

FACTORS AFFECTING THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT
OF BUNGOMA TOWN

BY

MAKHULO SYLVESTER P.O.

B.A (HONS) 1985

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI LIBRARY



0238325 5

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT
OF THE REQUIPEMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS, IN URBAN AND REGIONAL
PLANNING, FACULTY OF ARCHITECTURE, DESIGN
AND DEVELOPMENT, UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI.

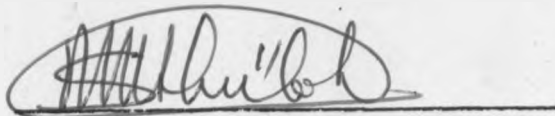
JUNE 1987

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
LIBRARY

(ii)

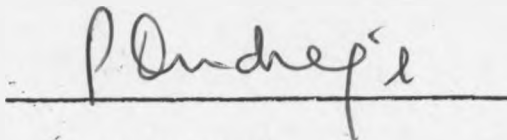
DECLARATION

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

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Makhulo S.P.O.', is written above a horizontal line.

Makhulo S.P.O.
(Candidate)

This Thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as a University Supervisor.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'P. Dindye', is written above a horizontal line.

(Supervisor)

(iii)

D E D I C A T I O N

This Thesis is dedicated to my father, Joackim, whose parental advice, encouragement and patience instilled into me a feeling of achieving what is possible in life especially in the realm of knowledge.

A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T

The completion of this study has been possible because of the co-operation and guidance of many people. To them, I owe a lot of thanks.

I would, first of all, like to thank the University of Nairobi for offering me a scholarship to pursue a postgraduate course in Urban and Regional Planning.

Much gratitude goes to the Head of the Department of Urban and Regional Planning, Mr. Zack Maleche, my colleagues and all those people who provided me with useful information, for their encouragement and co-operation during this difficult time.

I am particularly indebted to Dr. Peter Ondiege, my supervisor, whose thorough scrutiny, guidance and modest criticism of my work enabled me to see through the thesis in the course of time.

Special thanks are due to Mrs. Serah Lugusa and Mrs. Mary M. Muthigo who kindly agreed to sacrifice their time to type the manuscript.

A_B_S_T_R_A_C_T

This study examines the factors that have influenced the growth and development of Bungoma town. The town evolved as a small railway halting point with open air commercial activities, following the arrival of the railway line in 1925. This early communication advantage enabled the town to grow into a market centre in 1933. Despite the emergence of other service centres in the district, Bungoma continued to grow.

The study has found that in choosing Bungoma for an administrative centre, communication, and site factors were put into consideration. The centre had good communication and was situated in a relatively infertile area where arable land would not be wasted on buildings. The town has grown into importance as a district headquarters and a municipality owing to this background.

The location of district headquarters in the town and the rapid growth of commerce has influenced it to grow into a major service centre for the whole of Bungoma district. Unlike other towns such as Webuye and Mumias which are industrial, Bungoma is largely a commercial centre.

The commercial, social, and administration activities in the town have developed to the extent that currently they are the main employers and the main sources of income for the town. These developments have attracted rural population to the town and our analysis has revealed that population growth rates are high. It is the contention of the study therefore that the unique factors in the development of Bungoma town are administration and commerce.

Lastly, the study has assessed the town's possible development prospects in commerce and industry, transport and communication, tourism and social infrastructure. We have reached the conclusion that the prospects are bright. Development problems identified in the study range from those related to land-use planning to the supply of social and community facilities in the town. The study makes several policy proposals to cope with these problems. All in all, what the study recommends is a comprehensive planning strategy to balance the effects of rapid population growth.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
TITLE OF THE THESIS	(i)
DECLARATION	(ii)
DEDICATION	(iii)
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	(iv)
ABSTRACT	(v)
TABLE OF CONTENTS	(vii)
LIST OF TABLES	(x)
LIST OF MAPS	(xii)
LIST OF FIGURES	(xii)
LIST OF PLATES	(xiii)
LIST OF APPENDICES	(xiv)

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION	1
Statement of the Problem	1
Justification for the Study	5
Objectives of the Study	6
Study Assumption	7
Study Scope	7
Research Methodology	8
Limitations of the Study	11
Theroretical base of Review of related Literature	11

	<u>Page</u>
<u>CHAPTER TWO</u>	
BUNGOMA IN ITS REGIONAL SETTING	23
Introduction	23
Location	23
Geology	25
Topography and soils	25
Climate	26
Drainage	26
Vegetation	27
Regional Communication Links	27
<u>CHAPTER THREE</u>	
THE HISTORICAL GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF BUNGOMA TOWN	36
Introduction	36
The Origin of Bungoma	37
The town's early Commerce and Administration Development	41
Demographic Growth	46
Commercial Development in the Period after 1950	48
Socio-economic development	50
Summary	56
<u>CHAPTER FOUR</u>	
FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS	59
Introduction	59
Administration	59
Commerce and Industry	64
Population	73
Employment and Income	82
Transport and Communication	91
Land use	99
Summary	104

CHAPTER FIVE

THE TOWN'S POSSIBLE DEVELOPMENT PROSPECT	107
Introduction	107
Industry	108
Commerce	111
Transport and Communication	113
Socio and Community Services	114
Tourism	115

CHAPTER SIX

RECOMMENDATIONS	117
Proposals	121
Summary	124
Areas for further research	125
BIBLIOGRAPHY	126
APPENDICES	129

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table No.</u>		<u>Page</u>
1	Number of Occupied plots per centre upto 1935	43
2	Population within Bungoma's hinterland (1948)	47
3.	Increase in Number of shops since 1950	48
4.	Number of establishments by Industry, Province and main towns, 1981	68
5.	Purpose of trip by passengers to Bungoma town	71
6.	Distance (in km.) from Bungoma town to passengers' homes	72
7.	Bungoma town's population, 1979	75
8.	Sources of Household income	83
9.	Growth of employment by Industry, Bungoma	85
10.	Growth of earnings by industry, Bungoma	87
11.	Comparative employment by Industry, 1981.	89

<u>Table No.</u>		<u>Page</u>
12.	Comparative earnings by Industry, 1981	90
13.	Traffic flow, Webuye.- Bungoma, 1986	96
14.	Traffic Flow, Malaba - Bungoma, 1986	97
15.	Traffic Flow, Mumias - Bungoma, 1986	99
16.	Current Land-use Distribution	100

LIST OF MAPS AND FIGURES

<u>MAP No.</u>		<u>Page</u>
1.	Bungoma in its national setting	24
2.	Roads and Bridges, North Kavirono	30
3.	Bungoma in its Regional setting	31
4.	Bungoma Trading Centre, 1929	42
5.	Expansion of Bungoma Urban Area between 1936 and 1975	55
6.	Land-use (existing)	101
7.	Physical Proposals	123

LIST OF FIGURES

<u>FIGURE No.</u>		<u>Page</u>
1.	A model of the Economic Functions of a town	17
2.	Low Population Projection	78
3.	High Population Projection	79

LIST OF PLATES

<u>PLATE No.</u>		<u>Page</u>
1.	The Town's main street	49
2.	Bungoma town (1961)	52
3.	Bungoma town (1965)	53
4.	The National Cereals and Produce Board depot, Bungoma	65
5.	The Bungoma Tourist Hotel	65
6.	Inside the Kitinda Dairy Factory, Bungoma	36
7.	Part of the Banking Facilities, Bungoma	66
8.	Bungoma Post Office	92
9.	The 'Matatu' side of the Bus Park	92
10.	Parking area for Large Passenger vehicles	94
11.	A passenger train at the Railway Station, Bungoma	94
12.	The Railway line, just behind the Cereal Board depot.	94
13.	Bungoma town, 1975;	103

LIST OF APPENDICES

	<u>Page</u>
1. Household interview questionnaire	129
2. Passenger interview questionnaire	131

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION:

Statement of the Problem:

Prior to colonial settlement there were few compact settlements in Western Kenya that could be described as urban centres in the present sense of the term. The earliest description of such a settlement was of Elgon Nyanza by Joseph Thomson, who related that 'the Wa Kavirondo (Luhyas) protected their villages by strong mud walls with an outer fosse or dry ditch"¹. According to the 1948 census an urban centre was any compact and gazetted town with a population of 2,000 inhabitants or more. On this basis there were only 17 urban centres in Kenya then. In 1962 the population census revealed that the number of urban centres had increased to 34 and in 1969 to 47.

In the early days of the commercial penetration of East Africa by Arabs and Europeans the northern route to Uganda originating from the present Kenya Coast was rarely used due to difficult physical conditions and the tribal hostilities from the areas' inhabitants especially the Maasai. However after the Berlin Conference of 1885, the British delegated the administration of their "sphere of influence" which included Uganda, modern Kenya and Western Somalia. Meanwhile the British Foreign Office assumed the responsibility of opening up Uganda, and pledged to finance the building of a railway from the Coast to

Uganda. This proposal was not delayed and immediately the British East Africa protectorate was proclaimed under Her Majesty's Commissioner and Consul General headquartered in the sultanate of Zanzibar, Sir George Whitehouse, the newly appointed Chief Engineer of the Railway began building the line from the Arab Harbour of Mombasa. Owing to this colonial proposal to open up the interior of Kenya and Uganda, many central places were born, some of which have now grown into large urban centres.

Bungoma town happens to be one of the "beneficiaries" of the Kenya - Uganda railway. Before the arrival of the railway there, nothing in form of a settlement existed. Bungoma town was, therefore, founded in 1925 with the arrival of the railway which provided a new phase for the area. Immediately it became a camping site for railway workers mainly consisting of Asians and a few Europeans. This early communication advantage provided impetus for the growth of commerce and trade thereby setting a pace for the growth of the centre. No population figures are available from the 1948 census, thereby implying that it was not among the few centres described as "urban" then. The centre had, however, become an administrative centre for the then Elgon Nyanza District.

The growth and development of Bungoma town has basically, been founded on communication, economic and administrative factors. The growth of urban areas in any part of the world is influenced by certain factors. It may be one factor or two or many. Environmental influences, can affect the siting of a town depending on relief and soil characteristics. The Administration factor may play a major role in the origin and growth of a town, particularly if the centre is located in a safety-favoured area in relation to external attacks. On the other hand, commerce and industry may influence the growth of a town if the area within which the town is located has bright economic prospects necessitating an exchange of goods and services with other areas. In a nutshell, the growth and development of urban areas, the world over, is a product of an interplay of a number of factors.

Bungoma town has two centres, the old town and Kanduyi, separated from each other by an airstrip. It is the district headquarters for Bungoma district. As a result, certain economic and social activities commensurate with such a centre have developed. These include the Kenya Industrial Estates' Industrial Promotion Area (IPA), the National Cereals and Produce Board Depot Banking and Postal Services, the

District Hospital, Police Station, Law Courts, name it. Indeed, along the road from the town to Mumias (C33) rapid physical expansion has occurred in form of shops, workshops, garages and sales depots.

Despite this desirable development, unplanned and spontaneous residential development has occurred there to take advantage of the economies which have emerged side by side with this physical development. Villages such as Bondeni and Mjini are indicators of this spontaneity.

In 1979, Bungoma town's population was 25, 161. At present the population according to the author's projections, is 40,000 (1986). This rapid growth of population has not been well catered for by the services that be. planned council houses are less than 100 units. There is only one site and service scheme with 30 housing units under the umbrella of the Bungoma Municipal Council. Most housing is in the hands of private developers. Sewerage services are also poor. There is no sewerage treatment works and there is only one sewer lagoon for the entire town. Furthermore the sewer line presently in use is already overutilised and its lifespan has already expired.

There is also a problem of storm water on the streets during heavy downpurs. This owes to poor public drainage systems. It is common to observe vehicles 'sailing' through floods along these streets. The end result is that the roads are gradually being worn away. This wear and tear process also has implications for the future planned development of the town.

The problem around which the study revolves, therefore, shows how the development of Bungoma town has been rapidly influenced by certain factors that a planned changed and development of certain facilities and services is required particularly with a steady growth in population.

Justification for the study:

The growth of urban areas all over the world is an outcome of the interaction of a number of factors. It is important, therefore, to study factors affecting urban growth in order to identify problems associated with their influence so that better planning for the future growth of these areas can be done.

The town serves as the seat for district administration for Bungoma District. In view of this

important role, certain services are expected of it by the residents of the town itself and a larger section of the district community. These include commercial, administrative, communication and even political services. It is not possible for the town to discharge such duties unless better planning for the supply of the services is achieved. Preliminary studies of this nature provide background information necessary to help streamline the direction of the town's growth.

The study has thus been adopted on the criterion that knowing the influence of certain factors on urban growth and development has a significant implication for policy and planning. So far no specific study in this respect has been done on the town.

Objectives of the study:

The four objectives of the study are:

1. To identify the salient factors which have influenced the growth and development of the town.
2. To examine the town's current level of development and analyse the factors influencing this development.

3. To examine the town's future development prospects and,
4. To examine planning implications for the town's future development.

Study Assumption:

The study is based on one main assumption that Bungoma's origin, growth and development is attributed to several factors but in particular, communication, administration and economic factors.

Study scope:

The study is an attempt to examine the factors which have been paramount in the growth and development of Bungoma town. It is necessary to identify the social, economic, physical and demographic changes that have occurred over time. Particular attention will be paid on land-use changes in view of the operation of the various factors. Current land-use types will also be analysed and development characteristics as they occur at present examined. In the light of this attempt, future development trends of the town will be identified.

It is important to note that although the study is concerned with development changes within the town, certain regional aspects will have to be observed in the process of determining the key factors which have affected the growth of the town. In other words, the operation of certain salient factors in the town's development process may have been generated from outside the town. Any such possibility will have to be accommodated and integrated in the study.

Research methodology

This study employed various research methods.

Reconnaissance survey

A reconnaissance survey of the whole town was carried out to enable the author to have a general picture of the town and to orient himself. During the reconnaissance process, several photographs of some of the key structures in the town were taken.

Informal interviews

Personal or verbal interviews were conducted with government officials and officers of important organisations in the town. Such interviews covered the top echelon of the Municipal Council, mainly the Town Clerk, the Municipal Engineer and the Administrative

Officer of the Council. The interviews also covered Managers of the following organisations; The National Cereals and Produce Board, Kenya Planters Co-operative Union, Kenya Grain Growers Co-operative Union and the Kitinda Dairy Co-operative Society. Information from the Municipal Council was related to the broad aspects of the Council's authority over the development of the town and the challenges the authority faces in the discharge of its duties. Information from the other organisation concerned their main activities and their service areas.

The Questionnaire method

This method was adopted to administer questionnaires to households within the town. Accordingly, another questionnaire type was administered to passengers, who were either arriving in the town or leaving (including those on transit).

