aspects (Canizaro, 2007: 10, 20; Doshi, 2007 [1985]: 110, 114).

Regionalism is synchronised with culture, exhibiting variation that exemplifies differences in the “history, geography, climate, human values, economy, traditions, technology and cultural life of a place” while focusing on user participation, building styles, technology and harmonisation of social needs to produce “politically desirable and ecologically prudent” architecture (Mumford, 2007 [1941]: 99; Speck, 2007 [1987]: 70-71; Boussora, 2007 [1990]: 123; Moore, 2007 [2005]: 439). This is consistent with the cultural ecological approach taken in Chapter 2 of this study with regard to the Kenyan context.

### 3.3.1 Regional identity

The *Oxford English Reference Dictionary* (1996: 702) describes identity as an association based on shared characteristics. Appiah (2005: 65) states that the term identity in the domain of social psychology “is deeply inflected by...social features [including]...race, ethnicity, nationality, gender, religion or sexuality”. The emphasis of identity in architecture seeks to promote pluralism, diversity and variety through distinctions drawn from the similarity of cultural expressions of different regions. However, no location exists independently of a universal context. Thus architectural identity must take cognisance of the local context within the broader universal disciplinary dogma. The pluralistic nature of the identity concept indicates that Kenyan architects should not attempt to impose external identities upon local contexts as the individual and community may reject such solutions. Neither should they eschew external concepts because cultural exchange and learning are inherent to a systemic, dynamic view of culture. Both individual and communal identities are expressed in architecture and their collective synthesis of the local context and relevant universal concepts create an architecture that confers identity upon architectural artefacts. Various aspects of identity are summarised in the Table below:

ASPECT OF IDENTITY	SOURCE	EXPLICATION AND RELEVANCE TO ARCHITECTURE
<b>Self determination</b>	“Man is determinate, capable of flexibility and adaptability” (Schulz, 1980b [1975]: 221).	However, specialisation in animals has resulted in rigidity of structure and function (ibid). Extensive fragmentation of the disciplines within the construction industry has resulted in the dilution of architectural input. Architecture must not be divorced from flexibility in creativity.
<b>Choice and orientation</b>	Identification presupposes a choice, an act of orientation.” (ibid: 222).	In an era where “difference is threatened” and “varied typologies are replaced with standardisations” (Jacob 2008), it is necessary for architects to direct discourse towards anthropological and cultural issues in order to create contextually appropriate architecture.

<b>Identification</b>	“In perceiving and articulating a symbol man experiences an act of identification” (ibid).	The recognition and expression of symbols in architecture are central to attainment of identity of built form.
<b>Ownership</b>	“The identity of man depends on his belonging to places” (Schulz, 1980a).	Architecture should focus on the politics of place through emphasis of difference. This will prevent the “erosion of specificity of place” (Jacob, 2008: [1]). Self-actualisation of identity creates a sense of belonging.
<b>Transformation</b>	It is vital to “contrast contextual necessities with universal spatial types” (Barker, 2012: 42). Such an approach will entrench an architectural transformation that fosters regional identity.	This calls for a “heterotrophic architecture that mediates between the extremes of polarities” (Barker, 2012: 42). This may then enable the resolution of contradictions that are evident in Critical Regionalist theories as pertains to architecture (ibid: 110).

Table 3f. Aspects of identity in architecture.

The identity theme is contained in the *Genius Loci* concept which is the focus of the phenomenology of architecture. In order to gain identity man must reach beyond his/her individual situation and recognise similarities and relationships between phenomena and this will lead to the discovery of the laws that govern natural and human processes (Norberg-Schulz, 1980b [1975]: 221). Through understanding, abstracting and interpreting natural laws that are derived from both local and universal sources, architects can formulate organisation principles regarding form, function disposition and aesthetic formulation in a meaningful and symbolic manner, thereby maintaining prevalent identities.

### 3.3.2 Definitions of Region

The pertinent question in regionalist discourse remains how a region should be defined or redefined (Patterson, 1995). Presently, regions are “sloppily defined” in a manner that portrays “embarrassment or obstruction” (Berry, 2007 [1972]: 36). Existing boundaries are “fuzzy and indeterminate” and therefore difficult to establish and distinguish with clarity (Canizaro, 2007: 18). Therefore, what are “the limits of a region”; “what are its institutional status?” queries Frampton (2007 [1987]: 379). The current understanding of regions should be substituted with a more suitable and futuristic perception of “critically resistant” regions to promote the practice of Critical Regionalism in architecture (ibid).

For Colquhoun (2007 [1997]: 152), the valid modern region is only the nation-state because it is “co-extensive with political power”. This is consistent with the position taken in this study regarding the nation-state and statecraft and its role in the genesis of Kenyan architecture (see chapter 2). However Colquhoun’s (ibid: 153) proclamation that the co-existence of various historical times within the “developing world” implies a lack of ‘authentic’ local architectural traditions is contestable for the Kenyan context. The multiple identities that are concurrently evident in Kenya exemplify the thriving of

various cultural sub-regions within the region of the Kenyan nation-state. Harwell Hamilton Harris's perception of a region as a collage of "people, interests and minds" (2007 [1978]: 66) is a better comprehension of the originality that arises from the simplicity in considering smaller scale regions such as the Kenyan tribal cultures, thereby indicating authenticity. The uniqueness that arises from geographical, topographical, climatic, economic and social considerations justifies the consideration of regions as distinct entities even though the strategies employed in the solution of architectural tasks remain 'scientific' and 'universal' in nature (Le Corbusier, 2007 [1991]: 273; Morrison, 2007 [1940]: 283). In architecture, regionalism should be considered from the perspective of a "regional scale" where "natural processes and human settlements" exemplify extensive interactions (Spreiregen, 2007 [1971]: 266). For this study, the regional scale is one in which clearly distinctive indigenous and co-opted cultural practices find architectural expression. The table below is a synopsis of the various definitions of a region within architecture and an evaluation of their suitability to the Kenyan context.

<b>PROTAGONIST, BODY OR SCHOOL OF THOUGHT</b>	<b>DEFINITION OR PERCEPTION OF REGION</b>	<b>BRIEF EVALUATION OR CRITIQUE</b>
<b>Bio-regionalists</b>	The definition is "based on ecological parameters" including watersheds (Canizaro, 2007: 19). A bio-region is perceived to be a "geographic terrain and a terrain of consciousness" which focuses on "describing and discovering" the resonance of living things and factors that influence them by recognising the similarities between factors that determine sustenance of life and those that influence human occupation and settlement (Berg & Dasmann, 2007 [1977]: 335). The definition of a bio-region is individual, based on cultural and phenomenological considerations (Dodge, 2007 [1961]: 342).	An endorsement of this definition would result in a very protracted architectural design process because it would demand architectural accountability to all living beings in a region. Incorporation of sustainable architectural practices would be a more viable alternative. In Kenya, Environmental Impact Assessments are already mandatory for large scale projects indicating the onset of contextual sensitivity with regard to the environment. The phenomenological aspect of the definition seems to limit itself to personal (individual) or collective ontological perceptions of region but is unfortunately not critically developed.
<b>Lewis Mumford &amp; The Regional Planning Association of America</b>	A region is considered from the perspective of a distinct political representation and participation coupled with "resource availability, pre-existing patterns, lines of transit and the transport of goods" while retaining a vital "concern for social life and local meaning" (Canizaro, 2007: 19).	This definition is compatible with the cultural ecology of the Kenyan context that was outlined in chapter 2 of this study. It provides a basis for anchoring relevant contextual architectural strategies. This study proposes the inclusion of this holistic approach into the framework herein and proceeds to outline some proposed methods of its entrenchment into Kenyan architectural training and praxis through phenomenology and Critical Regionalism (see chapter 5 of this study).
<b>Critical Regionalism</b>	A region is outlined from the uniqueness of cultural identity, "manner of place-making, architectonic strategies" and local tactile experiences that provide a wealth of environmental quality (Canizaro, 2007: 19).	For the Kenyan context, with its diverse cultural ecologies and multiplicity of individual and community identities, regional architectural approaches must be critical in order to include relevant and appropriate local and universal architectural practices. This will enable the evolution of progressive architecture by allowing the extinction of obsolete 'irrelevant' cultural and architectural practices and traditions while simultaneously facilitating the emergence of new strategies that sustain architectural variety through hybrid Critical Regionalist approaches.



<b>Performative Regionalism</b>	A region is a “socially constructed concept” exemplifying “shared geographical identities” and “compatible social practices”, thereby exhibiting cultural hybridism within the multiplicity of identities (Allen, 2007 [2005]: 421).	This is applicable to the Kenyan context but the geographical focus is limiting as it does not sufficiently address the issue of migrations and resettlement into new regions which are now routinely possible due to modern communication systems. The pertinent question for the Kenyan context remains how to disentangle the multiple identities that are evident in urban areas. A futuristic approach would be to accept these multiple identities by adopting hybrid architectural solutions that are in sync with cultural hybridism.
<b>Environmental Regionalism</b>	A region is defined as a unique physical entity on the basis of “climatology, geomorphology, plant and animal geography, and natural history (Canizaro, 2007: 32).	This definition has a limited focus as it ignores the cultural aspects and determinants of a specific region. It does not engage issues of acculturation, modernisation and cultural transformation that are perennial to the Kenyan context.
<b>Liberative Regionalism</b>	A region is perceived as a place where ideas can be localised and particularised (Harris, 2007 [1958]: 60). The key asset of any region is its people and not its climate, topography or natural resources (ibid, 2007 [1978]: 66-68). People’s minds have the capacity to provide the “intellectual ferment” that can lead to regional greatness (ibid).	Can all persons generate ‘grand’ ideas with regard to regionalism? This definition is subject to the literacy levels within a given populace. It is imperative to recognise disciplinary expertise. In Kenya, architects are an elite group whose services are not accessible to the majority of the populace. Though this definition advocates for anthropocentric regional distinctions, it can only be realised in Kenya if extensive ‘grass roots’ inputs are accommodated through participatory strategies. Political goodwill and priorities may however generate inertia with regard to its implementation.
<b>Constructive Regionalism</b>	Regions are distinguishable through differential emphasis on “climate, terrain, program, social function” (Alofsin, 2007 [1980]: 371).	Though a good approach, it is not sufficiently critical. Through promoting conformity, it could lead to the homogenisation of architectural expressions, thereby yielding the lack of vital contextual variety. It does not consider the integration of any progressive ‘universal’ aspects into its perception of a region.
<b>Non-modern Regionalism</b>	Perceives a region from the perspective of the geographer John Agnew as a “geographic area encompassed by the objective structures of politics and economy” (Moore, 2007 [2006]: 433).	This definition is relevant to the Kenyan context as it is consistent with the nation-state (see statecraft in Chapter 2 of this study). However, it provides no guidelines for anchoring architectural responses to contextual forces and parameters within its perception of region.

Table 3g. Definitions of the concept of ‘Region’.

### 3.3.3 Definitions of Regionalism

According to Kenza Boussora (2007 [1990]: 122), the definitions of architectural regionalism are divergent, giving rise to ‘complexity’ and ‘confusion’ as a result of the subjective nature of its discourse. These definitions are hence “vast, varied and contestable” (Barker, 2012: 110). Thus, “there is no recipe for regionalism” (Cassidy, 2007 [2000]: 417). The deficiencies and non-concurrences underlying these definitions are due to ‘narrow’ perspectives of the concept that do not

appreciate the heterogeneity of regional cultures that exemplify confluence and entanglement of cultural norms, practices and architectural styles (ibid: 414).

Regionalism is “inextricably bounded by context” (ibid: 411). This contextual aspect permeates all the regional approaches in architecture, which for Barker (2012: 108) represents the inevitable union of geographical synthesis with local building traditions. Thus, the focus of regionalist discourse is to promote the perception of architecture as a ‘transformation’ of nature within the “social and material context of everyday life” (Moore, 2007 [2005]: 440).

Architectural regionalism occupies a central place within disciplinary theory and praxis because its concepts can be used to test the relevance, appropriateness and effectiveness of design solutions on the basis of contextual probes and criticisms. The vastness and depth of its *corpus* is exemplified by its extension beyond “formal characteristics of a particular period or style” (Cassidy, 2007 [2000]: 414). Other core aspects engaged in the various definitions of regionalism include its ‘overarching’ conservative nature (Allen, 2007 [2005]: 422) and place-technology dialectic (Moore, 2007 [2005]: 439).

This study will not attempt to present a biased or subjective definition of regionalism as this will not add any material value to the existing contradictions and contestations. However, it will further discuss other perceptions of regionalism with a view to exposing aspects that may be viewed as progressive to the Kenyan context through inherent potential for effective application for the proposed entrenchment of Critical Regionalism to the Kenyan architectural context (see section 3.3.4 of this study).

### **3.3.4 Typology and Regionalism**

All architectural forms attract particular meanings through association and hence the architectural solution cannot exist independently of previous types (Colquhoun, 1996 [1967]: 256). Kate Nesbitt (1996: 249) understands Colquhoun’s position regarding the typology of architecture, portraying it as a vehicle for cultural memory which is requisite for architectural meaning and a tool for recovery of meaning in architecture through decoding of the cultural signification that is present within architectural artefacts; Consequently, new architectural works must be anchored in a typological context.

On the other hand, Giulio Carlo Argan (1996 [1963]: 243) portrays a type as an idea of an element that reveals an inherent law in the model and this law relates the internal structure that

constitutes any given model to its organisation. This law is thus perceived as the 'root form' (ibid). An architectural type, exemplified by the works of Aldo Rossi, may also be a practical spatial organisational principle that responds to ideological requirements (ibid: 245, 246). These requirements as pertains to architecture must be both utilitarian and cultural. A deeper probe of Argan's references indicates that a type may be tangible at the level of physical form but intangible at the level of concept. This study therefore proposes that to achieve an understanding of a given type and its meaning, a critical probe of its root form should be undertaken.

The typological method is a reductive elimination process proposed by Argan for the recovery of the 'root form' through a regressive analysis in which form variants are eliminated in order to expose a constant underlying common unitary and original principal or basic form. The recovery of the 'root form' results in independence from value judgements, thereby preventing imitation (ibid: 245). The typological method as an architectural analytical tool ensures variation within built form in a time dependent manner that is evident in a typological series. Typology as a concept may be an effective tool that can be used to counter the recourse to eclecticism in architecture, departing from Rossi's perception of 'archetype' as a root that can be critically renewed by being rediscovered in time for subsequent development (ibid). The characterisation of the attributes of the root form is a progressive eclectic practice. However, the direct non-critical restatement of historical models is a simplistic eclecticism and is hence not useful for the framework that is developed herein.

For Colquhoun (1996 [1967]: 252), the typology of artefacts necessitates their classification into traditional and modern categories. Traditional artefacts are cultural creations that act as a communication system within a given community and possess utilitarian, religious, intuitive and iconic characteristics that are propagated through mimesis (ibid). This is consistent with the Kenyan vernacular. Modern<sup>2</sup> artefacts are based on scientific practice through laws of physical science as applied to advanced technology (ibid) and this applies to mainstream urban Kenyan architecture.

To what extent is the typology concept applicable to Kenyan architecture? The Kenyan vernacular architecture contains root forms that were established on the basis of cultural myths and traditions and time tested experimentations in response to climate. These types are forms that are physical such as domestic housing structures or multi-purpose open spaces for markets, social activities and ritual performance. The emergent types in mainstream urban architecture are mainly

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<sup>2</sup> The use of the term Modern here refers to both the era of Modern architecture as well as contemporary architectural scientism that embraces advanced technology as a means of solving pertinent architectural challenges.

within the domestic, institutional and resort categories including town houses, residential flats, office blocks, police stations, schools and tourist hotels.

This study proposes the application of the typology concept to the Kenyan context through the initial identification of various prominent building types in both mainstream urban and vernacular architecture. This should be followed by a detailed historiographical exercise to trace the evolution of each type in order to recover its root form. This should then provide a well-documented *corpus* for future reference towards the establishment of meaningful future Kenyan architecture.

Typological regression is a historical exercise in architectural de-sedimentation and indicates the link between typology and semiology. Historicism is evident when typology is perceived as a function of both historical and architectural thought processes and hence the link between a typological series and the configuration of buildings is imperative (ibid: 242, 244). This typological series is indicative of a historical timeline and may be obtained when Argan's reduction principle is employed to trace the evolution of the current form from its genesis in the 'root form'. The typological series is a genealogy that reveals the continuous transformation that occurs as the root form is adapted to suit different contexts. Future Kenyan architecture would therefore be a critical synthesis of the various root forms with previous members of the typological series in a properly sedimented and differentiated manner through relevant local and universal considerations that are critically specific and regional.

The typology concept is vital to the search for meaning in architecture and to the concept of architectural regionalism. In the absence of a 'root form' for emergent functions without precedence, previous types may be adopted or synthesised through critical artistic or scientific practice or both. The position taken by Colquhoun (ibid: 257) that advocates for a scientific detachment in the pursuit of an architectural future that is anchored in a typological understanding is contestable, although previous types are vital to solving future architectural tasks. Both artistic and scientific practice should be employed in order to adapt any universal 'root form' to the Kenyan context using modern and universal technologies that are locally appropriate. The root forms should also be encoded with meanings that are associated with Kenyan traditions through cultural artistic practice. This approach will utilise typology within critical regionalism in the reconciliation of the local artefact with universal science.

### 3.3.5 Historicism and regionalism

Cultural values are dynamic and concretised in the progress of historical time (Colquhoun, 1996 [1983]: 202). Thus, Rukwaro (2005: 99) declares that “built forms should not be devoid of people’s meanings and symbolism”. The search for meaning in architecture is a historical exercise and the exposed meanings are only specific to the particular historical time, region and context because the value associated with any particular meaning is subject to change through interpretation. This indicates the spatio-temporal dimension of history (see Kenyan historical timeline in Chapter 2 of this study).

Norberg-Schulz (1980b [1975]: 226, 227) recognises the potential of the spatio –temporal aspect of history to immortalise past environments thus catalysing the discovery of the total environmental character of a given place. This makes new environments meaningful, conferring man’s true identity on any particular place in the formative process of history (ibid). Through defining the history of architecture as a history of existential possibilities (ibid: 226), he indicates that the use of history in architecture can be correct or wrong. Eclectic and nostalgic revivals of history that lack an interpretation and appreciation of the context are incorrect, thereby resulting in the lack of identity and anchor in any particular region or place, thus creating a conflict with its *Genius Loci*. The correct use of history employs historical types as a point of departure during the solution of an architectural task. History should be analysed to reveal fundamental laws that are useful in the generation of new regional creations that conserve the *Genius Loci* of a particular place, promoting a regionalism that focuses on innovation and interpretation rather than imitation through conservation.

Colquhoun (1996 [1983]: 207) cautions architects against embracing a future devoid of history as this may result in a perpetual historical amnesia arising from the usurpation of the architectural environment by market forces and economy. In Nairobi, the recent rejuvenation of the construction industry has generated unprecedented levels of speculative build. Housing has been standardised through mass production methods that have resulted in the loss of identity due to this prevalent historical amnesia. History is invariably linked to cultural tradition and incorporates an open set of aesthetic norms that are derived from historical and cultural accumulation (ibid: 209). History is therefore structured by a system of laws which originate from the interaction between man and the environment. These laws are in a continuous state of revision through adaptation and change. They also provide a basis for the concept of historical determinism by moulding various socio-cultural phenomena.

### 3.3.6 Types of Regionalism

Atkins (2008: 69, 70) describes the ontological evolutionary origins of regional and Critical Regionalist architecture from a temporal perspective, within global and South African contexts. However, the regional variants that he identifies are not entirely applicable to the Kenyan context because colonial Kenyan architecture did not displace indigenous vernaculars due to the lack of an integrated architectural system as a result of racial segregation and zoning concepts. Imperial influence was limited to introduction of acculturation to the vernacular domain (see Chapter 2 of this study). Barker's (2012: 111) approach to regionalism is similar, outlining the types of regionalism, their key protagonists and their periods of operation and dominance (including the expected extensive overlaps). This study, however, adopts a non-chronological approach, focusing on the epistemological content of the various types of regionalism while evaluating their potential for inclusion and suitability for application to the proposed framework and the Kenyan architectural context.

TYPE OF REGIONALISM	THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE OR MAIN EPISTEMOLOGICAL BASIS	EVALUATION OR CRITIQUE
<b>Historicist Regionalism</b>	This "exhibits the conservative tendencies of tradition" (Canizaro, 2007: 23). It promotes stagnation by being situated in a "vanished past" (Harris, 2007 [1978]: 67). It generates a "misplaced pride" which focuses on antiquarian cultural artefacts that target tourists (ibid). Architecture is thus packaged as a commercial commodity.	The approach promotes nostalgia which may be justifiable for cultural museums like the Bomas of Kenya. A critical assessment or interpretation of the past is lacking. Lamu is a better Kenyan example where the region's history is taken into account through accommodating cultural transformations to reveal an evolution generated and sustained by context.
<b>Referential Regionalism</b>	Previously, this was a historical regression exercise that portrayed recourse to "19 <sup>th</sup> century eclecticism or revivalism" (Canizaro, 2007: 23). The historical styles employed as references were "treated with respect and consistency" unlike in postmodernism where historicist references were "vacuous, poorly built" and "insulting" (ibid: 24).	For Kenya, the period 1890 to the present avails the possibility of recourse to vernacular and colonial models and artefacts for architectural reference. This regionalism is only useful when such models are subjected to critical evaluation and interpretation even through defamiliarisation (see Critical Regionalism). Fragments of reference are evident in Kenyan resort structures but issues of scale and appropriateness still persist.
<b>Romantic Regionalism</b>	The approach is "critical to the degree that it upsets the expectations of the context without destabilising the environment" but not to the extent portrayed in "the true dialectical nature of critical theory" (Ingersoll, 2007 [1991]: 389). It merely confirms "historic or exotic origins" rather than denying their existence (ibid). The architectural works portray human scale through the utilisation of local materials in a "playful" manner (ibid). Historic allusions abound signifying "a syncretic emulation of the grandeur of the past without direct quotation" (ibid).	Its self-imposed limitation of shunning the dialectical approach of critical interpretation makes it less useful to the Kenyan context when tackling the issues of modernisation tempered with respect for cultural traditions. Expressing the grandeur of the past is a nostalgic exercise and a questionable practice as the present Kenyan cultures and their inherent acculturation and modernisation are significantly different from the circumstances of the distant past. This raises the issue of validity of the allusions employed in this regionalism, which could only be justified by the Critical Regionalist method of defamiliarisation.
<b>Conservative Regionalism</b>	This regionalism portrays a broad referential tendency which is not merely limited to contextual history (Canizaro, 2007: 24). It aims to achieve "harmony with the existing built form" through focussing on "preservation, restoration and rehabilitation of existing	Architectural conservation strategies, in Kenya, have involved the identification, restoration or preservation of cultural artefacts and monuments such as Fort Jesus. This approach has not been participatory and inclusive. No conservation criteria

	<p>traditional buildings as an alternative to new building” (Boussora, 2007 [1990]: 125). The approach could only be successfully applied to the Kenyan context if re-interpretation results in the integration of conservation strategies with concurrence of use.</p>	<p>have been formally presented by the Government for public dialogue, consumption or debate. The declaration of Lamu as a UNESCO World Heritage Site should redirect national debate back to conservation criteria. Cultural museums that have diversified their uses to accommodate current public events such as political conferences at the Bomas of Kenya indicate that Conservative Regionalism is only successful when flexibility and a larger inclusivity are co-opted as vital aspects to ensure sustained relevance of artefacts.</p>
<p><b>Neo-vernacular Regionalism</b></p>	<p>The approach seeks to bring “new life to vernacular heritage” by adopting a method of interpretation that utilises the vernacular “for new and contemporary functions” particularly in tourist resort architecture (Ozkan, 2007 [1985]: 104). The regional attributes are shallow, focussing only on “local shapes and forms” reducing culture to “souvenirs and folklore” thereby exhibiting violation of scale, especially when house forms are then literally employed for civic buildings (ibid). This indicates the need for broadening the interpretive method within this approach.</p>	<p>Commodification of local culture to create architectural artefacts that contain only scenographic contextual aspects is irrelevant to the Kenyan context as it cannot sustain an architecture that captures the spirit of the Kenyan nation as well as the cultural aspirations of local communities. Since the majority of the buildings in this category are accessible to tourists rather than the indigenous populace, their attainment of local identity remains elusive as the Kenyan public views them as foreign and elitist.</p>
<p><b>Modern Regionalism</b></p>	<p>This regionalist approach attempts to “build the new upon a measured respect for traditional and regional culture” (Canizaro, 2007: 23). It is realised when “the past is taken as a source from which to select instead of being the continuum and context of creative work (Pallasmaa, 2007 [1988]: 132).</p>	<p>The approach could find valid application in Kenya. However, regional and traditional determinants of form generation and spatial utility must first be identified and documented. It has the potential to yield eclecticism through nostalgia and defamiliarisation. A historical transformation that exemplifies cultural evolution should be a suitable architectural originator because it reveals changes in community perception of identity.</p>
<p><b>Concrete Modern Regionalism</b></p>	<p>This reveals the use of antiquarian forms cloaked in a new modern exterior that exhibits “contemporary materials and construction techniques” (Ozkan, 2007 [1985]: 106). It is inclusivist, accepting all regional expression variants irrespective of scale or extent of mimesis and becomes more successful when articulating “spiritual values of symbolic relevance” (ibid).</p>	<p>The approach may be perceived as shallow due to its lack of critical interpretation and extensive mimesis of the vernacular which indicate the incorrect use of architectural history.</p>
<p><b>Abstract Modern Regionalism</b></p>	<p>This approach utilises past architectural forms but abstracts them to generate forms for use in present architectural tasks (ibid: 108). It identifies “suitable vernacular architectural qualities” and uses a ‘Modernist filter’ to extract useful ideology for abstraction (Pavlidis, 2007 [1991]: 160-161).</p>	<p>The regional aspects that are incorporated into this approach may be difficult to discern unless a thorough in-depth probe is performed. Extreme abstraction may camouflage any cultural inspiration that was utilised in the generation of architectural form.</p>
<p><b>Nationalistic Regionalism</b></p>	<p>This regionalism is founded upon national pride in order to “provide an image of the qualities [that] the nation symbolises”, hence bringing to world attention the achievements of a nation (Berry, 2007 [1972]: 36; Harris, 2007 [1958]: 60). The architecture of the nation is its most important focus (Harris, ibid). It targets “people whose cultural identity had been suppressed” and they then employ it to “legitimise their claims to unification or independence” thereby distancing “themselves from countries by which they had been politically or culturally dominated” in order to attain “the legitimization of a nation-state in terms of a regional culture” (Colquhoun, 2007 [1996]: 141; 2007 [1997]: 148). For a more extensive discussion on Nationalism within the Kenyan context, see chapter 2 of this study.</p>	<p>If not abused by the Kenyan political elite, Nationalistic Regionalism can be a vital tool when coupled with statecraft strategies as the means to achieve national cohesion, a key political objective that can deter physical conflict amongst Kenyan communities. However, its implementation in Kenyan architecture must be the result of extensive consultation, participation and inclusiveness. The approach must be egalitarian. Each community culture must find expression within the national architectural agenda. This can be achieved by constructing various significant cultural artefacts within Kenyan counties to extend dialogue.</p>
<p><b>Restrictive Regionalism</b></p>	<p>It may be described as architecture which “prides itself on its exclusiveness” (Harris, 2007 [1958]: 57). It is “anti-cosmopolitan and anti-progressive” and generates “misplaced pride”, thereby entrenching “ignorance and inferiority” (ibid). Its focus is in the retention or preservation of “an obscure dialect (ibid).</p>	<p>This regionalist approach is not relevant to the Kenyan context, which portrays dynamism that is anchored within historical, social and politico-economic continuity. These parameters accommodate acculturation inclusively. Exclusion will result in architectural stagnation as forms, concepts and materials would only be valid when sourced from the local context. Architectural</p>

