Temporal Periodicity and Locational Spacing of Periodic and Daily Markets in Kenya.
Monsieur Robert A. Obudho

Résumé

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Temporal Periodicity and Locational Spacing of Periodic and Daily Markets in Kenya

In this paper we will discuss the present locational spacing, structure, and hierarchy (size) of periodic and daily markets in Kenya. Such an analysis is necessary because no adequate study of urbanization in Kenya can be done without a proper understanding of the development of the central places of the market-place sub-system.¹ This study of the market-place sub-system is particularly important in the former marketless societies such as Kenya.

Periodic markets play a very important role in the internal trading processes of developing countries such as Kenya. These are places where people meet regularly in order to acquire and/or dispose of the locally produced and imported goods and services, and to exchange socio-cultural information. Periodic markets in a developing country, according to Eighmy, perform several spatial functions:

¹. The first of these, market function, includes the local exchange, internal trade and central facets of market activity. The second element, form, must account for the existing pattern of market sites on the landscape including the periodicity factor and the formation of interlocking market rings. The interaction, the movement of goods and traders, will appear as a correlate of market function and form. Finally, drawing upon observed generalizations of function, form and interaction, one can make inferences about the process by which the periodic market system has been spatially extended to new sites and how the system has evolved in response to exogenous forces.²

In order to perform these spatial functions, the markets are held at predetermined, specific sites according to a set of temporal schedules: on every second, third, or nth day, where n rarely is greater than seven. Otherwise these market sites are deserted during the week. According to Wood:


Cahiers d'Études africaines, 63-64, XVI (3-4), pp. 553-566.
The frequency of market meetings varies from market to market. 49% of the markets meet weekly, 37% meet twice weekly, 9% meet daily and 5% three times weekly. No markets meet six times per week, one market meets four times per week and one market meets five times per week. 3

In each ethnic area one or more sites are reserved as market-places and are usually named according to the day of the week on which the market is held. The marketing schedule based on the weekly calendar is common to all regions of Africa:

'Seven-day markets [. . .] have by far the widest distribution. This market week dominates the upper two-thirds of Nigeria [. . .] lower half of Ghana, Songhai area to the North of Ghana, Gouro, Senoufo and Minianka country in Ivory Coast, the Kassi and Susu in Guinea, and the Wolof in Senegal [. . .] Liberia Malinke area in Western [. . .] [and] the Congo basin of South of the Cameroon.' 4

The seven-day schedule is just one of the many schedules, others being fortnightly, monthly, and yearly, although the latter is now very rare.

The Development of Periodic Markets

In our analysis of the unpublished records on Kenya from Kenya National Archives, we concluded that, although there were a few contact periodic markets, the majority of the present-day markets were established in response to the penetration of the interior by alien traders. 5 The pre-colonial periodic markets varied from ethnic group to ethnic group. 6 The Nilotes and the Nilo-Hamites of the Western Region are known to have established some pre-contact periodic markets. Early travelers in the Central Province of Kenya recorded the presence of four-day markets which were the focal points for internal exchange. 7 These markets were very important during the harvest period as distribution nodes. The spatial influence of these early periodic markets remained

at the ethnic level in all the inland areas except for the Kamba and Swahili traders who expanded the periodic market trade beyond their ethnic environment.8 The colonization of Kenya during the latter part of the nineteenth century transformed the indigenous economic development from barter exchange to some form of modern exchange economy. Most of these early markets were not spatially fixed, although some periodic markets took place under a specified tree. Traditional markets in Kenya ‘received their original stimulus from external, long-distance trading contacts [in addition to] a sufficiently high density of population and a political structure powerful enough to secure and maintain the market-place’.9 The importance of markets in Kenya was increased after the colonial domination of this area in the early part of this century. There were a number of markets managed by various authorities ranging from missionaries to local governments. Most of the markets were established by the colonial powers as a result of the introduction of law and order, taxation, introduction of a cash economy, and the development of communication patterns that had been established among the ethnic groups. The expatriate-initiated periodic markets in Kenya increased as a result of a new Township Ordinance of 1930 which empowered the Governor of Kenya to locate towns, trading centers, and barter or periodic markets. The majority of the periodic markets, however, were built and gazetted between 1932 and 1936 as a result of the enactment of the Trading Center Ordinance of 1932.10