According to the 1979 population census, there was a total of 5,262 households in the town. The author's sample size was 150 households. This represents only about 2.9 per cent of the total household figure. This relatively small sample size was preferred in view of the limited time available for the study. Before the sampling a pilot survey was

carried out to identify sampling zones within the town. Sampling was random but ensured that at least 10-20 households were interviewed from every zone (estate) for a fairly representative sample to be obtained. The aim of the household questionnaire was to ascertain levels of income per household, the sources of these incomes and the major generators of income in the town.

The passenger questionnaire survey was restricted to a sample of 100. There was no specific basis for choosing this sample. It was purely based on the principle of "sampling as many passengers as possible". Sampling passengers was necessary to establish the purpose of their trips to the town and also to find out the causes of people's preference of the centre to other centres. This kind of information was deemed necessary to identify the levels at which the town operates particularly in administration, commerce, industry and social services.

Secondary data

Library work and scanning through relevant materials was done in order to develop a framework on which basis the study was to be executed. Information from pamphlets, journals, office reports, archival records, and written texts was of great significance.

Limitations of the study:

A research of this magnitude must suffer certain limitations, more so, when it is in the midst of a congested work load. The study also suffered financial setbacks in view of the fact that at the time of going to the field funds could not be available. This handicapped maximum data collection within the given limited time.

Finally, the town does not have a current land-use plan. The only land-use plan available is that prepared over 12 years ago, in 1974. The main limitation with this plan is that it is not inclusive of the town's recent developments which have assumed a northward, southward and eastward directions. This was a constraint in as far as a true picture of the current situation is concerned.

Theoretical Base and Review of Related Literature

The literature of the social sciences abounds in general statements of theoretical nature which seek to explain the phenomena of human agglomeration in space.

Beaujeu Garnier and Chabot (1967) define an urban centre as a 'relatively large, dense and permanent settlement of socially heterogeneous

individuals'. While accepting size as a criterion, they added other factors which appear more to be dependent on size than to be preconditions for urban development.

From an elementary point of view towns can be described as those places in the world where ever increasing groups of mankind congregate more and more rapidly. At first sight this idea seems clear enough since each of us can readily distinguish between town and country. It is important to observe that the concept of town changes according to a historical and geographical setting even though the distinction between town and country may remain constant.

Other studies have contrasted the differences between the way of life in villages based on arable and livestock farming and in towns based on commerce and industry. They have also contrasted the less crowded dwellings in villages with the denser concentrations in towns. Elsewhere they specify that below a population of 2,000 the group loses its urban character. Thus this analysis contains three conditions which form the basis of all other definitions:-



- a) some sort of professional activity,
- b) a concentration of housing
- c) a minimum number of inhabitants.

The analysis has been accepted by a number of other writers who agree that the town consists of an organised group in which normally the main occupations are concerned with commerce and industry as opposed to agricultural pursuits. Similarly, Beavon (1977) in his reinterpretation of Walter Christaller's work emphasises commerce, administration and small businesses as the main occupations.

At any rate, the problem is to explain the development of towns in different parts of the world and at different periods. For such an explanation to be of theoretical significance it must be logically consistent and valid, irrespective of time and place under consideration. One such theory is the functional specialisation theory of urbanization. The fundamental idea in this theory is that based on specialisation of functions among human communities through the division of labour. Functional specialisation narrows the range of activities performed by an individual in a given time period. This increases his skill or dexterity in the performance of these activities,

thereby raising the production of goods and services accruing to his input.

According to Mabogunje (1968) these specialised activities need to be co-ordinated. In the case of urbanization the role of co-ordinators is performed by traders and administrators. Mabogunje further argues that functional specialisation is the essence of urbanization but for such a situation to arise three conditions have to be fulfilled;

- a. there must be a surplus of food production with which to feed the class of specialists whose activities are now withdrawn from agriculture;
- b. there must be a power group which has to exercise some power over the distribution of food to the specialists and ensure stable and peaceful conditions in which both the food producers and the specialists can produce their best; and lastly
- c. there must be class of traders and merchants to facilitate the work of the specialists and satisfy their needs for raw materials.

Perhaps the most obvious of the three conditions is that related to the availability of surplus food with which to feed the class of specialists. This presupposes that some relation exists between urbanization on the one hand, and, on the other, the fertility of the soil, and the effectiveness of the technology available for exploiting this fertility.

In the early history of urban evolution such food surpluses were only to be found in areas of exceedingly great fertility. Such areas were limited to the alluvial plains of a few large rivers, notably, the Nile, Tigris, Euphrates, the Indus and the Yangtse Kiang where soil fertility was kept perennially at a high level by the annual flood. Improvements in technology made it possible to exploit less fertile soils but on such a scale as ^{NOT} to provide the required surplus. Thus the increasing urbanization of the United States of America in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and early this century is due to the application of advanced technology to moderately fertile soils to produce bountiful harvests.

It can thus be assumed that the greater the flow of goods and services, the faster the rate of production

as well as urbanization. Any event that checks or hinders the pursuit of trade and commerce can therefore be expected to hamper the growth of towns.

Andrews, W.A. (1976) discussed the economic base theory and attempted to offer an explanation for the growth of any urban area, based on the development of various economic activities. According to Andrew, the economic functions of an urban centre can also influence its growth.

According to the model below for an urban growth to take place, the basic industries must expand for this brings more income and a new population to the town, thereby increasing the demand for local services. The non-basic industries also expand, further increasing the population's purchasing power and demand. In the context of the theory, basic or town-forming functions can be defined as those activities which bring revenue to a town by serving an external market. On the other hand, non-basic or town-serving involve the provision of those goods and services that a town's own population needs.

The growth of urban communities is the result of an inter play of many forces. It is the product

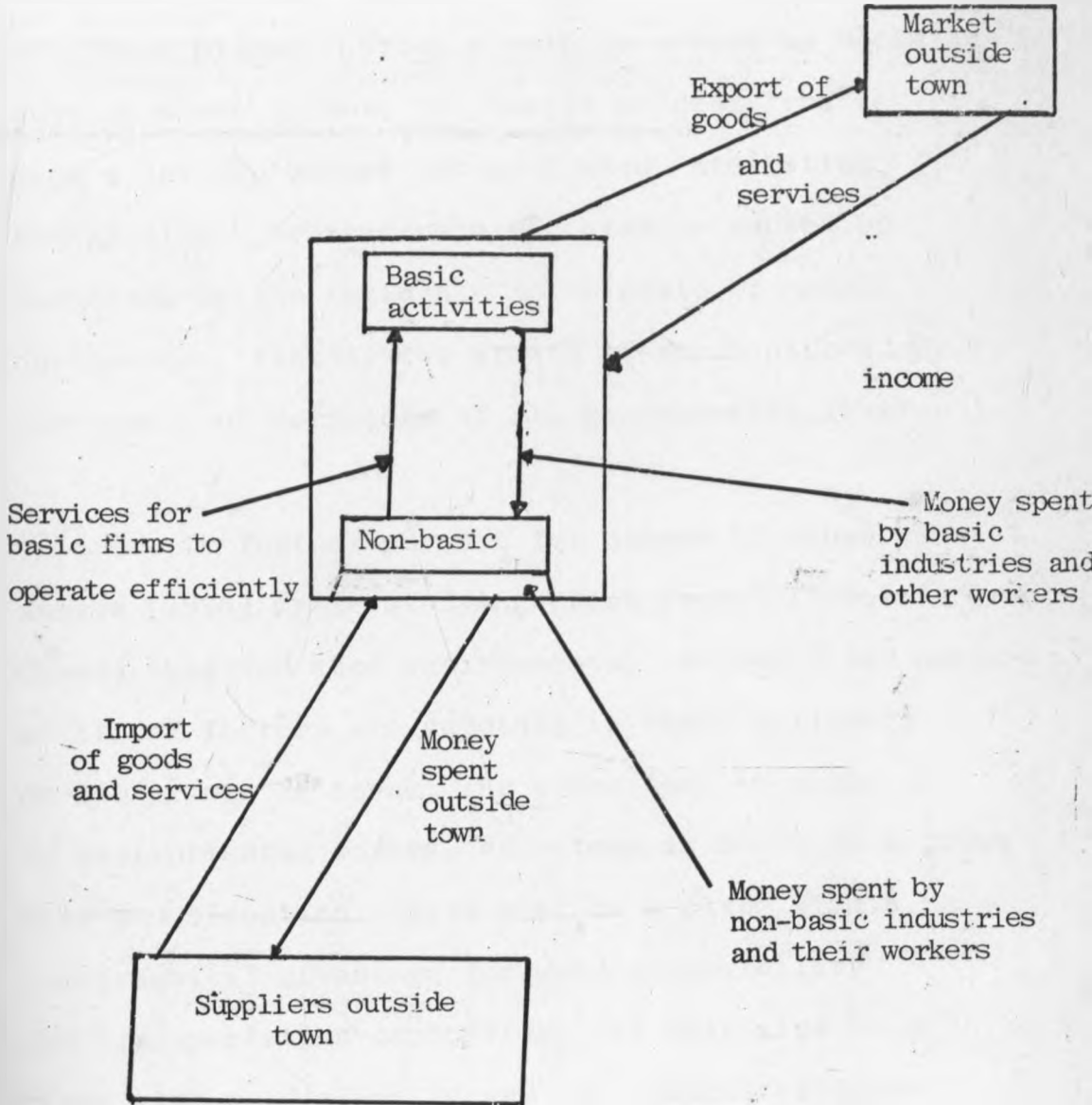


Fig 1: A model of the economic functions of a town (adopted after Andrews, W.A. (1976) p. 38).

of many decisions by the people who live and work in our urban places. Urban growth is caused by decisions such as those to move the family or decisions to seek a new and better job or a more interesting social life. Urban growth may also be caused by decisions by the residents to relocate or expand businesses. Finally the growth of urban places may be the result of decisions at all governmental levels.

In further pursuit for causes of urban growth Andrew (1976) while studying urban growth in U.S.A. and Canada observed that environmental, economic and socio-political factors are cardinal in their influence on the growth of towns. He notes that in terms of environmental forces, each town is built in a given site and situation. This must be a place with a topographical advantage for good accessibility and transportation capability. It must also be a place with good climatic and soil characteristics. Socio-political factors also influence urban growth in so far as certain political decisions may favour the rapid growth of one town at the expense of others. Such political decisions may be based on factors such fear of attacks thereby urging the need for a transfer or it may just be for the sake of spatial convenience.

Johnson, J.H. (1971) in examining factors of urban growth observes that population increase is an important factor in urban growth. He sees larger cities as the places where real population changes can rapidly occur due to natural increase because the population is already great and particularly because people in the fertile age exist already in reasonable proportions. This observation is significant in our attempt to understand the origin and growth of Bungoma town in historical perspective although reference is made to the larger towns.

Costello, V.F. (1977) in his study of urbanisation in the Middle East observes that the main factors responsible for urban growth in the region were political centralisation, internal political strife, changes in foreign trade patterns and foreign relations and the discovery and exploitation of oil. For example, according to political centralisation, Costello notes that French and German administration in the Middle East was characterized by a centralisation of administrative functions; that new states required a network of regional urban administrative centres to carry through their new policies. Urban areas grew as a consequence of their new functions and some were even designated urban because of these functions rather

than their size or economic role. This proposition provides a useful base for trying to understand the growth of Bungoma town with respect to the leading administrative role it plays in the district. Together with other factors which affect its growth, the base offers enough insights that will help us understand the evolution, growth and development of Bungoma town.

Obudho, (R.A) (1972) in his study on urbanisation in Western Kenya notes the importance of the administrative factor in the growth of towns. He cites the example of how Mumias' growth declined as a result of the transfer of the administrative capital of the then Uganda's Eastern Province from there to Kisumu during the early part of this century. The transfer of port facilities from port Victoria, a major port in the region then, to Kisumu also affected the growth of the former. This particular study provides us the basic information about the origin of urbanization in that part of the country in general. Our study is therefore to build more on what has been done by picking a specific case - Bungoma town for analysis.

Makokha E.K. (1972) in her study of Bungoma town as an urban centre in a rural setting found that when the town was declared a centre of the Elgon Nyanza

District, the administrative seat was immediately moved in comprising the divisional administrative facilities. She further found out that after this initial development, commercial activities followed thereby creating a strong base for the town's administrative and economic development. Makokha's study, however, only attempts a historical analysis of the growth of Bungoma town. Although it gives a touch of the various land-uses of the town at the time, no specific attempt is made to examine the main factors which affect the town's growth and therefore their influence on land-use types therein. Her study remains strictly a geographical exercise.

REFERENCES:

1. Burgman, H. The Early History of Mumias Mission. National Printing Press, Kisumu, 1979.
2. Beaujeu - Garnier, J. and Chabot, G. Urban Geography Longman Group Ltd., London. English Translation 1967.
3. Beavon, K.S.O. Central Place Theory: A Reinterpretation. Longman, London 1977.
4. Mabogunje, A.L. Urbanisation in Nigeria University of London Press Ltd. 1968.
5. Andrew, W.A. A Guide to Urban Studies, Prentice-Hall Canada Ltd. 1976.
6. Andrew, W.A. Ibid pp. 27-30.
7. Johnson, J.H. Urban Geography Pergamon Press Oxford 1972 p. 16.
8. Costello, V.F. Urbanization in the Middle East Cambridge University Press 1977.
9. Obudho, R.A. Urbanization and Regional Planning in Western Kenya: Paper presented at the 15th meeting of African Studies Association, Philadelphia, 1972.
10. Makokha, E.K. Bungoma Township; An Urban Centre in a rural setting. Unpublished B.A Dissertation, 1972.