		transformation would consequently be impossible, resulting in monotony due to absence of variation.
<b>Liberative Regionalism</b>	This is synonymous with “Mental Regionalism”, which though not extensive, seeks to “isolate the ‘genius’ in the region through “imagination” and “intelligence” in order to overcome conquest and domination” through the perception of a region as a promoter and acceptor of various ideas (Harris, 2007 [1958]: 56-59). The priorities of a region such as ‘free minds’, ‘imagination’ and future prospects are ranked in descending order while recognising that “architectural change” is synchronised with “social change” thereby expressing “variety, freedom and expansiveness” (ibid: 60, 63). Pallasmaa (2007 [1988]: 138), on the other hand, has given up on the project of Regionalism, proclaiming that “the most meaningful form of cultural survival that remains is a regionalism of the mind”. This position endorses Liberative Regionalism as perhaps the approach that is suitable for modern society. However, this is still subject to debate.	For Le Corbusier (2007 [1991]: 273), “architecture is the result of the state of mind of its time”. Therefore Liberative Regionalism and its focus on the mind and creative potential are good for Kenya. However, they may be perceived as more suited to the Western nations due to their proportionately larger educated populace. In Kenya, tertiary education is costly leading to limited access for the majority (see geographical synopsis in chapter 2). The liberal concepts of pluralism and choice are now finding a foothold within the Kenyan political domain. Kenyan architecture is not yet synchronised with and pegged upon socio-cultural change. Architectural issues must be brought to mainstream national dialogue to achieve national relevance. The sensitisation of the Kenyan public will require the implementation of participatory design strategies and extensive public awareness campaigns as well as civic architectural education programs to enhance the ‘mental’ capacity of the Kenyan populace for effective implementation of Liberative Regionalism.
<b>Bio-regionalism</b>	The approach uses the concept of biotic shift to define a bio-region while proposing a new political system that evolves out of bio-regional identities which may be achieved through a process of “reinhabitation” in order to determine the population carrying capacity of a given bio-region and hence prevent further ecosystemic destruction (Dodge, 2007 [1981]: 342; Berg & Dasmann, 2007 [1977]: 335, 336). While the concept of biotic shift is a “biological realism” that is still in its formulation stages, it considers the biological integration of all “interacting life forms” within an ecosystem whilst recognising “the influences of cultural behaviour” as well as the threat of technology as pertains to environmental destruction (Dodge, ibid: 340, 341).	The focus of the approach is on sustainable co-existence, ecological restoration and maintenance (Berg & Dasmann, 2007 [1977]: 337). The geographical definitions of a bio-region (ibid), are limiting for the Kenyan context as they pose a threat to national cohesion due to extensive overlap of boundaries which can create conflicts with existing county administrations. It can also lead to extreme fragmentation of already existing regions defined by cultural distinctions and administrative rationale. More than one community can exist in a bio-region and this should be taken into account within this approach. The proposal of politically based bio-regional identities is unrealistic for Kenya as it does not include acculturation, transformation and influx of new ideas into the bio-region. The ecosystemic theory of bio-regionalism is literal rather than interpretive as it focuses on biological factors rather than employing community culture as its referent. The focus on cultural behaviour seems to be a theoretical afterthought as it lacks the vigour with which other pertinent issues are articulated. It may therefore result in architectural homogenisation of solutions rather than foster stylistic variety.
<b>Environmental Regionalism</b>	This approach is a subset or sequel of Bio-regionalism. It is “born out of a rigorous understanding of context” and aims to produce “regionally sustainable architecture” with “minimal site disturbance allowing nature to quickly recolonise” (Haslam, 2007 [1997]: 362-363). It emphasises environmentally ‘friendly’ practices such as recycling, methods of natural heating, ventilation and cooling in order to bridge “architecture and ecology with social concerns” to restore mutual co-operation between human and natural systems (ibid). Fusion of cultural and ecological parameters is emphasised (Canizaro, 2007: 32).	This is a useful regionalist approach for Kenya, especially when it promotes the sustainability concept. Sustainable architectural strategies have currently been directed towards ensuring bio-diversity through minimal disruption of biological ecosystems and a focus on ecological restoration. However, this regionalism has led to the marginalisation of human cultural issues by dominating the national dialogue. Sustainability strategies must be anchored in community culture and architecture to achieve contextual validity.
<b>Social Regionalism</b>	This regionalism is motivated by a “respect for individuality and a desire to satisfy the emotional and material needs of each area [region]” (Giedion, 2007 [1954]: 310-318). It studies “the way of life” which is described as “the climate of living” of people in a specific regional context with the aim of obtaining information pertinent to architectural design (ibid).	Are there any other contextual forces worthy of consideration? Should globalisation be taken into account when analysing contextual architectural responses? Emotional and material needs should be evaluated from a cultural perspective. In Kenya, they are expressed within the rural vernacular portraying valid individual community architecture.



		However, in urban areas planning regulations and economic factors must be taken into account, making it difficult to achieve a harmonious individual architectural response that citizens can identify with.
<b>Reflexive Regionalism</b>	This may be perceived to originate from Mumford's (2007 [1941]: 99) proclamation that the "adaptation of a culture to a particular environment is a long, complicated process" which is necessary before "a full blown regional character" appears. It is realised through experimentation, trial and error and thus "it takes generations for a regional product to be achieved" (ibid). It is therefore expected that "quality will naturally emerge in time" (Doshi, 2007 [1985]: 117).	The approach may promote architectural 'lethargy' or inaction with regard to the quest for a valid regional architecture. Kenyan architects may regard the regional project as a futile exercise because they would not be effectively in control of the direction of the architecture of the nation. Motivation would be eliminated as the accountability of present architectural design solutions would be postponed to future generations. This would result in a decline in the quality of architectural concepts, form and aesthetics on the basis of a regional critique.
<b>Folkloric Regionalism</b>	This is a subset of historicist regionalism. Being a "revivalist regionalism that constructs iconic images of presumed regional archetypes", it seeks to produce "neo-vernacular architecture" through "nostalgic recreation" (Pavrides, 2007 [1991]: 156-158, 162). However its main limitation is that it only focuses on houses and spatial utility therein, without considering any aspect of the immediate physical surroundings (ibid).	Its epistemological base is inadequate for application to the Kenyan context as it is only limited to the study of change and constancy of house forms. It could only be selectively applied to the documentation of vernacular housing types. How can architectural artefacts reveal meanings that are valid yet independent of their contexts? Topography, culture and climate are contextual parameters that inform architecture and should also be taken into account in the holistic explication of the semiology of cultural artefacts.
<b>Experiential Regionalism</b>	The approach is a subset of Modern Regionalism (Pavrides, 2007 [1991]: 162). It seeks to "recreate experiential qualities of the regional vernacular" while maintaining "principles of modernist architecture" (ibid). The vernacular interpretation is subjective and is to be achieved "through the poetic sensibility of the architect" (ibid). It articulates intangible qualities including social interaction through hybrid forms but employs modernist artefacts to capture desirable vernacular experiential qualities (ibid). Sensorial experience is emphasised through decorative surfaces using textural and tactile materials (ibid).	The focus of Experiential Regionalism on a holistic experience of architecture shows empathy towards the paradigms of phenomenology and Critical Regionalism. Its emphasis on the vernacular domain is a self-imposed limitation that renders it difficult for application to the scale of a nation as engaged in this study. It has the potential to initiate the evolution of hybrid architecture. This is a more realistic approach as a response to the inevitable acculturation of Kenyan rural communities. A critical interpretation can be used to enhance its poetic characteristics for sustained contextual relevance. This regionalism differs from the neo-vernacular which develops new typologies derived from Modernism in order to express vernacular concepts.
<b>Anthropological Regionalism</b>	Through highlighting the <i>lacuna</i> that "a purely visual approach to architecture will never reveal the richness of information that inhabitants read in their visual environment" the genre pursues an "anthropological approach to vernacular architecture" (Pavrides, 2007 [1991]: 163, 165). It targets architects who design for "geographically and culturally" alien cultures as well as those communities seeking to legally regulate and "preserve their national heritage" (ibid). Through socio semiotic research methodology, it aims to "integrate anthropological studies of a community along with the examination of its architecture" using participatory observation, and visual documentation prior to architectural interpretation (ibid).	This remains an analytical approach offering no prescriptions for the entrenchment of a regional architecture. It therefore does not promote a synthesis of contextual parameters. Vast amounts of data need to be gathered and processed before any meaningful assessment can commence. At present, the approach has very limited application potential to the Kenyan context and may be perceived as futuristic due to its own limitation of methodology that requires "lengthy stays in a community" and a "great deal of time and effort" (Pavrides, 2007 [1991]: 165). An extensive collaboration between Kenyan architects and anthropologists would be required to gather sufficient information that can inform architectural design. It would be difficult to accommodate this regionalism within the Critical Regionalist framework proposed herein.
<b>Economic Regionalism</b>	This regionalist approach "attempts to provide a solid foundation for the nurturance of personal and cultural independence as well as the development and spread of truly productive universalizing trends among regions and peoples" (Coates, 2007 [1981]: 352).	Universal architectural concepts must be critically selected and analysed before inclusion and expression in the Kenyan context as not all universal economic aspects are progressive (see issues of foreign aid and multinationals in the role of economics in Chapter 2). The inherent danger in this type of regionalism is that of homogenisation of architectural concepts which can only be avoided by

		interventions that take local input into account. The misplaced quest for cultural independence within this regional approach may lead to the destruction of established community traditions in preference for alien taste cultures on the basis of individual economic power.
<b>Constructive Regionalism</b>	It seeks to create an autonomous architecture with "its own cultural life" indicating an "optimistic belief in potentialities of technology" (Alofsin, 2007 [1980]: 371). It "responds to local colours, materials and customs" while embracing tradition but encouraging its transformation in order to "foster craft and push the limits of technology" thereby resulting in an architecture that is anchored in the landscape (ibid: 368, 371). The paradox leitmotif confers upon it a dual facet which recognises "universal qualities" without stylistic impositions while exalting local craft but encouraging the use of machine products, shunning the elite star architect (ibid).	This approach portrays a broad epistemological base as it engages several contextual aspects and parameters like tradition, use of local materials, response to landscape, local and universal technology. It is therefore suitable for the Kenyan context as it is very similar to the proposed Critical Regionalism. The use of paradox as a leitmotif promotes the development of a hybrid architecture but without the critical aspects and dialectic oppositions of Critical Regionalism. This limits its potential to question existing indigenous practices and universal methods to be co-opted into regional architecture. The approach also fosters individual creativity by de-emphasising the role of the star architect or designer.
<b>Performative Regionalism</b>	The approach perceives regionalism as "a relationship between people and their place of performance" (Allen, 2007 [2005]: 421). It departs from "an investigation into what people actually do in that region that marks them as part of that place" in order to derive "spatial dimensions of a people's practices and normative behaviours" thereby designing "for regional identity" (ibid: 420). Though it "privileges local practices" resulting in a "phenomenal or experiential" architecture, its emphasis is on spatial use rather than built fabric and expression (ibid: 423, 424).	This approach portrays similarities with the discourse of Anthropological Regionalism. However the objective of recourse to cultural anthropology is a means to entrench Performative Regionalism through emphasis on an in-depth understanding of a culture prior to design. Its lack of restriction with regard to architectural image indicates the position that visual appearance is insignificant compared to cultural practice with regard to architectural genesis. This could lead to the loss of visual harmony, orientation and community identity. Its anti-mimetic leitmotif permits the use of alien forms provided that they are adapted to fit the local spatial requirements. This could result in the loss of regional traditional evolution and morphology of form as well as architectural identity. Its silence on the use of local materials and forms of architectural expression may be perceived to be a significant setback to its regionalist discourse.
<b>Non-modern Regionalism</b>	The approach seeks to restore John Agnew's "sense of place" which is perceived as the local "structure of feeling" that permeates a given place (Moore, 2007 [2005]: 433, 434). Technology is viewed from a geographical rather than a historical perspective in an attempt to diffuse the dialectic tension between subjectivity and objectivity through the understanding of place and technology "as the suppressed core concepts that are contained within regionalist architectural production" (ibid: 432, 434, 436). Place and technology are complementary yet not distinguishable, therefore prevalent differences in the quality of places are due to "technological practices [rather] than aesthetic choices" (ibid: 436, 438). The practice of Non-modern Regionalism where architecture is "reconstituted as a political, rather than an aesthetic practice" should eventually lead to the development of Regenerative Regionalism in architecture (ibid: 438, 440).	A regional approach that is synonymous with anti-modernism. Moore (2007 [2005]:433) characterises it as a "placeless" modernism that is "achievement oriented" and antithetical to modernism. Modern architecture was initially a temporal regionalism, with a rich architectural content. Non-modern regionalism may create aesthetic confusion by condemning the entire Modern architectural paradigm. It should rather promote abhorrence of the monotony, hegemony and 'internationalism' of the International Style. For architectural history and theory, historical evolution of technology enhances the understanding of cultural artefacts by revealing the limits of technology as expressed within built form. It also encodes or sediments the typological 'root form' (see 3.3.4). This sedimentation offers a multi-layered and multivocal encoding of meaning. Ignoring the historical aspect would lead to the loss of a rich source of understanding of architectural artefacts.
<b>Regenerative Regionalism</b>	Presently, the approach remains a futuristic proposition. It seeks to "construct social settings that can be lived differently" while emphasising participation to create an "architecture that is intelligible to local citizens" and "relevant to the material conditions of everyday life" through "construction of integrated cultural and	The thesis is futuristic, with a focus 'beyond Critical Regionalism'. The participatory strategy that it proposes responds to the local populace and their holistic architectural needs. This participation aspect is commendable and is hence proposed for inclusion into a more broadened Critical

	ecological processes” (Moore, 2007 [2005]: 440).	Regionalism that departs from the framework developed herein. However, its internal quest to “construct social settings that can be lived differently” (Moore, 2007 [2005]: 440), recalls the failed desire of Modern architects to influence the direction of societal culture and should therefore be cautiously and critically evaluated. The ecosystemic focus on community culture is progressive and should be incorporated into the broadened Critical Regionalism.
<b>Critical Regionalism</b>	This approach was inspired by Lewis Mumford’s Regionalism ideas that promote reference to local traditions but accommodate their inevitable transformation (Alofsin, 2007 [1980]: 369). It achieves a harmonious unity of local materials with the contextual landscape to yield a local architecture that also employs universal architectural principles (ibid). For Mumford, “no manner of building that exaggerates the local at the expense of the universal can possibly answer [to] the needs of our time” (ibid: 370). It is against “casual and irresponsible use of cultural symbols” and demands a prior “thoughtful consideration” before their use (Canizaro, 2007: 32). It abhors modernistic standardisation, promoting non-dogmatic “knowledge and experience” of local materials (ibid: 33).	Critical Regionalism is motivated and presented, in this study, as the praxis of choice for Kenyan architecture. While the study does not recommend that the positions and postulates of the key protagonists and generators of the paradigm be employed uncritically to the Kenyan context, architects will find it useful as a means of tackling historical, cultural, typological and other contextual parameters. Any questions that arise will enable a critical interpretation of the context tempered with individual subjectivity. This should foster creativity, resulting in vital architectural variation rather than monotonous and homogeneous architectural solutions. The transformation aspect of Critical Regionalism departs from a critical individual re-interpretation of contextual parameters for synthesis with select progressive aspects of Universal approaches. Recognising the absolute insufficiency of reliance on the local context as the sole source of architectural reference, this approach seeks to balance the universal with the local. It therefore acknowledges the inevitability of acculturation and the consequent cultural transformation, seeking to express the hybrid modernisation by co-opting relevant universal practices. Hence this the best approach to express and articulate the architectural realities of the Kenyan nation (see Chapter 2 for a detailed Kenyan cultural ecology).

Table 3h. Types of architectural Regionalist approaches.

### 3.3.7 Stereotypical perceptions and critiques of Regionalist approaches

Multiple prejudices and criticisms against architectural regionalisms have been postulated with or without epistemological justifications. Steven Moore states that “we must understand the historic uses and abuses of regionalism with particular attention paid to the geography of power relations” (2007 [2005]: 439). These power relations emerge from and are sustained by existing institutions and social networks within a locale (ibid). This study presents these biases synoptically in the table below, while offering a subjective response to counter the arguments put forth, emphasising the continued relevance of regionalist approaches despite these impartialities.

PREJUDICE OR CRITIQUE	MOTIVATION OR SOURCE	SUBJECTIVE RESPONSE OR REACTION
<b>Historicism</b>	"The historicist critique is erroneously aimed at respectful and irresponsible attitudes equally" (Canizaro, 2007: 24).	"Regionalism is more than an ideology or style" (Canizaro, 2007: 24). Any regional architecture must be inspired by local or contextual references. History is a valid referential source as widely evident in architectural curricula. However, historical restatements and mimetic solutions (see straight revivalism in Jencks, 1987: 80) are not suitable for Kenya as they lack a critical interpretation.
<b>Authenticity</b>	Regionalism is "against production of inauthentic replications of regional or local alternatives" (ibid: 28).	"Authenticity is not a property inherent to things and places but a measure of our connection to them" (ibid: 28). Is this critique postulating that we should pursue 'heroic and original' solutions that were condemned by Venturi <i>et.al.</i> (1977 [1972]: 93-100)? All regional architecture would pass the authenticity test due to sourcing referential content from the local context. However, a holistic architectural solution must be identifiable with the local populace so that they can own it in order to ensure authenticity. This can only be realised through participatory strategies that involve local residents.
<b>Mimesis</b>	Those that propose regionalism "had difficulty relinquishing stylistic imitation" (Colquhoun, 2007 [1996]: 141). A probe of their approaches yields "a deeper level of mimesis" (ibid, 2007 [1997]:150).	Colquhoun's (ibid) position that all regionalist approaches in architecture are mimetic, <i>a priori</i> , is superfluous. Referential regional forms evolve in a temporal manner (see reflexive regionalism in 3.3.6). They are the result of time-tested, climatically responsive and traditional cultural practices. They cannot have been mimetic perpetually due to transformations that emerge as a result of intermarriage and acculturation.
<b>Scenography</b>	The focus of decadent regionalisms is a specialisation in the "quaint", "eccentric" or "picturesque" for purposes of [public] exploitation (Berry, 2007 [1972]: 36).	Regional architectures should be judged from the effectiveness of their internal programs, content, contextual reference and relevance rather than external visual appearance. Scenographic focus is too narrow to generate valid regional architecture. This prejudice indicates a lack of deeper analysis and contemplation into the epistemology of regionalism.
<b>Insincere cultural generalisations</b>	The "dependence on false mythology in order to stereotype the life of a region" with the aim of imposing "false literary or cultural generalizations upon false geographic generalizations" (ibid).	The pursuit of regional architectural expressions is an honourable quest for truth in architectural solutions (see footnote 4 on page 145 and Chapter 4 of this study on Heideggerian concepts of truth). Therefore any truly regional architect, like Hassan Fathy, would not deliberately falsify their referential sources.
<b>Misplaced focus</b>	Regionalist approaches are "a distraction from the particular realities and needs of particular places" (ibid).	The vast epistemological discourse of regionalism engages a wide range of contextual architectural issues (see types of regionalism in 3.3.5). How can regionalism distract from the needs of a locale when it uses these needs as a point of departure and reference in the search for culturally relevant architectural solutions?
<b>Cultural autonomy</b>	Regionalism should not be linked to self-sufficiency and self-containment as this promotes cultural primitivity (Mumford, 2007 [1941]: 99).	All cultures are universal and open to external influences (Mumford, ibid). Regional architectural approaches must not be closed to external influences. Instead, they should disentangle alien and assimilated cultural practices from originally existing traditional ones and then express them as a collage or even better as a bricolage composition that would yield a hybrid regional architecture.

<b>The absence of a root form</b>	The architectural quest for regional essences is “a hopeless task” because regionalism is “an oversimplified picture of a complex cultural situation” (Colquhoun, 2007 [1997]: 150).	Desedimentation (see the search for the Husserlian epoche in Chapter 4) is actually a valid method of inquiry in the philosophy of phenomenology. A vast wealth of information regarding architectural form genesis, typology, historical evolution and cultural transformation is revealed when the outer layers of an architectural artefact are uncovered (desedimented) in the search for the core or essence or root form. Even if a root form/archetype is absent (which will most likely never be the case), vital architectural material will nevertheless be obtained.
<b>The absence of difference</b>	Regionalist epistemologies seek “the preservation of difference” which is irrelevant as contemporary differences are anchored in “individualism and the nation-state” (ibid: 151).	Despite the advent of globalisation, dissemination of advanced technologies and rapid transportation systems, regional differences will never be eliminated as climatic and cultural variations will still persist. The expression of regional architectural differences remains a valid task in both theory and practice.
<b>Contextual codes</b>	Regionalism thrives on “the ability to correlate cultural codes with geographic regions” which is no longer a valid approach as traditional and cultural determinants are fast being relegated into obsolescence (ibid).	Contemporary architectural solutions are still inspired by traditional determinants such as climate, craft and religion (ibid; see Chapter 2 of this study). Acculturation for architecture must not be perceived as cultural substitution due to obsolescence of past cultures. It should rather be seen as a potential for developing a new regional architecture. This will probably be hybrid architecture in response to the new set of contextual codes which are hybrid in nature as they are both locally and universally inspired. Hence the proposal of Critical Regionalism, in this study, as a suitable approach for the Kenyan context.
<b>Vernacular associations</b>	Regional architectural responses are “the existing vernacular architecture of a region” (Pavrides, 2007 [1991]: 156). Regionalism on many occasions results in “the commodification of traditional vernacular forms” and “stylistic attributes” of the vernacular (Cassidy, 2007 [2000]: 410, 413).	Vernacular perception of regionalism is misplaced when it limits regionalist approaches to engaging with form genesis only. The extensive violation of scale and direct restatement of vernacular forms are regressive. These forms can be re-interpreted and adapted to new contexts and functions, thereby exhibiting a progressive use of history. The epistemological bases of regionalist theories are vast, tackling issues such as sustainability, cultural responsiveness, mediation between universal and local aspects, post-colonial and pluralist discourses. Therefore, regional dialogue is not limited to vernacular forms and their associations.

Table 3i. Critique of architectural Regionalism.

### 3.4 Critical Regionalism

The key protagonists of Critical Regionalism, Tzonis and Lefaivre, sought to invoke “the architect’s avant-gardiste effort to change culture and society” (Otero-Pailos, 2002: 367). On the other hand, Frampton resisted this position, advocating for cultural continuity through recognition of local traditional materials and craftsmanship in an attempt to reconcile “aesthetic practices” with “socio-cultural conditions” (ibid). Presently, the approach is perceived as an alternative to ‘dehumanizing’ Modernism and ‘kitsch’ Postmodernism in order to counter “placelessness” and misplaced vernacular

“historicist revivals” (Ingersoll, 2007 [1991]: 386). This recalls Le Corbusier’s desire to reconcile “popular customs and regional traditions with modern technology” (Colquhoun, 2007 [1996]: 143). Through establishing the dialectic between “locally rooted traditions” and “globalized civilizations”, a resistive critique of “assimilation and commodification” of universalising contemporary forces is achieved (Cassidy, 2007 [2000]: 410). Culture and identity are central to the genre while recognising the inevitable tension between regional and universal aspects that are contained in all cultures (Otero-Pailos, 2002: 391, 392; Mumford, 2007 [1941]: 100). Critical Regionalism therefore incorporates technological advancement for the exploration of new avenues for architectural growth (Doshi, 2007 [1985]: 116). It is thus a regionalism that is suitable for the Kenyan context as it is a “critical endeavour” whose premise lies beyond style (Frampton, 2007 [1987]: 374-384).

### **3.4.1 The poetics of Critical Regionalism**

#### **1. Defamiliarisation**

The practice of Critical Regionalism employs poetry as a tool of communication with its societal context. Tzonis and Lefaivre (1996 [1990]: 489) have identified the poetic technique of defamiliarisation as the main device through which Critical Regionalist architecture achieves its legitimization as it enables a total self-referential probe to be performed. They further outline defamiliarisation as a process of “identifying, decomposing and recomposing” regional elements in order to employ them in strange configurations, thereby generating viewer contemplation leading to their comprehension (ibid). Through the insertion of the cultural object into a conflicting context, defamiliarisation seeks to counter the regressive aspects of both universal and local cultures as the nostalgia that arises from familiarity with local culture and the scenography that emerges from thoughtless application of the universal technique to local contexts is regressive.

Several questions still persist regarding the successful implementation of defamiliarisation in architecture. Is it possible to completely strip elements of their contexts? What elements should we defamiliarise, the part or the whole? Tzonis and Lefaivre (ibid) suggest that “place-defining” elements should be identified for decomposition. Do we create satire by accommodating functions in forms that are associated with completely different functions? How many elements do we defamiliarise? The poetic device of defamiliarisation has the potential to be applied to both the tangible and intangible constituents of architectural form. This explains why additional poetic devices relating to construction and place-making are required to effectively utilise the defamiliarisation technique.

## 2. Tectonic Expression

For Frampton (1996c [1990]: 519) the basis of all architecture is the structural unit as material, process and assemblage techniques are all expressed within it. Critical Regionalism applies the poetics of tectonic expression to this fundamental structural unit. Its confrontational and resistance characteristics as well as the poetic device of defamiliarisation are concretised through tectonic expression. Tectonic undertaking is not an exercise to promote scenography (ibid, 1996c [1990]: 520). Scenography is a decadent product of the triumph of universal culture over local culture which according to Frampton has resulted in cultural degeneration and reduction of architecture to commodity culture (ibid). Tectonic expression employs the device of detailing to achieve defamiliarisation. Marco Frascari (1996 [1984]: 501) emphasises that detailing is the assemblage of materials and building elements to promote functionality and aesthetic unity. A detail and a joint are indistinguishable, as the joint is a narrative generator in architecture (ibid).

Frampton perceives the mere exposition of structure as simplistic and urges architects to consider the poetics of tectonics as a process of “making and revealing” (1996c [1990]: 519). This enables tectonic narration to achieve a whole through assemblage, which is revealed through spatial subdivision (ibid: 525). Tectonic expression embodies symbolism. Frascari (1996 [1984]: 500) presents the detail as an object of signification as it is the location within the structural unit that is ideal for attachment of meaning. Frampton (1996c [1990]: 522) on the other hand links tectonic expression to cosmological symbolism that was previously mentioned in Norberg Schulz's reading of Heidegger. The building base and foundation are massive tending towards the earth, gravity and darkness while the superstructure is dematerialised to embrace the sky and light. The mediation aspect of tectonic expression is the complementary function of opposites that was previously suggested by Chris Abel. The visual complements the tactile while the smooth unites with the rough to create a variety that is characteristic of Critical Regionalism. Frampton (ibid) insists that cultural differences specific to each region may be discerned in the joining or meeting of a building's superstructure to/ or with its base.