It is important to remember that in most cases the markets were sited next to but not in the same area as trading centers. The government coordinated and staggered the market days so that markets near one another were not allowed to meet on the same day. These markets were also spaced so that any itinerant peddler would be able to attend markets each day of the week within walking distance. But over the years the staggering of markets has been due to spatial and temporal competition. Although the meeting days of these markets were staggered by the government, the actual market days have been guided by the forces of supply and demand which determined the actual mode and locale of operation. As was noted by Marshall in the case of Nigeria, it was ‘the economics of location rather than the Council [mediator] who operated as the final arbiter with many conflicting markets dying off’.11 This policy-integrated timing of markets is an expression of the colonial tradition of having numerous bartering centers

10. See the Provincial Annual Reports (Nairobi, KNA) from the PC’s to the Governor in 1933.
where raw materials were gathered for overseas export. All trading centers and the periodic markets in the rural areas were located in separate areas according to the African District Council Ordinance which emphasized that all townships belonged to the central government, the trading centers belonged to the local government, and the periodic markets were left to the Locational Authority. By the early 1950's, most of the periodic markets were already established in various parts of Kenya by the central or local government. The Africans controlled and dominated the rural periodic markets.

Between the two World Wars, the ownership of *duka* within the periodic markets, local, and sub-local centers had begun to be gradually taken from the Asians by African entrepreneurs:

‘Between the two World Wars, African shopkeepers had begun to set up business around the rural markets. Butcheries and tearooms served the crowds who gathered on market days. As the time went by, grass shelters were rebuilt in brick or stone, provision stores appeared and business extended from market days throughout the week. The first local bus began to link country districts, defining the centers of trade.’

Between 1970 and 1973, according to the government scheme of the Africanization of the commercial sector, all non-Kenyans were restricted from owning businesses except in a few major urban centers. While the periodic markets were expanding at an alarming rate, the development of major urban centers also increased in importance. This, then, was a marked step forward in linkage of the market system with the non-African cash economy.

### Structure and Function of Periodic Markets

The markets in Kenya can be broadly classified as daily markets and periodic markets. The daily markets can be further categorized into the following main types: (a) covered urban daily markets, found only in the major urban centers, (b) bi-daily open markets around Lake Victoria and in the coastal parts of Kenya, (c) rural open daily markets. The periodic markets can be classified into: (a) twice-a-week open-air markets, (b) weekly open-air markets, (c) forestaller or seasonal markets. Periodic markets must be viewed as an ethnic organization pattern that runs through the clan hierarchy to the village level. This lower level central-place sub-system, then, forms the core of the daily livelihood of the Kenya Africans both in urban and rural areas.

Functions

The periodic markets play a more important role among the majority of the rural population of the African country than do the towns of the urban-place sub-system. According to Good, periodic markets perform the following primary functions: (a) the sale and purchase of livestock, local and imported manufacture [. . .] (b) provision of services such as cooked meals, barbering and repair of bicycles, watches and shoes and (c) inter-community socializing. Most of these functions are performed more by the rural periodic markets than by the urban daily markets where most of such services have been taken by specialized wholesale and retail entrepreneurs. The degree of functions which any marketplace sub-system provides depends on its relative location, frequency of meeting, the size of the hinterland it commands, and the nature of economic development of the country.

The periodic and daily markets in Kenya play very important functions. In general, these are the places where people meet regularly in order to acquire and/or dispose of the locally produced and imported goods and services, to exchange ‘news’ (gossip) with relatives, friends and strangers, and to engage in recreational activities. Like in Yorubaland, markets in Kenya ‘fulfill an important social function for [. . .] women [who] use the market as a meeting place for the perpetration of lineage rights and obligations’. This is so because the household structure in Kenya is patrilocal and women at home are not around their age-mates. The most important function of periodic markets is the economic function—the collecting, bulking, and distribution of local products. The distribution of imported products and the bulking and/or breaking down of raw materials are also very important. Hodder summarized the functional difference of periodic and daily markets well when he said that ‘periodic markets are in the regions most characteristic of good surplus areas while daily markets are most characteristic of food deficit areas’. The markets also act as distributive points for goods imported from other parts of Kenya and overseas. Thus, raw materials are bought and bulked in the periodic markets for either exchange in other markets in the same ring or for onward transmission to higher-order centers. The imported manufactured materials are also brought into the periodic markets through the same hierarchical order except in reverse. The main function of urban daily markets is to assemble

within each township or municipality the various commodities, mainly raw materials of the perishable type, required by the urban residents. While in periodic markets most of the raw materials are of local origin, the daily markets have products which are from the whole region, other parts of Kenya, and overseas. The bi-daily markets in the ports of Kenya seem to depart from the normal trend in that they deal in raw materials from the local composite hinterland.