CHAPTER TWO

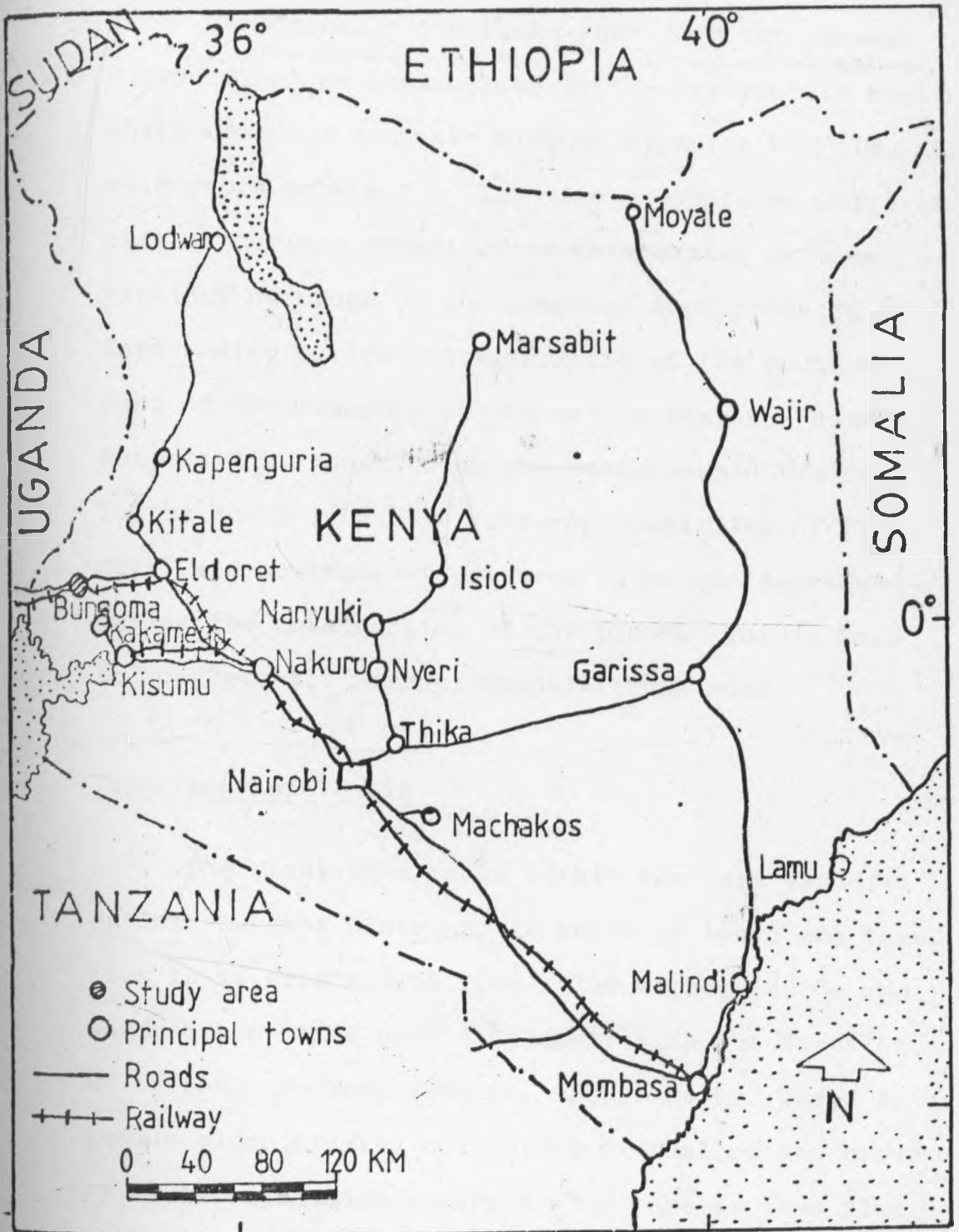
BUNGOMA IN ITS REGIONAL SETTING

Introduction

In this Chapter a comprehensive account of Bungoma Town's regional setting is given. First and foremost the physical characteristics of the region within which Bungoma town is set are outlined. Secondly the communication network in the region is examined to identify the link between the town and other towns in the region. Lastly it has also been found useful to make a brief comparative study of the development thrusts of Bungoma town and those of other major towns in the region.

Location:

Bungoma town is located along latitude 0° 35' North and longitude 34° 31' East, about 105 kilometres west of Eldoret. It is the headquarters of Bungoma District in the Western Province of Kenya. The town is located in the South Western part of the district along the Nairobi/Kampala railway and the A 104 international trunk road (Map 1). The town is about 40 kilometres from the Kenya/Uganda border. It is about 100 kilometres from Kisumu, the largest town in the region.



MAP 1: Bungoma in its national setting

Geology

Geologically the rocks that form the plateau surrounding the town belong to the Kavirondian system which occupies not only Bungoma District but also most of Western Province¹. The area presents an undulating plateau surface occasionally interrupted by some distinct outcrops of the numerous roof pendants of Kavirondian series characteristic of the southern part of the township on the way to Mumias. Here Bungoma Hill constitutes the most conspicuous feature. To the North is another outcrop consisting of rock metal and building stone whose value was expressed during the construction of the Eldoret-Tororo Road to complete the Nairobi-Kampala trunk road.

Topography and Soils

The study area falls within the Lake Victoria Basin. Bungoma District, in which is found the town, lies in an area rising from 1,200 metres in the west and south west to over 4,000 metres to the North on Mt. Elgon. Bungoma Town is, specifically, found in a gentle sloping area consisting of shallow and broad river valleys which separate wide more or less flat divides at a height of 1,300 metres.

The soils are mainly of the well-drained dark red friable clays (with deep humic top soil) and dark brown sandy loam. This represents the most fertile area of the district occupying the northern part, in the Chwele-Kimilili corridor lying across the foothills of Mt. Elgon. This area is potentially and actually productive supporting coffee, maize and vegetables of relatively high quality. In and around the town, the soils are rather infertile and this is one factor which favoured the location of the district administrative seat here as will be highlighted later.

Climate

The town lies in the High Rainfall savanna zone that has a hot and dry climate. Within the entire district the temperatures vary between mean maximum of 22° and 30° centigrade and a mean minimum of 14° to 18° centigrade. Annual rainfall follows a seasonal pattern ranging from 1,250 mm. to over 1,800 mm. a year. The district therefore gets sufficient rainfall to support most agricultural activities.

Drainage

Bungoma district is mainly drained by the Nzoia River and its tributaries, Kuywa and Sosio, both of which originate in the Mt. Elgon area. The Luakhakha

river on the boundary with Uganda also rises from the Mt. Elgon foothills. Other rivers are the Malakisi and Kimilili Khalaba. The latter drains the town's present municipal jurisdiction. It is important to note here that the town's water supply has its source on the Kuywa river.

Vegetation

Moorland and grassland is found above the forest line at high altitude on Mt. Elgon. This land is of limited potential, but water catchment and tourism. The remainder of the district is characterised by variable vegetation cover ranging from bushland to woodland and grassland. In areas of dense agricultural activities the original vegetation has been cleared. Bungoma town is found in an environment with grassland vegetation. Elephant grass, star grass and cymbopogon are occasionally found,

Regional Communication Links

Taking Bungoma District as a case there is a total road network of 1,436.3 kilometres of which 118.6 kilometres is bitumen, 621.2km., gravel surface and 696,5 km., earth standard (Bungoma District Development Plan 1984 - 88). At the start of the

current plan period, there were about 400 kilometres of unclassified roads, most of which were maintained by the Ministry of Transport and Communications under the Rural Access Roads Programmes.

It is important to note that an efficient transportation system between towns and with their hinterlands is an essential factor in the growth of the economy of any urban centre. The economy of a centre will heavily depend on regular and rapid transportation of food stuffs which are perishable from the growing areas to the markets in the towns. The system will also serve the rural areas or surrounding hinterland areas by providing outlets for urban consumer goods.

In any regional communication network roads are most important. The construction of a road through an area, particularly in resource zones, makes major changes in the economic and social activities that have to be later realised. Many theories on Industrial location advocate for transportation as a major factor influencing the location of industry.

Bungoma is relatively centrally located in Western Province, compared to Kakamega and Webuye which

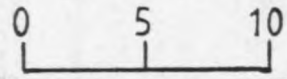
may be said to be on the periphery of the province. Even as early as 1928, the town was already well placed in terms of road and railway communication (Map.2). It was already accessible to Mumias, a major trading centre and administrative seat for the then North Kavirondo District. It also had direct access to Uganda by road and railway. To the North and South, accessibility was by road.

At present the town still remains at a favourable location. The town is connected by all weather roads to Kakamega, Webuye and Mumias (Map 3). It lies 25 kilometre from Mumias, a major sugar industrial centre in Western province. The two urban centres are linked by an all weather tarmac road. Because of this good communication link, Bungoma has a transportation function in terms of the Mumias Sugar Mills. This is in view of the fact that most of the sugar from the mills is transported by trailers to Bungoma from where it is railed to other parts of the country and to ports for export.

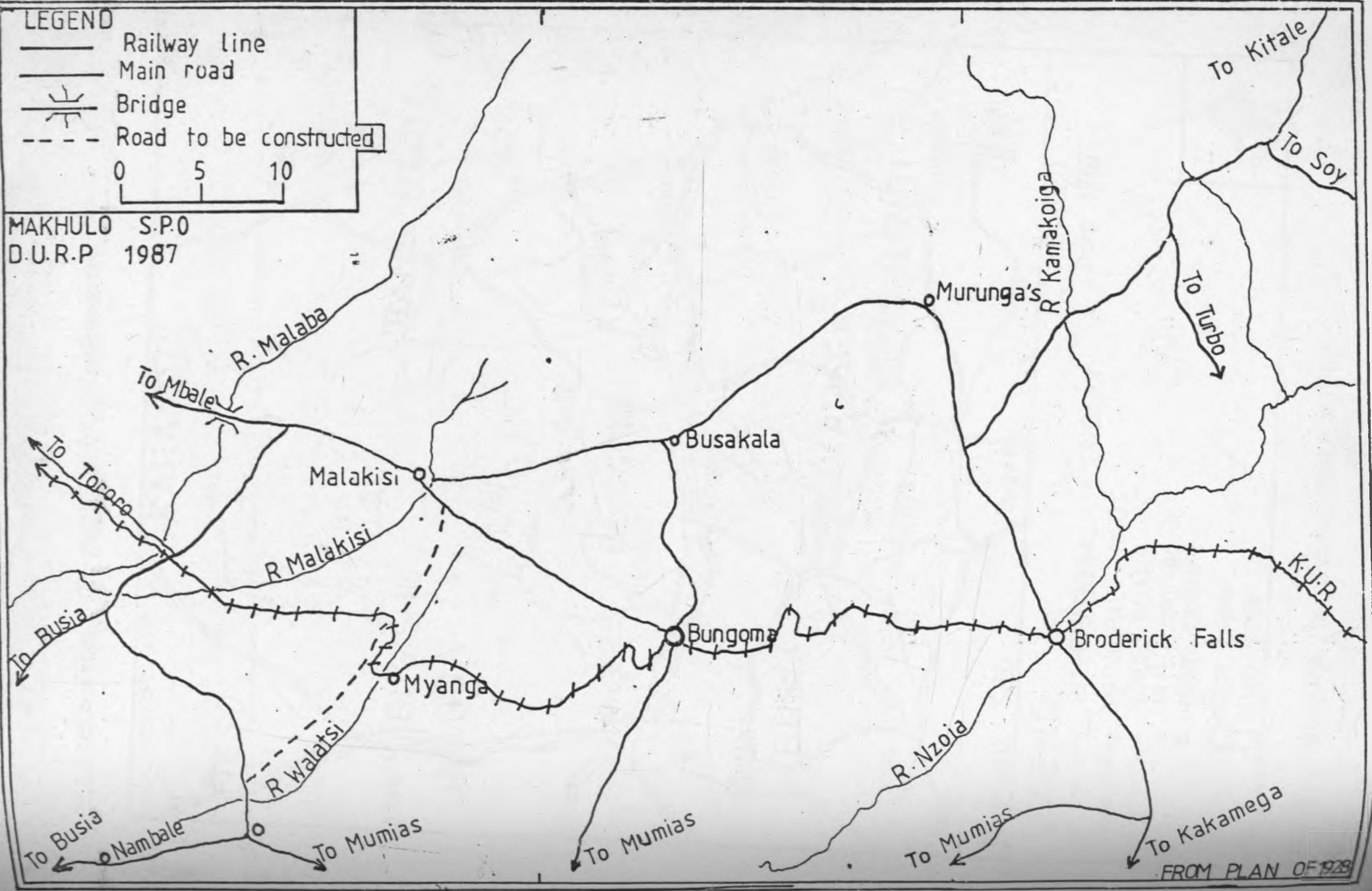
Bungoma is connected to Webuye by an all weather international trunk road and a railway line both of which pass through the two towns from Nairobi to Uganda. However, there is not any local railway connectivity in between the four centres, that is,

LEGEND

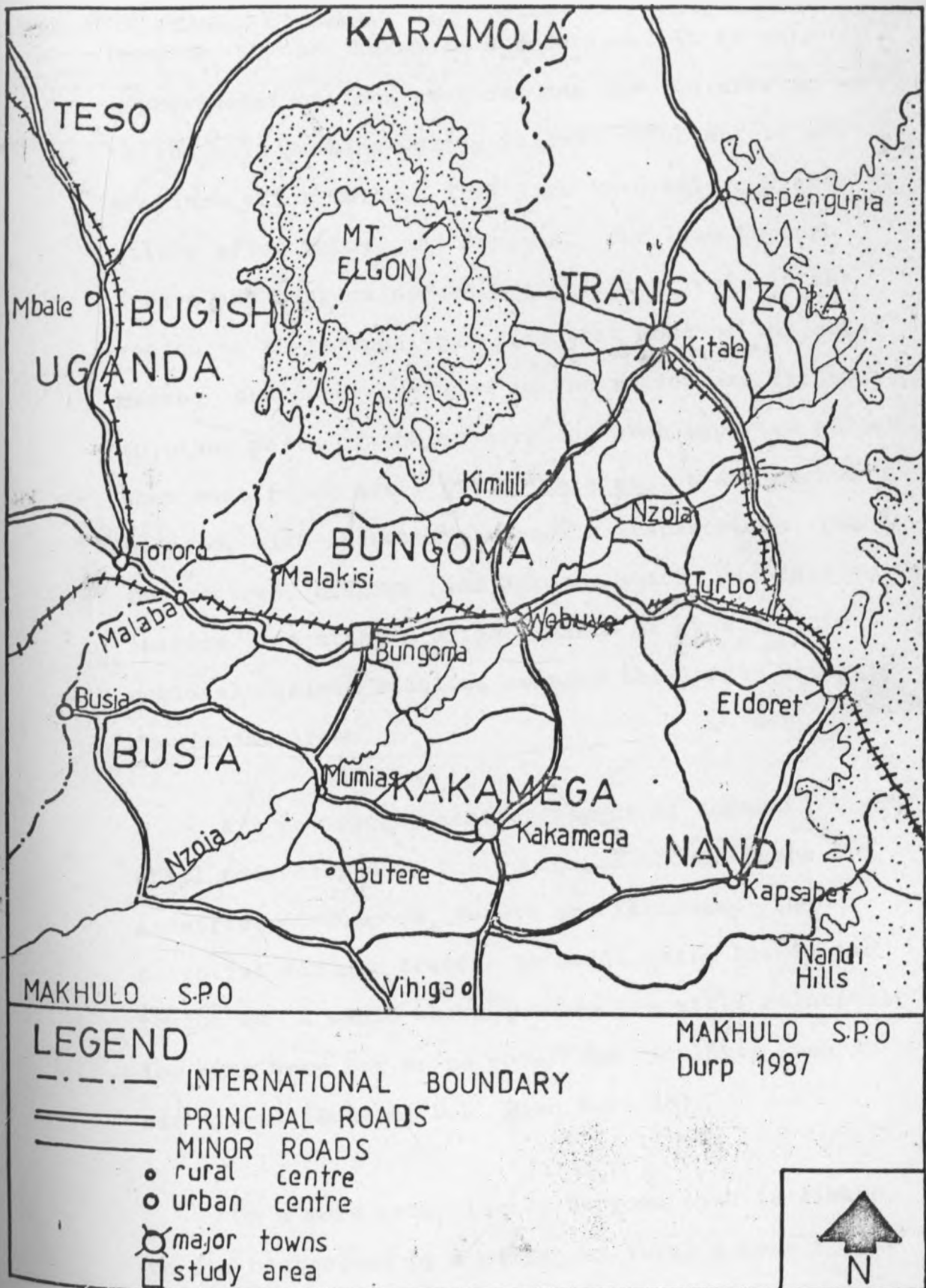
- Railway line
- Main road
- Bridge
- - - Road to be constructed



MAKHULO S.P.O
D.U.R.P 1987



FROM PLAN OF 1928



MAP 3: Bungoma in its regional setting.