## 3. Place

Like in the phenomenology of architecture, the poetics of Critical Regionalism emphasise the central hierarchy of place. Frampton (1996a [1974]: 443) insists on the distinction between place and space, recognising that place is associated with social experience with space thriving on abstraction. He laments about architectural inadequacy in place creation, arguing that production and place

creation are antagonistic as place is qualitative while production is quantitative (ibid: 444). The universal culture embraces production and industrial standardisation. Therefore production reduces architectural components to the role of fashion, thereby eradicating any variety that exists within a locale. Place creation is possible only when we distinguish between architecture and building in order to appreciate the political aspect of place, which is manifested in public interaction with the built form (ibid: 442-445). Sustainable places must be stable and possess a variety of cultural experiences anchored in history. Hence place is the Critical Regionalism stage where confrontation between the universal and local cultures finds expression. Unity within a place may be achieved through disposition of elements and functions by means of defamiliarisation and tectonic expression. Effective place creation involves a check and balance mediation system of the quantitative and qualitative gains to achieve a biological homeostasis between place, nature and production (ibid: 442-445). Such a place will then develop the capacity to resist the extreme capitalistic tendencies manifested in the universal consumer culture that seeks to maximise profit at the expense of the environment. The parallel between Frampton and Norberg-Schulz's concept of place is evident as Critical Regionalism and phenomenology seek to provide for man's harmonious existence on earth, 'the existential foothold'. Frampton (ibid: 446) argues that the idea of place must address the primary requirements of man and recognise his sensory nature to cater for his intellectual state.

### **3.4.2 Selected leitmotifs of Critical Regionalism**

#### **1. Contextual Synthesis**

This involves the isolation of the progressive aspects of the universal technology which are then incorporated into the prevailing local context to achieve a hybrid architecture that is culturally responsive. This then enables the recovery of place to express political identity (Nesbitt, 1996: 469). Such a synthesis is a sustainable practice as it only injects the best universal practices into the local culture.

#### **2. Resistance**

Frampton elucidates the six points, which summarize his thesis of architecture of resistance, a vital motif to critical regionalism as outlined below (Foster, 1995: 16-28):

- Critical regionalist architecture must resist the "victory of universal civilization over locally inflected culture". This victory has arisen from capitalist land speculation and automatic distribution which have resulted in the emergence of new typologies; "the free standing high-rise" and "the serpentine



freeway”. The “high-tech” and Venturi’s “decorated shed” are dishonest expressions since they attempt to conceal the harsh reality of the universal approach.

- Modernism must be resisted and the concept of progress should be questioned and redefined, while rejecting the modernist ideology of completely transforming the contemporary reality. Cultural preservation as embodied in socialism must resist and prevail over capitalistic modernism.
- Recognise that the interaction between the local and universal culture is inevitable. However Critical Regionalist architecture must resist recourse to nostalgic historicism through the use of a tempered universal technique.
- Resist the placelessness resulting from the mechanical implementation of urban planning strategies, which are simplistic because they are a mere allocation of land resource with no clear guideline on the place-form concept and the experiences that it generates.
- Resist the placelessness caused by the total rejection of contextual parameters exhibited by regressive practices such as the extreme modifications of the topography of a site or the prevailing climatic conditions. Whenever the natural conditions are extremely adversarial to the harmonious existence of man, then it is justified to employ the universal solutions to counter them.
- Resist the domination of the visual senses over the other senses of smell, hearing and touch. The preference for the visual sense, according to Frampton(1996b [1983]: 480), results in a shallow architecture characterised by mere photogenic scenography as the tactile value of the tectonic component can yield trans-optical architecture that is rich in content.

Tzonis and Lefaivre (1996 [1990]: 490) have indicated that Critical Regionalism must resist the undesirable by-products that result from vested interests, both public and private. Such interests must be selfish and anti-conservationist and are propelled by mere monetary gain. Is Critical Regionalism revolutionary? Definitely not; it is simply the restoration of a practice that is sustainable within the discipline or architecture.

### **3. Mediation**

Frampton has concluded that mediation is a key function of Critical Regionalism (Foster 1995: 16-28). He proposes that universal civilisation requires mediation with contextual elements. Tzonis and Lefaivre (1996 [1990]: 486) also propose the employment of regional cultural elements to confront universal architecture in order to counter its destructive, alienating and oppressive qualities.

One infers that the universal and the local are so antagonistic that their mutual co-existence requires the resolution of inherent tension between them. Critical Regionalist architecture is the mediating agent. Abel (2000: 113) describes this antagonism as the “essential tension” between polar opposites. The responsive architecture he proposes (ibid: 45), is synonymous with Critical Regionalism and he describes its roles as the “resolution of opposing architectural tendencies”.

Abel (ibid: 45, 46) perceives the resolution of the existing tension as the practice of a “more balanced modernist philosophy” in which the technological culture of Western nations is exploited while respecting the local environment and places within it and suggests that a shift of focus from the universal mass-produced and highly standardised components towards craft generated elements as a conceptual means to diffuse the inevitable tension. Frampton observes that Critical Regionalist architecture shows “sensitivity towards local materials, craftwork...” (1996b [1983]: 473). One infers that the universal practice that abhors ornamentation, local sculpture and craft is antithetical to Critical Regionalism.

#### **4. The Prevailing Tension**

According to Abel the antagonism between the universal and local cultures is in fact a tension between the competing forces of tradition and modernity. He observes that modernity is associated with “rejection of history”, “purity of form” and industrial advancement, while tradition is erroneously perceived to thrive in “backward economic and political systems” through its “historical and vernacular forms” (2000: 114).

It is the opinion of the author that the recognition of the ‘Eastern Unity’ proposed by Abel (ibid: 118) is mandatory to architects since its implementation can achieve a “dynamic balance”. He observes that the universal and local cultures are “polar aspects of the same reality” and cannot exist independently since they represent the same totality. One infers that the Eastern Unity concept embraces inclusivism and concurs with Abel’s position that “opposites have a complementary function” (ibid: 119).

#### **5. Historical Neutrality**

According to Nesbitt (1996: 483), the protagonists of Critical Regionalism, Tzonis and Lefaivre, have adopted a neutral stance towards history since they do not reject nor propose a recapitulation of local traditions. Frampton (1996b [1983]: 471) clearly states that Critical Regionalism does not imply recourse to the vernacular. The author disagrees with the protagonists on this position because the

appreciation of local culture requires the recognition of its spatio-temporal dimension. The traditions that Critical Regionalism seeks to use as means of preserving local identity have evolved over time and are therefore anchored in the history of a locale. What should be avoided is the simplistic re-use of historical forms. One must continuously interpret history to keep abreast with the dynamic nature of culture. The author insists that historical interpretation is vital to the contextual synthesis motif of Critical Regionalism. In fact Frampton observed that the tectonic practice of “building the site” exposes the history of the site (Foster, 1995: 16-28). One cannot afford to ignore the history of a locale as this would unleash the previously identified destructive forces of the universal culture upon the fragile local culture.

## **6. Antimimesis**

Critical Regionalism does not condone mimesis. Tzonis and Lefaivre (1996 [1990]: 490) insist that Critical Regionalist architecture must source its forms from the specific context. This indicates to us that it preserves the identity of each region since it does not permit an architect to impose an alien form upon a region. The antimimetic position might seem restrictive, initially, upon individual creativity. However, Tzonis and Lefaivre (ibid) indicate that Critical Regionalism is not held hostage by its own rigid rules of composition and aesthetics. Therefore the paradigm fosters creativity through promotion of flexibility of interpretation of the local condition.

## **7. Perception of community**

The Critical Regionalist perception of community is distinguishable from the traditional regionalist position that considered the community as a monocultural entity based on tribal linkages instead of a multicultural community which is the result of cultural interaction. One observes that the hybridism is actually the integration of the universal culture into the local culture. Frampton (1996a [1974]: 443) describes the ideology of “community without propinquity” as deceptive. The author concurs with this position since cultural interaction is only possible when people live within reasonable proximity of each other, be it geographically or in hyperspace.

## **8. Sensorial Perception**

As outlined earlier, Critical Regionalism permits the visual senses to complement the tactile and other senses rather than dominate over them. Frampton describes scenography as a strategy for domination of the local culture by the universal technology (Foster, 1995: 16-28). He proposes the use of contrast and material juxtaposition as a means of invoking the senses of sound, smell and

touch (ibid). The author infers that the total sensorial response advocated for by Frampton will promote the phenomenological experience of architecture.

## **9. Political Engagement**

Frampton (1996b [1983]: 472) argues that architects have a political responsibility to generate a realistic regionalism that is accessible to the entire community. One observes that community identification with a certain type of architecture is a testimony to the existence of Critical Regionalism within it.

However, Frampton (ibid: 471) urges architects to distinguish between political activism that targets community identity and populism, which is inherent in universal consumer culture. He insists that populism identifies with advertising which is the persuasive expression tool of production.

The author infers that the inevitable consequence of popular culture is the emergence of stereotypical tendencies that result in a variety of fashionable taste cultures. One understands Frampton's position because it recognises the ephemeral nature of fashion. Fashion usually associates itself with beauty that is intuitive and often lacks a theoretical basis. Advertising informs popular culture generating a perpetual culture of taste substitutions. The political motif of Critical Regionalism is tasked with the recovery of lost place. Frampton's emphasis on place over space (ibid: 481) is an indication of the type of political activism that is associated with Critical Regionalism.

### **3.4.3 Critique and prejudices against Critical Regionalism**

It is acknowledged that Critical Regionalism is not "the only regional theory worth consideration" (Canizaro, 2007: 10). However, its suitability for application to the Kenyan context has been motivated in this study despite the criticisms and prejudices directed towards it, due to its potential for articulating pertinent issues regarding place, context and universal technology (see 3.3.6 & 3.4.4). Previous researchers have focussed on theoretical explication rather than critique of Critical Regionalism notwithstanding the numerous "contradictions inherent in Critical Regionalist theory" (Egger, 2007 [2002]: 406; Barker, 2012: 111). Wolff (2009: 179) argues that "the reliance on a single reference threatens the depth of appreciation of a project". Therefore, a theory with multiple interpretations is potent for architectural discourse as it generates variety that is sustained by multivalence and multivocality both in favour and against it. However, antagonistic positions do not

invalidate the theory. The Table below is a synopsis of some of these prejudices with a brief evaluation of their motivations.

PREJUDICE OR CRITIQUE	MOTIVATION OR SOURCE	EVALUATION OR EXPLICATION
<b>The dialectical approach</b>	For Cassidy (2007 [2000]: 411), “the dialectical mechanisms that are used to attack the legitimacy of the culture industry deny the possibility of recognising the richness in regional identity”. Richard Ingersoll (2007 [1991]: 386) claims that the “dialectical premises” of Critical Regionalism generate difficulty in its comprehension and visualisation.	The dialectic approach is justified as Critical Regionalism is situated within postcolonial theoretical discourse (Eggener, 2007 [2002]: 405). Hence the key concepts of the paradigm are often considered in dialectic form (see Frampton, 2007 [1987]: 374-384). It is true that not all architectural parameters can be reduced to dialectic polarities or “monumental binary oppositions” (Eggener, <i>ibid</i> : 405). Many other aspects of architectural genesis including culture and climate are significant to Critical Regionalism even though they are seldom encountered in dialectic form. Kenyan architects in practice or training must make the effort to familiarise themselves with ‘support’ disciplines such as philosophy to enable them to contribute meaningfully to theoretical discourse.
<b>Misplaced perception of ‘critical’</b>	What are critical remains debatable, though for Barker (2012: 110) it refers to “universal dogmas” and “revivalist approaches”. For Colquhoun, (2007 [1997]: 150), critical seems “to add nothing of substance” to Regionalism, as it only implies resistance to architectural nostalgia. Moore (2007 [2005]: 441) observes that Critical Regionalism “construct[s] critical objects that inform viewers of how history might have been different”.	The term critical implies both a methodology and critique of architectural establishments entrenched in praxis (vernacular architecture) or training (institutional or universal architecture). It necessitates critical interpretation through re-examination, analysis and synthesis of contextual parameters. The focus of Critical Regionalism is not to generate a historical narration of architectural evolution. Neither is it the desire to critique historical artefacts. Rather, its practice is referential upon contextual parameters within a locale. This is a broad engagement with historical reference as one of the many determinants of architectural forms.
<b>Concept of Region</b>	A region is perceived as “a collection of self-referential objects instead of a complex cultural web. Individual works of architecture are reduced to a set of formal relationships that can be freely manipulated without regard to the regional context” (Cassidy, 2007 [2000]: 411).	Architecture cannot exist independently of a live context; otherwise the forms therein would be reduced to historical relics. Since Critical Regionalism recognises the existence of established traditional crafts and construction practices in a region, it emanates from the immediate context rather than existing independently of it.
<b>Insoluble tensions</b>	Critical Regionalism seeks to mediate between tensions that will always remain insoluble by “making a struggle where no struggle might	Nevertheless, it is still a worthwhile undertaking to reconcile prevalent incompatibilities and antagonisms between universal and local

	otherwise have been said to exist” (Eggener, 2007 [2002]: 405). This portrays an overemphasis on the aspect of struggle between conflicting cultural interests.	architectural generators and forms. The success of the extensive proposed architectural response should be evaluated from a user or regional identification perspective.
<b>Fashion &amp; Stereotype</b>	Critical Regionalism is “a fashionable formula” or “catchword to describe a range of difficult and diverse architectures” that is anchored in differential contextual circumstances (ibid). This causes it to “collapse under the weight of its own incongruities” (ibid: 406). Is it a “victim of the inevitable universalizing tendencies that it warned against?” (ibid).	This is not yet the case in Kenya, where the practice of Critical Regionalism is yet to be extensively established. However, since the approach prefers to be non-dogmatic while targeting individual architects, it is not envisioned that it could result in architectural hegemony as was observed with the International Style.
<b>Defamiliarisation</b>	This technique decomposes regional architectures into “shards” and “fragments” thereby resulting in ‘kitsch’ (Colquhoun, 2007 [1997]: 150). Architectural comfort that arises from defamiliarisation as a tool to counter nostalgic tendencies “is suspect as it makes society easy prey to commercial and exploitative interests” (Canizaro, 2007: 11).	Defamiliarisation is a poetic device within Critical Regionalism (see 3.4.1 above). It can be used to create architectural irony or satire for the critique of political or institutional establishments. Its use need not result in architectural ‘kitsch’. At the Bomas of Kenya and Safari Park Hotel in Nairobi, traditional architectural forms have been defamiliarised in new functions to generate vibrant architectural compositions.
<b>Culture &amp; Identity</b>	For Cassidy (2007 [2000]: 410), Critical Regionalism “assumes that no authentic cultural processes still exist”, discounting “all regional manifestations that celebrate traditional notions of regional identity”. It is impossible to defamiliarise culture (Pallasmaa, 2007 [1988]: 130).	This position is actually true and futuristic in outlook because of the inevitability of extensive acculturation as a result of modernisation in Kenya (see Chapter 2 of this study). Critical Regionalism uses the present cultural condition, with all its inherent complexities and contradictions, as a point of departure for architectural genesis. Intangible cultural aspects may be difficult to defamiliarise but tangible cultural artefacts such as works of architecture imbued with physical embodiment can be defamiliarised by any competent Kenyan architect.
<b>Abhorrence of Nostalgia</b>	The objective of Critical Regionalism is “to make culturally and physically place-specific architecture without being nostalgic” (Cassidy, 2007 [2000]: 411). Any objections to nostalgia are based on “perceived susceptibility to populist and nationalistic commodification” (ibid).	Critical Regionalism is not against historical reference but the direct revival of historical forms that lacks in interpretation and cannot therefore generate meaningful architecture to the present context due to differences that arise from temporality and inevitable cultural transformation.
<b>Philosophical confusion</b>	Moore (2007 [2005]: 437) claims that through “relying alternately upon the opposing assumptions of critical theory, which are Modern, and those of Martin Heidegger which are Postmodern, Critical Regionalism leads to philosophical confusion”.	Architectural issues, like philosophical questions, can be articulated and effectively engaged within multiple paradigms and this provides a broad base from which to tackle emergent queries. Critical theory can complement philosophical rigour with regard to the analysis of underlying paradigmatic

		epistemology. This study is a suitable exemplar as it proposes the fusion of Critical Regionalism with the philosophy of Phenomenology as a framework for analysis of the semiology of Kenyan architectural artefacts.
<b>Preference for Modernist &amp; Postmodernist discourse</b>	Critical Regionalism results in nostalgic misrepresentation of “traditional experiential connections to regions” through overemphasis on “the abstract aesthetics of architectural Modernism and the theoretical worldview of Postmodern theory” (Cassidy, 2007 [2000]: 411).	This position is not entirely true because Critical Regionalism only promotes the incorporation of progressive universal architectural aspects within a local context. It does not embrace technology for its own sake but rather questions its appropriateness to avoid the mistakes of the Modern Movement that shunned local craft, preferring standardisation and mass production instead.
<b>Preference for Modernist aesthetic formulation</b>	Within Critical Regionalism, “the possibilities for variation and expression are compressed into such a narrow range that any regional expression other than that, which is possible through the Modernist aesthetic, is negated” (ibid).	Critical Regionalism seeks to acknowledge the existing vernacular architecture of a region and uses it to inform architectural design through critical evaluation and interpretation. The approach is not prescriptive but is simply a means of creating truly meaningful and sensitive architecture (Patterson, 1995). Sensorial perception of architecture and the technique of defamiliarisation were not taken into account within Modernism but are central to Critical Regionalism.

Table 3j. The critique of Critical Regionalism.

### 3.4.4 Suitability of Critical Regionalism to the Kenyan Context

Any universal architectural style must “permit regional adaptations and modifications” (Mumford, 2007 [1947]: 290). Critical Regionalism is hence proposed for the Kenyan context as it enables a critical incorporation of universal architectural principles to the region in a form that is appropriate for ‘ownership’ by the indigenous populace. It is the means for tackling new and emergent architectural challenges to paint a “picture of liberation, of expansion, of diversity” to express the *zeitgeist* of the Kenyan nation (Harris, 2007 [1958]: 60). The process of “diffusion, assimilation and personalisation” provides the means by which Critical Regionalism can be entrenched into Kenyan architecture because rapid modernisation of the country has resulted in the “demise of indigenous cultural expression” (Stirling, 2007 [1957]: 329; Barker, 2012: 44). The present Kenyan socio-politico-cultural mind-set is one which perceives the local as “a place of lesser achievement” (Canizaro, 2007:

12). As a nation that is still recovering from colonialism, there is an urgent national need to establish a new identity through the search for an “authentic dialogue” and this requires an “authentic deciphering, a methodical interpretation” (Ricoeur, 2007 [1965]: 46, 49, 52).

The quest for architectural truth (see Norberg-Schulz in 3.2.5), lies within the inevitable process of confrontation of civilisations (ibid: 51). This requires a new perception of built form “in terms of culture” rather than “space, technology or economy” and this will result in “a strong sense of identity” founded on “socio-cultural patterns” (Doshi, 2007 [1985]: 113). Flexibility and choice within individual architectural interpretations are necessary during the identification of suitable densely populated “cultural catalysts” within the Kenyan nation (ibid: 115, 117). Malls, discotheques, churches and markets are examples of typologies that can be critically re-interpreted in the evolution of a regional Kenyan architecture. Such “culturally adapted architecture” will enable Kenyans to “rediscover and revitalise aspects of [their] tradition” within the “hidden dimensions of culture” (Pallasmaa, 2007 [1988]: 131). Critical Regionalism can therefore be pursued through “culturally differentiated architecture” in a process that involves critical identification and expression of cultural aspects that “vigorously resist change” to ensure cultural continuity (ibid: 130, 131).

Furthermore, the response to contextual forces is central to Kenyan Critical Regionalist architecture. This will require the correlation of development to climatic conditions and the “re-interpretation of traditional climatic [control] devices” for modern architectural tasks and this will create “harmony with the existing built form” through the use of “sympathetic forms and materials” while retaining regional “architectural character” (Boussora, 2007 [1990]: 124).

The new Kenyan politico-administrative regime, which will commence in 2013, establishes self-governance through 47 counties. This decentralisation of power will provide sufficient distance between Kenyan regions thereby enabling them to preserve their inherent cultural distinctions that will result in vital variety within future architectural solutions, which may be based upon Critical Regionalist principles (Alexander, 2007 [1977]: 245, 246). For further discussion on methods of entrenching Critical Regionalism within architectural pedagogy and praxis see Frampton’s (1999) recommendations in *Seven Points for the Millennium*, as well as Chapter 4 of this study.



### 3.4.5 Critical Regionalism and the Kenyan Vernacular

Frampton (2007 [1987]: 378) proclaims that “regionalism should not be sentimentally identified with the vernacular”. This position is contestable generating conflicting positions (Canizaro, 2007: 109; Ozkan, 2007 [1985]: 108; Barker, 2012: 46). The Kenyan context exemplifies a vernacular that is imbued with principles of Critical Regionalism though it cannot be entirely situated within the paradigm.

As observed previously, Critical Regionalist architecture facilitates a rational dialogue between the local context and universal technology. However, the Kenyan vernacular is only in the infancy stage of this dialogue. The huge potential for the vernacular to manifest the principles of Critical Regionalism is evident but the available universal technology is too vast to be immediately accommodated within the vernacular.

Abel (2000: 121) advocates for a hybrid, responsive, contextual architecture that co-opts and evolves exotic forms conferring upon them a local identity. This can be exemplified by the advent of the Christian faith in Kenya, which has resulted in the ‘vernacularisation’ of the cruciform plan, evident in both formal and informal construction of churches throughout the entire country. However, the hybrid synthesis of the vernacular with the universal is still in its embryonic stages within the Kenyan vernacular.

The self-examination and evaluation in Critical Regionalist architecture that was elucidated by Tzonis and Lefaivre (1996 [1990]: 488) is characteristic of vernacular architecture and is successfully demonstrated by the continuous experimentation that seeks to propagate tested models while eliminating failed or obsolete attempts. This demands a continuous self-probe of the vernacular to expose its shortcomings in order to initiate action.

The resistance leitmotif of Critical Regionalism is well entrenched within the vernacular. Scenography is absent due to the practical and economical nature of vernacular build which is egalitarian in its quest to invoke sensorial perceptions. The extent to which the vernacular resists historicist imitation is debatable because history is the principal form generator in this domain. However the antimimesis leitmotif is upheld, particularly in the rural vernacular, where one Kenyan community cannot possibly acquire a house form from another and posit it as their own, due to their cultural pride. However, the input of cross cultural exchanges arising from conquests, trade and intermarriage, amongst others, cannot be ignored. It is justified to believe that future architectural

intervention within the vernacular can achieve a superior historical interpretation when compared with that of traditional builders because architects should arguably be better trained to express contextual and cultural integration through critical interpretation. This can lead to a more effective dialogue with the universal.

The prevailing tension between contemporary modernity and local tradition that was outlined by Abel (2000: 114) is evident within the vernacular. Tradition dominates modernity in the rural Kenyan vernacular while the contrary is true for the mainstream urban architecture. Abel (ibid: 45) proposes the employment of traditional craft in the diffusion and mediation of this tension. Kenyan traditional craft is largely still in a purism stage and has not yet integrated the universal into itself, despite modernisation and acculturation. The universal does not yet complement the vernacular and Abel's 'Eastern Unity' is still elusive.

The focus of the political engagement leitmotif of Critical Regionalist architecture was previously outlined as the recovery of lost place. This political activism is vital to the urban vernacular which needs to discover rather than recover its place. In Kenya, the rural vernacular has not yet lost its place, but this place is threatened with the simplistic persuasions of modernism. It is in order to echo Frampton's (1996 [1983]: 471) position that place is antithetical to the mass production that is induced by capitalistic consumer culture. Fashion is substituted by practicality within the vernacular as informal build cannot be subjected to standardisation.

The multicultural community that Critical Regionalist architecture seeks to express is absent in the Kenyan rural vernacular as these settlements may presently be described as monoethnic entities (although the monoethnic vision is more and more attacked from a new understanding of the existence of more complex ethnic conglomerates under an umbrella term like 'Kikuyu' etc, one can understand the hegemononic 'dominance' of the overarching cultural enclave). The urban vernacular is multicultural to an extent but some informal urban settlements are dominated by one ethnic community, for example, the Luo in Kibera and the Luhya in Kawangware and Kangemi- one can expect either a greater openness to cultural exchange in this instance, or the opposite, almost like the ethnic divides in San Francisco, Little Italy, Little Cuba etc, making for strong boundaries and spilling over into fierce 'inter-ethnic' gang warfare. Greater cultural interaction between Kenya tribes will be required before the realisation of an urban vernacular architecture that is indeed multicultural. Cultural activities that are related to building a multiethnic rainbow type nation state will be important in this regard.

Frampton claims that Critical Regionalism “builds the site” (ibid: 468) and this may be understood in a literal or abstract manner. Literally, major topographical alterations have not yet occurred within the Kenyan vernacular as most of its structures are mundane and do not necessitate massive excavations. However, inevitable site modifications within the vernacular cannot be ruled out, especially when its dwellers are endangered by topography that encourages landslides on sloping rural sites with soils that have high water retention capacity or abandoned urban quarries and riparian urban lands that encounter perennial flooding.

The “defamiliarisation” technique that was elucidated by Tzonis and Lefaivre (1996 [1990]: 489) is largely absent within the Kenyan vernacular. This may be attributed to the absence of architectural input in this paradigm as architects would be more effective in the articulation of such a poetic device within the built form. An example of the defamiliarisation technique is observed in the urban vernacular where corrugated iron sheets intended for roofing dwelling units are instead employed as walling material. However this is an example of intuitive cognition rather than an intelligent premeditation.

Critical Regionalism has been described by Frampton as an individual rather than a collective practice (1996 [1983]: 475) and this is evident when traditional artefacts and the individual vernacular dwelling units are examined closely. This reiterates Fathy’s (1973: 30) position that speculative architecture cannot be accommodated within the vernacular as individual requirements cannot be duplicated. However, the concretisation of tribal customs and cultural requirements within vernacular buildings demonstrate a collective practice that is evidenced by the uniformity of materials employed in the rural vernacular. Within the new urban vernacular, there are isolated selective attempts at transposition of rural spatial usage and typologies into urban informal settlements. However, these are camouflaged by congestion of housing units due to prevalent high densities within the built fabric as well as the use of different materials in *ad hoc* compositions, including cannibalised and recycled metal, plastic and rammed earth/ cement screed plaster as substitute for thatch or mud and cow dung plaster in the rural setting.

Critical Regionalist architecture employs the poetics of tectonic expression in the quest for an identity that can be achieved through symbolic narration. This is evident in the rural vernacular where the structural unit is derived from and expresses the community culture. For example, the connections between the walls and the eaves of the roof structure symbolise the continual interaction of the spirits of the occupants with those of their ancestors, thus enabling nocturnal visitations. The urban

vernacular demonstrates the technique of cannibalisation of building materials which are then concretised in a rudimentary assemblage that portrays an intuitive collage. It may be argued that such a composition symbolises the contemporary pluralistic society but its probe reveals that it is the outcome of socio-economic hardships arising from widespread urban poverty.