In addition to these economic functions, the periodic markets in Kenya perform very important political functions. The markets are used as centers for the dissemination of information relating to local and central government administration. During market day, all local residents go to the market in order to buy produce, as well as to meet government officials with the hope of exchanging current social information. The chief's and sub-chief's weekly conferences meet on the market days for the marketing people and as a means of pushing their activities to a wider audience.

Markets are also important as religious centers where various sects can meet for the sole purpose of propagation of the gospel. With the establishment of churches during the colonial era, this function has diminished over the years.

The pre-contact periodic markets in Kenya take their names from either the day of the week on which they meet or from the market region where they are located. Thus, one of the major functions of periodic and to some extent daily markets is that they provide a time reference for the community. The functions enumerated above are not in any way complete since various markets in the country perform different functions which vary historically and geographically. Apart from their economic, socio-cultural, religious and political significance, markets are also effective meeting places for the urban and rural cultures:

'... conscious imitation [of] many urban fashions are copied by the villagers from the frequent contact with townspeople who regularly attend the rural markets and mix with the people. In this sense, then, rural markets play a significant role in bringing social change to the dwellers in rural areas.'

It is this function which is so important that we feel strongly that the urbanization process of dual economics can only be transformed at the periodic market level.

**Periodic Markets**

Most of the periodic markets take place in Kenya once per a seven-day week or multiples thereof. There are also fortnightly or monthly markets, but these are very rare. The markets are named after the days of the week on which they meet. The most common and popular periodic

rural markets are the once-a-week markets. As a market grows in importance in terms of the business transacted and the number of people attending, its schedule will change to twice a week by necessity of business activity. The periodicity is an essential element of the local indigenous market structure in the agrarian economy of Kenya. Most of the periodic markets in this region are located next to the trading centers which initially have low population densities. But as the urban economies expand, they tend to have higher population densities. Although the occasional markets are the lowest, they are not as important and they only act as a signal of a need for markets in a particular area. As the economy develops, the periodic markets develop into daily markets.

In Kenya most of the periodic rural markets are distributed evenly between all days of the week except Sundays or Saturdays. According to Wood, the only three districts where market meetings are not evenly divided among the seven days are Nakuru, Nyandarua and Kisii:

‘In Kisii there is an avoidance of market meetings on Saturday but there is also a concentration of meetings on Thursday and Sunday [. . .] Kisii is the Kenyan stronghold of the Seventh Day Adventist Church which regards Saturday as the day of rest [. . .] Nyandarua and Nakuru both have an overconcentration of market meetings on Sunday and Wednesday. Both these districts formed part of the former White Highlands and it is likely that the importance of Sunday as a market day reflects the fact that this was the only free day for laborers on the European farms.’ 19

Sunday or Saturday meetings are only common among the rural periodic markets, not among daily markets.

**Daily Markets**

In Kenya the daily markets are classified into (a) urban daily markets, (b) rural daily markets and (c) bi-daily coastal or lacustrine fishing markets. Daily markets here meet mainly on Mondays through Thursdays, although there is a variation in different parts of the country. All these markets differ in their functions, depending on the area where they are located. The development of the bi-daily markets always leads to the establishment of fixed trading facilities. In the major urban centers within the urban-place sub-system, there are the covered urban daily markets, while in the trading centers with the market-place sub-system including some lacustrine fishing ports, they have the bi-daily open markets. The ones at the third-order town level, although continuous, usually have one important day when they are full. The lacustrine ports of the Western Region and coastal ports have bi-daily markets whose daily meeting times are early in the mornings and late in the afternoons. According to Hodder, ‘one of the most striking

features about daily markets, unlike periodic markets, is that they show a clear correlation in their location with the distribution and hierarchy of settlements. In brief, the larger the town the more numerous and larger daily markets it is likely to contain. The spatial distribution of major and minor trading centers also shows a strong correlation with the distribution and hierarchy of daily markets.