Bungoma, Mumias, Kakamega and Webuye. It is only on a provincial outlook that one can say the area is served by the main Mombasa-Uganda railway which enters western province after Turbo. This line then enters Uganda at Malaba after Webuye and Bungoma. The line through Webuye and Bungoma serves a significant role in the region as it is upon this line that most of the sugar, maize, and paper produced in the region are transported to other parts of the country and even exported abroad. When most rural areas within this region are opened up by road, with increasing economic transactions, the two centres, Bungoma and Webuye, which lie astride this railway line stand a bright chance of growing into regional railway stations serving the larger outlying provincial areas.

Air transport, another aspect of connectivity is still undeveloped in the region, although there are airstrips at Bungoma, Webuye and Kakamega. The potential for air traffic is still quite low in the region as a whole where incomes are still relatively low with very few or no people particularly keen at air travel (Bungoma D.D, Plan 1984/88).

On a more local level, Bungoma town is linked to its hinterland by a string of rural access roads,

To the West, Bungoma is linked to Malakisi; a rural centre by road. This road is, however, only tarmacked to Bungoma from Mumias. Beyond Bungoma, it becomes a murram road therefore presenting accessibility problems to Malakisi; one of the factors behind the latter's slow pace of growth as will be seen in a latter Chapter. Despite this relatively poor accessibility, this region is a rich cotton and tobacco growing area. There is a cotton ginnery and a tobacco leaf collecting centre at Malakisi operated by British American Tobacco Company(B.A.T.

Bungoma is also linked to other rural centres such as Chwele and Sirisia by access roads (D 227 and C33) and directly to Kimilili by another access road (D279). This northern part of Bungoma district is a major resource zone specialised in maize growing. Coffee, pyrethrum, sunflower and sugar cane are also grown in this region, in the southern parts of Kimilili location.

Bungoma is, therefore, fairly centrally located. It is at the hub of communication with lines radiating in various directions. Amunga (1977) contends that the position of Bungoma relative to Mumias and Webuye gives it the role of a "middle town", an essentially service town to the two other towns. Until very recently it's only in Bungoma that a first class tourist hotel was

found in the entire western province. Built by the Bungoma District Teachers' Union this hotel has served the other towns as well. This service has been open to these other towns due to good accessibility.

It has already been highlighted that Bungoma has a transport function in terms of the Mumias Sugar industry. Although figures are not available to make concrete and illustrative, the town's role in this direction, the assumption is that a future expansion of the sugar factory and increased production would imply increased transshipment of the product at Bungoma. Compared to Kakamega, Bungoma's central position in the province and its well developed connectivity gives it an advantage over the former centre which is an outlier. Therefore, whereas the availability of a good transport network offers an excellent link with other urban centres in the region, Kakamega's linkage with other towns is limited to only by road, since it is about an hour's drive away from the nearest railway station, Webuye.

REFERENCES

1. Makokha, E.K. Bungoma Township : An Urban Centre in a rural setting. Unpublished B.A. Dissertation, University of Nairobi 1972, p.28
2. Republic of Kenya ; Bungoma District Development Plan 1984 - 88 p.
3. Amunga, M.O.H. : A Study of the Interdependence and Development Potentials of the Main Towns in Western Province with special reference to Kakamega, Webuye, Bungoma and Mumias. Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1977.

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
LIBRARY

CHAPTER THREE

THE HISTORICAL GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF BUNGOMA TOWN

Introduction:

In this chapter an attempt will be made to examine and explain the origin of Bungoma Town with the main aim of bringing out the characteristics of its subsequent growth and development. It is also the task of this chapter to identify the various possible factors which influenced its evolution, growth and development at various stages in time. Demographic changes will be examined to show direction of the growth or change.

In this chapter, an attempt will also be made to examine the changes in levels of administration at various stages of the town's growth and development, the educational and other infrastructural developments which may have come about as a result of related developments.

The task of this chapter is therefore to give the background information against which salient factors which have affected the town's development will be analysed in a latter chapter.

The Origin of Bungoma

The area now occupied by the Bukusu and Tachoni sub-groups of the Luhya tribe and the Teso and Elgon Masai groups was settled in the late 18th century. The occupation of the above mentioned groups resulted in a constant inter-tribal warfare period for a long time. Thereafter, slave traders from the coast^a made frequent invasions into the Bukusu country. The Bukusu constitute the largest single group in Bungoma district. Were G.S. (1967) notes that there was a bitter inter-tribal conflict between the Wanga and Bukusu sub-groups of the Luhya community due to the continuously growing association of the King of Wanga, Mumia, with the Swahili and Arab Ivory and slave traders. Indeed Khaguli, H. (1981) observes that a Nabongo of Wanga, Mumia, welcomed these traders to Mumias which they later made their trading station and a base for expeditions and raids into surrounding regions. This sparked off inter-tribal conflicts especially between the Wanga and Bukusu owing to the fact that the latter had become victims of the expeditions by the traders.

Munoko G.N. (1975) notes that from the time of settling in the area until early this century, there was no stability to encourage the development

of trading centres in the present Bungoma District. Furthermore, there was a communication disadvantage in that the present district was far north of the main transport routes connecting Mumias to Mombasa and Uganda.

Apart from a few Swahili Caravans through the area to Karamoja for ivory and back, no report is made concerning internal trade or trading centres until 1909 when Malakisi was established as the first trading centre in the district. The only activity going on was cattle and goat keeping by the inhabitants who had chosen the present site of the township for their homestead. Oral sources have it that these people made themselves huts forming a village which was surrounded by a security fort (Lukoba) to keep out strangers, but more particularly night invaders. During this period the area was also being settled and later became dominated by a Masai - speaking group, the Bongomek (Abangoma). This group established themselves in the area as a pastoral community. It is believed, therefore, that the name Bungoma was derived from "Bongomek" - the group's name.

Bungoma's origin does not seem to be obscure as such. Its evolution to some extent, seems to have

had strong roots in the socio-economic status of the communities in the hinterland at that time. There was arguably enough stimulus for its very appearance. This holds true in the sense that the Bukusu, being a Bantu community practiced both arable farming and animal keeping while the Bongomek were pure pastoralists.

It is worth noting that because of inter-tribal social turmoil and endless expeditions by Arab and Swahili traders, there was no prolonged period of peace to encourage the emergence of trade and trading points.

What is considered to be the birth period of Bungoma town was the decade following 1920. The town is said to have been non-existent until after a railway station had been opened up there. According to historical records it is after the Berlin Conference in 1885 that the British began taking a keen interest in Uganda with geopolitical and philanthropic objectives (Kingoria, 1980). Upto this time only caravan routes were being used and accessibility to Uganda was only restricted to these means. However since British interests in Uganda were remarkable, it became imperative to "open the way".

The British Foreign Office assumed the responsibility of opening up Uganda and pledged to finance the building of a railway from the Coast to Uganda. The route was surveyed and in 1895 a newly appointed Chief Engineer began building the line from Mombasa. It reached Nairobi in 1899 and proceeded through the Kikuyu country to Nakuru and reached Kisumu in 1901. A branch line at Nakuru was started to proceed to Uganda via the Western Province of Kenya.

According to records from the Kenya Railways offices this trunk line reached Bungoma, then non-existent, in 1925. This rail road's arrival provided the backbone for the evolution of the trading centre. Immediately it became the camping place for the railway constructors who consisted mainly of Asians and a few European technicians. During the same year Bungoma was made a veterinary centre for pastoralists in and around the centre. Two years later, 1927, the first shops were established by Asian dukawallahs. The earliest known Asians to settle here on business were Meral, Jaffery, Kuramal and Saleh. Thus together, the newly constructed railway station, the veterinary centre and the shops provided Bungoma its very first form. The arrival of the railway therefore, marked the rise of Bungoma as a local trading centre. The Asians were mainly engaged in selling clothes, maize and maize flour and

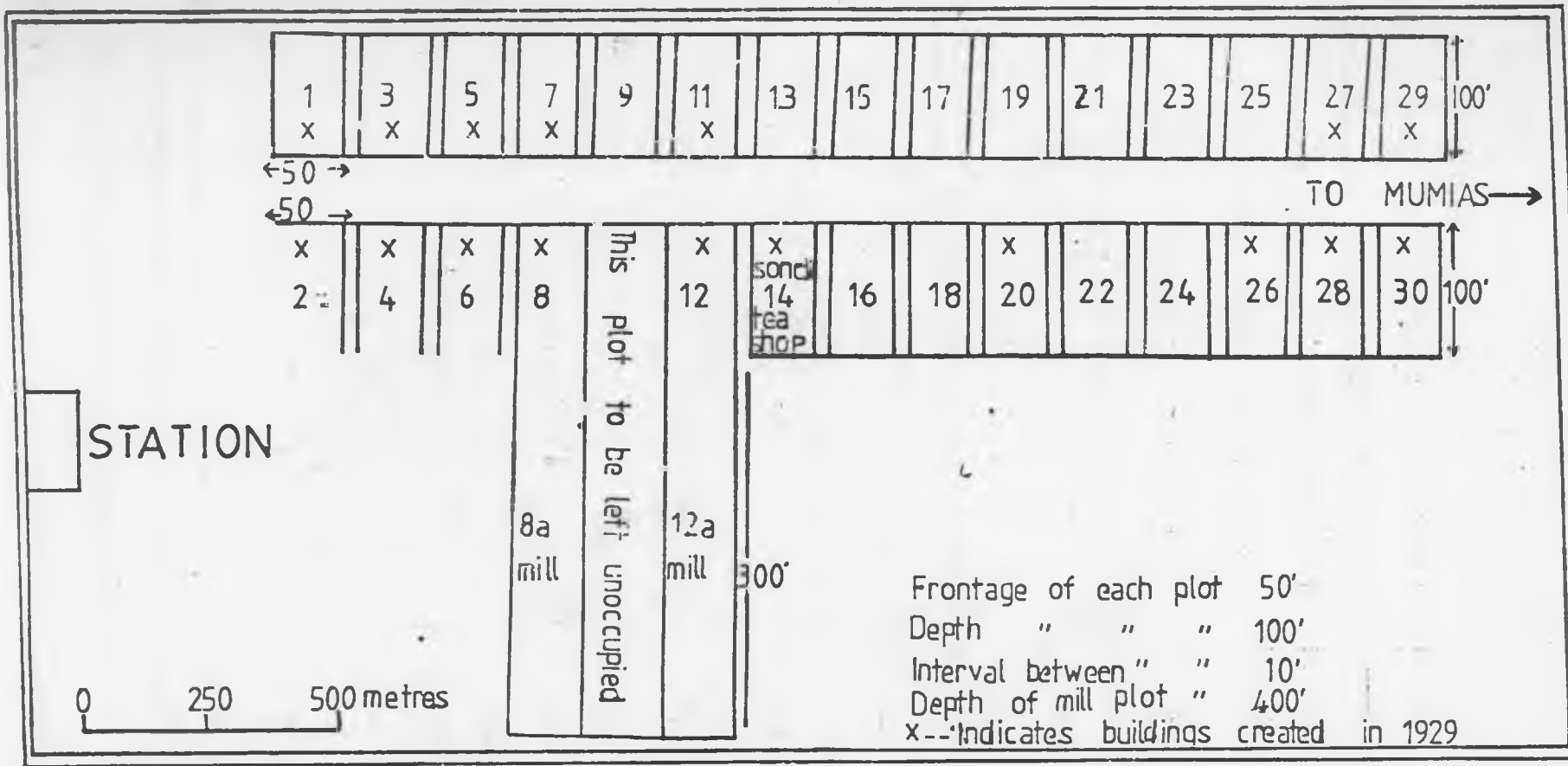
several other household items. Map 4 shows the position of Bungoma by 1929. One notes that already the centre had taken a physical shape with a gradually expanding retail trade. There was already accessibility to Mumias, another centre very well established at the time.

Many other centres were emerging.

The Town's Early Commerce and Administration Development

The communication network and the productivity of the surrounding area had influenced the emergence of many more centres in the area. Already in existence also were Kimilili, Webuye (Broderick Falls) and Myanga which together had created another system of trading centres. Webuye had a railway station and was on the main road from Mumias to Kitale. Further north, Kimilili grew up owing to its location in a maize - producing hinterland and at the junction of Kitale - Malakisi road and the branch line to Webuye.

The table below shows the number of occupied plots in each of the centres upto 1935.



MAP 4: BUNGOMA TRADING CENTRE (1929)

Table 1: Number of occupied plots per centre upto 1935

Year	Bungoma 1925	Malakisi 1910	Kimilili 1925	Broderick Falls 1926
1912	-	6	-	-
1918	-	9	-	-
1926	7	NR	NR	-
1927	22	11	15	4
1928	22	17	15	4
1929	18	16	13	5
1930	18	14	15	6
1931	17	12	16	6
1932	16	12	16	7
1933	13	8	14	7
1934	11	12	15	9
1935	12	13	15	10

NR = No record

Source: A Compilation from the Kenya National Archives' records.

According to Table 1 the number of occupied plots in Bungoma decreased from 18 in 1930 to 12 in 1935. This can probably be explained by the simultaneous emergence of other centres such as Kimilili and Webuye which may have attracted some of the business from

Bungoma. However business continued to thrive in Bungoma since the place had already become a market centre as from 1933.

During the 1940s the centre began assuming a new phase of development and growth. In 1942 "Dini Ya Musambwa" a state - made defunct sect was born and spread in the region by the out-spoken Elijah Masinde. Certain local sources reveal that the sect was such that its followers could not work on their 'shambas' but only sing and celebrate. Secondly, the followers of the sect had distaste for the colonial government and its civil servants. This prompted the colonial government to set up a police post at the trading centre to check the spread of this religion and its associated anti-developmental activities. This post is what has grown into a major police station serving the entire district.