### **3.5 Recapitulation**

This chapter sought to establish a theoretical basis as a datum for the study herein, anchored within the two key paradigms of Phenomenology and Critical Regionalism, as a means of understanding the semiology of Kenyan architectural artefacts. These theories were motivated through descriptions of the perspectives of key protagonists as well as relevant discourse centred on aspects of culture, identity, language, poetry, historicism and typology in order to achieve the requisite depth and variety in the engagement with the pertinent issues underlying these two key paradigms.

The centrality of phenomenology to contemporary philosophy was discussed and the various types of phenomenology were outlined to indicate the focus of their epistemological discourse. The classical phenomenologists were identified in order to provide the background for Heideggerian inspiration of Norberg-Schulz's phenomenology of architecture, which was subsequently presented in a synoptic yet extensive approach for completeness.

Contested definitions of the concept of 'Region' were also presented despite the significant deficiencies therein. This study did not attempt to define 'Region', preferring instead to defer it to the curriculum implementation stage where it could be effectively formulated through consensus and active participation of the different stakeholders in the Kenyan architectural context due to its multiple and subjective possibilities of interpretation. In this way, a multivalent definition particular to the Kenyan nation could be proposed. However, various Regionalist theories were described and critically evaluated in terms of their suitability for adoption and application to the Kenyan context. Eventually, after a critical appraisal of its poetics, leitmotifs, criticisms and prejudices, the study endorsed Critical Regionalism for adoption and entrenchment into the Kenyan context. Manifestations of phenomenology of architecture and Critical Regionalism within Kenyan architecture were also highlighted from a critical, though embryonic perspective.

The selected leitmotifs and other recurrent characteristics of the two paradigms were identified and outlined. These leitmotifs are then conjointly proposed for collective synthesis in the formulation of Kenyan 'phenomenological Critical Regionalist' architecture. These leitmotifs should not be perceived

as dogmatic prescriptions but rather as the means of entrenching Critical Regionalist praxis in Kenya, anchored within a phenomenological theoretical datum (see proposals in Chapter 4 of this study).

This datum will then be used in the next Chapter to analyse a key Kenyan architectural artefact, the Kenyatta International Conference Centre (KICC), in Nairobi, as an initial example of how the established theoretical base could be extended for use in the analysis of other Kenyan architectural artefacts in order to construct a vital semiological *corpus* of Kenyan architectural artefacts for the sustenance of the dialogue initiated within this study. The next Chapter also explores the deficiencies in the current architecture curriculum within the Kenyan context and develops further proposals regarding different methods through which Phenomenology and Critical Regionalism could be incorporated into pedagogy, research and praxis within Kenyan architecture in order to address various *lacunae* that were identified within this Chapter.

## CHAPTER 4: KICC SEMIOLOGY AND THE NEW CURRICULUM

### Subproblem 3:

3.1 A critical analysis of the semiology of a selected case study in Kenyan architecture within the established historical time frame of the study.

3.2 Formulating the format for introducing the semiology of a significant case study from Kenyan architecture as a key component of architectural teaching and practice in Kenya and as a component for future dialogue on the construction of a Kenyan Critical Regionalist architecture.

The case study will show how a new semiology of Kenyan artefacts can be developed on the basis of the approach in Chapter 3, followed by an inquiry into the local relevance and suitability of the study as a basis for informing the construction of a phenomenologically grounded Critical Regionalist curriculum in architectural design, theory and history and future dialogue on the construction of a Kenyan Critical Regionalist architecture.

### 4.0 Introduction

In this Chapter, a semiological analysis of the Kenyatta International Conference Centre (KICC) is undertaken as a case study for a subsequent exploration and formulation of a method and format for integrating such a developed semiology into the proposed curriculum. The achievements of the study in Chapters 1, 2 and 3 are also highlighted and proposed for inclusion into the new curriculum. Architectural training in Kenya is briefly evaluated and improvements are suggested thereto, with the aim of enhancing architectural 'responsiveness' in praxis and academia in Kenya. The present curriculum at the University of Nairobi's School of Architecture is suggested for retention but other aspects of the phenomenology of architecture are identified and motivated and proposed for adoption into the proposed curriculum (i.e. a new curriculum) as a means of describing and explicating the semiology of Kenyan artefacts (as exemplified by the study of the KICC), thereby further improving pedagogy and praxis within Kenyan architecture in order to entrench a Critical Regionalist approach for architecture in Kenya.

### 4.1 A semiological analysis of Kenyatta International Conference Centre (KICC), Nairobi.

Various methods of analysing architectural artefacts have been employed by architects to suit different pertinent needs. A suitable exemplar is that of Geoffrey Baker (1984) who in *Le Corbusier, an*

*analysis of form* developed an analytical method based on fragmenting the architectural whole into different organisation systems on the basis of parameters such as: Site forces and growth; cultural factors with regard to orientation; nature of form (linear, centroid, growth or dynamic interplay), axiality, geometry, massing, planning, circulation, surface treatment and membrane skins as well as many other genesis, aesthetic and articulation considerations. Though exhaustive, this approach is not entirely suited to the on-going study as it does not address issues such as regionalism, phenomenology or tangible and intangible cultural manifestations within built form. Some aspects of Baker's approach will be utilised in the analysis of the Kenyatta International Conference Centre (KICC hereafter), but the above *lacunae* will also be the main focus of the case study as they embody the central discourse within this study that is devoted to developing a semiological framework for analysis of works of architecture within the Kenyan context. As mentioned previously in Chapter 1, the use of dialectic analysis for the case study is employed in this Chapter to portray Critical Regionalist binary oppositions within the KICC (see Table 4b below).

The suitability of the KICC for semiological analysis within this study arises from the recognition of the status conferred upon it by the entire Kenyan populace as the most significant architectural artefact of the nation - and this is consistent with the consensus within Kenyan architectural academia - that the KICC composition is well thought out in terms of its design principles (Gisesa, 2012: 18). The KICC is a significant landmark that is recognisable to all citizens - due to the use of its image in the local currency - and exemplifies a culturally inspired hybrid architecture that is multivalent and multivocal, thereby generating multiple layered and reflexive meanings and latent symbolism that are discernible within the multiple interactions that emanate from its multiple uses, users and functions that it hosts. The building was purposefully conceived on the principles of African Nationalism- with a clear mandate from the outset- to host local and international conferences and symposia. Therefore its success can be evaluated from the perspective of this mandate and intention.

The KICC will be analysed critically to explicate its semiology in terms of demonstrating suitable exemplifications of its manifestations of the principles and philosophies of Regionalism, Critical Regionalism and phenomenology, within the context of Kenyan cultural ecologies - as outlined in Chapter 2 of this study - to investigate the efficacy of the semiological framework that was developed in Chapters 2 and 3 of this study.

#### 4.1.1 Background of the project

The building is located in the prime part of Nairobi's Central Business District along City Hall Way in close proximity to other prominent civic and privately owned buildings. It was named after Kenya's first president His Excellency, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta to signify its importance to the entire nation. Its conception and eventual realisation was due to the concretisation of the principles of African Nationalism (see chapter 2 of this study). The KICC was designed by the Norwegian architect Karl Henrik Nostvik, in collaboration with local Kenyan architects, in 1966. Construction was completed in 1969 and further improvements were finalised in 1973 (Gisesa, 2012: 18). The cultural artefact is a 30-storey structure with a helipad atop the cylindrical tower, and until the completion of Times Towers, was the tallest building in the country. The building is owned by the Government of Kenya and is managed as a parastatal corporation. The KICC has been described as "an architectural masterpiece that will forever remain a major landmark due to its unique design" (ibid).

The building was "purposefully built for conference tourism" on the basis of the MICE concept ("Meetings, Incentives, Conferences and Events/Exhibitions"-) and offers "state-of-the-art conference management systems" as well as modern equipment for electronic voting and simultaneous interpretation of conference proceedings (<http://www.kicc.co.ke>). This is achieved through eight exclusively built meeting halls and exhibition areas which are supported by specialised catering services and "ample secure parking for both delegates and event organizers" (ibid). In addition the main tower provides rentable office space and the podium contains ancillary services including small curio shops, travel booking offices and tourism promotion facilities (ibid).

#### 4.1.2 Neighbourhood context

The context is architecturally vibrant as it contains major Kenyan cultural artefacts that were outlined in Chapter 2 of this study. They include the High Court, City Hall, Kencom House, Reinsurance Plaza, Parliament Buildings, Nyayo House, Shell BP House, Intercontinental Hotel, Holy Family Basilica, Times Towers, The Hilton and The International Life House. Semiologically, this means that the precinct symbolises mainstream urban Kenyan architectural evolution, inspired by temporal statecraft and *zeitgeist*, ranging from British imperialism (the High Court and City Hall), through African Nationalism (the KICC and Parliament Buildings), as well as totalitarian tendencies



within statecraft (Nyayo House) and pluralism (International Life House and the multiple identities of its various users and tenants). As previously mentioned in Chapter 2, these buildings exhibit significant variations of Modernism, Postmodernism and Neo-classical architectural approaches. This architecturally rich and vibrant neighbourhood context provides a suitable referential background for the explication of the semiology of the KICC.

The central location of the KICC, within Nairobi's CBD, makes it readily accessible to all residents of Nairobi. Pedestrian access is via Parliament Road and City Hall Way. The Kencom Bus Stop - a major public transport link to most parts of the Nairobi City - is proximal to and within walking distance from the KICC.

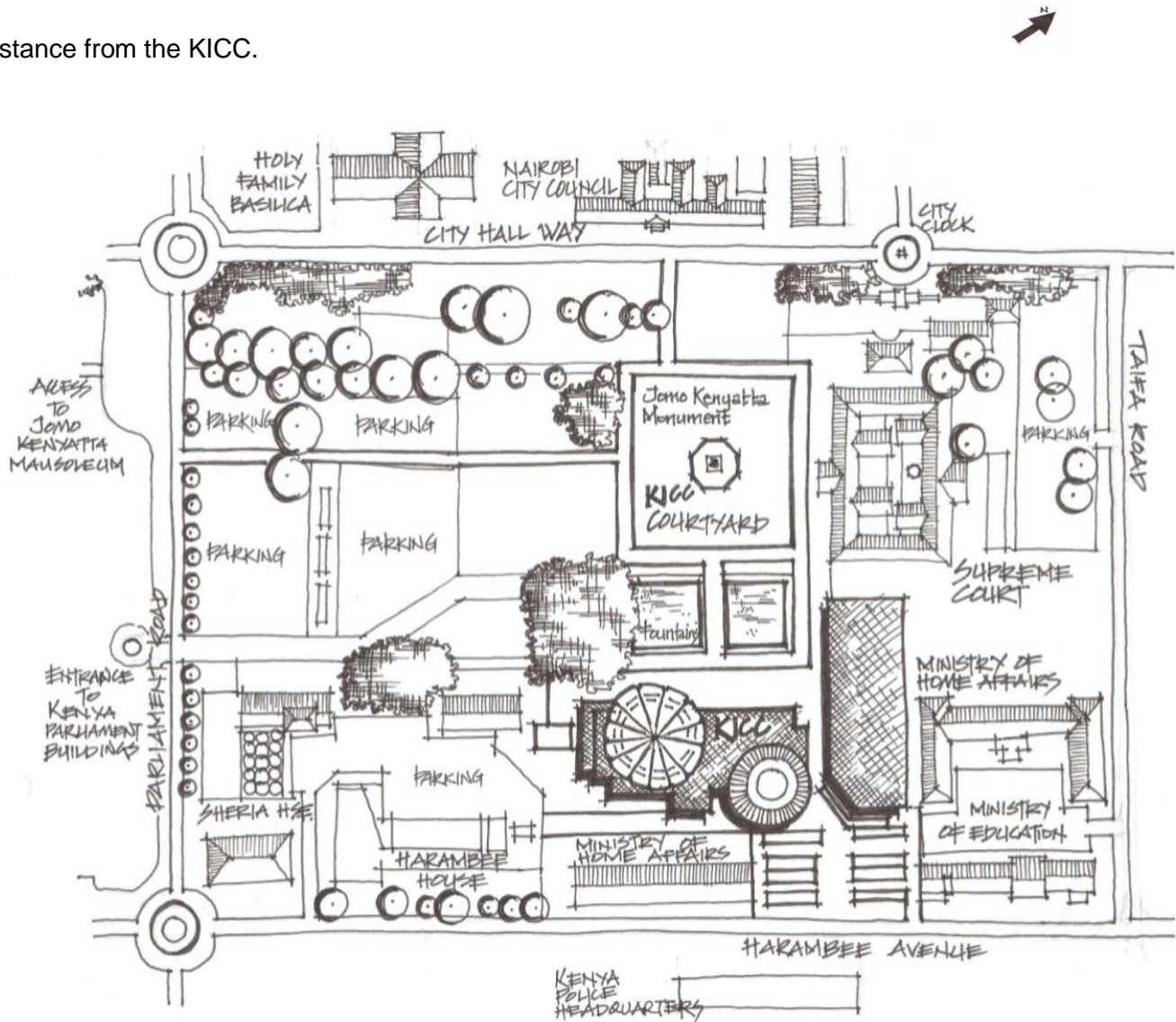


Fig. 4a: Sketch site plan of KICC, showing its immediate neighbourhood context (approx. 1:2000).

#### 4.1.3 Images that explain the KICC architectural composition

The architectural whole consists of a large plaza- *uwanja* (commonly referred to as a courtyard by the KICC institution) on ground level and a podium which supports the main office tower portraying cylindrical geometry and a conical amphitheatre united in an asymmetrical visual composition. The helipad sits atop the cylindrical tower. The photographs and sketches below are selected to explain the composition in more detail.



Fig.4b: Karl Henrik Nostvik. Kenyatta International Conference Centre, Nairobi. 1973. A view of the KICC ground plaza in the foreground. The key elements of the architectural composition are also evident. The podium, the cylindrical tower and the conical amphitheatre are perceived in harmonious unity. The alternating horizontal bands on the main tower as well as the helipad atop the tower can be identified with clarity. (Source: kenarchworldpress.com).

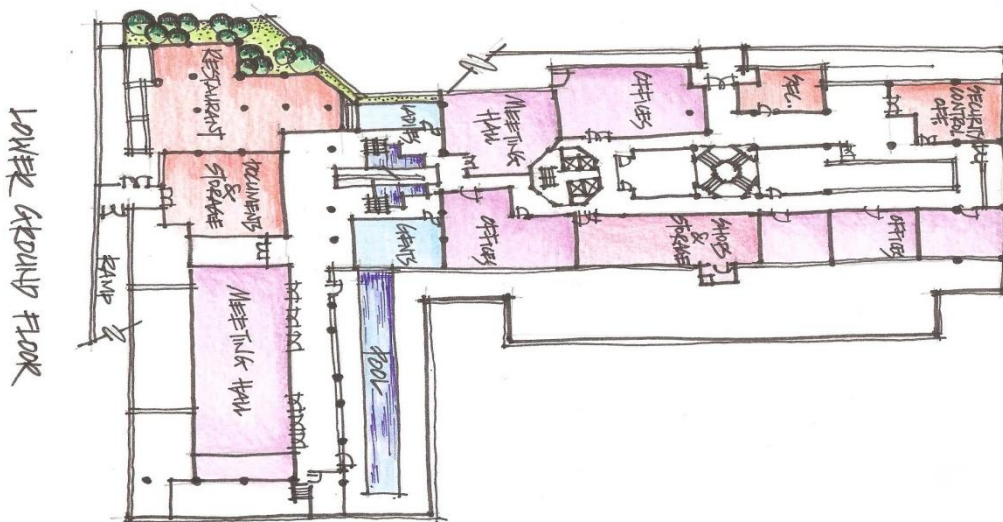


Fig. 4c: Lower Ground Floor Plan.

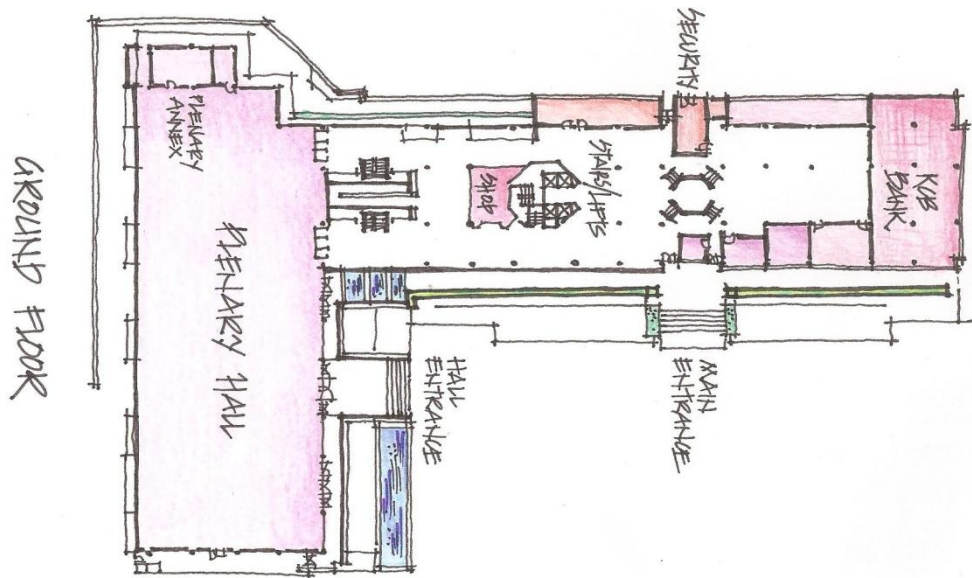


Fig. 4d: Ground Floor Plan.

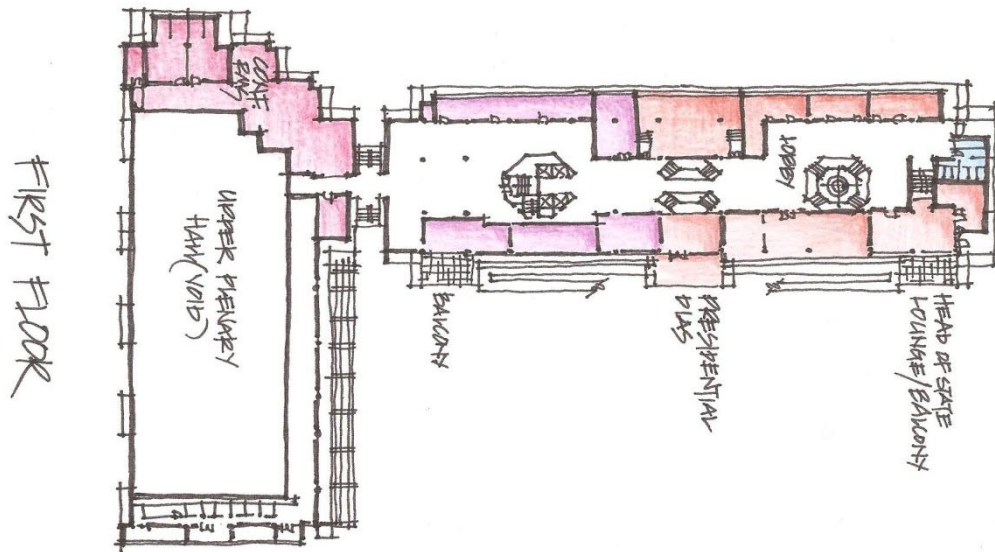


Fig. 4e: First Floor Plan.

SECOND FLOOR — Tower Block

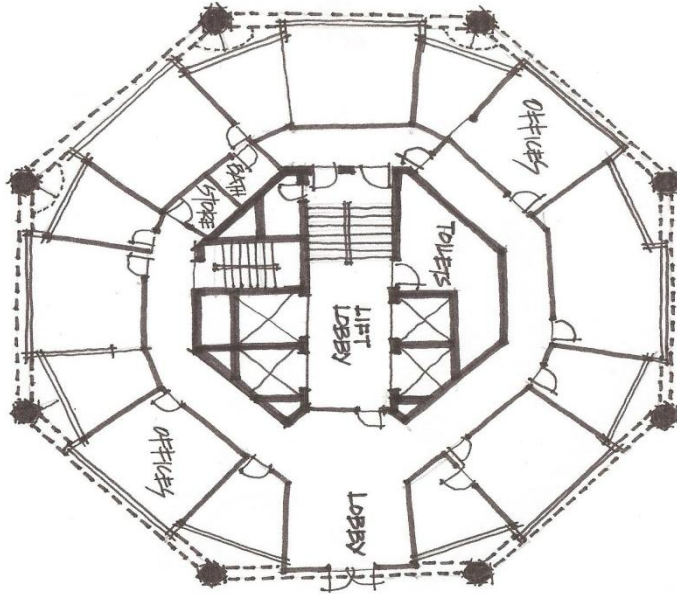


Fig. 4f: Second Floor Plan, Tower block.

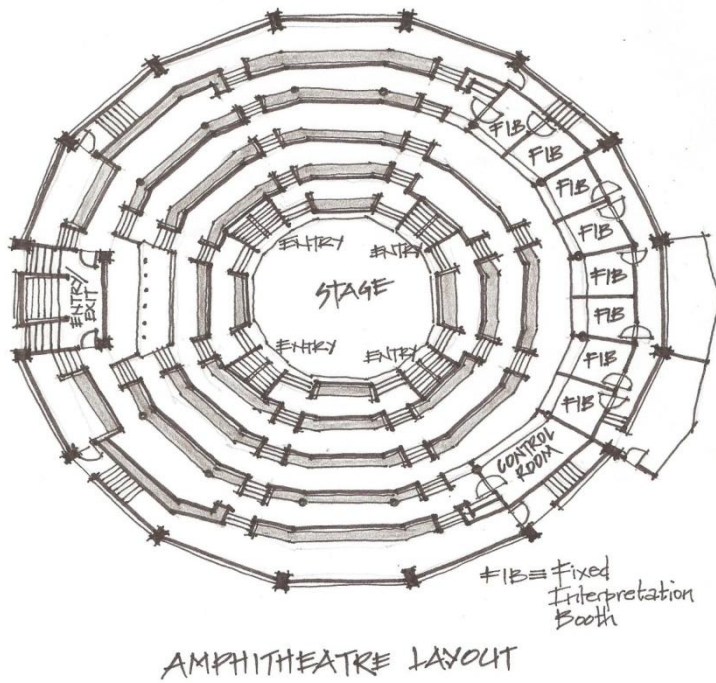


Fig.4g: Amphitheatre Layout Plan



Fig. 4h: Karl Henrik Nostvik. The Amphitheatre at KICC, Nairobi. 1973. Note the conical pyramidal roof with roof lighting effect (Phenomenology: dimensions of natural understanding). The ramps on the podium level are evident as well as the multiple flags of various nations indicating vibrancy of experience through circulation and multiple temporary identities.



Fig. 4i: KICC Neighbourhood context, Nairobi. 2011. The helipad atop the cylindrical tower is clearly visible- a vantage view point of the entire Nairobi City.

#### 4.1.4 Architectural language of the KICC

Though the KICC is the second tallest building in Nairobi, it does not dominate its site and context due to the generous setback that creates a large plaza ('courtyard') on the ground level. The composition reveals a balanced and proportionate massing with facades that are sympathetic to the anthropomorphic scale without the use of large glazing that was associated with Modernism. The forms employed are simple and the surface textures of its exposed concrete finished structural columns are rough and brutalist. This is further evident in the concrete shell roof structure of the conical amphitheatre<sup>1</sup>.

The KICC portrays Modernist construction techniques but its facades are devoid of Modernist aesthetics reminiscent of the International Style. Modernist purism of form was not a consideration in its aesthetic formulation. Its geometric expressionism of the cuboid, cylinder and conical forms, may be perceived as a contextual resonance with the architectural expression of the neighbouring Hilton Hotel. Though the cylindrical tower and conical amphitheatre contrast in geometry, they are nevertheless complementary through vertical height differentiation. The meticulous detailing in the joints, exposed concrete, balustrades on galleries and balconies coupled with the alternating horizontal bands on the facade of the main tower provide interplay of surfaces, indicating sensitivity to density and frequency of spatial use.

Spatial fluidity is maintained through free flowing horizontal and ramped circulation on podium level as well as the vertical stacking of circulation and services within the main tower. The horizontal entrance approach on ground level indicates a spatial hierarchy which is revealed further in the vertical separation of functions (public functions are on the podium level while the private offices are in the main tower). The cohesive whole exhibits grandeur but the individual components are anthropocentric in scale. The façade treatment reveals a standardised aesthetic that suggests the use of prefabricated components derived from Modernist mass production but in a manner that is tempered with a human rather than industrialised touch.

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<sup>1</sup> The author regrets the inability to present the architectural inspiration of the KICC from a first hand perspective, due to lack of access to documentation of project reports that were written by the architect himself, despite attempts to make contact with the remaining members of his family as the architect is now deceased. It has been stated elsewhere that Nostvik was "inspired by the endemic Senecios plant of the high plains, one flower on a stem and a closed flower bud next to it" (anon, 17). However, this could not be independently verified because the author's visit to the Deputy Chief architect, Ministry of Public Works, and the Technical Team at the KICC did not yield any information that could contradict the author's explication of the KICC imagery. Everyone, including Dr. David Mutiso (Nostvik's collaborator), was unaware of the Senecios plant. However, multiple perceptions of the symbolism in an architectural artefact portray its potency as a medium of cultural codification. All these perceptions should be integrated in the holistic explication of the semiology of an architectural artefact.

The composition is a clever balance between introversion and extroversion of functions through symbiotic harmony between interior and exterior spaces which support different but complementary functions. The multivalent podium ramps enable dual perception of both internal and external functions through providing exterior circulation that facilitates the sensorial experience of architecture through 'humanisation' of its facades.

Climatic orientation was not a priority in the development of the composition since the fenestrations on the tower are all on its periphery along its circumference, thereby indicating no preference for any direction. The curvilinear forms of the tower and amphitheatre contrast the rectilinear geometry of the podium. The KICC reveals ambiguity in its open yet closed exterior through large galleries that provide continuity between interior and exterior functions.

#### 4.1.5 Regionalism within the design of the KICC

Upon a critical probe of the recurrent functions of the KICC, latent and intentional regional expressions of contextual codes may be discerned. The table below is a synopsis of the various regional approaches evident in its architectural constitution.