It should be emphasized that in discussing the periodicity of markets, the exchange attributes exhibit either vertical or horizontal orientation. Vertical trade is usually dominated by local traders, contract traders, and long-distance traders, while horizontal exchange is dominated by local or sub-ethnic traders, former settlers and itinerant traders. In most cases the vertical and horizontal traders are combined equally without any of them dominating the scene. The market periodicity in Kenya's landscape is closely related to the time required by each type of trader to purchase, distribute and return to the bulking market. This repetition of periodic and daily markets is as a result of a number of factors of which the most important are the underdeveloped nature and lack of refrigerated storage facilities, and underdeveloped methods of transportation facilities in Kenya.

Market Ring

In discussing the spatial distribution of periodic markets in Kenya, it is important to analyze their distribution pattern which is based on a seven-day cycle or ring system, which, according to Hodder, is

'... a complete and integrated sequence of markets taking over 4-day or 8-day periods [...]. Markets operate on successive days in such a way that each of the seven 8-day markets take place on a day on which it is the only one of the seven operating within the ring. After all markets have had their turn, there is one marketless day after which the process is repeated in the same order [...]. This ring also operates in such a way that successive markets are not normally adjacent markets [...]. In this way the timing of marketing activities is evened out over the whole ring, so that no hamlet or other settlement is far from a market for more than three days [...]. A ring or cycle of integrated markets is an expression of the need to contact a wider and more varied section of people and goods than is possible when only one market is involved.'

The organization of markets in a ring system has been criticized by many scholars of the spatial system. Ukwu recently warned that

'... the concept of the marketing ring must be applied with caution, since it suggests an institutionalized order and a uniformity which may not exist. A

marketing ring has relevance only to the individual marketers in a given area. For the areal unit as a whole, the ring is meaningful only as indicating the markets most frequently visited by the people in that unit.22

Because periodic markets are organized at sub-ethnic levels, the ring systems of markets exist at various levels in Africa. Markets can belong to several overlapping and interlocking cycles simultaneously, resulting in what Hodder has described aptly as 'a loose chain mail pattern of rings'.23

In Kenya, the markets are organized in a ring system. Each of the rings is composed of a complete and intertwined sequence of markets taking place over a seven-day-week period. By concentrating the markets into rings, it is possible to contact more varied sections of people and also different products both in time and in space because the cost of overcoming distance is high and profit margins are low.24

In Kenya it is possible to distinguish four types of rings. These four types will vary from ethnic group to ethnic group. They include: (1) village grouping, (2) clan or sub-location ring, (3) ethnic group ring, (4) regional area ring. The village and clan rings form the lowest level of marketing and are the least popular type because of their declining function. The most popular ring is the ethnic group ring which is visited by nearly all inhabitants in their capacity as consumers and producers. The regional area ring is visited by major traders who do most of the regional import and export of raw and manufactured goods.

**Hierarchy of Periodic and Daily Markets**

The spatial and hierarchical relationships between the daily and periodic markets in the agrarian societies have been linked with the concepts of central-place theory in the studies. According to Smith, there is a hierarchical relationship between the periodic and daily markets:

'... if the logic rather than the form of central place theory is followed [... ] as periodic markets [...] provide economic, social and political services for their hinterlands and as the markets occurring on the same day are competing directly in the provision of these services, one should expect some order in the locational patterns of markets meeting on the same day.'25

As this competition between periodic markets takes place, there results a uniform spacing. This regular spatial distribution of markets is

particularly common in regions of Africa where markets were introduced during the colonial urbanization.

The hierarchy of periodic and daily markets follows the same pattern of importance as the urban centers, but, because of the duality of the economy, periodic and daily markets have a unique spatial hierarchical organization. All four levels of service centers in Kenya have markets. It is common to find daily markets in urban centers and rural centers, as well as in some important market centers. Periodic markets are a common feature in the market and local centers. In some cases there is a mixture of both periodic and daily markets, particularly in District and Provincial administrative centers. The periodic and daily markets are administered by the Local County Council Authorities (LCCA) in rural areas and by township authorities in the urban areas and are graded as A, B and C markets based on the frequency of their meeting and total attendance and revenue collected. These periodic markets are still important in the traditional economy of Kenya, but, as will be discussed later, the development of shopping centers based on chains of duka is slowly taking over their services. The higher-order periodic and daily markets have grade A status like the higher-order urban centers. In these types of central places, the wholesale and retail duka outlets seem to be playing some important commercial roles.