The decade of the 40s also saw a growing need for administrative changes. upto mid 1940's Elgon Nyanza (formerly called North Nzoia and now Bungoma district) had no proper district administrative centre. Administrative services were offered by Kakamega with divisional headquarters at Kavujai, 15 Kilometers

north of Bungoma. Prominent people in this part of the district pressed for an administrative centre due to the inconveniences of the long distance to Kakamega. Despite this pressure, the administration at Kakamega was not for the idea but gave room for suggestions to be made. There were two alternative sites, Bungoma and Chwele, a local centre 25 kilometers north of the former. It was noted that Bungoma had three strong advantages over Chwele. First, it was located at a communication hub with a fairly central position. Secondly, due to its location in a less fertile area, buildings could be constructed here without unnecessary wastage of cultivable land, and thirdly, it was a convenient place for chiefs' meetings. Chwele is located in a very fertile region and therefore locating buildings at Chwele would be a wastage of arable land.

It was in the light of these considerations that in 1948, Bungoma was declared a centre for the Elgon Nyanza district. Immediately the administrative posts were moved in from Kavujai. These included the divisional office, divisional veterinary office and divisional police services. However, much as Bungoma was now an important administrative centre, it remained autonomous to Kakamega until 1956 when

it was now fully made operational as a district headquarters equipped with offices of the District Commissioner, District Officer and the County Council. An Advisory Council for the D.C and the Chiefs was later granted. A further administrative boost was when the centre was promoted to an urban council in 1964. It achieved a town council status in 1974. At a local government level, one sees that the town was growing into an important local government administrative centre. In 1981, the town achieved Municipality status, as one of the beneficiaries of local government ministerial directives to upgrade certain service centres, particularly district headquarters.

Demographic growth

The first census of Kenya's population was carried out in 1948 by the colonial government. During this time, Bungoma town was a very small commercial entity not befitting the definition of a township. In a nutshell the population figures so far available for that period are those of the North Nyanza district. Table 2 shows the population of four locations which are now what largely constitute the present day Bungoma District.

Table 2: Population within Bungoma's Hinterland (1948)

Location	Male		Total	Female		Total	Total
	Adult	Child		Adult	Child		
South Kitosh	9,251	11,721	20,972	12,879	10,800	23,679	44,651
Malakisi	6,009	5,795	11,604	7,267	5,151	12,418	24,222
Kimilili	12,606	15,892	28,498	16,290	14,849	31,139	59,637
Elgon	1,694	2,147	3,841	2,178	1,834	4,012	7,853

Source: A compilation from African Population of Kenya Colony, 1950.

In 1962, the Kenya National Population Census was able to cover the census for Bungoma town which was now an urban centre. The town had a population of 1589. In 1969 the census revealed a population of 4,401. Using the Exponential Method ($P_n = P_o e^{rn}$) this represents a growth rate of 14.5% during the intercensal period. With a population of 25,161 as per the 1979 census the growth rate was 17.4%. Thus between 1969 and 1979, there was a change in the rate of population growth, an increase by about 3 per cent over the previous annual growth rate.

Commercial Development in the period after 1950

During this period, physical expansion in the commercial sector was taking place fairly rapidly. Most shops were located to the southern part of the railway station. The major lines of shops ran in a north-south trend facing the Duka Road (now Moi Road). Some of the oldest and well-established shops found along this main street are shown in Plate 1 (Notice the shops on the left).

The expansion of the commercial sector was first marked by an increase of the number of shops one year after another. Table 3 shows the number of shops in 5 years since 1950.

Table 3: Increase in number of shops since 1950

Year	Total number of shops.	Increase in number of shops	Percentage increase
1950	8	-	-
1955	18	10	125
1960	45	27	150
1965	65	20	44.4
1970	90	25	38.4
1975	125	35	38.8

Source: Ministry of Commerce Records, Bungoma.

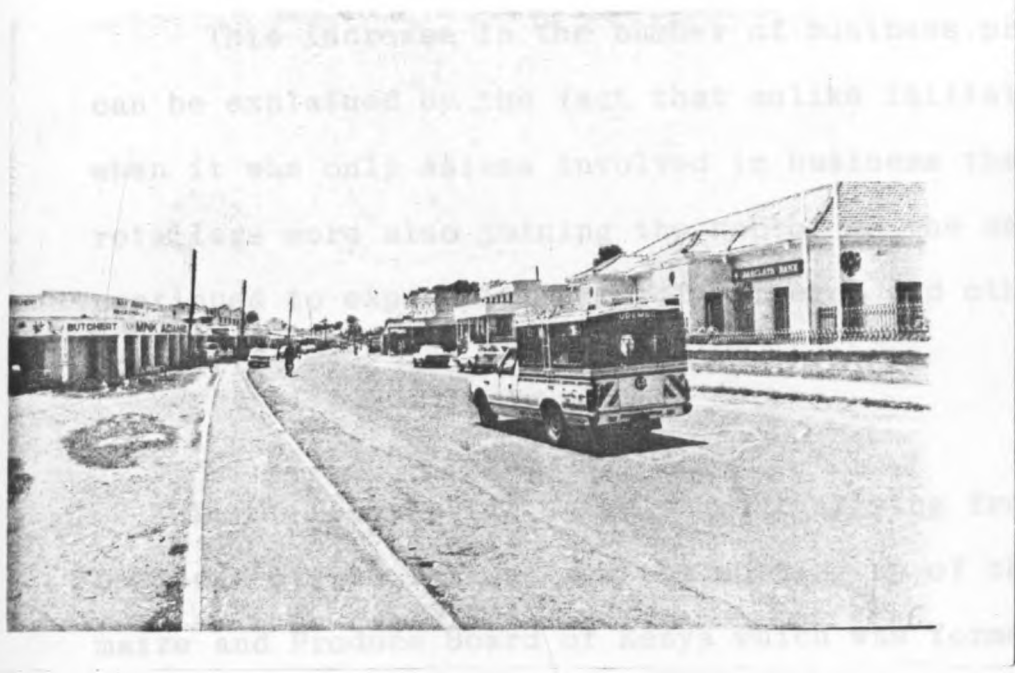


Plate 1: The town's main street (Moi Road) bordered by some of the leading commercial premises in the town as shown.

Socio-Economic Development

Because of good climatic and ecological characteristics the district was doing well in agriculture and this is evidenced by the establishment of the cereals board stores. Farmers' incomes were improving and their welfare was also improving. Going to this fairly good economic base, a spirit of 'harmony' gradually emerged. This enabled them to raise an Agricultural Development Fund in 1954 to cater for several development projects.

This increase in the number of business premises can be explained by the fact that unlike initially when it was only Asians involved in business the African retailers were also joining the sector as the centre continued to expand in terms of commerce and other activities.

Another commercial establishment arising from the presence of the railway was the setting up of the maize and Produce Board of Kenya which was formerly known as the Nyanza Marketing Board. Depots were built for storing maize and other produce such as rice, groundnuts and beans ready to be ferried to larger centres such as Nairobi and Mombasa.

Socio-Economic Development

Because of good climatic and edaphological characteristics the district was doing well in agriculture and this is evidenced by the establishment of the cereals board stores. Farmers' incomes were improving and their welfare was also improving. Owing to this fairly good economic base, a spirit of 'harambee' gradually emerged. This enabled them to raise an Agricultural Betterment Fund in 1952 to cater for several development projects.

Bukusu union schools were built in the township under the umbrella of Kitoshi Education Society which was later replaced by the District Education Board (DEB). Thus some of the most well-established primary schools in the township, situated on the western side were founded by this society. They include Moi Primary School (formerly Bungoma Commonwealth) and Bungoma DEB primary. It is important to note that by 1960, Bungoma was assuming a definite pattern geared towards an urban environment (Plate 2). Notice the alignment of shops and other commercial premises along the central street in the foreground. This was the situation in 1961.

Rapid expansion occurred after independence, and particularly after the centre had been promoted to an urban council status in 1964. Plate 3 shows the physical expansion of the town as at 1965. From the photograph one notices the expansion both northwards and southwards from the original bazaar area indicated in ribbon form.

Following the Trade Licencing Act Number 63 of 1967 there was Africanisation of trade and in the case of Bungoma, many indigenous traders moved into business.



Plate 2: Bungoma Town, 1961



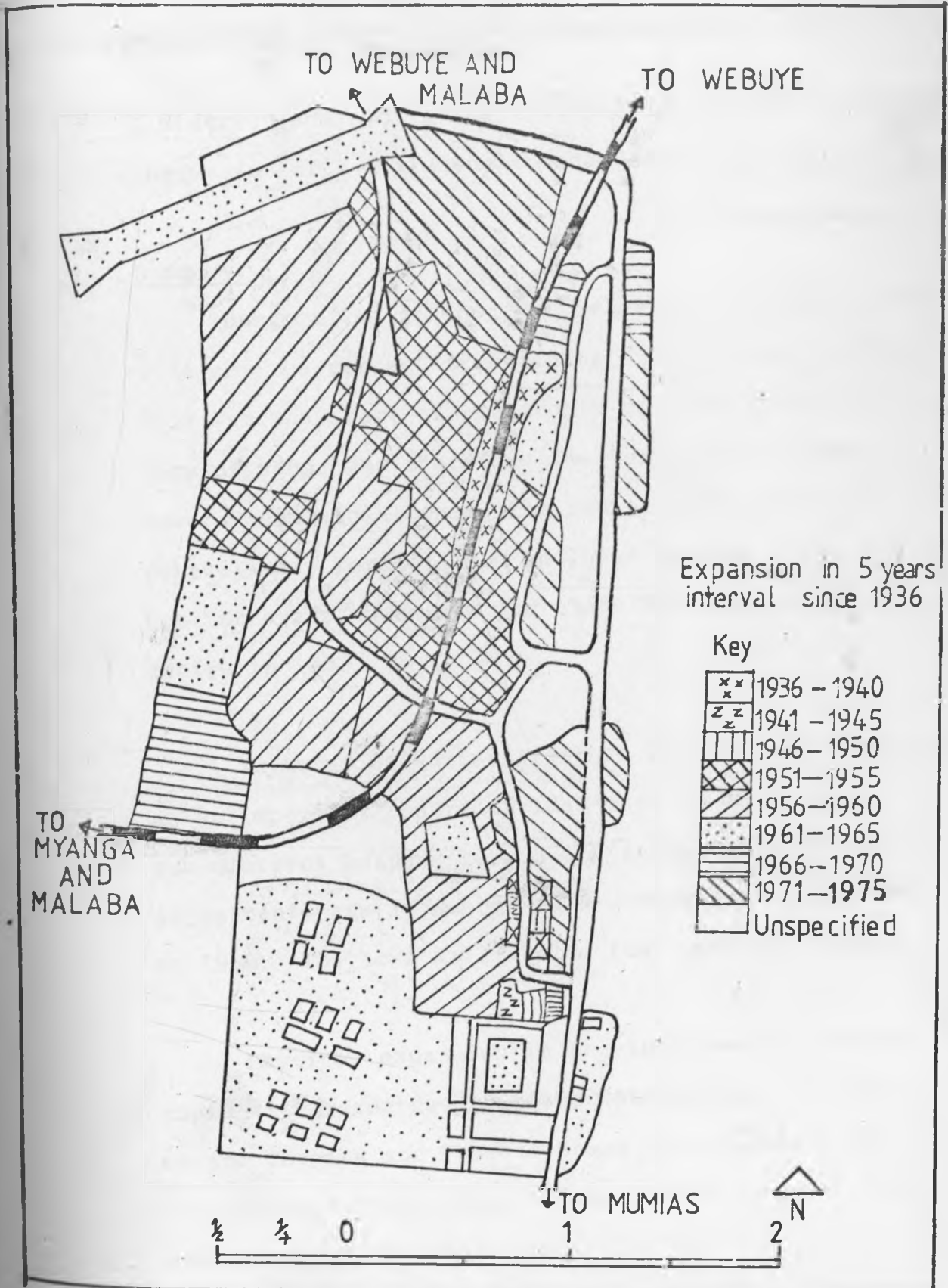
Plate 3: Bungoma Town, 1965.

This, perhaps, explains the rapid rise of shops from 65 in 1965, to 90 in 1970 (as indicated in table 3 above) and to 125 in 1975. Due to the expansion of business, there was also physical expansion in the residential sector because of the need to settle immigrants. The population figures for 1962 and 1969 above demonstrate this increase in urban population.

On the whole there is some evidence in the fact that Bungoma town emerged as a centre for the district commercial and administrative activities due to the arrival of the railway. The township provides a good example of towns which have been influenced by the physical factor of transportation in their development, other factors being held constant.

A close look at the gradual development of the town indicates that early developments were located around the railway. Recent developments have assumed a departure from the immediate vicinity of the railway. This contention is illustrated by Map 5 which shows the expansion of the town in a 5 year interval from 1936 to 1975. The period between 1950 and 1960 witnessed a fairly rapid expansion. This can probably be explained by the growth of the centre into

Source: Town Planning Department.



MAP 5: EXPANSION OF BUNGOMA URBAN AREA BETWEEN 1936 AND 1975

a district administrative headquarters in 1956 from the status of a divisional headquarters.

Summary:

Bungoma was founded on the arrival of the railway line and the consequent building of a station in 1925. This was the start of the growth of infrastructure in form of shops and therefore the very first attempt towards commercial exercises particularly by Asian dukawallahs, some of whom had been railway constructors. Continued expansion saw the place becoming a market centre in 1933.

In terms of administration, Bungoma was earmarked as an important centre in 1948 when it became a sub-district headquarters. Continuous administrative adjustments saw it emerge as a district headquarters in 1956. The town still holds that position to date.

Physical expansion in the 1950s was relatively rapid with major developments taking place in form of the Cereals and Produce Board Depot (1953), the district hospital (1952), Bukusu Union Schools, and other infrastructural types.

All these growth changes and developments qualified the town for upgrading to an urban Council in 1974.

Physical expansion has been in all directions but more particularly southwards and westwards from the railway area although recent developments have occurred to the north along the A104 (International Trunk) Road junction at Kanduyi.

The factors which are identified as having affected the growth and development of Bungoma can be summed up as physical (communication), economic (commerce and small industrial activities), and administrative.

REFERENCES:

1. Were, G.S. A history of the Abaluhya of Western Kenya. E. Africa. Publishing House, Nairobi, 1967.
2. Khaguli, H. The Impact of Mumias Sugar Factory on the Growth of Mumias Town (M.A. Thesis), University of Nairobi, 1981.
3. Munoko, G.N. The Emergence of Service Centres in Bungoma District M.A. Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1975.
4. Kingoria, G.K. Policy Impacts on Urban Land-use Patterns in Nairobi Kenya, Ph.D. Thesis, 1980.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

INTRODUCTION

The concern of this chapter is to examine the field findings in so far as they relate to the key development issues in Bungoma town. We stated as one of our objectives the intention to analyse factors specifically influencing the town's development. This Chapter will, therefore, endeavour to analyse specific aspects of our study theme which will enable us to establish those factors which have influenced the town's growth and development. Specific issues to be analysed will include administration, population, commerce and industry, employment and income, traffic flow, community facilities and social services.