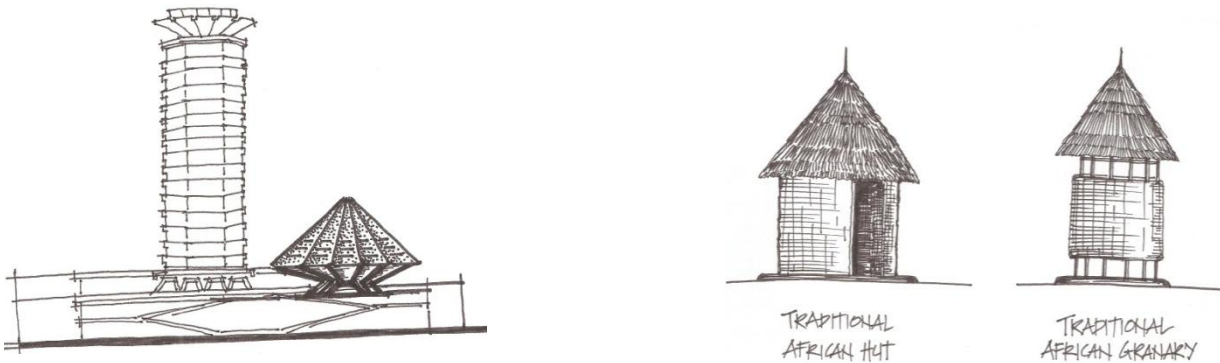
REGIONALISM	DESCRIPTION AND EXPLICATION
<b>Historic or Vernacular</b>	The amphitheatre invokes memories of the past through a critical revival and re-interpretation of the traditional African hut (ibid), as well as a traditional cooking pot supported on 3 stones which are now abstracted as obliquely slanting beams that support the amphitheatre roof. The cylindrical tower is also an abstracted form of the traditional African granary. The large terraces on the podium and the ground level plaza are reminiscent of large multifarious, open to sky, public gathering spaces within the various indigenous tribal community architectures. The statue of Jomo Kenyatta on the ground floor plaza reminds everyone of Kenya's struggle for independence. However, the KICC ignores the colonial neo-classical architectural language of the City Hall and High Court in its context to symbolise a new beginning for the Kenyan nation through divorce from its colonial heritage.
<b>Performative-, Social and Nationalistic</b>	The KICC is known as the place of performance. It hosts both local and international conferences, seminars, symposia and trade fairs as well as cultural dances, political rallies, launching of the new Constitution of Kenya, political manifestos, National General Election results, Science Congress for Kenyan schools, Annual School Music Festivals and the Annual Safari Rally. These multiple uses and culturally significant events generate and reveal Nationalistic pride and identity. The KICC image is entrenched on local currency and postcards. It is even frequently portrayed on CNN network broadcasts, further singling it out as a unique cultural artefact. It is accessible for use by the entire populace irrespective of socio-economic or cultural stratification, without intimidation or segregation. It therefore resonates with the pluralistic egalitarianism that is evident in contemporary societies within the Kenyan nation.
<b>Reflexive</b>	The role of temporality in anchoring Reflexive regionalism is revealed by the identification of the citizenry with the KICC as probably the most significant architectural artefact within the Kenyan nation. It is used as a background by many residents of Nairobi. The cultural fusion that is evident in its synthesis of traditional and urban cultures is an attempt to express the multiple identities of the Kenyan nation as a result of modernisation and acculturation. This has borne fruit in the long term as the entire nation 'owns' the KICC and the inhabitants actually feel that the building captures their cultural aspirations.
<b>Modernist or Neo-vernacular</b>	The 'root form' for this composition is derived from the Modernist office block tower with its tripartite elevation. However this is cleverly adapted into a podium, vertical tower and helipad. The conical amphitheatre is a neo-vernacular revival and use of the traditional hut but within a modern architectural language.

<b>Environmental</b>	The durable surface treatment with its rough texture promotes sustainability as it does not demand frequent maintenance. There is no need for frequent painting or surface pigment application, except for interior spaces. The multivalent horizontal sun shading bands-due to recessed façade fenestrations- are effective for climatic control of solar heat gain. Natural day lighting seems adequate but is supplemented with artificial task lighting in different spaces. The composition is without “an air conditioning system” and uses natural air flowing from its “fins” to provide cross ventilation (Gisesa, 2012: 18). However, some spaces are fitted with air conditioning for ‘misplaced’ prestige.
<b>Conservative</b>	Through intangible integration of the old and the new as well as the tangible expression of forms derived from African traditional cultures, the KICC seeks to conserve traditional architectural heritage even if without the political or institutional mandate that is granted to the Bomas of Kenya. It honours the most significant Kenyan hero, Kenyatta, both in name and physical representation through the large statue on the ground level plaza.
<b>Non-modern</b>	The cultural sensitivity and response of the KICC is antithetical to Modernistic principles. KICC is rich in cultural, political and social codification that is expressed through a sustained focus on anthropocentric objectives with regard to scale, spatial utility and aesthetic formulation.

Table 4a. Regionalism within the design of the KICC.



Fig. 4j: The main elements of KICC composition- The Jomo Kenyatta statue; The Amphitheatre; The podium and the cylindrical tower with a helipad at roof level.



Figs. 4k & 4l: A sketch highlighting the KICC Amphitheatre. Its historical and cultural origins are elaborated alongside, as the traditional African hut and the cooking pot supported on 3 stones. They inspired the cylindrical tower and the amphitheatre respectively.





Fig. 4m: The traditional cooking pot. Its method of support by the 3 stones was re-interpreted in the conception of the Amphitheatre form and structural support system.

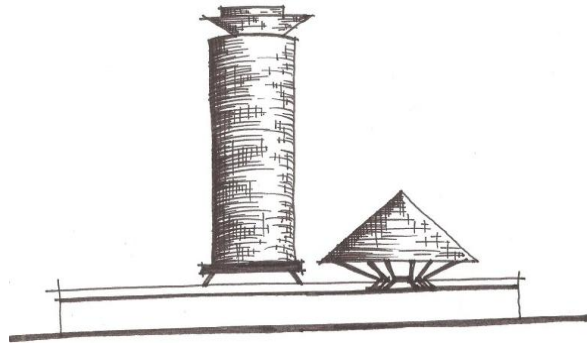


Fig. 4n: The KICC composition elements. The tripartite Modernist elevation is evident in the podium, tower and helpad. The cylindrical tower form inspired by the African granary is highlighted. The conical form of the amphitheatre, supported on a framework of oblique stilts, is visible.



Fig. 4o: The multi-functional courtyard. The arrangements of tents to accommodate a public function is displayed. The Holy Family Basilica and The city Hall are visible in the background.



Fig. 4p: The KICC as a place of performance. Here, the launch of a political coalition is ongoing. The exposed concrete finishes of the beam and gallery concrete balustrade are visible.

#### 4.1.6 Critical Regionalist aspects in the design of the KICC

Various manifestations of Critical Regionalism are evident upon a deeper probe of the architectural composition of KICC as a cultural artefact and this reveals its multivalent architectural semiotic and cultural codes. The table below is a synopsis of these aspects.

CRITICAL REGIONALIST ASPECT	DESCRIPTION OR ARCHITECTURAL EXPLICATION
<b>Dialectic approach</b>	It portrays the binary oppositions of formal-informal with regard to the functions that it hosts. The universal-local content is evident in the construction technology employed in counter position to vernacular inspiration for form genesis. Though Afrocentric in cultural manifestation it is Eurocentric in the typology of the podium and tower. It accommodates the dialectic closed-open through hosting private conferences as well as public events like exhibitions and political rallies in different spaces within it. A grand form composed of individual elements that are anthropocentric in scale (grafted ramps and openings on tower) while utilising machine aesthetics but supporting indigenous craft (sculpture of Kenyatta).
<b>Sensorial perception</b>	It promotes a holistic sensorial perception rather than focusing on the visual photogenic or scenographic aspects alone. The visual complements the tactile. The sound of delegates traversing the exhibition halls and walkways, the secular music and different anthems, the smell of tea/coffee and food during conference interludes, the rough texture of the exterior surfaces and the taste of indigenous and exotic cuisines complement each other to create a vibrant and memorable sensorial architectural experience of the KICC.
<b>Cultural sensitivity</b>	The multifaceted cultural response of KICC portrays an ecology that exhibits politico-economic and social considerations resulting in the synthesis of indigenous traditions with modernisation by providing different spaces for different activities such as trade, exhibitions or rallies thereby indicating sync with the prevalent <i>zeitgeist</i> . The single tower of the KICC has been viewed in counter position to the twin towers of the Nation Centre. The KICC thus signified for KANU (the ruling party in Moi era), the justification for a one-party state while the Nation Centre denoted multi-partyism. However, KICC is still a key significant cultural artefact despite the national shift from singularity to political pluralism.
<b>Defamiliarisation</b>	The helipad atop the tower is essentially an inverted cone, while the amphitheatre's conical roof has vernacular connotations of a traditional hut, indicating a historical form that has been derived and abstracted for use in an entirely different and unfamiliar context. It therefore results

	in a hybrid architecture that is urban in context but imbued with memories of rural tradition to portray regionalism of concept while embodying universalism of function and appeal.
<b>Typology &amp; type</b>	An abstracted form derived from that of a typical tripartite office tower whose 'root form' resides in the Modernist skyscraper that has been adapted for use as mixed urban development (MUD), but without the residential or industrial aspects. A helipad and amphitheatre are grafted as extras for poetic satire in contrast to the cylindrical tower and podium which is basically a perforated and grafted rectangular block.
<b>Building the site in response to topography</b>	The site is flat and this is echoed through minimal level changes on ground level. Consequently, hardly any split levels are employed. KICC provides a large ground level plaza that mitigates "the unavoidable harshness" generated by monumental works of architecture (Frampton, 1999). Its landscape "integrate[s] everything into the surface of the ground" (ibid).
<b>Megaform</b>	KICC is "the urban megaform" in the Kenyan context that may be perceived as "a device that is capable of inflecting the existing urban context because of its strong topographical character" even though it portrays both horizontal and vertical extension rather than the horizontality that was proposed by Frampton (1999, ibid). It therefore achieves "maximum impact with regard to its immediate surroundings" through promoting a sense of place and symbiosis with its context by supporting public and private functions that other buildings in the neighbourhood do not have the capacity to sustain (ibid).
<b>Use of local materials</b>	Although the structural system of KICC is based on reinforced concrete, a universal construction material, various interior spaces exhibit a harmonious unity of local materials such as timber, "deep natural wood" and "sound proof grey stone" as well as locally manufactured glass ( <a href="http://www.kicc.co.ke">http://www.kicc.co.ke</a> ) and imported cladding as well as coloured solar glazing.
<b>Incorporation of universal technology</b>	KICC employs a universal post and lintel reinforced concrete construction system as well as Modernist prefabrication and standardisation of architectural components and this is evident upon examination of its facade and interior spaces.
<b>Response to climatic and other contextual parameters</b>	As a project that was conceived in the immediate post-independence period, KICC is devoid of the shallowness of architectural content that is typical of speculative urban developments. It responds to climatic issues of day lighting, cross ventilation, surface run off and drainage with a high degree of sensitivity so that users of the building are never exposed to vagaries of the elements. Other contextual issues such as tradition, history, form precedence, material usage and culture are also effectively addressed.

Table 4b. Critical Regionalism within the design of the KICC.



Fig. 4q: The Kenyan Prime Minister, Vice President and Minister of Trade launch their political coalition at the KICC gallery. This highlights the significance of the KICC as a cultural artefact. The false timber ceiling is visible, but its white painted surface does not fit well with the exposed concrete finish of the beams. However, the timber-metal gridded ceiling in the background is a better fit, suggesting that architectural materials are perhaps better suited for use in their natural colours and textures.



Fig. 4r: The Tsavo Ballroom hosting an ongoing conference. Note the strong use of colour and decor within the space complemented by the concrete beams and timber ceiling.



Fig. 4s: The Tsavo Ballroom hosting a conference. Note the different arrangement, demonstrating flexibility and variety in spatial use to fit different functions, exhibiting architectural inclusivity.



Fig. 4t: A night view of the Amphitheatre. The artificial lighting complements the structure, to create a forceful composition that is both homely and welcoming.



Fig. 4u: The KICC Ground Floor Lounge. Note the spatial extension and volume suited to catering for the large groups of people that attend conferences and symposia within KICC. The strong use of colour, light, timber and exposed concrete are recurrent aesthetic themes throughout the KICC composition.



Fig. 4v: A night view of KICC and its neighbourhood context. 2011. The centrality of KICC to the *Genius Loci* of Nairobi City is evident. The artificial lighting creates visual unity of composition that captures the elements constituting this cultural artefact.



Fig. 4w: Another spatial permutation within KICC Tsavo Ballroom. This frequent alteration of interior arrangements is key to Critical Regionalism and Phenomenology as it generates variety, thereby avoiding monotony to ensure that no two conferences have the same concept and interior décor. These permutations are achieved through consultations between the KICC team and the conference hosts. Such participatory strategies yield architectural memory resulting from versatility of spatial conception.



Fig. 4x: The Tsavo Ballroom as a collage composition of materials. Note the rhythm of the timber ceiling and wall finish, complementing the brutal exposed concrete finish of the beams and columns in contrast to the tiled floor finish. The durability and sustainability of materials employed is evident. The variety of spatial permutations of this room portray architectural multivalence.

#### 4.1.7 Phenomenology within the design of the KICC

The KICC is imbued with characteristics that pertain to the objectives of the phenomenology of architecture. These are articulated both directly and indirectly within its architecture and are revealed upon a critical subjective probe of its internal and external content. The table below is a brief description of these constituents. Due to the subjective nature of the explication, this study appreciates that other possible interpretations may also be valid and the dialogue proposed herein is the means to achieving consensus on some of these aspects.

PHENOMENOLOGICAL ASPECT	DESCRIPTION OR ARCHITECTURAL EXPLICATION
<b>Genius loci</b>	KICC is central to the Genius Loci of Nairobi city as it is the most identifiable public architectural artefact to the entire populace irrespective of socio-economic status (Gisesa, 2012:18). This was achieved through the significant importance attached to 'our own' building over a period of time by politicians and the ruling elite as well as the citizenry (Reflexive Regionalism). For 25 years (1969-1994), KICC was the tallest building in the entire country and was perceived as a symbol of great technological accomplishment by Kenyans on Kenyan soil thereby generating great pride in the current and future potential of the nation. It is the most prominent yet accessible cultural artefact to the populace as it has no restricted access unlike other artefacts such as Parliament Buildings.
<b>Cultural response</b>	The composition captures and expresses Nationalism through the statue of the nation's founding father, Jomo Kenyatta and the flag of Kenya on the ground level plaza. Internationalism is emphasised by the multiple flags of various countries and organisations that are also hoisted at the ground plaza. Traditionalism is recalled through this large plaza that is open to sky and accommodates large public gatherings. However, the colours of the Kenyan flag were never used as a major theme within the composition, perhaps in an attempt to prevent the domination of the artefact by a single nation's culture.

<b>Place postulate including orientation and Identification</b>	The entire populace recognises the KICC as the most prime cultural artefact. The site boundaries provide enclosure. The paths and streets are the entry walkways as well as the grafted ramps. The separation of various domains is through compartmentalisation and hierarchy ranging from the largest ground plaza to the smallest meeting room. Each spatial unit within the whole is articulated differently to create and sustain variety. The KICC, for the majority of Nairobi's residents, is a major landmark and obelisk which acts as a referential origin. Various other artefacts are located relative to the KICC, thereby indicating its vitality for orientation and identification. Temporary identities described as "promotional identities" are also supported through extensive "hosting of banners and promotional material" during ongoing conferences and events ( <a href="http://www.kicc.co.ke">http://www.kicc.co.ke</a> ), indicating an architecture of persuasion through commercial and ideological allusions.
<b>Experiential architecture</b>	The grey colour of the KICC facades recalls local Kenyan earthen clays. This creates a subdued non-domineering and inviting exterior in contrast to the brown earthen colour of Parliament Buildings. The exposed rough and fair faced concrete offers tactility. The extensive grounds support ambulatory pedestrian circulation that enables multiple viewing of the KICC artefact from various angles. The level changes and terraced seating within the multivolume amphitheatre indicate layering characteristic of the Postmodern space whose experience results in architecture of memory. The vertical juxtaposition of meeting spaces within the tower creates additional vibrancy of spatial experience especially when delegates shuttle from one meeting or entertainment space to another.
<b>Poetic dwelling</b>	The imagery of KICC and its symbolism though subjective, can be discerned upon probe by any party. The conical pyramidal amphitheatre recalls both a traditional hut and a large mountain such as Mount Kenya. The vertical tower is a phallic symbol and its verticality evokes memories of a Maasai spear directed towards the sky which they believe to be their point of origin. The tower also seeks to unite the ground and the sky as an act of cosmic symbolism.
<b>Environmental levels</b>	KICC is an architectural artefact in Africa, Kenya, Nairobi's CBD along City Hall Way.
<b>Architectural truth</b>	The 'thing' (KICC building and the entire site) 'gathers world' (poetically perceived as the cultural ecology of the nation and literally as Internationalism of its functions), 'making presencing' (through activities and functions that it hosts as a convergence point as well as its symbolism and imagery to reveal grandeur that is evident right from the entrance), thereby 'setting the truth into work' (perceived as an expression of prevailing reality with regard to <i>zeitgeist</i> , resolutions achieved at conference proceedings, finalised business deals, results of rallies, elections and contests which are all significant because they are realised within KICC as the truth). This 'truth' is architectural and also cultural.
<b>Dimensions of natural understanding</b>	The 'thing' is the KICC itself. The progress of 'time' is monitored at the Helipad which offers stunning views of the entire city from sunrise to sunset and even throughout the night. Adequate 'light' is available throughout the building for different tasks by supplementing natural daylight with artificial light as appropriate. The composition exemplifies various aspects of 'order'; visual (holistic unity of composition), fluid (circulation), structural (construction technique), axial (access), geometric (form genesis and synthesis) and organic (curvilinear amphitheatre roof and cylindrical tower). The 'character' beholds a dynamic interplay of contrasts in which the obliquely grafted ramps at the podium complement the horizontal alternating motifs of the tower.
<b>Architectural character</b>	The KICC is monumental and grandiose in scale, bold in its Modernistic construction, vibrant and full of complementary functions and activities and unpredictability (as seminar, exhibition and plaza spaces are available for commercial hire by differing clientele and this determines the day to day functions) as well as spontaneity resulting from continuous cultural confluence and fusion.
<b>Variety</b>	Different sized facilities for exhibitions, conferences and symposia are available to suit the requirements of different clientele (see table 3j in Chapter 3 above).
<b>Flexibility</b>	The available spaces are easily adapted to suit different functions and the needs of clientele by offering spaces in close proximity supported by ancillary functions as well as flexibility of amalgamation of units such as Lenana Room and Aberdares Room upon demand.
<b>Inclusivism</b>	The KICC is inclusive as it caters for individual and particular spatial needs of numerous clients. The enclosed amphitheatre supports internal conferences while the plaza recalls the traditional multivalent rural agora that is suited for external crowd pulling performances.
<b>Historicism</b>	Evidenced by reference to traditional architectural forms for genesis and synthesis.
<b>Sustainability</b>	Largely sustainable with minimal maintenance costs (see Environmental Regionalism in 3.5.5 above).
<b>Archetypes of place</b>	The Cosmic archetype and its 'regimental order' are absent. There is no acknowledgement of the neo-classicism in the neighbourhood context. The rhythmic facades are Romantic. The composition is a Hybrid collage through reference to the vernacular for form genesis and Modernist technology and typology.

Table 4c. Phenomenological aspects within the KICC.





Fig. 4y: The Tsavo Ballroom hosting an ongoing exhibition. The strong use of colour portrays phenomenological inclusivity. Note the concealed ceiling artificial lighting that creates spatial transformation for greater effect.



Fig. 4z: The KICC courtyard as a place of pluralistic cultural inclusivity. Here, the ongoing launch of the Cord political coalition is evident, indicating that all citizens of the country are welcome to this cultural artefact, despite ethnic, economic or social background differences.



Fig. 41a: The KICC galleries. The launch of a political pact is evident and this is captured by the huge screen that conveys messages to the huge crowd in attendance at the KICC courtyard. The brutal exposed concrete finish of the beams and metal balustrade above the gallery are visible.



Fig. 41b: The Amphitheatre hosts an ongoing conference. The stepped interior seating, the timber table layout, the carpeted floor, the roof lighting that admits natural daylight selectively, the brutal concrete finish of the beams and columns indicate an architecture that is anthropocentrically sensitive, promoting complementary tactility rather than focusing on visual scenography alone.



Fig. 41c: Historical aspects within the phenomenology of the KICC. The Amphitheatre is named after the architect who designed the KICC. A mural depicting the arrest of the first Kenyan President- Jomo Kenyatta is visible, indicating the centrality of political *Zeitgeist* within African Nationalism in the conception of the KICC artefact.



Fig. 41d: The Shimba Hills Room. The spaced row seating; the collage of brutal concrete and timber with the concrete floor tiles and artificial lighting create yet another different ambience suited to conference and symposia activities. Variety, strong use of colour and inclusivism are key in this regard.



Fig. 41e: The VIP Lounge at the KICC. This tastefully furnished room with timber wall panel finish accommodates dignitaries enabling them to cater for spontaneous meetings and preparation prior to conference proceedings. It also caters for hosting other guests to lobby for resolutions as well as impromptu 'get-togethers' after conclusion of such activities. The KICC therefore attends to specific details pertaining to all categories of its users, showing its inspiration from the everyday world (Husserlian *Lebenswelt*).



Fig. 41f: The Prime Minister and Vice President's room at the KICC. This shows tasteful finishes and meticulous attention to detail in accommodating and catering for the political class. The leather wall paneling contrasts the use of timber in other spaces in an attempt at avoiding monotony with regard to material use.



Fig. 41g: The Presidential suite at the KICC. Note the greater spatial size as an indication of political hierarchy. This room shows the centrality of the KICC to the entire nation as it caters for the president's comfort and interests and by extension that of the entire nation. Consistent use of timber, brutal concrete (durability), colour, carpets and leather results in a collage unity of composition and user comfort.



Fig. 41h: The Tsavo Ballroom hosting a dinner party. This flexibility of use and consequent spatial transformation ensure multivocality and multivalence of architecture and this prevents architectural obsolescence and redundancy thereby promoting architectural sustainability- a key leitmotif of Existential phenomenology.



Fig. 41: The Turkana Room. The place where Norberg-Schulz's 'dimensions of Natural Understanding', within Existential Phenomenology, find physical articulation and exemplification. The sky lighting admits natural light within this conference space to create an ambience that matches or exceeds the effects of artificial lighting. This indicates the manifold possibilities of using light as a structural device and ordering element in architecture.

#### 4.1.8 Recapitulation of the KICC analysis

The KICC was selected for semiological analysis and was analysed and evaluated as the most significant Kenyan architectural artefact. The origin of its conception was traced to the political *zeitgeist* within the temporal epoch of African Nationalism which thrived just prior to attainment of independence from British imperialism to approximately ten years thereafter.

The semiological analysis of the KICC was successfully undertaken on the basis of the framework that was developed within Chapters 2 and 3 of this study and manifestations of Regionalism, Critical Regionalism and Phenomenology within it were identified, exemplified and elaborated upon.

The next section explores ways of integrating the above semiology of the KICC in the new curriculum to achieve a greater dissemination of the adopted approach. This will also be useful as it will demonstrate how the above method of semiological analysis could be extended to other architectural artefacts within the Kenyan context, with the aim of developing a *corpus* of the semiology of Kenyan architectural artefacts.

## 4.2 Selected achievements of the study

The achievements listed below emanate from the holistic analytic and interpretive framework that was developed in Chapters 1, 2 and 3, for future use in the description and explication of the semiology of Kenyan architectural artefacts. These achievements are proposed for inclusion into the new curriculum with regard to pedagogy in architectural theory, design and history. Without prioritisation, they are presented synoptically:

- A historical timeline, that indicates the major milestones in Kenyan history that will enable comprehension of the temporal structuring and classification of artefacts, was adopted in this study. This timeline is not exhaustive but can undergo expansion to include any epochs that may have been omitted within this study. The timeline may thus be refined within the proposed curriculum.
- Identification of significant vernacular and mainstream architecture within the Kenyan context- presented with their contextual and paradigmatic content.
- Identification of bio-physical aspects of geography, demography, climatic opportunities and constraints and subsequent related understanding of the tangible aspects of architectural evolution in Kenya.
- Presentation and comprehension of the diverse cultural ecology of Kenyan architectural artefacts- focusing on ethnicity, religion, overarching discourse, philosophy, statecraft, commerce, politics, craft, art and economics – and subsequent semiological analysis and categorisation of the more significant intangible and vital content encoded within architectural artefacts in Kenya.
- Identification and motivation of the functions of culture for use in conveying or articulating architectural meaning, in order to develop a more effective architectural semiology.
- Brief outline of the cultural policy of Kenya to indicate the relation of the Government of Kenya to cultural expressions of its citizens in order to provide a better understanding of how such policies inform the production and evolution of architecture within the country.
- Description of the Kenyan architectural regulatory context and demonstration of the symbiotic roles and relationships of the various players within it, to enable effective understanding of emergent and pertinent issues regarding praxis as well as the recommendations pertaining to the proposed curriculum and entrenchment of Critical Regionalism within the Kenyan context (see 4.5 and 4.7 below).

- Identification and presentation of the founding systems for modes of Kenyan architectural production, used for motivation of selected architectural artefacts that emerged and evolved within these systems. These include traditional systems within vernacular architectural production, Imperialist systems, African Nationalist systems, totalitarian systems and pluralist systems.
- Outlining multiple identities within the Kenyan nation elaborated as vital informants and determinants of architectural semiology within the Kenyan context, and subsequent linkage of selected artefacts in the Kenyan context to the various identities of their producers and users.
- Categorisation, analysis and critical evaluation of various aspects of identity in architecture in order to highlight their role and relevance as sources of variation within Kenyan architecture.
- Achievement of a refined classification of architectural epochs by articulation of variants of the Kenyan context within overarching Western architectural epochs as the basis of structuring the various phases in Kenyan architectural evolution. This was realised through comprehensive paradigmatic descriptions and analysis of Kenyan vernacular and mainstream architecture.
- Employment of a phenomenological approach to characterise different landscapes in Kenya, following upon the method adopted by Christian Norberg-Schulz to indicate the role of landscape types as determinants and informants of architectural evolution and development.
- A synoptic description of phenomenological epistemology, identification of the linkages between historicism and phenomenology and presentation of the various types of phenomenology.
- Description and critical evaluation of the Existential phenomenology of Christian Norberg-Schulz, proposed for inclusion in Kenyan architectural training and practice.
- Identification and evaluation of contested definitions of Region and the various types of Regionalism. Although no definition of Region was attempted by the author, Critical Regionalism was motivated and justified as the most appropriate type of Regionalism for Kenya, taking into account her diverse cultural ecology.
- Broadening this paradigm (Critical Regionalism) and isolating its poetics and leitmotifs to be in sync with the multiple parameters in the Kenyan context. (Note that a critical analysis and debate about the content of the paradigm should be undertaken prior to its inclusion in the new curriculum).
- Corroboration of culture, language and poetry, meaning in architecture, typology and historicism as central to the explication of the semiology of Kenyan architectural artefacts.



- Outline presentation of the Leitmotifs of phenomenology of architecture and Critical Regionalism- and conjointly proposed within the cultural ecology of the Kenyan context for the establishment of a Kenyan Critical Regionalist architecture anchored within the philosophy of phenomenology.
- Outline presentation and critical analysis and evaluation of stereotypical perceptions, criticisms and prejudices directed at the epistemological foundations of Phenomenology and Critical Regionalism and subsequently establishing that these biases did not convincingly invalidate the use of these two paradigms to anchor the theoretical aspects of the semiological framework developed herein.
- Selective exemplification of manifestations of Phenomenology and Critical Regionalism within the Kenyan context to demonstrate how the developed framework could be extended to any artefact within the Kenyan context.
- Identification and presentation of the Kenyatta International Conference Centre (KICC) in Nairobi as the 'most significant' architectural artefact of the Kenyan nation and its analysis as a case study in a 'non-conventional' manner to expose the aspects of phenomenology of architecture, Regionalism and Critical Regionalism within it, in line with the framework that was developed in this study.