Because of the difference in the grading of systems of various markets in the country, we have devised a new hierarchy of markets that can accommodate these differences. These hierarchies are based on frequency of meeting (daily or periodic), the nature of goods and services provided, and the functional importance within the marketing system of the region.

(1) Grade A: Metropolitan urban daily market which meets in a covered structure. Such metropolitan markets have a constant peak from morning to evening with a daily attendance of 15,000 to 25,000 people. The metropolitan daily markets are usually surrounded by feeder markets in the peri-urban areas of the city. A feeder market, according to Hodder and Ukwu, is ‘placed at a distance of anything up to two miles from the market place itself [. . .]. forestallers [feeder markets] are [. . .] at strategic points on the paths leading into the markets’.26 The feeder markets also ‘serve the function of providing a place on the edge of [urban centers] where [local farmers or traders] can dispose of [their] goods easily and early in the day’.27 The feeder markets of Kisumu are located in the peri-urban slum settlements of the municipality. These feeder markets meet daily, early in the morning. In addition to these, port centers have morning fish markets. In an urban center with its various wholesale and retail facilities, the daily urban market and its associated feeder markets act as a source of fresh produce and other

27. Ibid., p. 80.
prepared food. The urban daily markets act as a bulking point as well as a retailing outlet, although the latter service overshadows the former. The urban daily market is the highest order in the hierarchy of markets.

(2) Grade A: Urban daily district markets. These markets take place daily, but the total attendance and revenue collected is comparatively smaller than that for the metropolitan daily markets. These types of markets are common in the inland district or sub-district urban centers. Although most of these markets meet daily, there are one or two important days of the week when they attract a larger population. Like the metropolitan daily markets, these district markets play a very important part in the lives of the indigenous Africans within their sphere of influence in the ring system. They do more bulking activities than retailing since most of the produce has to be transshipped to the higher-order centers. The importance of these district urban markets is based on the major product for which the area is famous. All of these markets, because they were established after the founding of the towns, usually meet in an enclosed building located at the center of the town.

(3) Grade A and B: Bi-daily open-air lacustrine markets. These markets are located mainly in the ports of Lake Victoria, in the Coastal Region, and along the inland lakes. The morning markets usually begin soon after dawn and continue up to 10 a.m., and the afternoon markets begin at 2 p.m. and remain open until 6 p.m. The morning markets meet when the fishermen land their catch and late evening markets meet when the itinerant traders and importers bring their hinterland produce to the coastal ports after a day’s journey from the inland periodic markets. The double maxima meeting of these markets is influenced both by local economic and geographic factors. These markets have a competitive advantage over all markets in the market-place sub-system because their time of meeting does not conflict with the farmers’ schedules. They can also accommodate day travelers and they basically retail with vertical transactions.

In most important urban centers there are usually more than two daily markets with several periodic and daily markets in the peri-urban region. Urban daily markets are usually located in historically important urban centers which are also important transportation centers. Urban daily markets serve the needs of Africans as opposed to the non-African population. The latter usually purchases its goods from retail dukas. As Africans acquire a more modern cash economy, the Kenyans will be using more of the duka as their source of emergency purchases. Daily markets can be viewed as a last stage in the urbanization process. Most of the transactions in the urban daily markets are retail and wholesale with vertical orientation in urban daily districts and bi-daily lacustrine or port markets, while at the metropolitan daily markets there are some horizontal activities.
(4) **Grade B or C: Rural daily open-air markets.** These markets gained their importance during the post-colonial era. Most have two important meeting days. The other days of the week are used mainly to buy perishable produce and some ‘shop goods’. These daily rural markets are now an important part of the landscape as well as the economy. They are usually located in comparatively large rural centers and are important retailing markets with incipient bulking particularly on the two important market days. These markets are also very important for the break-of-bulk process for finished goods, especially ‘shop goods’, although bulking plays a more important role than break-of-bulk process. These markets are characterized by vertical exchange systems.

(5) **Grade B or C: Cattle or twice-a-week open-air markets.** These large rural markets meet either on Mondays or Tuesdays and Thursdays or Fridays, leaving Wednesdays and Saturdays and Sundays free for attending other lower-order markets. The cattle market is just one of the three variations of the fair type of rural market. Its main feature is that it is divided into two parts; one side is used for exchanging grain, vegetables, and manufactured products. Livestock markets are very popular among the Kenya ethnic groups because of the close association which most Kenya Africans have with cattle. Although in most cases the selling and buying of cattle take place outside the market site, most of the transactions are closely regulated and as such take place by auction. Cattle markets not only attract potential buyers and sellers but also spectators, in addition to government officials who inspect and regulate the livestock entering any particular periodic market. Apart from the sale of cattle, the regular business transacted in other daily and periodic markets is also transacted here.