ADMINISTRATION:

The growth of Bungoma town into an important administrative centre goes back into the 1940s when it was found necessary to have an administrative seat closer to the people. We noted in Chapter two that Bungoma has had a good communication advantage since the late 1920s over the other centres within Bungoma District. When holding the debate on which should be the most suitable centre for locating administrative headquarters, the factor of communication and good

connectivity with other areas was strongly considered. Bungoma had a better score on this factor than other centres. Secondly, we found out that consideration for the location of the administrative headquarters at the centre was not done subjectively. The advocates of its location weighed it against the importance of agricultural land. Bungoma was found to be situated in a less fertile area hence less worry of the wastage of cultivable land. It was against these two strong points that Bungoma was favoured as a future important administrative centre, instead of the earlier choices, Chwele and Kavujai, which because of being located in a rich agricultural area were later not preferred.

Bungoma town has thus grown in importance as a major administrative headquarters for Bungoma district owing to those early advantages. At this level of administrative service, there are offices of the District Commissioner, the District Officer and many other government departmental offices. Services at this level relate to day-to-day administration of the entire district and provision of services on a district-wide basis. These include district water supply (Ministry of Water Development), power supply (Ministry of Energy and Regional Development in collaboration with Kenya Power and Lighting Company), Education

(Ministry of Education, Science and Technology), social services such as adult education and the self-help movement (Ministry of Culture and Social Services), to name but a few. The discharge of these services starts from the various departmental offices located at the district headquarters in the town.

There is also a police station and the law courts which are also a component of administration. These two institutions are important for the maintenance of law and order both within the entire district and the town itself. They therefore have implications for the town's internal security. There is, therefore, a relationship between administration, the police and the law courts in the sense that for administrative duties to be executed and services to be well provided, there must be an arm which has to keep law and order to secure the much needed security and tranquility in development. This is healthy for the town, much as it is for the whole district. This kind of institutional framework would even be strengthened with the opening up of more ministerial departments within the town for this would help improve the supply of services,

At the local government level, the town has two official authorities, the Bungoma County Council

and the Bungoma Municipal Council. It was found out that the Bungoma Municipal Council is still a young authority which took over the running of the municipality in 1981. As a result, there exists a strong relationship between the two authorities. For instance, on matters of the town's provision of services, the County Council has the experience and so gives advice to the Municipal authority before the latter can discharge these duties. This is due to the fact that the Municipal Authority has taken over certain responsibilities which were as late as the early 80's being held by the County Council. Otherwise on strict administrative lines, the County Council is responsible only for areas outside of the Municipality.

Among the responsibilities of the Municipal Council are public health maintenance (refuse collection, inspection of butcheries and hotels, clearing of bushes and drains, et cetera), provision of social services, housing and water. However, the Council is presently not able to discharge most of these duties adequately owing to its raw age and therefore a limited financial pool. The success of this authority in improving and increasing its operation depends on liaison with the government, state-owned corporations and international financing agencies.

The growth and development of Bungoma town, will in future, therefore, depend on the financial ability and administrative strength of the Municipal Council. As a young organisation it is faced with the task of gathering enough funds for acquiring land, for example, from individual land-owners within the municipality. This has two major development planning implications. First, more land within the municipal boundary will be being transformed into trustland and therefore making it easier for productive developments to take place on such land at the discretion of the Municipal Council. Secondly, bringing more land under trust land would make it easy for the Municipal Council to police uncontrolled development. The town's planned development would be achieved in this way.

The upgrading of Bungoma town to Municipal status in 1981, and the consequent birth of the Bungoma Municipal Council has implications for the planned development of the town. The goal of any local authority is to achieve planned and controlled development. This is yet to be fully realised in Bungoma since a large section of the town is still unplanned.

COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

The study found that the economic base of the town has its origins in the 1950's when a number of retail shops rapidly emerged. This was noted in the previous chapter. Commerce also received a major boost with the location of the Nyanza marketing Board depot at the centre in the early 1950's. This is what became the National Cereals and Produce Board depot that exists there today. The study's finding was therefore that the present commercial and industrial base has its foundation on the early retail activities of the 1950's and the marketing activities at the local open air market and the marketing board depot.

At present the main commercial and industrial activities include the wholesale and retail trades, storage of collected agricultural products as at the National Cereals and Produce Board (Plate 4), hotel and accommodation (Plate 5), small industrial activities in timber work and furniture making and dairy processing (Plate 6) and the informal sector where activities such as cobbling, newspaper vending, drum making, water tank making, welding, photo kiosking hair-dressing, and sawing and knitting are very common.

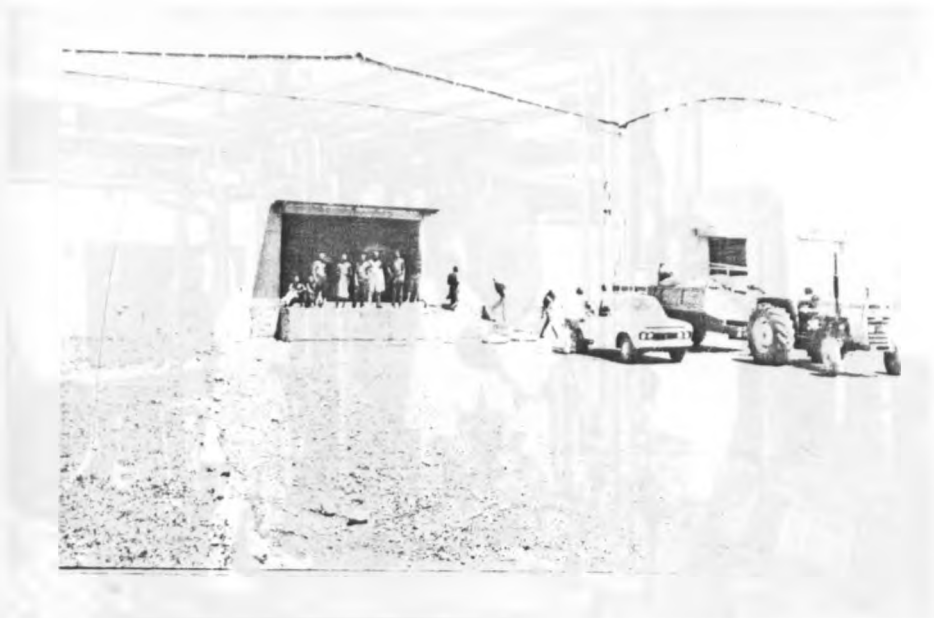


Plate 4: The National Cereals and Produce Board, Bungoma.

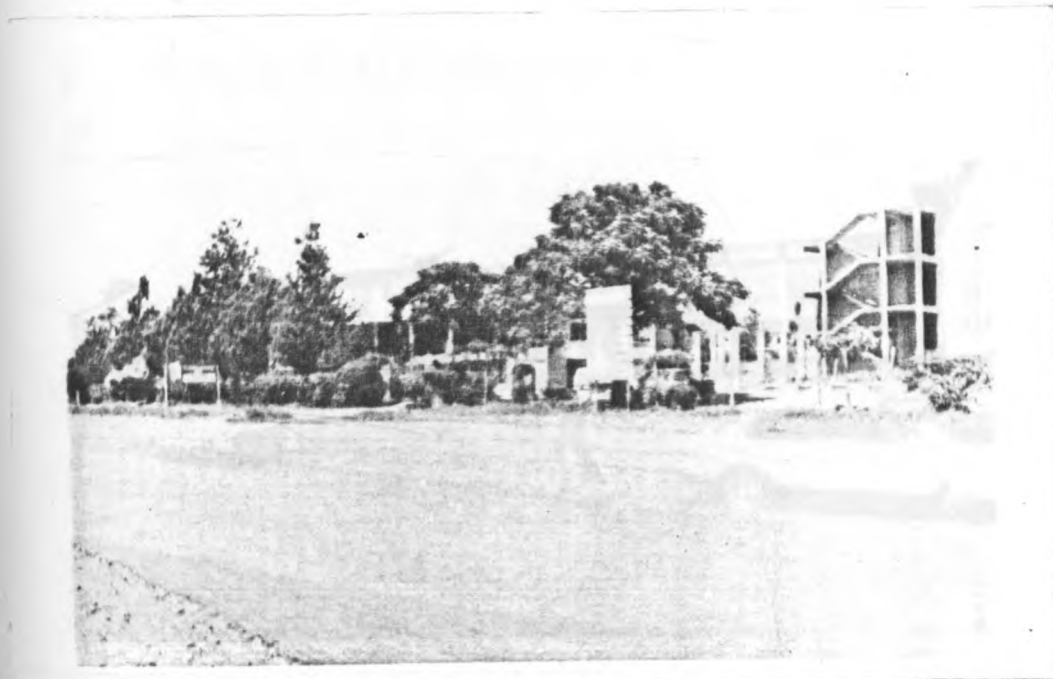


Plate 5: The Bungoma Tourist Hotel. Notice Expansion on the right.

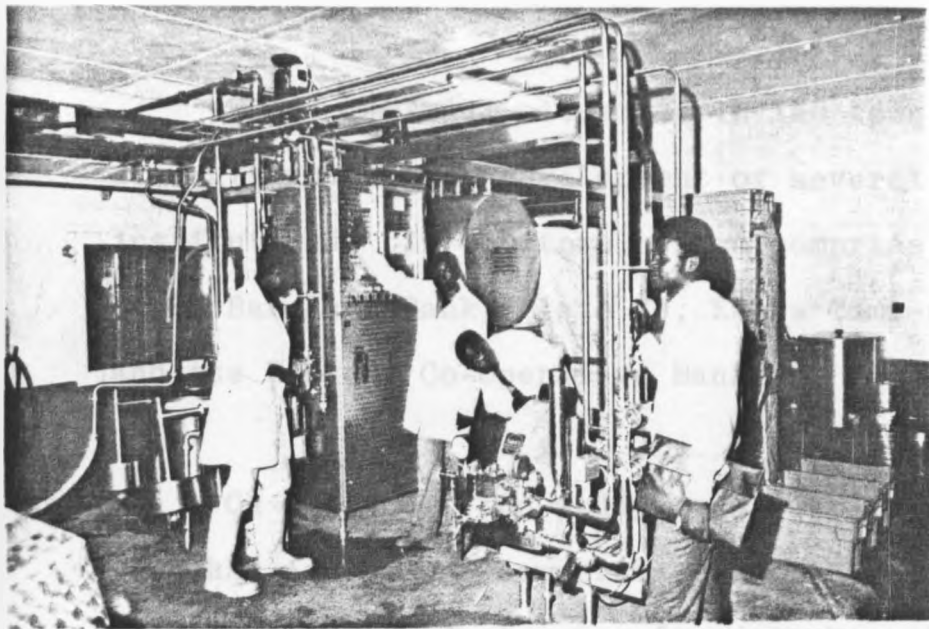


Plate 6: Inside the dairy factory at the town's Kitinda Co-operative Society Premises.



Plate 7: Part of the Banking facilities in the town.

The commercial situation in the town has been strengthened by the development of several financial institutions. In the town, these comprise the Standard Bank, Barclays Bank (Plate 7), Kenya Commercial Bank and the Bungoma Co-operative Bank.

On the whole the study found out that Bungoma town has a stronger commercial base than an industrial one. Only one industry was found to be well-established and showing signs of further future growth - the Kitinda dairy processing factory. What we are saying in effect is that unlike other towns within Western Province in general and Bungoma district in particular, Bungoma town lacks a strong industrial base. This owes much to the long period in which it has served largely as an administrative and service centre.

In order to ascertain the importance of the town in relation to the commercial and industrial activities, a comparative analysis with the other major towns, Webuye and Kakamega has been found useful.

Table 4:

Number of Establishments by Industry,
Province and Main towns, 1981

	Bungoma	Webuye	Kakamega
Agriculture and Forestry	-	-	4
Mining and quarrying	-	-	-
Manufacturing	11	8	13
Electricity and Water	2	1	5
Construction	2	-	6
Wholesale and retail trades, restaurants and hotels	46	16	37
Transport and Communications	3	3	3
Finance, Insurance, real estate and other business	7	1	10
Community, social and personal service	34	14	56
Total	105	43	134

Source: Employment and Earnings in the modern sector.
C.B.S. Reports, 1982.

From table 4 above, it is evident that Bungoma town, has the highest diversity of commercial establishment viz, retail and wholesale shops, posho milling, garages, restaurants, hotels and lodging and other related businesses. Close to its heels is Kakamega, which despite its superior administrative role to that

of Bungoma, has fewer commercial establishments (in the wholesale retail and hotel and restaurant trades). This kind of development can be explained by our earlier pointer of the central communication advantage Bungoma enjoys over the other two towns. Bungoma's role as a district headquarters, coupled with a fairly good linkage with its hinterland together seem to have attracted many commercial activities and as its functions expand (the growth of the Municipal Council and increase in the number of ministerial departments located in the town) there is created a concomitant increase in the number of activities. These in turn demand extra activities.

The retail and wholesale activities in Webuye town are indicated as low. This can be explained by the fact that until 1975, Webuye was a small rural centre with limited activities. It is after then that the operations of the Pan Paper Mills injected business thrusts into the town. These business developments are much more recent relative to those of the other two towns.

The figures on manufacturing leave one with the impression that Bungoma is more industrialised than, say, Webuye. It is important to point out clearly that much as Webuye has a giant paper processing system,

there seems to be a weak interrelationship between this industry and other establishments which could otherwise use some of the industry's by-products to manufacture their own products. The bond of contention here, therefore, is that other than the small manufacturing establishments found in the town using raw materials from another source, there are virtually no solid industrial establishments having a forward and backward linkage with the Pan African paper mills. It is against this background that Bungoma and Kakamega have more manufacturing establishments than Webuye, inspite of the fact that the latter is more industrialised.

Our findings prove that the number of activities found in a centre coincide with the importance of the centre in the pattern of the flow of commercial goods, since the higher the number of activities, the more the linkage with other centres and the hinterland. Bungoma has a large number of commercial activities and hence more linkage with the hinterland. This is in line with Taylor's¹ assertion that in rural areas a commercial function is a good indicator of economic performance of a centre since it shows centres which are visited more frequently. Our field survey on the purpose of trips to Bungoma town by passengers is as indicated in table 5.