With the above achievements as a basis, this study now proceeds to briefly evaluate the present architectural curriculum at the University of Nairobi and to indicate how these achievements can be integrated within a proposed new curriculum.

### **4.3 Evaluation of the present architectural curriculum in Kenya**

In order to propose the methods by which the praxis of Critical Regionalism can be entrenched within the Kenyan context, it is necessary to discuss the present architectural curriculum in Kenya and highlight its achievements as well as shortcomings. It is vital to suggest ways through which the present curriculum can be improved and how these improvements can be incorporated into the proposed curriculum.

For the purpose of this study, architectural academia is taken to comprise of all the stakeholders in architectural education including the Government of Kenya, the Schools of

Architecture at University of Nairobi and Jomo Kenyatta University, the Board of Registration of Architects and Quantity Surveyors in Kenya (BORAQS), the Architectural Association of Kenya (AAK), the Ministry of Public Works and Housing, practicing architects and students of architecture (see Chapter 2, section 2.1.5).

The curriculum of the University of Nairobi, the pioneer School of Architecture in Kenya, is taken to be the exemplar of architectural pedagogy and this curriculum is readily accessible at: <http://www.uonbi.ke/departments/arch-build>. The present architecture curriculum at the University of Nairobi may be described as rigorous with a strong focus on technology, history and architectural design. Commendable achievements at the University of Nairobi School of Architecture include:

- The introduction of a two-tier architectural training programme indicating flexibility by the department's administration.
- The revision of previous curricula with a view to including new areas of specialisation and competence such as anthropology (course code BAR 108), interior architecture (BAR 210), architectural conservation (BAR 309, BAR 320), as well as Electives in Architectural Design 7 (BAR 413) and Landscape Architecture 3 (BAR 425).

However, at present, this curriculum ignores the discipline of philosophy and does not recognise its potential for utilisation in justifying existing architectural knowledge in Kenya as well as appropriating new and emergent knowledge into the architectural curriculum (Roche, 1973: 294). The Anthropology module (BAR 108) focuses on issues of identity through emphasis on 'Africanness'. However, it does not employ comparative analogy as a means of instruction (Latter, 2006: 248). It also ignores critical theory and criticism as methods of exposing intangible culture within built form (Abel, 2000: 89). The Sociology module (BAR 106) has the potential for extension into the advanced stages of the curriculum where linkages with other disciplines can be forged (Fisher, 1993b: 11). An example of such an undertaking has been pursued and proposed by Maurice Roche (1973: 171 – 204, 237 – 285) at the London School of Economics, with regard to phenomenology and conceptual analysis and their expressions and applications in philosophy, psychology and sociology.

The Interior Architecture module (BAR 210) explores the sensory aspects of the human body through emphasis on the audio, visual and tactile mechanisms. This module therefore promotes the

pursuit of a trans-optical architecture that was proposed by Frampton (1996b [1983]: 480). It can thus be used to introduce the principles of Critical Regionalism into the curriculum. The Architectural Conservation modules (BAR 313 and BAR 320) focus on the historical and cultural aspects of conservation and have formulated conservation criteria within a legal framework. Through integration of 'old' and 'new' contexts, misplaced 'museology' is avoided. However interdisciplinary collaboration with other conservation related disciplines like archaeology and anthropology have not been explored in order to develop a holistic interpretation and presentation of relevant sites that are targeted for conservation.

The Contemporary Architectural Theory module (BAR 506) focuses on 'selected architectural themes' and is a positive introduction into the curriculum. However, the course content is silent on the criteria for choice of these themes and the issues that arise therefrom. This module has the potential to introduce and sustain architectural debate that focuses on phenomenology and Critical Regionalism within the curriculum, especially if it is delivered through a broad selection of electives presented through discussions and seminars rather than through rote learning. John Heaton argues that “Most teaching creates the thing to be learned...out of a tissue of assertions” where “Examinations consist largely of the reproduction of what has been taught”, therefore “Teaching which restricts itself to telling people about many things is destructive because it is false” (1978: 119-130). However, the recall of course content should not be entirely condemned. Examinations should test the application of such content through other learning methods including critical judgements, assessments and analysis, comparative analogies as well as verbal (oral) presentations in addition to written examinations.

#### **4.4 A revision of the current architectural curriculum in Kenya from the basis of this study**

While recognising the rigorous nature of the present curriculum, it is nevertheless imperative upon this study to propose an architectural curriculum that retains the positive aspects of the present one, but embraces a unitary approach to the multiple facets of architecture with regard to knowledge acquisition and validation, theoretical discourse, art-science dialectic, interpretation of artefacts as well as culture and history which are key contextual parameters. It is proposed that such a futuristic curriculum departs from a phenomenological theoretical grounding (Roche, 1973: 303), in order to entrench Critical Regionalism as the praxis of choice in Kenya- which can only be achieved by the immediate inclusion of phenomenology in mainstream architectural pedagogy. Keita (1991: 211) argues that “intellectual effort in the African context should be strongly geared to the training of

personell in modern techniques of natural and social scientific inquiry appropriate for application in the on-going transformation of society” and this should be reflected in the new curriculum.

Phenomenology offers a new direction for architectural thought, perception and action because it is anchored in Husserlian naive realism [everyday reality] and mundane [everyday, ordinary] experience while also recognising the history and culture of any society within a spatio-temporal framework (Roche, 1973: 16, 17, 36). Heidegger observes that the phenomenological approach cannot be “apprehended all at once, without any preparation” because its ontology is “a long and involved process” that requires the elimination of prior prejudices (2002b [1962]: 258). This study therefore perceives phenomenology as a life-long learning philosophy which can only be propagated through prior self-familiarisation in order to ensure that “whatever is started in the pupil [architectural student] must be flourishing already in the teacher” (Curtis, 1978a: xxiv; Mackie, 1978: 100-103). Inspired by Husserl's decisive approach of ignoring restrictive dogmas and presuppositions, Heidegger argues that phenomenology can only be comprehended by “seizing upon it as a possibility” (2002b [1962]; 2002c [1962]: 287). This study concurs with Heidegger and focuses on how the phenomenology of Kenyan architectural artefacts, exemplified by the KICC, can be structured for appropriate inclusion into the Kenyan architectural curriculum.

Other aspects of phenomenology will be included to facilitate effective integration of the semiology of Kenyan artefacts into the new curriculum. They are phenomenological epistemology; ontology; hermeneutics; semiology; language (a broadened vocabulary); transcendental reduction (the Husserlian epoche); metabletic phenomenology; praxis; pedagogy as an ecosystemic paradigmatic approach whose ecology of contexts may then be perceived as ecology of phenomena and the phenomenological method as the means of anchoring architectural research.

The proposed curriculum therefore requires a timely revision of the existing boundaries of the discipline of architecture because they are presently linked to the “dominant power in society” (Aysan and Teymur, 1990: 304) that promotes exclusive and prominent architectural styles and ideas. Thought and choice are informed by exclusion “through show casing prototypes and exemplars” which are assigned “privileged positions” (ibid: 311-312). This practice promotes architectural redundancy as significant paradigms such as vernacular architecture are ignored by most of the discourse within the discipline (ibid: 306). The domination of Eurocentricity, coupled with “negative selections”, creates architectural curricula that exemplify “conceptual errors” which proceed to “multiply the sources of those errors” through emphasis on boundaries based on “dialectical perceptions” that distinguish

between “art” and “artefact” or “architecture” and “building” (ibid: 305, 306, 308, 312). By focusing on paradigmatic rank, superiority and privilege, bias and institutional conditioning are inculcated in architectural students. This is regressive because it encourages the growth of closed and elitist architectural practices rather than open, inclusivist and democratic approaches. When developing the proposed *corpus* of Kenyan architecture, this study envisions that models and case studies will be derived from the entire Kenyan architectural heritage irrespective of the status of the designer, location or grandeur. This will eliminate any prevalent biases and conditioning and initiate progressive dialogue. The proposed curriculum requires the convergence of the discipline of architecture in Kenya in order to establish *a priori* vocabulary of concepts and definitions that can act as the guide to critique entrenched taxonomies and biases while guiding practitioners and researchers in designing and analysing built form.

Aysan and Teymur (ibid: 315-316) insist that the most effective way of achieving architectural transformation that targets the future generation of architects, is to focus on the design process within the studio where ‘design attitudes’ can be moulded and influenced rather than on non-design courses alone. By proposing a structured inclusion of phenomenology into the curriculum, this study focuses on both the design studio and praxis as well as the lecture room and research, urging both students and practitioners to employ phenomenological philosophy and methods to describe and demonstrate the relevance of their concepts and designs to the Kenyan context in order to develop an appropriate Critical Regionalist Kenyan architecture.

The Table below is a synopsis of proposed revisions to some selected aspects of the semiology of Kenyan architectural artefacts in the new curriculum.

SELECTED ASPECT OF SEMIOLOGY	APPROACH WITHIN OLD CURRICULUM	PROPOSED REVISIONS & CHANGES IN THE NEW CURRICULUM
<b>Architectural history</b>	Nearly all examples employed indicate a Eurocentric focus, exemplifying cultural values, tastes and preferences that are alien to the Kenyan context. The context is broad and global including Asiatic (Japanese and Chinese) examples. Cultural incompatibility is evident within the design studio as nearly all the projects undertaken have a direct relationship with a live Kenyan context. Thus, there is ‘disconnect’ between pedagogy in the studio and architectural history & theory.	Integrate the historical timeline that was devised in Chapter 1 into all levels of the curriculum for a better chronological explication of architectural genesis, production and evolution. Since this timeline is open ended, it can be expanded, revised and debated to achieve a greater inclusiveness. Redirect focus of curriculum to cultural issues to emphasise similarity, differences, variety, hybridism, interactions, fusion and acculturation within the Kenyan context. The ecosystemic approach, in which architectural history is taught in relation to the cultural ecology of the Kenyan context (described in Chapter 2 of this study) should be adopted and implemented at all levels of the curriculum for contextual sensitivity, appropriateness, relevance and identity.

<p><b>Review of the design studio</b></p>	<p>Studio projects mostly focus on new works, similar in nature to architectural commissions of practicing architects. No evaluations of historical or recently executed architectural artefacts within the Kenyan context are undertaken. Architectural history and theory do not directly determine the selection of studio projects. Models of key artefacts such as the KICC are not routinely used during student-faculty interactions within the studio sessions. Studio presentations are mostly oral in nature with very brief accompanying project reports.</p>	<p>Western &amp; Eastern architectural exemplars should be mentioned briefly. The focus should be on Kenyan architectural history for a more direct, supportive, symbiotic relationship between history lessons and studio projects so that they mutually inform one another. Adopt an analytical approach within the studio in which a historical artefact e.g. the KICC is selected and decomposed into its various constituent elements. Students are then divided into groups of 3 to 4 to facilitate in-depth deliberation and critique of the artefact prior to presentation during lessons. Architectural relationships within the whole and salient tangible aspects including planning regulations, climatic response, functional disposition, aesthetic formulation, circulation and façade treatment are then presented in the form of analytical sketches and drawings. Successes and shortcomings in the semiology of the artefact are then identified, acknowledged and documented by the various groups to provide material for further research and study.</p>
<p><b>Cultural response</b></p>	<p>Student awareness of politico-economic developments within the Kenyan nation and pertinent cultural issues as well as prevalent <i>zeitgeist</i> is assumed within the present architecture curriculum. Though significant, the onus is upon students to demonstrate how these issues find expression within their architectural solutions without exposure to explicated examples of artefacts such as the KICC, which have successfully synthesised them in a unitary yet multivalent manner.</p>	<p>Shift focus of new curriculum to intangible cultural parameters and their expression and articulation within physical architectural form in the architectural studio at all levels. Phenomenology of architecture is relevant in the new curriculum to describe architectural experience by third parties (users and observers of architectural artefacts) and to explicate the semiology of architectural artefacts as well as to assess goodness of 'cultural fit'. The semiology of the KICC, as described in Chapter 4 of this study should be integrated into the new curriculum, for use as an exemplar to students in order to demonstrate how cultural sensitivity can be a key determinant of architecture that successfully synthesises the cultural ecology of the context.</p>
<p><b>Contextualism</b></p>	<p>Presently, emphasis is on building block models during studio sessions that analyse urban neighbourhood contexts such as those within Nairobi's CBD, as part of project background developments. These then lead to extensive discussions of morphology of forms, architectural styles and character, issues of scale and use of local and imported materials. Planning regulations including zoning, plot ratios and coverages are also mentioned. While recognising the importance of this approach, neighbourhood architectural artefacts are seldom discussed from a paradigmatic perspective. Issues of semiology, including cultural fusion, acculturation, regionalism or phenomenology are not mentioned.</p>	<p>In describing contextual forces of a proposed design task in the 'site analysis' stage of a studio project, the neighbourhood context should be described in terms of stylistic and paradigmatic content of its artefacts where applicable. The Western epistemological classification coupled with the finer refinements and variations specific to the Kenyan context as previously described in Chapter 2 of this study should be adopted into the new curriculum for this purpose. The teaching of Western architectural history should also be reviewed to give exemplars from the Kenyan architectural heritage using the key artefacts that were selected in Chapter 2, as well as others that may be deemed appropriate, to indicate to students the extent to which the adopted classification and its variants are prevalent in Kenya. Inclusion of phenomenology and Critical Regionalism into the new curriculum will enable a deeper discussion of the experience of artefacts in the neighbourhood contexts as well as the determination of their contextual or regional appropriateness.</p>
<p><b>Landscape considerations</b></p>	<p>Landscape architecture is presented as a degree programme at Jomo Kenyatta University School of Architecture. At the University of Nairobi, Landscape considerations are lumped together and presented as examinable units which are meant to be complementary to the design studio. Studio projects provide further opportunity for landscape response and sensitivity to be assessed.</p>	<p>This study characterised the Kenyan landscapes phenomenologically with reference to climatology and other geographical parameters (see Chapter 2). This method should be integrated into all the levels of the new curriculum in recognition that the landscape provides inspiration and vital suggestions on the type of architectural approach that is best suited to create and sustain harmony with the <i>Genius Loci</i> of any particular place (see Chapter 3).</p>
<p><b>Regionalism</b></p>	<p>Currently perceived to be an architectural movement within the present curriculum rather than a form of praxis. It is therefore mentioned in passing without recognition of the finer epistemological differentiation within its variants. The topic has been tackled by very few student theses from an individualistic perspective. Though Economics and Sociology are delivered as part of the curriculum by University staff from other departments outside of architecture, politics and</p>	<p>The variants of Regionalism as identified in Chapter 3 should form part of the new curriculum for a deeper and more rigorous engagement with the paradigm in order to facilitate the development of a Regional architecture, unique to the Kenyan context. The new curriculum must develop a definition of 'Region' that is appropriate for Kenya from an inclusivist and consultative basis with key stakeholders in architectural pedagogy. It is proposed that politics, economics and sociology be integrated into a single course unit whose content should be delivered</p>

	political science are excluded from the present curriculum.	through various themes such as statecraft; Nationalism; totalitarianism and pluralism (see Chapter 2). In this way, linkages will be forged and symbiotic relationships developed to foster critical syntheses during knowledge transmission.
<b>Geography</b>	Currently considered from the perspective of climatology only. No relationships between architectural forms of the various tribal communities in Kenya and the particular climatic and other geographical characteristics have been established. Knowledge of the ethnic diversity within the country is assumed. The geography of modernisation and that of societies in development transit are absent in the present curriculum.	The new curriculum should link desired architectural development within the nation to its current and projected future demographic characteristics including the multiple identities and religious affiliations evident in Kenya and their associated architectural artefacts (see Chapter 2). Traditional climatic responses and amelioration methods of the various tribal vernacular architectures must be taught to indicate the resilience and successes of this paradigm. Therefore the climatic amelioration and modification techniques within the seven climatic zones that were described in Chapter 2 should be integrated within the new curriculum to indicate the link between architectural semiology and the geographical contextual parameters such as modernisation and transitory development.
<b>Typology</b>	Typology is presently not pursued as a significant component of the curriculum. Instruction and criticism within the design studio does not include the typological lineage progression of architectural artefacts or the root form at the origin of this typological evolution. The typology of Aldo Rossi is taught briefly as part of Western architectural epistemology but extensions, applications and links to the Kenyan context are not explored.	Introduce and integrate the concept of typology (with emphasis on the typological series and the core root form) into the new curriculum and use it in the explication of architectural form evolution both globally and within the Kenyan context. Reasons for observed variations and deviations should be presented as part of the semiology of the artefacts under consideration. The desedimentation process encountered in the unraveling of typological evolution is best dealt with by including the Husserlian epoche as part of the broadened phenomenology within the new curriculum. The typology of the KICC, with its origin in the Modernist skyscrapers and the tripartite elevation is a suitable exemplar for desedimentation and the search for the root form.
<b>Location</b>	Currently described in terms of colonial zoning. KICC is within Nairobi CBD, with boundaries distinctly mapped out to fit the L/R parcel dimensions.	Environmental levels were used to locate KICC in a phenomenological manner (see case study above). This should be integrated into the new curriculum and extended to other architectural artefacts in the Kenyan context.
<b>Meaning in architecture</b>	Presently, emphasis is on architectural scientism including climatic amelioration and thermal, lighting and acoustic performances as well as presentation, functionalism and utility. A detailed semiological treatment of Kenyan architectural artefacts is absent. Analysis of codes within such artefacts is seldom attempted. Hermeneutic interpretation is not encouraged.	Establish conveyance of architectural meaning as a key focus of architectural curriculum at all levels to augment competence derived from architectural scientism. Meaning should be debated and evaluated from a cultural sensitivity standpoint, using the KICC semiology herein as a suitable example. Thus, there is a need to introduce a critical semiology and hermeneutics as tools for better integration of a broadened phenomenology into the curriculum to achieve a better explication of meaning.
<b>Historicism</b>	Perceived as the theoretical reconstruction of artefactual meaning within its specific temporal context, it incorporates relevant additional material as new knowledge, which arises from new subjective interpretations of cultural artefacts (Fisher, 1993b: 12). The present curriculum does not emphasise the potential of historicism in the development of architectural creativity of students, who are mostly encouraged to develop their own original solutions, devoid of historical 'contamination'.	The new curriculum needs to encourage the development of a <i>corpus</i> of paradigmatic content of selected key artefacts in the Kenyan context, such as the KICC, whose semiology has been well established. The KICC case study within this Chapter should be made available to students who should then be taught how to utilise it in a critical manner rather than from a direct revival standpoint to foster historicist interpretation. In this way, creativity within the design studio will actually be broadened and architectural research within the Kenyan context will be effectively disseminated. This should also provide the requisite shift from overemphasis on the 'Masters' of Modern architecture which should then enable the implementation of phenomenology and Critical Regionalism as proposed in this study.
<b>Language and poetry</b>	Presently, literacy is the prevalent form of architectural communication. No search for deeper or encoded meanings is conducted within the Kenyan context since Kenyan architectural artefacts are seldom used in the instruction of architecture students in Kenya. Individual students are free to pursue or approach language and poetry from their own perspectives of original creativity.	The selected artefacts in this study (see Chapter 2) are proposed for integration into the new curriculum for the purpose of instructing students in architectural theory, history and design studio. The symbolism, architectural language and poetry in these artefacts have been briefly outlined from a phenomenological perspective (Chapters 2 & 3). This approach should be emphasised in the new curriculum. It should be appreciated that it is impossible to directly transpose all the available tools of poetic

		communication into architecture. However, devices such as satire, contrast, metaphor, irony and repetition should be included and explained to students so that they may incorporate them to add architectural flavour to the semiology of their solutions within the design studio.
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Table 4d. Proposed changes to selected aspects of the semiology of Kenyan artefacts in the new curriculum.

The new curriculum should also recognise the centrality of human experience to the semiology of architectural artefacts, which may result from direct observation through frequent ‘lived-in’ utilitarian exposure or indirect detached observation. Phenomenology is the requisite philosophy for structuring experiential knowledge and presenting it in a form that is suitable for dissemination in architectural pedagogy. The Table below is a synopsis of the proposed integration of new aspects of architectural semiology into the new curriculum.

NEW ASPECT OF SEMIOLOGY	JUSTIFICATION, MOTIVATION OR EXPLICATION	PROPOSED INTEGRATION INTO THE NEW CURRICULUM
<b>Praxis &amp; Critical Regionalism</b>	Wolfe Mays (1978: 55) synthesises the positions of Heidegger and Piaget on praxis and cognition when he emphasises that “cognitive behaviour” emanates from “practical directed activities in our reaction to the world” (see also Curtis, 1978a: xxiii). Thus, experience, emotion, and action, as well as other vital aspects of cognition can be directed through praxis and not through intuition alone. Such cognition should “increase the students' capacity to apply theory to problem-solving” (Latter, 2006: 251). Collaborative fieldwork is an example of a beneficial participatory practical activity that should be incorporated into the architectural curriculum in order to assist in the acquisition of relevant knowledge (ibid: 257 – 259). The decomposition aspect of defamiliarisation is an ontological aspect of an architectural artefact. For Heidegger phenomenology is “the science of the manifest, of what shows itself, in all senses of that showing, which includes seeming and dissembling” (Moran, 2002: 248). Consequently, the decomposition aspect of defamiliarisation is directed towards dissembled knowledge whose internal content is revealed or made manifest to allow an enlarged interpretation and hence an augmented epistemology	Heidegger proclaims that “practical behaviour” is not “atheoretical”, which according to Mays (1978: 55) implies that it possesses internal rules that must be adhered to as these “construct a canon for itself in the form of method”. This censures Tzonis and Lefavre's (1996 [1990]: 490) position on the absence of rules in Critical Regionalism because, by extension, all methods of practice are canonic and must contain implicit rules. The Leitmotifs of Critical Regionalism as outlined in Chapter 3 are thus justified for integration within the new curriculum. Frampton's, Tzonis and Lefavre's writings on Critical Regionalism should be available for compulsory reading by students in the advanced stages of the architecture curriculum (Years 3 to 6). Studio projects based on aspects of defamiliarisation and the poetics of Critical Regionalism should be undertaken simultaneously with instruction in theory. Exercises to identify examples of other Regionalist approaches within the selected artefacts in Chapter 2 should also be performed to obtain practical examples that can complement theoretical learning.



<p><b>Developing a new architectural vocabulary</b></p>	<p>Fisher (1993 b: 10) describes cultural recapitulation within the ecosystemic paradigm as a critical selection of relevant artefacts whose interpretation requires “the development of a ‘deep’ vocabulary”. This phenomenological deficiency was identified by Heidegger (2002c [1962]: 287) when he proclaimed that “we lack not only most of the words but above all the grammar” that is necessary in order to “grasp entities in their Being”. Decisions must be taken within the proposed curriculum regarding the adoption of a naming system based on homology with other related disciplines, literality through acknowledgement of the appearance of the image or ontological rationality. A pluralistic method of naming will ensure the preservation of variety within Kenyan architecture. Philosophy and linguistics are relevant disciplines where architects may find complimentary methods of naming that can be co-opted into architecture.</p> <p>Husserlian noema (<i>intentio</i>) and noesis (<i>intendum</i>) are suitable examples of vocabulary that can find suitable architectural applications (Heidegger, 2002b [1962]: 271; Husserl, 2002c [1983]).</p>	<p>This will involve ‘coining’ new words appropriate for exposition and description of the constitutive aspects of the ecological phenomena that are revealed within architectural artefacts. Emergent architectural phenomena will require naming upon phenomenological exposition. Guiraud (1975: 35) suggests a system of naming in which epistemologies of other disciplines within humanities are initially probed to reveal an already existing signification system, which can then be applied as a grid to the observed reality. Andrew Smith (1993: 242, 243) calls for flexibility within this naming process while recognising that meaning, as a phenomenon must be “expressed verbally”. Such literality demands a broadened vocabulary. This will provide the means to adequately describe the phenomenological experience of a significant artefact such as the KICC.</p>
<p><b>Phenomenological epistemology</b></p>	<p>Phenomenology utilises the fundamental “concept of the whole” in Gestalt Psychology but departs from its ‘misleading’ assertion that the properties of the whole “cannot be reduced to the sum of the parts” (Roche, 1973: 141; Mays, 1978: 67). Roche (ibid: 312) categorises epistemological theories as “first-order” or “second-order” based on the objects of their discourse. First-order theories describe and explain structures, processes or phenomena as features derived from the world, offering methodological and procedural guidelines, while second-order theories provide frameworks for integrating first order theories (ibid). When it describes the ontology of humans and cultural artefacts, phenomenology becomes a first-order theory, but when it provides a unitary philosophical framework as proposed in this study, it targets the totality of architectural experience and interpretation as a second-order theory. This is consistent with Husserl’s assertion that “phenomenology could provide the foundation for philosophy itself and also for other sciences [including architecture with its inherent art-science dialectic]”</p>	<p>Phenomenology cannot be strictly delineated or distinctively defined with regard to its theoretical scope. Therefore, Gestalt theory is useful to the new curriculum when integrating the entire semiology of the KICC into the new curriculum. However, when KICC is decomposed into its various parts such as the cone, the tower and the podium, during studio or theoretical analysis, the limits of Gestalt theory must be taken into account. Existing architectural boundaries can be sufficiently challenged in order to sustain the requisite dialogue (Smith, 1993: 244), prior to the integration of Critical Regionalism into the new curriculum. Intuition enables phenomenology as a second order theory to integrate the epistemology within architecture. This complements objectivity with subjectivity, tempering scientific explanations with historical justifications because history is also equally objective and rigorous (Moran, 2002:19; Carr, 1993: 397). Realism in phenomenology is described by Husserl as the ‘Lebenswelt’ or “‘natural attitude”</p>