(6) **Grade B or C: Weekly markets.** These types are few and least popular in Kenya. They meet only once a week on a particular day. Although the absence of cattle is regulated by law, it should be pointed out that as these markets grow in importance, livestock transaction facilities are usually added. The weekly produce markets are the most common in Kenya. The great majority of the consumers live no more than ten miles away. These markets offer a variety of commodities for both retail and bulking. The transfer of small lots is usually horizontal and the transfer of large lots vertical. For the rural areas these markets play a very important role because their weekly schedule allows them to provide a link with extra-regional markets, thus helping in integrating the national exchange system.

(7) **Village or roadside markets.** These markets are fewer than the weekly markets, and they contain a limited number of buyers and sellers. Although small, these markets meet only to satisfy a particular demand at a specific time. The number of these markets may increase
The periodic and daily markets in Kenya during harvest or during extreme drought or famine. The commodities sold are mainly disposable, emergency items which are bought in small quantities as needed. These outlets usually sell used imported consumer goods broken into very small lots. They are located in rural villages and at the junction of secondary roads that lead to the rural areas of Kenya.

The weekly market is the most important single kind of local market in Kenya. It is indigenous and has undergone many changes in form and function since the early 1900’s. This hierarchy of markets is intertwined and works very closely because the second to fourth levels are heavily dominated by the urban centers and are mostly controlled by the non-African immigrants while the fifth to seventh orders are heavily dominated by the non-urban economy.

**Locational Spacing**

The temporal efficiency of rural markets confirms the spatial efficiency, hence the neatly organized hierarchy of central places within the periodic market sub-system. The hierarchy of central places in Kenya can be classified into two levels. On one hand, we have the hierarchy of markets which were contrived but have now partially developed into intermerged market systems. On the other hand, we have a hierarchy of urban centers ranging from metropolitan to rural trading centers. Because most of the towns and markets were developed by external forces, the development of markets has acquired what Johnson described as a *dendritic form* which may vary according to cultural, historical, topographical, and political factors and usually consists of three components.28

Until recently, trade in Kenya was mainly vertical and did not contribute directly to the development of the country. The development of central places has been encouraged by several factors of which the following are of paramount importance. First, colonial influence has spatially transformed the centrality of this country. Second, the nationalization influence centered in Nairobi with its associated non-African settlement in the Central Highlands Region. Finally, the local or indigenous force has reacted to the foreign forces in a positive manner to help in the development of a myriad of central places in the country. Of these forces, the first, which included commerce, missionary activities, and colonial administration, played a far more important role than other forces. All of these forces, whether foreign or local, have developed a system of central places in Kenya which can be categorized into two groups: the periodic markets versus the modern urban centers.

The central places of the market-place sub-system are very important for the internal trade of agricultural produce. The periodic markets are the link to a higher level of national economic systems such that they stimulate economic independence of inter- and intra-regional levels. These are the bulking points of the raw material both for internal and external consumption. Retail duka, whose growth is closely associated with the daily and periodic markets, are well developed since the national era and are owned and managed by the indigenous Africans. But it is the market places that are the principal venues rather than the local duka. The daily and periodic markets are well and evenly distributed throughout Kenya's landscape. Their functional activities are distributed according to their hierarchy within any administrative unit. The density of the daily and periodic markets is closely related to the population density. Hence, there are more markets in the Western and Central Highlands Region than in the other parts of Kenya. And finally, there is a tendency for the marketing sub-system to disintegrate because the markets have become less and less periodic and have shifted to a daily schedule. Such a development, particularly during the national period, has begun a continuous process which will not only transform the marketing landscape of Kenya but also her urbanization process in the near future.

Although the periodic markets are very important as the final central places in the modern diffusion process, it is important to note that these institutions will disappear in the near future as the link between the duka and periodic markets is fostered through the Africanization process. As Kenya's income improves and as communication and demand increase, the larger and better-located periodic markets will shift from a periodic to a daily regime and the location of these markets will move into closer accord with that of trading centers. With this shift in central places of the market-place sub-system, there will be an upward shift in the economic, political, and socio-cultural functions.