From the table we again see the importance of Bungoma town as a commercial centre where collection and distribution of goods takes place. These field survey findings are in conformity with the role the town is playing as a major collector and distributor of goods. Goods from the hinterland reach the town as a collecting point and then get distributed to areas in need within the hinterland. Tavior's argument is significant when relating it to these figures in the sense that it is apparent that most people who make journeys to the town do so either to purchase goods for their business and for domestic consumption or to dispose off their commodities particularly at the municipal market.

Table 5:

Purpose of trip by passengers to Bungoma town

Purpose	Percentage
Purchase of business and household goods	34.0
Transshipment	31.0
Sale of goods on the market	20.0
Banking	7.0
Attend to place of employment	4.0
Attend to medical services at Hospital	3.0
Seeing relatives and friends	0.8

Source: Field survey data.

In the literature on small urban places and their role in regional development, Obudho and el Shakhs² assert that these urban places are important for the injection of innovations which can then be disseminated into the hinterland as new development impulses. This anticipates good social and economic linkages resulting into constant interaction between the centre and the hinterland. This study, therefore, has the contention that commercial and industrial goods flow is one of the channels which could be harnessed to ensure a spread of development thrusts and innovations.

The importance of Bungoma as a major commercial centre in the district can further be emphasised as illustrated below:

Table 6:

Distance (in km.) from Bungoma to Passengers' homes

Distance	No. of passengers
0 - 9	10
10 - 19	14
20 - 29	15
30 - 39	18
40 - 49	19
50+	24
Total	100

Source: Field survey analysis.

In the previous table (Table 5), we noted that the purposes of buying and selling of goods and transshipment predominate other purposes, having contributed 80 per cent of total sampled passenger population. In table 6 we learn that most passengers travel long distances to reach the town for services. In essence, the two tables (5 and 6) give an indication of the probable flow of goods to Bungoma town for sale and from the town to the hinterland for consumption.

Thus participation in commercial and industrial goods flow between centres and their hinterlands shows the importance of such centres within a region. In the case of Bungoma we may say it has relative importance within the context of Bungoma district and also has important commercial and industrial linkages with its hinterland.

POPULATION

Population in Bungoma was first enumerated in 1962 during the national population census process. Its population at this time was 1,589. In the next census in 1969, the population had increased to 4,401. This represented a growth rate of 14.5 per cent during the intercensal period using the exponential method. We noted previously that there

was an increase in population to 25,161 during the 1979 census - this representing a growth rate of 17.4 per cent. We therefore begin to see that Bungoma town's population has been steadily growing since 1962 when records of its population were first made. This rapidity in population growth can be explained by many factors. For instance, as noted earlier the centre was upgraded to an urban council in 1964. What followed was a major upshot in physical development with several retail shops and residential units coming up. We also noted in the previous chapter about the effect of the Government's Trade Licencing Act number 33 of 1967 which legalised the Africanisation of trade with the consequence that indigenous traders moved into Bungoma town to do business. The rapid rise of shops from 65 in 1965 to 90 in 1970 gives us some evidence of the influx of these businessmen. To the extent that in 1969 the town's population had increased to 4,401, we may argue that this increase in population partly owes to the rapid commercial expansion of the town during that period.

In the period after 1970 the study found that there was an even faster growth in population. This upsurge may be accounted to certain factors. In 1974, the town was upgraded from an urban to a town council.

At the same time commercial expansion was still on the run.. These developments culminated in a sharp rise in population in 1979 at the time of the national census. The increase in population from 4,401 in 1969 to the huge figure of 25,161 may not, however, be associated with the town's physical expansion alone. It was noted in the field that the town has also undergone a boundary expansion from the original 2 square kilometers in 1969 to 31 square kilometres in 1979. We may argue then that this boundary expansion has also affected Bungoma's population growth. This is in view of the fact that the new boundary brought into the town's jurisdiction adjoining agricultural areas thereby including a farming population which prior to the boundary expansion was exclusive.

Bungoma's population as at 1979 was as shown below:

Table 7:

Bungoma Town's population, 1979

Town	Male	Female	Total
Bungoma	12,727	12,434	25,161

Source: Kenya Population Census, 1979
Vol. 1.

The population of Bungoma in 1979 was therefore 25,161. Using the exponential formula

$P_n = P_0 e^{rn}$ with a constant value of e of 2,71828 the population of Bungoma in 1986 would be 69,660 taking it that

- P_n = the unknown population value (1986)
- P_0 = the population in 1979
- n = the period between 1979 and 1986 (7 years)
- r = population growth rate

We have made projections for Bungoma's population with a 7 year intercensal period using the low and the high growth rates of 14.55 and 17.43 respectively. The figure in the above analysis, 69,660 is one of the low growth rate. We found that the high growth rate gives the town a much higher population. These we considered unrealistic and if anything, exaggerated. It has been then necessary to adopt the Human Settlements Group growth rates. The Group under the umbrella of the Ministry of Lands and Settlements gave the town the low growth rate of 7.5 and a high one of 8.5 upto the year 2000 from 1969. Thus by 1986, the town's population was 38,370 and 40,132 respectively. Using these rates for further projections the town's population by the

year 2000 would be 89,233 and 98,095 respectively. These we considered fairly realistic.

Figures 2 and 3 below illustrate the growth of Bungoma town's population according to our projections using the growth rates of the human settlements Group. From these figures we learn that the town's population is growing steadily and is likely to have a lot of pressure on sources of employment, housing supply and health and public health services in the town. This has implications for the town's future development. Prospects for solutions to this population expansion will be: mainly in efforts by employers to create more employment opportunities, the development of diverse self-employment opportunities and the informal sector and lastly the ability of the Municipal Council and the Government to cope with the demand for social and community services such as schools, training and welfare institutions, water and electricity supply, sewerage systems and health services.

The demand for housing in the town is high especially among people of medium and high incomes. Planned council houses are fewer than 100 and there is only one small site and service scheme under the management of the Municipal Council with 30 housing units.

Scale: 1cm = 8000 population

Population '000

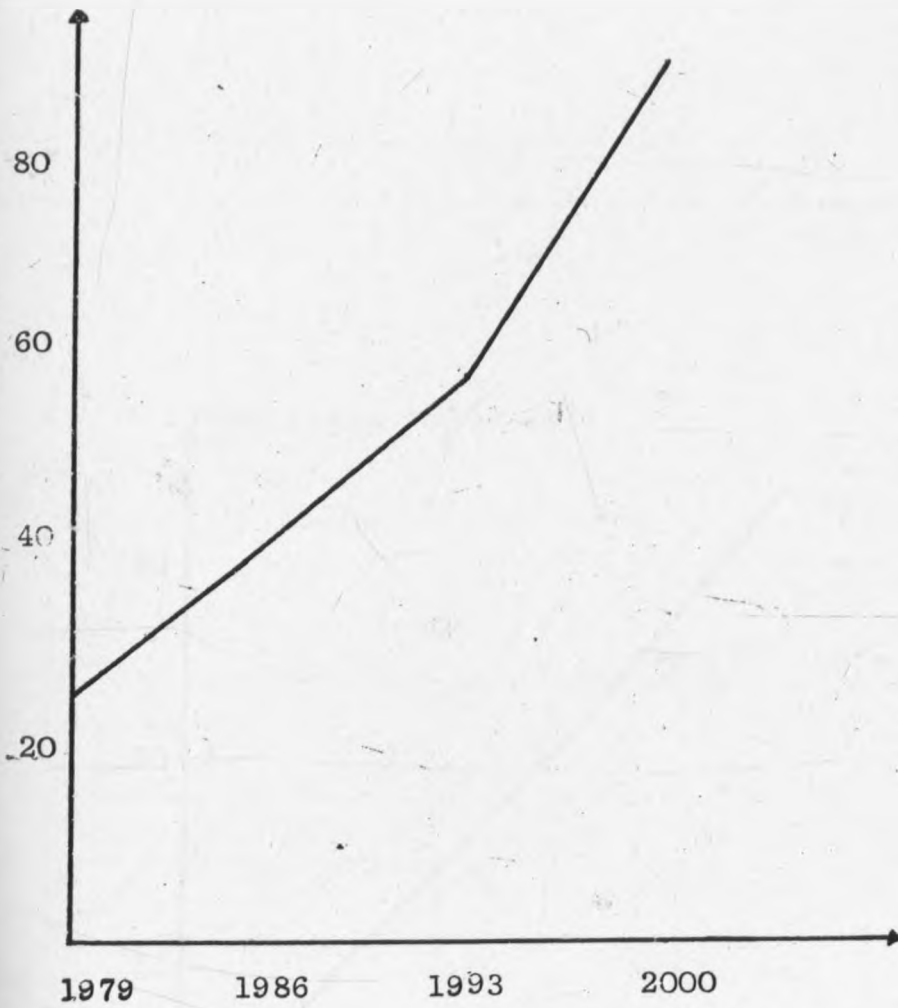


Fig. 2: Low Population Projection

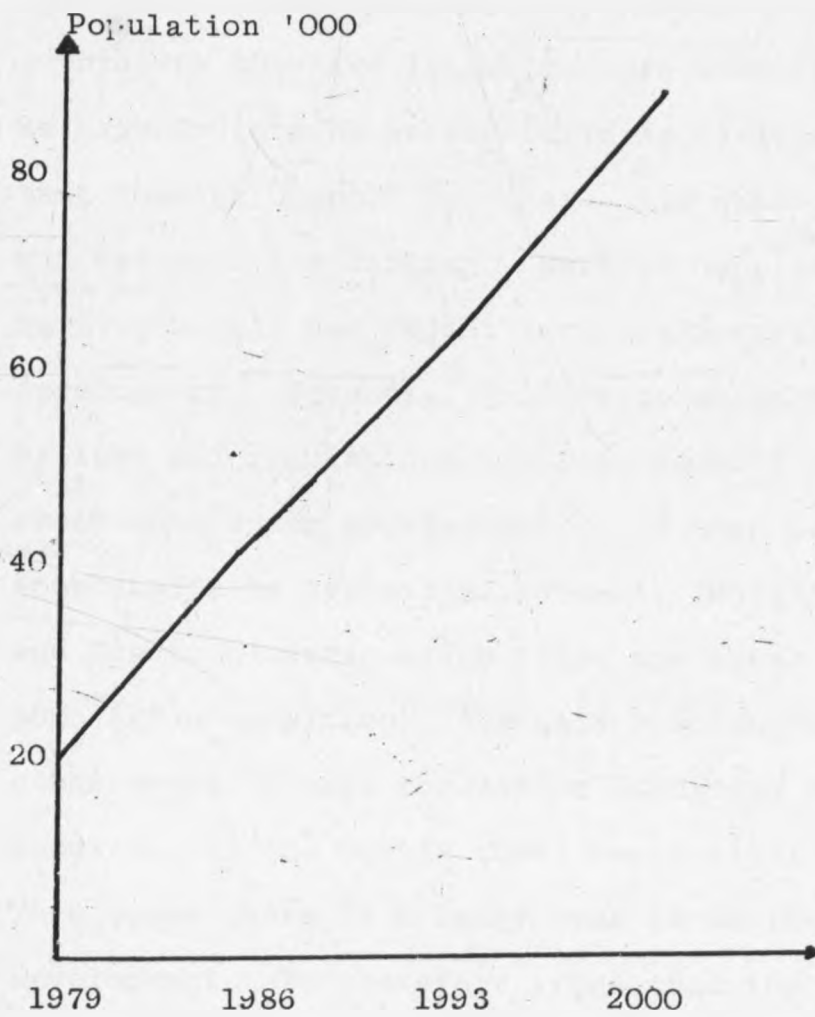


Fig. 3: High Population Projection

The scheme is yet to attain its planned capacity. The programme according to the Municipal Authority has been constrained by lack of funds. However the Municipal Authority is in the process of liaising with the National Housing Corporation (NHC) for an extension of the programme in order to cope with the increasing population and the consequent demand for housing in the town. Rapid population growth has affected housing conditions for the low income groups. Housing for these income category is provided by private developers who have failed to cope with the demand and so have in turn by-passed building by-laws to the extent that housing support services - tap water, electricity and sewerage are lacking. Estates such as Bondeni, Mufutu, Mupeli and 'Mjini' are characteristic of private development. Secondly, failure to abide by the building by-laws and regulations has seen some of these residential areas developing spontaneously. A high degree of spontaneity is typical of Bondeni, 'Mjini', Mashambani and Mandizini areas since these are areas of high population densities. The said residential areas plus other areas of high population densities constitute about 2/3 of the town's total residential land component. This means there is a large area of unplanned residential development. We therefore argue that the process of population growth in Bungoma town already has great

pressure on housing and the associated services, particularly for the low income groups and in effect the government, the local authority, housing finance organisations and private developers are faced with the task of making these conditions sufficient.

Population growth in the town also has implications for the supply of education and health facilities. At present there are ten primary schools but only two secondary schools. Going by the present population, the demand on secondary school services is already high, more or so when such schools have also to serve students from elsewhere. Health services continue to be provided by the Bungoma district hospital and private clinics in the town. The study found out that the existing services at the district hospital are, however, not sufficient and there is need for expansion. For instance when the hospital was built in 1953, the official bed capacity was 96 beds but the current capacity is 197 including the maternity wing (35 beds). This is due to the ever increasing admissions of patients to the existing wards. Shortfalls in the staffing situation at the hospital were also expressed. Above all these problems, there is one major problem identified during the study. This was lack of land for the hospital's expansion. The hospital is sandwiched by a highway to the west and a railway reserve to the east.

In this section we have analysed and projected population growth. We have also tried to assess the causes of its rapid growth and its implications on the supply of social and community facilities and services and employment creation. We have reached the conclusion that the growth and development of the service sector together with administrative factors (including municipal boundary expansion) have strongly influenced the growth of the town's population.

EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME

We learned from chapter two that Bungoma town is located within a fertile environment characterised by good soils, high rainfall and therefore a relatively intensive agricultural occupation. Coffee, sugar cane, maize and vegetables are grown widely owing to these good natural endowments. Statistical data on harvested quantities have not been collected since we felt that that was not strictly relevant for the present study. We also found out that the town is well placed in terms of transport and communications. The above factors combined have had a bearing on the employment opportunities available in the town. Bungoma town is privileged to be located favourably in an area with good accessibility and connectivity. This communication advantage has helped strengthen its economic/social activities and as a result, the town's

role in generating job opportunities for people within it and from the region is related to the service sector.

In our analysis of a previous aspect, commerce and industry, we found out that the service sector stands out prominently in terms of the number of establishments. In 1981, for instance, out of a total of 105 establishments, 87 were within the commercial and social service sector, these accounting for about 83 per cent. This analysis concurs with our field observation on the distribution of sample population in various income-generating employment opportunities in the town as shown below:

Table 8:

Sources of Household Income

Source	Number of respondents	Per cent
Paid employment	70	46.7
Business	44	29.3
Informal activities	24	16.0
Farming	7	4.7
*Others	5	3.3

Source: Field Survey analysis

* Includes casual work, aid from relatives and friends, etc.