	(Moran, 2002: 12). Knowledge acquisition through experience of architectural artefacts is a prerequisite to cognitive empowerment for hierarchical cognitive development of the architectural student (Fisher, 1989: 46).	where the world is embraced with all its dichotomies, complexities and contradictions (Roche, 1973:11, 12, 36). This justifies the integration of the multiple aspects of the Kenyan cultural ecology into the new curriculum as well as the multiple founding systems of architectural production in Kenya (see Chapter 2).
<b>Phenomenological ontology</b>	Moran (2002: 5) insists that phenomenology must explicate the “correlation between mind and world” with regard to “the thing that appears”. Within phenomenology, epistemology and ontology portray a symbiotic relationship, in which ontology confirms and validates epistemological assertions (Roche, 1973: 296, 297). For Heidegger (2002b [1962]: 258, 260), intentionality is a key ontological aspect, which is the “structure of lived experiences”, while for Roche (1973: 298, 301, 302), intentionality links thought to action thereby blurring distinctions between ontological intentional and social attributes to sustain individual freedom and confer the ability to describe intentions upon 'actors' and their 'audiences' in society. Sartre identifies and categorises ontological dimensions of architecture into several levels of 'Being' (Roche, 1973: 21-23; Moran, 2002: 20). They include 'Being-in-itself' which promotes contextually irresponsive architectural solutions that are not inspired by cultural ecology; 'Being-for-itself' which grants architectural freedom to create structures that express the complexities of experiential reality; 'Being-for-others' that adopts an extroverted architectural approach to manipulate proxemic relations to recognise street lines to promote architectural kinesics that enhance the context (this is contradicted by the large setback of the KICC) and 'Being-against-other-people' that adopts an introverted attitude to protest against the contextual realities (ibid).	Architectural movements and paradigms together with their stylistic approaches are imbued with humanistic content that provide varied material for ontological analysis which must be extended to reveal concealed phenomena in the expression of built form. Understanding the epistemology of such paradigms is however dependent upon memory. Heaton calls for the distinction between a memory that produces understanding and memorising as a result of assertions (Curtis, 1978a: xxv-xxvi). Memory can be classified as ontological and in continuity with a Being's existential world or dependent and propagated by reliance on external reminders (Heaton, 1978: 119). Thus the new curriculum must focus on knowledge that ensures the development of ontological memory, justified within phenomenological epistemology, rather than mere factual recall. This should be taken into account when the classification of Kenyan architecture into various categories inspired by Western epistemology is integrated into the new curriculum. Architectural intentions should depart from intangible concepts at a cognitive level to focus on tangible human experience of built form in order to express the thoughts and actions of society within architectural artefacts, while acknowledging that the prevalent individual freedom is a rich source of architectural variation with regard to aesthetic choices and taste cultures. The new curriculum should therefore recognise that architectural decisions are ontological intentions contained within the identified ontological dimensions, irrespective of the stage of the design process in which they find application. Organisation of functions, aesthetic formulation and attitude to context are examples of such ontological architectural intentions.
<b>Phenomenological</b>	This method is not bound by a closed or complete set of	The new curriculum must regard the

<p><b>methodology</b></p>	<p>“theoretical percepts and methodical maxims” and must not be <i>ad hoc</i>; this can be ensured through “critical essentialism” which demands “a priori distinctions between phenomenological and non-phenomenological research practices” in order to link theory to research (Pilotta, 1993: 349, 351). “Conceptual legitimacy” in research is subjective and informed by history and culture which constitute the social processes within it (ibid: 345, 351). The phenomenological method entails the “philosophical clarification and analyses” of existential phenomena (Roche, 1973: 37). Husserl’s position is that the phenomenological method must avoid empirical assertions and shun speculation with regard to essences or references because intuition is the realm within which such compartments must be grasped (Moran, 2002: 7). Heidegger (2002b [1962]: 263) argues that phenomenological methods must consider both real and imaginary compartments of human experience. In architecture tangible and intangible aspects of culture, including physical or communal or spiritual aspects are included within phenomenological methodology. Heideggerian phenomenology perceives existential ontology as imbued with “a temporal structure” characterised by “a constant projection towards the future and a constant reassessment of the past” (Roche, 1973: 30). Thus, the architectural phenomenological methodology within this proposed curriculum must be both futurist and historicist as the future of architecture can be predicted, projected or understood by a critical assessment of its past. For Sartre and Merleau-Ponty, phenomenology must analyse and synthesise “all forms of experience” emanating from the interaction of humans with their bio-physical environment, without any prejudgement (ibid: 38). Moran (2002: 1-2) insists that the phenomenological method is opposed to naturalistic and scientific reduction as well as all explications that deviate from the “appearance” of the phenomenon under investigation. “Purely causal” and “genetic” explications are also inadmissible (ibid). Therefore, “Phenomenology must study and bring to clarification the nature of the essence of subjective acts of cognition” (ibid: 7). This justifies the integration of the various types of phenomenology (that were outlined in Chapter 3) into the new curriculum.</p>	<p>phenomenological method of research as multiple in constitution and unlimited by academic theory, which is vital for continuous knowledge acquisition within architecture, where the explicit description of the ecological phenomena within cultural artefacts enables them to be perceived from multiple perspectives. Norberg-Schulz’s main texts (1980a &amp; 1980b [1975]) must be endorsed as compulsory texts of architectural theory in Years 3 to 6. The leitmotifs of phenomenology (see Chapter 3) are prescribed for inclusion into the curriculum in addition to Norberg-Schulz’s existential phenomenology. Intuition directed at the comprehension of an individual and his interaction may be speculative. Speculative architecture has less merit with regard to anthropomorphic and cultural sensitivity and must not be prioritised in the new curriculum.</p> <p>No privileged position should therefore be assigned to any experience within this methodology. This is consistent with Fisher, who proclaims that parametric favoritism is “untenable in Ecoystemic thought” (1993a: 33). The application of this approach within architectural pedagogy and research must avoid bias and prejudice and concentrate on constructing a holistic ecology of an architectural artefact in which a rigorous probe of experiential reality of built form is supported by a validated epistemology. However, with regard to archaeological findings and other forms of serendipity within architecture, interpretation should emerge from anchoring any newly encountered cultural artefacts within their formative spatio-temporal constructs in order to ‘ground’ them within their cultural contexts. For architecture, causation and genesis must relate to and depart from the historical and cultural context of the artefact in question. The objectivity of natural science is therefore incompatible with the semiology and hermeneutics of architectural artefacts. Architectural artefacts exhibit the manifest-semblance dichotomy because they represent the cultural aspects of society including transformation and acculturation (Heidegger, 2002c [1962]: 279). The semblance is however more broad and inclusive compared to the manifest, and this should</p>
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		be reflected in the proposed curriculum.
<b>Metabletic phenomenology</b>	<p>Pilotta (1993: 352) describes reality as “changeable” and thus incapable of complete or absolute description, because objects are involuntarily mutable, resulting in “unstable” comprehension due to multiple iterative reconstructions of social texts by subjective readers. For Bertha Mook (2007: 137), metabletics is “a study of the changing nature of phenomena in human life as lived and experienced” and is thus a historical phenomenology within a given spatio-temporal context. The impact of interdisciplinary simultaneity of an emergent phenomenon is much greater than intradisciplinary ones and it results in a paradigmatic shift or substitution (Fisher, 1989: 47, 50; 1993 b: 8). This is equivalent to a metabletic shift in phenomenology (Mook, 2007:137; Romanyshyn, 2008: 506). Such change is discontinuous and is based on a mutable reality (Romanyshyn, ibid). At the University of Nairobi School of Architecture, a collaborative multidisciplinary interpretive approach is currently absent. Other disciplines are only engaged to deliver courses such as law, economics and sociology. The architectural profession and its artefactual productions have multidisciplinary attributes. These possess internal material capable of inducing and sustaining a paradigmatic crisis that could result in a metabletic substitution of phenomena.</p>	<p>The incorporation of metabletics into the new curriculum will bestow upon it, a vital intellectual tool for tackling emergent changes both within and without the discipline of architecture, thereby enabling the acquisition of new knowledge without a significant time lag. This will ensure the synchronous evolution of architectural knowledge in relation to other humanistic epistemologies like philosophy, psychology and sociology and will enable the aspects of semiology that have the potential to be co-opted into architecture to be identified. The writings and works of key protagonists of phenomenology in architecture, including those of Juhani Pallasmaa should be evaluated from a metabletic perspective prior to inclusion in the new curriculum as this will ensure multivalence and variety of approaches. Contextual changes in Kenya due to its evolving political and cultural landscape have resulted in traditional, imperial and pluralistic systems (see Chapter 2 of the study) and the consequent metabletic shifts are manifested within the built environment. The proposed curriculum must encourage multidisciplinary collaboration in order to identify common attributes of phenomena, whose presentation will reveal the occurrence of metabletic shifts as these are consequences of significant deviations in theoretical discourse. Fisher (1993b: 11) outlines these attributes as transformative, purgative, controversial, lacking precedence and imbued with originality and creativity and hence extremely influential.</p>
<b>The Husserlian epoche</b>	<p>Jean Piaget considers the epoche as derived from “Husserl's theory of sedimentation” in which meanings are layered over a “fundamental structure” [the epoche itself], which remains unchanged with temporality (Mays, 1978: 64). For Roche (1973: 27), Merleau-Ponty's position on the epoche is more persuasive because while acknowledging that “a 'complete reduction' is impossible”, he recognises the functions of the epoche as the revelations of our ontological relationships with objects of phenomenological analysis which then enable the clarification of perception. Piaget describes pure phenomenology as an “archaeological method” as the</p>	<p>It should be possible to 'uncover' an artefact until its meaningful core is exposed as its essence, after a reflexive contemplation on all its phenomenological aspects. With regard to architecture, a broadened and inclusive epoche would be more appropriate to address the pluralistic nature of the proposed curriculum. Broadening the epoche is vital in retrieving relevant meanings that could be lost through the process of unlayering or desedimentation. The Husserlian epoche is proposed as the means to further developing the concept of architectural typology within the new</p>

	<p>epoche does not consider historical and genetic aspects in its emphasis on the 'synchronic', which is temporal, while ignoring the 'diachronic', which is historical (Mays, 1978: 59, 60, 61). The proposed curriculum therefore enlarges the scope of the epoche to include the history and genesis of architectural artefacts through incorporating both their synchronic and diachronic aspects.</p>	<p>curriculum. Franz von Brentano's claims that the methods and discoveries of natural science should be complementary to, rather than in competition with phenomenology (Roche, 1973: 4). The new curriculum thus recognises that utilitarian aspects of architectural functionalism may be adequately addressed through recourse to the domain of natural science while issues of aesthetics and culturally determined subjective functionalism are best understood through access to existential essences via a mediated epoche that is anchored in reflexive intentions with regard to cultural expression.</p>
<p><b>Architectural pedagogy</b></p>	<p>Phenomenological epistemology prohibits the communication of concepts through assertions because they degenerate knowledge thereby encouraging rote learning that implies being "understood in an empty way" hence resulting in the loss of "indigenous character" by promoting "empty intending" through direct recall (Heidegger, 2002c [1962]: 285; 2002b [1962]: 268; Heaton, 1978: 120). This prohibition is consistent with Louis Pojman's (1978: 11) claim that "only what is learned through experience" and then "personally appropriated is truly known". Kierkegaard's cognitive principle implies that "all that is known must be known in a mode appropriate to the thing known" (ibid: 3-4). For Pojman (ibid), this principle focuses on "competence knowledge" for which order must prevail <i>a priori</i> to learning because the process of learning is not arbitrary as it must have internal objectives. The instruction of Critical regionalism should therefore have aims and set appropriate targets with regard to its desired achievements. Ensuring variety through promoting identity at various levels is critical to this approach. Architectural pedagogy cannot be arbitrary or <i>ad hoc</i> as this would result in chaos. Effective learning for architectural students can only occur if the process of learning is enjoyable (Krell, 1978: 132). All aspects of knowledge portray a subject-object dichotomy (Pojman, 1978: 4). Knowledge that is factual is termed objective but the method in which it is known by the knower is subjective (ibid). Objective knowledge unites architectural pedagogy irrespective of its global location. However, subjective knowledge accommodates contextualism through emphasis on architectural cultural ecology. The ecology within the ecosystemic paradigm is diverse and</p>	<p>Murphy (1993: 384) argues that truth claims are always provisional. This implies that truth can never be certain and therefore the concept of truth is only ephemeral until a more refined truth is postulated. Existing truths must continuously be revisited through persistent questioning (Heaton, 1978: 129–130). This justifies the introduction of other methods of teaching and assessment within the new curriculum including the introduction of language games and role plays (Abel, 2000: 81-96; Roche, 1973: 43; Latter, 2006: 252; Heaton, 1978: 124). Murphy (1993: 384, 390) recalls Jean Gebser's proclamation that "the centre is everywhere". Such a centre is indeed the architectural 'truth' and Gebser's position indicates that many versions of the same truth can co-exist. The absence of a single centre calls for an epistemological shift from monocentric to polycentric concepts and this is analogous to the Schutzian proposition of multiple realities (Yattani, 1993: 371). The dialectic approach within Critical Regionalism can be best accommodated by introducing relevant aspects of philosophy, critical theory and postcolonial discourse into the curriculum. Pojman's (1978: 4) synthesis of Kierkegaard's thesis emphasises that "learning is progressive" and therefore the comprehension of a complex theoretical discourse such as the phenomenology of architecture requires its structuring into "simpler components". This is the approach adopted within this study where initially Heideggerian phenomenology is outlined from the perspective of Norberg-Schulz</p>

	<p>pluralistic with multiple linkages within multiple realities that enable its continuous evolution (Fisher, 1989: 48, 50; 1993a: 32, 33; 1993b: 2, 3, 6, 8, 10, 32, 33; Viljoen, 2010: 235). It is therefore necessary to structure the implementation of the broadened phenomenology to enable its comprehension by architecture students. This is the approach adopted in this study.</p>	<p>and then other aspects of phenomenology are engaged with the aim of incorporating them into the proposed curriculum (see Chapters 3 and 4 of this study). For Heidegger (2002c [1962]: 285) a 'Being' or entity may be concealed to the extent that "it becomes forgotten and no question arises about it or about its meaning". The pedagogy within the proposed curriculum should seek to exhume 'buried' and 'forgotten' architectural artefacts within the Kenyan context, such as Fort Jesus and early Swahili architecture and provide their phenomenological descriptions and interpretations. Multidisciplinary collaboration must be taken into account within this pedagogy in order to provide an elaborate holistic ecology of these 'exhumed' artefacts.</p>
<p><b>Hermeneutics</b></p>	<p>Hermeneutics is vital for acquiring or reclaiming architectural knowledge as it ensures the recovery of concealed codes within 'obsolete' and 'unconscious' aspects of cultural artefacts. This task is compatible with Heidegger's (2002c [1962]) phenomenological quest of discovering concealed phenomena within ontological entities. Michel Foucault's perception of hermeneutics indicates a significant overlap with semiology when he tasks hermeneutics with the discovery of "meaning of signs" and he structures it as a "system of implicit, latent and purely contingent signs" in which interpretation is associated with the decoding of polyvalent codes (Guiraud, 1975: 36, 41, 65). However clarification is achieved when Foucault limits hermeneutical scope to meaning which is "the result of interpretation on the part of the receiver" (ibid: 44). Hermeneutics is therefore an interpretive grid which is applied by the recipient to the text in question and its tools may be philosophic, aesthetic or cultural (ibid: 65). Hermeneutics does not therefore concentrate on the sender of the architectural message, but on the recipient. Nevertheless, the sender's comprehension of hermeneutics is mandatory as only then can the sender [the architect] encode the architectural artefact to achieve multiple interpretations that sustain multivalent architecture.</p>	<p>For Soren Kierkegaard, all perception and other acts of cognition involve interpretation which in turn involves decision (Curtis, 1978b: 20 – 21; Pojman, 1978: 3). Such decision is based on choice with regard to selection of artefacts as well as the interpretive system in which to anchor them. This justifies the shift of focus from Eurocentric artefacts to Kenyan artefacts as selected and identified in Chapter 2 of this study within the new curriculum. For Piaget, interpretation must address causality (cause and effect), departing from the actions of a subject towards the operation of an object because causality is "a perceptual phenomenon" (Mays, 1978: 50, 52). This validates the inclusion of architectural genesis and founding contexts (see Chapter 2) in the new curriculum. Piaget explains the distinctions between the worlds of children and adults as the consequences of the application of variant interpretive systems (Mays, 1978: 52 – 53). This cautions architects in pursuit of a unitary interpretation as it emphasises that this could only be realised through the implementation of a common interpretive system. For Heidegger (2002 c [1962]: 285), the multiplicity inherent in hermeneutics has the potential of being constructed as a system that requires "no further justification" and is therefore the initiation of deduction. The new curriculum must ensure that tolerance with regard</p>

		<p>to differences of interpretation prevails within its epistemology as interpretations are subjective and cannot be ranked according to superiority. Deduction is the conclusion of cumulative acts of interpretation.</p>
<p><b>A critical semiology</b></p>	<p>Architectural communication may be purely descriptive and objective, targeting only the “nature of the situation” at hand or it may be subjective and therefore tempered with interpretation and judgement (Giraud, 1975: 37). The levels of such communication may then be indicative and therefore ontological or injunctive through action or representative through epistemology (ibid). The process of decoding a message may then be described as a reconstruction of the meaning contained therein, which emanates from the phenomenological codes that focus on the experiential aspect of buildings. To ensure efficient communication of architectural messages, redundancy must be addressed with a view to recovering and expressing ‘wasted’ information. Guiraud (ibid: 22, 23, 25) observes that “a sign is a stimulus” which may be monosemic or polysemic and therefore portrays a conscious or unconscious “intention to communicate” meanings through messages. Buildings stimulate emotive and perceptive phenomenological experiences in their users and observers. However, a building may communicate unintended messages after completion signifying that the architect is no longer in control. Therefore, the proposed curriculum must also emphasise the semiological limitations in the role of the architect within the context of architectural communication. Guiraud (1975: 10, 24, 28, 41, 55) describes the nature of scientific codes, characterising them as monosemic; technical and imbued with implicit conventions; objective with a focus on denotation; diagrammatically descriptive for compatibility with memory; taxonomic; algorithmic and arbitrary in order to escape “contamination by analogy”. The new curriculum should co-opt this categorisation of codes to enable effective architectural communication by students.</p>	<p>Architectural messages are propagated through codes and therefore the analysis and synthesis of these codes is a vital aspect of architectural communication between the emitter or sender and the recipient of such codes. The proposed curriculum must ensure that architectural students develop familiarity with the stratification of these codes. The implicit codification within KICC has been presented in its semiology and included in the new curriculum. The study recommends that during the design stage, architects and architectural students should assume the role of the recipients of these messages in order to effectively probe whether the coded messages are conveyed as intended and this will test and enhance effective architectural communication. This is consistent with Latter (2006: 253), who recommends that architects assume roles that are antithetical to their beliefs and Smith (1993: 235) who perceives “displacement” as the means to comprehending codification and signification of meaning. Latter’s position is analogous to Tzoni’s and Lefaivre’s (1996 [1990]: 489) defamiliarisation aspect of Critical Regionalism (already included in the new curriculum), while Smith’s position recalls the metabletic technique of linear perspectives recommended by Romanyshyn (2008: 507). For Guiraud (1975: 13), signs are crucial to the process of message decoding because they “convey the elements of meaning’. It is therefore vital for architecture students to comprehend how signs perform this key function. The inclusion of the semiology of architectural signs in the new curriculum will reveal and identify the codes within the selected artefacts (see Chapter 2), thereby enabling categorisation of the intentionalities within architectural communication in the Kenyan context.</p>

Table 4e. Integration of new aspects of semiology into the new curriculum.

#### 4.5 Suggestions for additional, overarching improvements to the present curriculum of architecture in Kenya

It should be noted that the present architectural curriculum is already bulky, lengthy and demanding upon students. The suggestions below, as regards teaching, should be incorporated either as electives at undergraduate level or as optional modules at post graduate level by the Universities.

The practical suggestions are put here in order to stimulate open debate in Universities or even at policy level by BORAQS and AAK, and in order to test their appropriateness for inclusion into curricula through a participative process.

The present curriculum borrows heavily from Western architectural epistemologies. To develop a more relevant and contextual architecture that includes Critical Regionalism and phenomenology within it, the Universities should:

- Introduce African (Kenyan) philosophy, political science and contemporary history into the curriculum. Politics affects architecture at the levels of development policy, resource allocation and implementation. Linkages should be forged between the country's history and the theory of its architecture which should then be justified and validated by recourse to African philosophy. This will broaden the existing *corpus* of architectural knowledge in Kenya for use in instruction with regard to architectural theory and studio projects as well as provide a vital reference for practicing architects. The framework developed in this study can be used to anchor the research to form this *corpus*.
- Integrate architectural theory more directly into the studio projects and employ it as one of the key criteria of assessment. This will encourage students to develop more interest in contemporary theory and criticism, fostering greater dialogue.
- Apart from emphasising recall on the 'Masters' of Modern architecture, students should be encouraged to pursue and record their own interests as part of the theory of architecture examination papers as well as in the self chosen research topic in the final academic year (BAR 613 and BAR 614). This study should be made accessible to the more advanced students who can then select one epoch and anchor their research topic on it to promote contextually based research that can be used to augment this *corpus*.



- The research component of academic study should be introduced as early as in Year 2, in terms of an annual paper, examinable as part of architectural theory, to gauge familiarity of students with contemporary architectural discourse and criticism as well as existing research in the Kenyan context.
- Introduce field work, excursions and live studio projects both within urban and rural contexts to familiarise students with pertinent issues in Critical Regionalism. According to Rosemary Latter (2005: 250 – 251), such practical tasks should incorporate philosophy that can anchor the study of vernacular architecture [as well as Critical Regionalism]. These include ‘structuralism’ and ‘semiotics’ and should therefore “increase the student's capacity to apply theory to problem-solving” (ibid: 256 – 260).
- Faculty members should familiarise themselves, engage with and uncover new knowledge as relates to contemporary architectural paradigms with a contextual bias taking into account Kenyan philosophy and culture. This includes Critical Regionalism and phenomenology which are constituents of the emergent ecosystemic paradigm (Fisher, 1993b: 9–10). Heaton (1978: 129–130) proclaims that teaching is analogous to conversation [dialogue] whose outcome is not known, *a priori*. However, the emergent questions from such dialogue should be within the premise of a bounded horizon, delimited by the instructor (ibid). Such limits should be debatable and revised periodically.

#### 4.6 Expected Learning outcomes after the implementation of the new curriculum

These are varied, ranging from the immediate outcomes during the course of training, to competence development upon graduation and eventual lifelong learning skills inculcated in and portrayed by students of architecture as well as architects in practice. They include:

- Rigorous familiarisation with emergent and contemporary issues in architectural history and theory.
- Acquiring a greater range of architectural vocabulary, requisite for studio presentations and thesis writing.
- Better correlation of architectural history and theory with the design studio rather than individualistic ‘stand alone’ approaches.
- Improved synthesis of architectural artefacts (both real and proposed) with their live and/or historical contexts.

- Develop intellectual curiosity in architectural students as well as improve their academic writing skills (which are perceived to be equally important and complementary to design skills). These transferrable skills will find future application in architectural research as well as in multidisciplinary collaborations and investigations. These skills include critical observation and questioning of entrenched practices within architectural academia, analytical, deductive and inductive reasoning that fosters decision making during problem solving in order to facilitate the anticipation and conceptualisation of architectural issues in a facilitative, innovative and integrative manner (Hindes, 2004: 38).
- Entrenchment of lifelong learning skills. Pedagogy within architecture is distinct from that which is observed in other disciplines because it fosters creativity through criticism rather than promoting excessive factual recall and other modes of rote learning. Eventually each student of architecture must define for themselves what architecture means to them regardless of exposure to an array of examples drawn from architectural history. For Kierkegaard and Socrates, “all learning comes down to self learning” and therefore an architectural student must be “responsible for what he [or she] learns and how he [or she] uses it” (Pojman, 1978: 11). The architectural student should choose wisely amongst various alternatives and initiate as well as sustain architectural inquisitiveness during training and ensure its continuity into architectural practice. According to Louis Pojman formal instruction should enable the student “to discover knowledge for himself, arousing interest” because “life is education” (ibid). This indicates that pedagogy in architecture must not only impart skills, but should also promote a method of living by emphasising life-long self-directed learning.

#### **4.7 Predicted challenges to the establishment of the new curriculum**

Apart from unfamiliarity of the present faculty with some aspects of contemporary phenomenological discourse and philosophy, the study predicts and identifies key challenges that may hinder the transition to and the implementation of the proposed (new) curriculum. They include:

- The misplaced perception of the superiority of architectural functionalism (utilitarian approaches) and scientifism (climatic control, thermal comfort, lighting and acoustics) over cultural ecological parameters with regard to the effective engagement with as well as expression and articulation of pertinent issues in architecture. Though indispensable to the formulation of architectural solutions, functionalism and scientifism are subsidiary to culture as pertains to the experience of architectural artefacts and this prioritisation is key to the successful implementation of the new curriculum.

- As mentioned previously, the study does not propose a complete overhaul of the existing curriculum but only suggests revisions to the existing curriculum as well as the integration of new aspects of phenomenology to enable a rigorous explication of the semiology of Kenyan architectural artefacts. The time frame for this implementation should therefore be progressive rather than immediate, to enable periodic evaluation of the successes and failures of the different structured phases and tiers.
- The perceived increase in course content will yield a bulky curriculum, generating difficulty for students in coping with the huge volume of uncovered knowledge through the proposed methods of knowledge acquisition including the Husserlian epoche (see Table 4f above). However, the utilisation of other methods of knowledge dissemination, besides rote learning, such as the introduction of group discussions, conferences, colloquiums, electives and self-directed research will enable this impediment to be effectively addressed.
- The broad nature of Regionalist discourse and the perceived complexity of phenomenological philosophy and the intangibility of concepts within architectural phenomenology may generate 'resistance' from faculty members who do not wish to embrace change within academia.
- The circularity within hermeneutic interpretation (Moran, 2002: 18; Heidegger, 2002c [1962]: 287; Yattani, 1993: 368, 369); the subjective nature of architectural semiology (Poijman, 1978: 9); metabletic shifts (Fisher, 1989: 47, 50; 1993b: 8) and periodic revisions and transformations in the formulation of phenomenological epistemology (Moran, 2002: 14-15), will necessitate intermittent reviews of the proposed curriculum. These should not be perceived as impediments but rather as the need for frequent appraisal and review of the curriculum to be in sync with temporality.

#### **4.8 Suggestions for disseminating the achieved approach within the architecture praxis and public consciousness of Kenya**

The dissemination of the above outlined approach, and the production and sustainance of a suitable architectural environment for Kenya as suggested in this study, requires the actions of many stakeholders.

The Universities and the Professional Body should collaborate in:

- Workshops and seminars in which practicing Kenyan architects are invited to present and exhibit their projects. This will establish a continuous dialogue between theory and praxis as well as sensitise practicing architects on the need for Critical Regionalism while exposing them to contemporary architectural discourse. This can be done in partnership with BORAQS and AAK, as part of Continuous Professional Development programmes (CPDs).
- Annual exhibitions for the Kenyan public at large, including non-architects such as politicians and religious leaders in order to attract public goodwill which is vital for sourcing research funding. This will project architectural issues from the periphery to the centre of national dialogue, broadening debate and creating public awareness regarding the praxis of Critical Regionalism.
- Collaboration with other African Universities to share knowledge and forge common positions on pertinent issues including contextually relevant architectural methodologies such as Critical Regionalism.
- Collaboration with other academic disciplines and international agencies including the UN Habitat, anthropologists and archaeologists with a view to promoting a national architectural identity that exhibits cultural diversity by embracing and promoting multidisciplinary research.

With regard to the approval of architectural curricula and training, BORAQS as a regulator of architectural practice in Kenya should:

- Review architectural curricular within the Schools of Architecture in Kenya to streamline them with existing international standards as well as emphasise the relevance of the Kenyan context as a source of inspiration and anchor for architecture. Part of BORAQS income should be reserved for architectural research, training and scholarship.
- The examination questions with regard to the registration of architects should include familiarity

with and awareness of the Kenyan cultural context, history and politics and their impact on architecture. Elective cultural, historical and political themes should also be recorded as part of continuous assessment on the log sheets of graduate architects. These themes could be included as part of project backgrounds including site analysis or even during post occupancy evaluation studies.

- To promote the implementation of Critical Regionalism as a praxis, BORAQS should execute its mandate in collaboration with the Kenyan Judiciary to 'weed out' unqualified persons from the practice of architecture in Kenya. This will then enable architects to appropriately direct the trajectory of architecture in Kenya and this will nurture the development of Critical Regionalism.

The Government of Kenya, as the legal custodian of the Kenyan architectural heritage, has the responsibility and obligation to promote contextually relevant architecture [including Critical Regionalism] in pursuit of a national identity. To realise its role effectively, widespread collaboration with Universities and relentless lobbying by other stakeholders in architectural academia can achieve significant progress analogous to the establishment of the Institute of Development Studies (1968) at the University of Nairobi and the Permanent Presidential Commission on Music (1983) in Kenya (Ogot, 1995c: 218 - 219, 1995d: 228). The Kenyan Government should:

- Encourage participatory design strategies at the Ministry of Public Works and Housing which should then be implemented with significant end-user involvement and community approval (Jencks, 1987: 104, 106, 108, 130). This will provide vital feedback to the praxis of Critical Regionalism.
- In line with the spirit of the new Kenyan Constitution (2010), the Ministry of Public Works and Housing, AAK and BORAQS should devolve their administrative structures to the County level and if possible to the 'grass roots' for effective implementation of contextually relevant architecture that includes Critical Regionalism.
- Ensure that architects are *bona fide* members of the Constituency Development Fund (CDF) projects and advisory boards [currently only accountants are permanent members of these boards]. Such architects, apart from executing advisory and supervisory roles, will encourage the implementation of locally appropriate solutions in addition to incorporating 'distilled' universal architectural principles [Critical Regionalism].

The Architectural Association of Kenya [AAK] as the 'mouthpiece' of architects and a co-regulator of architectural practice in Kenya should:

- Allocate funding as well as source funding from local and international sources to conserve outstanding Kenyan architectural heritage, encouraging architectural diversity and promote public awareness in emergent architectural issues such as Critical Regionalism.
- Broaden the criteria for the 'Awards of Excellence' to incorporate cultural sensitivity and familiarity with contemporary theoretical philosophies including phenomenology and 'excellent' practical approaches such as Critical Regionalism. These should also form the agenda for debate in the annual architectural conference.
- Sponsor a monthly journal of architecture, in collaboration with BORAQS and the two Schools of Architecture in Kenya. This should be the forum where academia [including students and practitioners] publish their views on current and pertinent architectural issues. The editorial team of such a journal should sanction a section on criticism of completed and on-going architectural projects in Kenya. The debate arising therefrom will encourage the establishment of Critical Regionalism as praxis.
- Initiate collaboration with other relevant professionals to sponsor multidisciplinary research that will yield a holistic interpretation of cultural artefacts in Kenya. This will utilise the philosophy of phenomenology that is broad, encompassing various disciplines (Roche, 1973; Yatani, 1993; Oruka, 1991a: 10).
- Recognise the indispensable role of vernacular architecture as regards the provision of adequate mass housing and meeting future housing needs (Oliver, 2000: 116 – 117). This will require lobbying the Government and relevant international bodies for the provision of 'site and service' schemes to address the provision of sanitation and other appropriate infrastructure that is currently lacking within urban vernacular communities such as the slum areas in Kenya. This will enable the inhabitants of such communities to determine and direct their 'architectural' destiny (ibid.)

Such efforts will promote the development of an architecture that is appropriate to those communities, which may even then evolve as an off-shoot of Critical Regionalist architecture.

## 4.9 Recapitulation

This chapter described the semiology of a selected case study, the Kenyatta International Conference Centre (KICC), in Nairobi, mainly from the perspectives of Regionalism, Critical Regionalism and phenomenology. The achievements of this study emerging from Chapters 1, 2, 3 and 4 were then synoptically outlined and suggested for inclusion into the proposed architecture curriculum in Kenya, as a means of implementing a rigorous explication of the semiology of Kenyan architectural artefacts. A brief overview and critical appraisal of the architecture curriculum at the University of Nairobi's School of Architecture was undertaken and relevant improvements requisite for the establishment of a phenomenologically grounded Critical Regionalist architecture within pedagogy and praxis were suggested. Proposals for an expanded engagement of key players within the Kenyan architectural regulatory context were presented in outline, to ensure the prevalence of a local regime that could sustain and promote the evolution of Critical Regionalist architecture, suitable for and specific to the Kenyan context. Methods of integrating the explicated semiology of the KICC into the proposed architectural curriculum were also explored and motivated. Other methods of broadening the dialogue within the phenomenology of architecture, but within the Existential phenomenology of Christian Norberg-Schulz, were then proposed for inclusion into the proposed curriculum as 'new aspects' of semiology, giving direction as to how desedimented knowledge (arising from the Husserlian epoche), hermeneutics, expanded architectural vocabulary and metabletics within the phenomenological epistemology and ontology of Kenyan architectural artefacts could be incorporated into the new curriculum. Expected learning outcomes that would arise from the implementation of the new curriculum were also briefly explored, in order to provide further justification of the merits of the proposed curriculum. Finally, predicted challenges to the implementation of this new curriculum as well as suggestions for disseminating the achieved approach within the architecture praxis and public consciousness of Kenya are briefly mentioned to appreciate the existing reality in order to enable comprehension of some of the persistent impediments to the inevitable change within Kenyan architectural training and practice.

The next Chapter is a synoptic overview of the contributions of the ongoing study to the research field of architectural semiology in the Kenyan context - including the delimitations and counter arguments of the study - while presenting suggestions of opportunities for further research as a continuation of the dialogue that was initiated within this study, thereby ensuring that the interpretive framework developed herein remains sustainable within the new curriculum.

## CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This concluding chapter provides the author's conclusions and recommendations – inclusive of delimitations and counter-arguments of the study – evaluates contributions of the study and identifies opportunities for further research.

### 5.1 Recapitulation

In Chapter 1, Kenya, as the study area, was introduced in outline and the case for the relevance of semiology in architecture was presented, being appropriately situated within the global body of architectural research. A critical overview of existing research in the study topic was briefly undertaken, key researchers and practitioners were identified and acknowledged, including the motivations of their positions and achievements. With regard to substantiation of the need for further study, pertinent *lacunae* in relation to the Kenyan context were identified and these were then addressed within subsequent Chapters (2, 3 and 4). The research methodology, including the role of architectural theory, was also presented and the assumptions of the research study, its limitations, delimitations and exclusions were stated. Relevant terminology was defined to enable comprehension of its use in relation to the context of this study. The main problem was articulated and structured into three sub problems to direct the approach adopted in this heuristic study.

In Chapter 2, a historical timeline was devised to indicate the major milestones and key epochs of the Kenyan nation and these were presented chronologically to enable comprehension of architectural evolution within the Kenyan context. The role of Kenyan culture with regard to architectural genesis and production was discussed, including key cultural informants such as statecraft, economics, *zeitgeist*, religion, politico-administrative systems, overarching discourses, philosophy, tradition, craft, geography, technology and the Constitution of Kenya which were then presented as a Kenyan cultural ecology that influences and directs the architectural evolution in the country. The Kenyan architectural regulatory context was described in outline to enable comprehension of the recommendations regarding the proposed curriculum in Chapter 4. The founding contexts of Kenyan architecture were identified as the extensive vernacular domain, colonisation of the country and subsequent British imperialism, African Nationalism, totalitarian political systems as well as pluralism and significant architectural artefacts were selected from within this founding context in which the cultural ecology of the Kenyan nation was employed as the means of describing and analysing these artefacts. Kenyan architecture was categorised broadly, based on



Western architectural epistemology, as vernacular, neo-classical, Modern and Postmodern. However, further classification within each category was necessary to achieve a more refined distinction, thereby revealing the multiple variants within each category, in relation to the Kenyan context, despite the expected inevitable overlaps of the different categories.

In Chapter 3, a theoretical approach was adopted as an additional means of developing the framework for the description and explication of the semiology of architectural artefacts in Kenya. Architecture was broadly discussed from a historicist and empiricist perspective. Issues of meaning in architecture, culture as an informant and determinant of architecture and its physical as well as intangible manifestations were elaborated upon. Language and poetry were presented as key to comprehension of the semiology of architectural artefacts. The significance of phenomenology as a key branch of philosophy was described and the various types of phenomenological approaches in philosophy as well as the main protagonists of classical phenomenology were briefly outlined. The links between phenomenology and historicism in architecture were exposed. Phenomenology of architecture was presented synoptically from the perspective of the key protagonist Christian Norberg-Schulz. The manifestation of phenomenology was then discussed in relation to the Kenyan context. The concepts of Regionalism and Regional identity, as well as the various definitions of Region and Regionalism, were discussed, including the centrality of architectural typologies and historicism to Regionalist approaches, which was highlighted briefly. The various types of Regionalism were identified, critically analysed and evaluated, prior to the argument for the suitability of Critical Regionalism to the Kenyan context. The poetics of Critical Regionalism were identified and motivated in detail. Key leitmotifs of Phenomenology and Critical Regionalism were outlined and conjointly proposed for collective synthesis to portray the vital aspects of a hybrid phenomenological Critical Regionalist architecture. Aspects of Critical Regionalism that are evident within the Kenyan rural vernacular were exposed and described. Prejudices and criticisms directed against the epistemological bases of these two paradigms were outlined and addressed to investigate the extent to which they would invalidate the use of these two paradigms for the framework developed herein.

In Chapter 4, the semiological analysis of a selected case study, the Kenyatta International Conference Centre (KICC) was undertaken, using the framework developed in Chapter 3, to demonstrate its efficacy. The achievements of the study in Chapters 1, 2 and 3 were presented in outline and proposed for inclusion and integration into a new curriculum. Methods of integrating this knowledge and the semiology of the KICC, as a significant architectural artefact, into the proposed

Kenyan architectural curriculum, were explored and evaluated - including the adoption of 'new aspects' of a structured phenomenology into mainstream architectural pedagogy - in order to achieve a holistic explication of the semiology of other architectural artefacts in Kenya, as a means to establishing and sustaining the practice of a phenomenologically grounded Critical Regionalism within Kenyan architecture. The expected learning outcomes emanating from the implementation of the new curriculum were also presented in outline, in order to indicate the benefits that would emerge and accrue once this curriculum becomes fully operational. In acknowledgement of the expected resistance to the adoption of this new curriculum, expected challenges to its implementation were also presented, in the hope that once these are addressed, the inevitable changes and transformations to the existing curriculum may then be realised with minimal impediments.

## 5.2 The contributions of the research study

Through the performance of this study, various contributions to the field of architectural pedagogy and practice are apparent. They include the contribution of the study to the embryonic debate on an architecture curriculum in Kenya - as well as to international curriculum development strategies - by proposing the adoption of a new curriculum that is phenomenologically grounded while promoting the practice of Critical Regionalism. The study also introduced and adopted an ecosystemic approach that is requisite in the formulation of architectural semiology, using the cultural ecology of Kenya to present architectural artefacts as embodiments of culture, providing both inspiration and explication of their evolution, thereby expanding the existing *corpus* of architectural knowledge in Kenya with a key focus on how to achieve the semiological explication of Kenyan architectural artefacts. The study then proposed the inclusion of this ecosystemic approach into the new architecture curriculum, hence broadening the limits of the present Kenyan architecture curriculum.

While various Regionalisms may have been identified within Kenya or prescribed and proscribed for the Kenyan architectural context in the past, this study proposes the adoption of Critical Regionalism as the informed praxis of choice after a critical presentation, analysis and evaluation of its concepts, proceeding to indicate how a semiological analysis of a selected artefact, the KICC, can be performed and integrated into the new curriculum as an equally rigorous alternative to the typical 'standard' architectural case studies within the Kenyan context, but focusing on tangible and intangible cultural parameters rather than architectural 'scientifism' alone.

The study also introduced a broadened philosophy of phenomenology and highlights its potential for architectural application to the Kenyan context as a means of incorporating relevant 'new aspects' of semiology into the Kenyan architecture curriculum, in order to augment the benefits accruing from the adoption and inclusion of the Existential phenomenology of Christian Norberg-Schulz. This should then enable a more rigorous explication of the semiology of Kenyan architectural artefacts.

In suggesting improvements to the architectural regulatory context in Kenya, that should enable the establishment of a critical architectural framework to ensure continuity and thriving of architectural criticism nationally, the study provides the necessary knowledge and impetus to promote the entrenchment of phenomenologically grounded Critical Regionalism into architectural pedagogy and praxis within the Kenyan context.

### **5.3 Counter-arguments and delimitations**

The delimitations and exclusions of this study were outlined in Chapter 1 (Section 1.7) of this study. Other relevant delimitations and counter-arguments pertaining to this study include the dearth of appropriate sources and literature within the Kenyan context deemed to be relevant to the ongoing study. Though not an impediment to the study, this necessitated reliance on sources outside of the Kenyan context raising issues of contextual sensitivity and validity. It was therefore necessary in Chapter 3 to quote extensively from these external sources in order to provide material that could also enable the study to be employed for didactic use within architectural pedagogy in Kenya.

While the subjective nature of the research study meant that artefacts for investigation, description and explication were selected from the Kenyan context through the critical discernment of the author, it is the position of this study that the same conclusions would be achieved with a different set of Kenyan artefacts as the cultural ecology that informs them remains a constant unifying factor.

The limitation of time implied that direct input could not be sourced from practicing Kenyan architects regarding the pertinent issues that were engaged in the study. Consequently, their opinions and counter positions were not taken into account. However, contestations and conflicting opinions should still be considered in any ensuing debates prior to the implementation of the new curriculum.

The study recognises that Kenyan culture is extensive and the time period under consideration

(1890 to the present) is lengthy. Therefore only key epochs and artefacts could be identified and considered for further analysis. Nevertheless, the purpose of the study with regard to establishing a framework for semiological analysis of Kenyan architectural artefacts was realised. Any exclusion can therefore still be incorporated and elaborated upon within the framework that has been established within this study.

The author appreciates that not all architectural artefacts can be strictly classified into a single paradigm due to significant overlaps of distinguishing aspects and characteristic leitmotifs as well as the anti-paradigmatic nature of some artefacts. Therefore disagreements may emerge with regard to categorisations employed within this study. This should, however, not invalidate the conclusions reached in this study because it only indicates the multivalent nature of such artefacts (Jencks, 1985 [1973]: 383).

The philosophical nature of some of the discourse within the study may be construed as an inherent 'difficulty' in its comprehension. However, the engagement of phenomenological epistemology and ontology was unavoidable due to the nature of the topic in hand. For this reason, the new curriculum proposes a deeper engagement of architecture with philosophy in order to inculcate further competence in architecture students with regard to articulating pertinent issues in architectural theory and history.

#### **5.4 Conclusions and recommendations**

The achievements emanating from this study that have been outlined in Chapter 4 will therefore not be repeated here.

Chapter 1 located the study within the global context of architectural research, extracting *lacunae* specific to the Kenyan context, to establish a basis for the research study. The author is aware of the many architectural researchers whose work was not considered due to the delimitations of the study. Engaging a global context demands a critical selection, analysis and evaluation of relevant and available sources in light of the prevalent research limitations and delimitations. A subjective approach is unavoidable but may however be justified by the contextual focus of this study.

Chapter 2 concentrated on the cultural ecology of the Kenyan context as the means for

explication of architectural genesis, production and evolution. The sustained approach developed in the study is new to Kenyan architectural pedagogy due to the focus of the present curriculum on Eurocentric architectural approaches. To engage the culture of an entire nation may seem like a daunting undertaking but herein lies the future of Kenyan architecture which must be rationalised and evaluated from the basis of contextual appropriateness and cultural sensitivity. This is a significant deviation from the prevalent entrenched perception that works of architecture must be 'heroic' and imbued with originality and 'new' creativity that disregards previous architectural solutions. Future works of architecture in Kenya, must take cognisance of the temporal evolution of the architectural heritage of the nation.

The study hopes that a critical evaluation of 'historical' works of architecture within the Kenyan context will be the point of departure in the development of future architectural solutions, in line with the approach proposed in the new curriculum. This should restore the anthropocentric focus that was evident in traditional vernacular architecture and extend it further to current architectural practice in Kenya.

The use of Western architectural paradigms to structure Kenyan architecture may be questioned but this may be understood upon realisation that Kenyan architects have been trained using an architectural curriculum that portrayed a heavy reliance on Eurocentric architectural epistemology. Classifying a diverse architectural heritage such as the Kenyan one, demands a discerning but subjective probe of the various leitmotifs within the selected artefacts. The eventual categorisation and finer refinements of the various paradigms may even generate contestations and conflict amongst various architects and researchers. However, such categorisation is the only means to rationalisation of the extensive variety of architectural approaches in order to provide relevant material that may be used in architectural pedagogy. Resulting disagreements should provide vital input and criticism as a means of extending architectural debate in Kenya and are therefore welcomed from this perspective.

Chapter 3 focused broadly on architectural theories pertaining to phenomenology and Regionalism, which were critically evaluated and appropriated into the semiological framework that was established in the study. Such an approach is relevant to the Kenyan context where architectural history and theory have not yet been significantly utilised as the means to explicating cultural manifestations within architectural artefacts. The focus of architectural solutions has been pragmatic

and utilitarian with an overemphasis on functionality and ‘scientifism’ with regard to issues of thermal comfort and other means of climatic amelioration and control. This study does not dismiss the significance of this traditional approach. However, it argues that ‘scientifism’ must be tempered with cultural sensitivity in recognition that contextually meaningful architecture must be derived from the cultural aspirations of its users, to portray the salient tangible and intangible cultural parameters within the diverse cultural ecology of the Kenyan nation. For this reason, a phenomenologically grounded Critical Regionalist architectural approach is prescribed as the way forward for Kenyan architectural pedagogy and praxis, in recognition of its potential for developing a comprehensible architectural semiology that will be evident in any future analysis of architectural artefacts within the Kenyan context.

Chapter 4 presented a semiological analysis of the Kenyatta International Conference Centre (KICC) to demonstrate the efficacy of the developed framework in Chapters 2 and 3 of this study. The approach is significantly different from the usual case studies undertaken within architectural pedagogy in the Kenyan context. However, it clearly indicates that the semiology of any Kenyan architectural artefact can be explicated in a rigorous manner using the established framework and hence the inclusion of this approach within the new curriculum is sensible and timely. Future case studies in Kenyan architectural pedagogy should also include semiology as a key component to supplement the traditional scientific approaches of the present curriculum. The establishment of the new curriculum relies on an honest recognition and admission of the deficiencies within the present curriculum as outlined in this study. Progressive change should be accommodated within architectural pedagogy, even if it results in cathartic or purgative measures that extract obsolete material within the present curriculum.

It should be appreciated that curriculum development and implementation is a lengthy, continuous and iterative process with set targets and objectives including periodic assessments of learning outcomes. It usually emanates from an open, participatory and consultative process in which various stakeholders converge in search of a new direction. This study hopes that the recommendations put forward herein will be vital during such future conferences and colloquiums in search of a new direction for Kenyan architecture. Change and transformation are inevitable, but the timely recognition of their need should facilitate a smooth transition from the present Eurocentric curriculum to a more relevant contextually inspired Kenyan architectural curriculum that is anchored within the vibrant and diverse cultural ecology of the Kenyan nation, as developed within this study.

This new curriculum, inspired by the ecosystemic approach, is proposed to address the present *lacunae* regarding the description and explication of the semiology of Kenyan artefacts. The new curriculum has also expanded the existing dialogue within architectural phenomenology by introducing a 'broadened phenomenology' with new areas of competence including transcendental reduction (Husserlian epoche), metabletics, an expanded epistemology and ontology, phenomenological methodology- with its prescriptions and exclusions- and hermeneutics. One can then predict that future architects trained within the framework of this new curriculum, should be more versatile in their approaches to architectural design, analysis and criticism, through application of the transferable skills- gained during training- to various aspects the profession, in a more critical and decisive manner.

Thus, the main problem and sub problems have been addressed and the semiological framework has been successfully established and substantiated. This framework is open ended and inclusivist and can therefore be expanded further to accommodate other emergent aspects of semiology or any epochs of the Kenyan context that may have been unwittingly excluded or due to the exclusions resulting from the stated delimitations in this study. This expansion will then lead to the development of a *corpus* of semiological aspects of key Kenyan architectural artefacts, with KICC as the initial exemplar, for use in the instruction of future generations of Kenyan architects.

## 5.5 Opportunities for further research

With regard to the entrenchment of the praxis of phenomenologically grounded Critical Regionalism in Kenya, as well as further development of the phenomenology of architecture in pedagogy- with vital experiences sourced from the Kenyan context - as well as the adoption of a new architecture curriculum specific to the Kenyan context - this study proposes opportunities for further investigation and research, to extend the dialogue initiated within it. These include:

- The identification of architectural paradigms that existed in a period of crisis within the Kenyan context including any "scientific revolutions" that emerged therefrom (Kuhn in Fisher, 1989:47; Fisher, 1993a: 33; 1993b: 1, 11). This provides the opportunity to test the metabletic phenomenology within the new curriculum, to evaluate its efficacy, as well as the position of phenomenology as a unitary second order theory, during the explication of reasons for the observed paradigmatic crisis. This should therefore result in an enlarged architectural

interpretation.

- The extent to which the channels of communication derived from linguistics and semiotics can be appropriated for effective analysis of the semiology of Kenyan architecture. Further research into this aspect has the potential to enable the development of the broadened architectural vocabulary that is proposed in the ongoing study as a novel inclusion of semiology within the new curriculum.
- The identification of further vital contextual attributes and parameters requisite for the entrenchment of Critical Regionalist Kenyan architecture. This should address any unforeseen shortcomings or exclusions within the ongoing study, providing the opportunity to further augment, critically analyse and evaluate the semiological premise of this study.
- The extent to which phenomenological intuition may be considered as the genesis of architectural form within the Kenyan context. This should test the application of phenomenological methodology, as a new aspect within the new curriculum, to investigate ontological intuition as a source of architectural inspiration. This may then provide relevant critical material for the analysis of architectural artefacts that are perceived to be anti-paradigmatic.
- A comparative analogy of Heideggerian existential phenomenology viewed in counter position to Husserlian pure and transcendental phenomenology and its application to the development of the phenomenological method of analysis, as well as its role in the description of architectural meaning that is derived from experience (Heidegger, 2002a [1962]: 251 – 256; 2002c [1962]: 278 -287; Husserl, 2002a [1970]: 69-71; 2002b [1981]: 124-133). This has the potential to provide the means for effectively integrating or uniting transcendental reduction (the Husserlian epoche) - and its proposed typological extension within this study - with Existential aspects of phenomenology of architecture to effectively address issues of architectural identity and orientation.
- Criticism anchored in relevant critical theory as a method of generating new architectural interpretation within the Kenyan context (Abel, 2000: 89). This should broaden the application of criticism in architectural pedagogy within the design studio, for effective development and engagement of emergent issues within architectural phenomenology.
- An audit of Kenyan architects in practice in order to identify deficiencies with regard to training and thus develop an architectural curriculum that encourages lifelong learning. The diverse nature of the information obtained should provide an opportunity to further develop



epistemological and ontological aspects of phenomenological research methodology within the new curriculum, as well as enlarge existing multivalent architectural interpretations.

- The challenges of the prevailing pluralism, in Kenya, to the development of an inclusive and participatory Kenyan architecture that exhibits the theories of phenomenology as well as the principles of Critical Regionalism as evidence of the emergent ecosystemic paradigm within it (Fisher, 1993a: 31; 1993b: 9-10). Could the differences and variety inherent in pluralism be an impediment to its comprehension within architecture? Though an absolute understanding of an architectural paradigm is impossible, further categorisations and refinements of the pluralistic aspect of Kenyan cultural ecology may be realised.
- The identification of relevant codes and signs within Kenyan architecture as exemplars of Ferdinand de Saussure's signification system and the extent to which they are inspired by experiences derived from the Kenyan cultural landscape and the phenomenological ontology proposed by Heidegger (Broadbent, 1996 [1978]: 124 – 138; Heidegger, 2002d [1962]: 299 – 307). This should enable further development of critical semiology and hermeneutics as novel aspects within the new curriculum, by providing further exemplars of taxonomic, algorithmic and social codes within Kenyan architecture to effectively engage both senders (architects) and recipients (other architects and the public at large) of encoded architectural signs.
- The effect of state patronage on the evolution of architectural development and language in Kenya as evidence of the “dominant power in society” (Aysan and Teymur, 1990: 304). This should further augment the role of statecraft in architectural genesis and production that was identified in Chapter 2 of this study.
- The symbiotic link between socio-economic stratification and taste culture in the evolution of Kenyan architecture.
- The proliferation of slums in urban regions of Kenya, as evidence of an emergent architectural language within the Kenyan vernacular or as an exemplar of a unique Regionalist approach in its formative stages.
- An assessment of the implied collaboration between multinationals, neo-colonialism and statecraft with a view to demonstrating the extent to which foreign architectural solutions have been imposed upon the Kenyan context (see Chapter 2 of this study).
- The role of acculturation as a generator of architectural variations within the Kenyan context (Mazrui, 1977: 105; 1978: 13, 18; 1980: 2).
- The identification and re-interpretation of more architectural artefacts inspired by African

(Kenyan) Nationalism and totalitarian tendencies within Kenya's post-independence political history. This should provide a better semiological comprehension of Kenyan architectural evolution to reveal concealed and layered meanings within the identified artefacts which should then reveal the inherent socio-political *zeitgeist* within it.

- African [Kenyan] traditional religions as determinants of individual and community experience and the expression of the emergent phenomenology within the built form.
- The effect of the advent of Christianity in Kenya and the consequent transition from polytheism to monotheism and its impact as a generator of architectural transformation within the Kenyan context (Mazrui, 1977: 38, 94).
- Multiple religious and cultural identities in Kenya and how they have been expressed within its architecture (Mazrui, 1980: 66).
- An audit of the present architecture curriculum in Kenya to critically evaluate the relevance of its content with the aim of enacting timely changes and revisions to facilitate the inevitable transformations through accommodating progressive new content as well as weeding out any obsolete or duplicated content in order to accommodate the new curriculum proposed in this study.
- A critical research into the oeuvre of individual Kenyan architects and architectural firms to investigate the extent to which their design approaches are consistent within different projects and whether these approaches are inspired or informed by phenomenology and Critical Regionalism.
- A broadening of methods of knowledge acquisition in architecture, by initiating research into intangible compartments of knowledge including experience, intuition, consciousness, perception, ontology and intentionality (Curtis, 1978a: xx; Smith, 1993: 240; Heidegger, 2002b [1962]: 259, 260; Roche, 1973: 7; Pojman, 1978: 6; Mays, 1978: 57; Fisher, 1989: 46; Yattani, 1993: 369; Murphy, 1993: 384, 390; Viljoen, 2010: 326). This should enable better comprehension of intangible cultural aspects within architecture, leading to a rigorous explication of the semiology of Kenyan architectural artefacts.

The above suggestions are not exhaustive. However, their pursuit can expand architectural discourse and interpretation in Kenya as well as provide a relevant and vital *corpus* of architectural knowledge that can be effectively utilised in the instruction of future generations of architects, who will then ensure the propagation of contextually inspired and anchored Critical Regionalist architecture in Kenya.

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