From table 8, it is evident that paid employment remains an important source of income for the town residents. Within the context of this thesis, paid employment refers to the employee who is paid for the services he offers to his employer. The other sources of income shown in the table, except the last one, refers to self-employment income generating activities.

One of the findings of the study on employment in the town was that employment has been based on commercial activities in the market, the wholesale and retail shops, bars, hotels and restaurants, the Cereals and Produce Board, the County Council, the Municipal Council and income-generating urban ancillary activities. The other important employers are the government offices, financial institutions (mainly banks) and the schools and welfare institutions.

Table 9 below indicates the growth in employment by industry in the town since 1972, when the first statistics on this were compiled by the Central Bureau of Statistics. We noted in Chapter 3 about the increase in the number of commercial premises, from 45 shops in 1960 to 125 shops in 1975. We found out also that a relaxation of trading regulations enabled more indigeneous traders to move into Bungoma town and engage in business, especially after independence.

Table 9:

Growth of Employment By Industry, Bungoma

Sector	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1979	1980	1981
Agriculture and Forestry	47	30	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mining and Quarrying	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Manufacturing	16	33	7	5	2	17	27	21
Electricity and Water	4	11	-	38	1	-	-	5
Construction	21	30	11	1	-	33	47	10
Wholesale and retail trade, restaurants etc.	110	102	202	239	363	429	433	497
Transport and Communication	39	50	56	23	35	39	45	50
Finance, Insurance real estate and business service	47	93	86	79	72	94	97	98
Community, Social and personal service	69	136	168	197	223	276	985	1,120
Total	353	485	530	582	696	988	1,634	1,801

Source: Employment and Earnings in the modern sector, Central Bureau of Statistics Surveys, 1982.

When analysing population, we noted that there was a sharp increase in the town's population after 1969, from 4,401 to 25,161 in 1979. In our discussion we have learned that the service sector is the main employer and main generator of income for the town in view of the large number of establishments in the sector relative to those in other sectors. In Table 9, we note that the growth of employment in the wholesale and retail trades, restaurants and hotels has been fairly steady. The same is the case in the community, social and personal service sub-sector. Employment in finance, insurance and other business services, and transport and communications has also been growing. On the whole it can be seen that total wage employment in Bungoma rose steadily from 353 operatives to 1,801 in 1981. This rise can be associated with the expansion of the commercial and social service sector, the ancillary activities and the general rise in the population.

Having looked at the distribution of wage employment, we examine the growth of earnings from these sectors as shown in Table 10 below. It can be seen from the table that out of the total earnings in 1972 of Kf99,100 the three sectors - wholesale and retail trade and restaurants, finance and other related

Table 10:

Growth of Earnings by Industry - Bungoma Town (K£,000)

Sector	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1979	1980	1981
Agriculture and Forestry	10.0	1.5	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mining and quarrying	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Manufacturing	0.8	3.3	0.8	0.3	0.2	2.2	2.3	2.8
Electricity and water	2.6	0.8	-	16.5	-	-	-	10.9
Construction	4.4	1.2	56.0	-	-	10.9	16.7	14.1
Wholesale and retail trade, restaurants, etc	20.8	16.1	48.7	50.7	131.8	205.8	339.7	390.4
Transport and Communications	8.5	12.9	14.2	69.0	13.9	30.2	35.7	42.6
Finance Insurance real estate and other business service	28.4	41.4	56.0	50.5	54.9	94.6	133.0	134.5
Community, social & other Pers.service	23.6	65.6	32.0	62.1	43.2	138.9	219.5	273.9
Total	99.1	142.8	157.3	249.1	244.1	482.6	746.9	869.2

Source: Employment and Earnings in the Modern Sector, C.B.S. 1982.

activities, and the community social and other personal services, together accounted for 73.5 per cent of these earnings (about K£ 72,800). Whatsoever, an examination of the growth of earnings over the years given gives an indication of the superior positions the aforementioned sectors command over the other sectors in the town.

To make our analysis more objective and realistic, we make a comparative assessment of wage employment and earnings' pattern between Bungoma town and other major towns in the region,

Table 11 shows that in terms of manufacturing, Webuye is leading the other towns. We, however, learn from the table that Bungoma town contributed 55.5 per cent of the total wage employment in the three towns in the wholesale and retail trade and restaurants. This further emphasises the importance of commerce in Bungoma town. The community, social and other services' sector is yet another area of comparison. In this activity, Bungoma is second to Kakamega in wage employment. The latter has a higher number because of its status as the Province's principal town. An examination of transportation also gives Bungoma a more or less equally commanding position to that of Kakamega. Webuye trails in both cases although it stands out with a superior figure in industrial employment.

Table 11:

Comparative Employment By Industry, 1981

Western Province	Agriculture and forestry	Mining and quarrying	Manufacturing	Electricity and water	Construction	Wholesale retail/restaurants	Transport and communication	Finance Insurance and others	Community Social and other Services	Total
Bungoma	-	-	21	5	10	497	50	98	1,120	1,801
Webuye	-	-	1,397	14	-	118	36	1	105	1,671
Kakamega	24	-	227	120	577	280	52	151	2,949	4,380
Total	24	-	1,645	139	587	895	138	250	4,174	7,852

Source : C.B.S, Surveys, Employment and Earnings, 1982.

Table 12

Comparative Earnings by Industry, 1981 (K£,000)

Western Province	Agriculture and forestry	Mining and quarrying	Manufacturing	Electricity and water	Construction	Wholesale retail/restaurants	Transport and communication	Finance Insurance and others	Community Social and other Services	Total
Bungoma	-	-	2.8	10.9	14.1	390.4	42.6	134.5	273.9	869.2
Webuye	-	-	1355.2	4.6	-	64.3	41.1	1.9	52.9	1520.2
Kakamega	16.4	-	56.3	135.7	278.7	145.8	28.5	116.2	2905.3	3683.4
Total	16.4	-	1414.8	151.2	292.8	600.5	112.2	252.6	3232.1	6072.6

Source : C.B.S, Surveys, Employment and Earnings, 1982.

There is a corresponding relationship of the above analysis with the earnings as shown in Table 12. Webuye again leads in the earnings from manufacturing due to the presence of the giant Pan African Paper Mills. For the other sectors, other than manufacturing, the comparison is between Bungoma and Kakamega. For instance, of the total earnings from wholesale and retail trade, Bungoma accounted for 65 per cent, Kakamega, 24.3 per cent and Webuye a mere 10.7 per cent.-

We may deduce from the foregoing analysis of employment and earnings from the various sectors that certain influences have been cardinal in their- growth. Of particular importance have been commerce, social services and administration.

TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION

Bungoma town has a post office which provides both postal and telephone exchange services. Recently there has been constructed a building for housing Subscriber Trunk Dialling (STD) facilities (Plate 8).

The town is served by a major international road passing through it at Kanduyi. The bituminisation of this road has attracted developments in the area which is now gradually linking with the old town. The Mumias

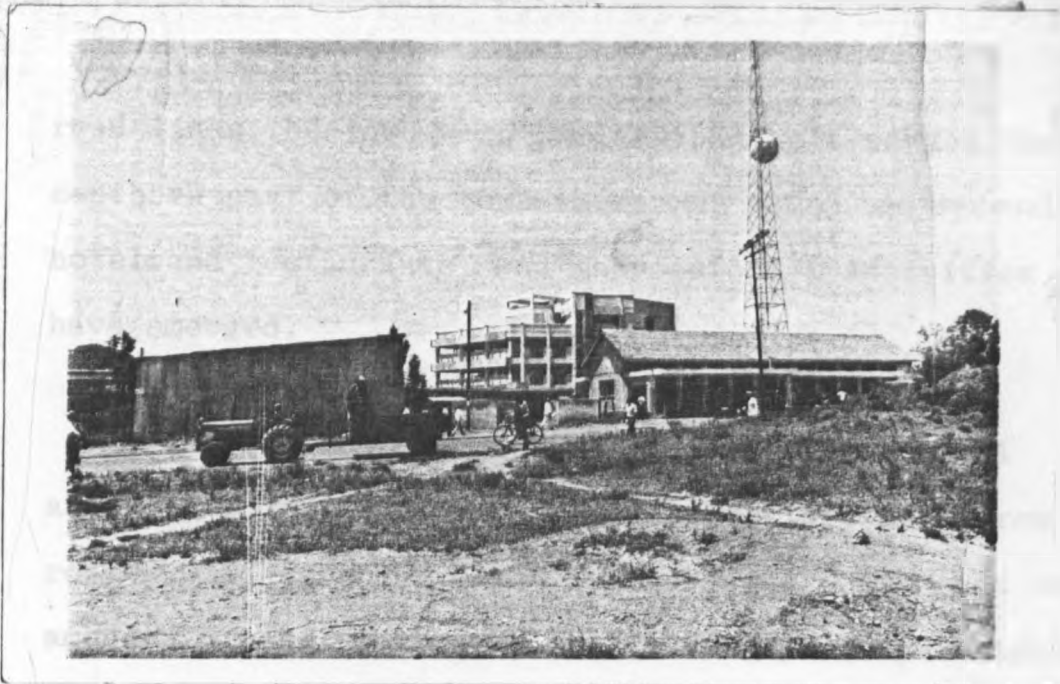


Plate 8: Bungoma Post Office.



Plate 9: The 'Matatu' side of the Bungoma Bus Park.

road links the town with Mumias town. It serves the southern part of the town where many retail and wholesale shops, hotels and restaurants, and many informal activities have emerged.

Internal circulation within most residential areas is poor. It is mainly characterised by narrow routes which are not meant for vehicles (cars) and so amount to mere foot paths, particularly among residential areas for low income groups. The network in the Milimani area housing the middle income and high income groups is relatively better. There are fairly wide roads which are occasionally murramed.

The Central Business District is served by a 19 metre road reserve containing the Moi Street.

The study also found that the town has a fairly well organised parking system with separate facilities for both the small passenger and large passenger vehicles (Plate 9 and 10). Parking space is, however, becoming limited since more vehicles have joined the operation. The town is also served by a railway line (Plate 12) which we saw as the earliest means of transport for the area. It can be seen that the railway serves an important transport function - the ferrying of goods from the stores at the Cereals Board and the Kenya Planters Cooperative Union.



Plate 10; Parking Area for large passenger vehicles.



Plate 11: A passenger train at the Railway Station, Bungoma.



Plate 12: The railway line lies just behind the Cereals Board

Air transport in the town is limited to the small airstrip beyond the police station and is mainly used by light aircraft on urgent medical or administrative missions.

Traffic flow data collected over a long period of time helps identify the growth of vehicular traffic and see whether it relates to the growth of the town. The intention in this part of the analysis is to show that part of Bungoma town's role in the region is its position as an important transport junction. The historical traffic flow data contained in the tables 13 to 15 is intended to show the growth and distribution of traffic with the growth of Bungoma town. The results of the data collected at three cordon points are as presented in these tables.

Table 13:

Traffic flow: Webuye - Bungoma

Year	Cars	Light goods	Medium goods	Heavy goods	Buses	Total
1970	170	90	56	12	31	359
1972	155	150	186	35	37	563
1974	185	172	76	41	43	517
1976	190	265	114	145	61	775
1978	304	414	119	26	22	885
1982	119	426	111	176	18	853
1984	155	475	114	70	27	841

Source: Ministry of Transport and Communications, Planning Section, 1986

Table 13 contains the figures of a survey carried out at Cordon point 5 on the A104 road at the Kanduyi junction. Total traffic flow has increased over time as seen in the table. This owes much to the bituminization of the international trunk road (A 104). Secondly, the importance of Bungoma town as a district administrative seat has meant that certain services which cannot be available in Webuye have to be obtained at Bungoma. Furthermore, residents of the surrounding areas in the direction of Webuye have to come for services at the district hospital in Bungoma town. In the final analysis, until recently, most people from the neighbourhood of Webuye have been coming for banking services at Bungoma. These observations, among

other reasons, explain the increase in total vehicular traffic passing to the town through this cordon point.

Table: 14

Traffic Flow: Malaba - Bungoma

Year	Cars	Light goods	Medium goods	Heavy goods	Buses	Total
1970	193	108	60	11	44	416
1971	70	32	15	34	10	161
1972	89	46	41	40	13	229
1973	64	63	40	24	17	215
1974	93	74	48	41	30	286
1975	95	101	55	34	23	301
1976	73	139	44	55	25	336
1977	133	308	67	90	20	618
1978	119	294	85	90	16	604
1979	113	258	82	117	10	580
1980	133	207	54	100	9	503
1981	135	240	183	213	62	833
1982	66	165	45	116	6	398
1983	55	170	48	137	11	421
1984	67	239	69	90	7	472
1985	102	260	107	169	15	653

Source: Planning Section, Ministry of Transport and Communications, 1986.

Table 14 shows results of a traffic survey carried out at cordon point 4. The table indicates a sharp increase in total flow of traffic between 1976 and 1977. This rapid increase within only 1 year can be explained by coffee 'boom' across the Kenya-Uganda border at that time. But we still see from the table a fairly high level of traffic flow in later years. This owes to the growing commercial activities, more so with the enlargement of the Municipal market. Interviews carried out on stall keepers within the market revealed that about 68 per cent of these businessmen purchased their stall goods from Malaba and its surrounding areas. It may be argued that the importance of Bungoma as a transport centre and its relatively better commercial base have had an influence on vehicular traffic flow to the town at this junction.

Table 15 (below) comprises results of a survey at Cordon point 9. The rise in total volumetric flow from 202 vehicles in 1970 to 672 vehicles in 1984, representing about 233 per cent increase can probably be explained by sugar production at Mumias. It has been mentioned before that Bungoma is the transshipment point for the Mumias sugar. Indeed the column of heavy goods vehicles shows a sharp rise from a mere 9 vehicles in 1974 to 80 in 1976. It is the study's

contention that this has a relationship with the marketing of the sugar from the Mumias sugar mills.

Table 15:

Traffic Flow: Mumias - Bungoma

Year	Cars	Light goods	Medium goods	Heavy goods	Buses	Total
1970	57	103	20	0	22	202
1971	63	77	16	0	30	186
1972	60	109	44	0	22	235
1974	59	86	42	9	40	236
1976	64	234	95	80	62	535
1978	157	333	123	99	35	747
1980	84	423	86	55	60	708
1982	58	280	83	56	51	528
1984	71	364	91	102	44	672

Source: Planning Section, Ministry of Transport and Communications, 1986.

LAND USE

During our survey we found out that residential development has taken up the largest share of total land currently under urban development. Table 16 gives a summary of the land uses as they are currently found. The data given is in approximate hectares.

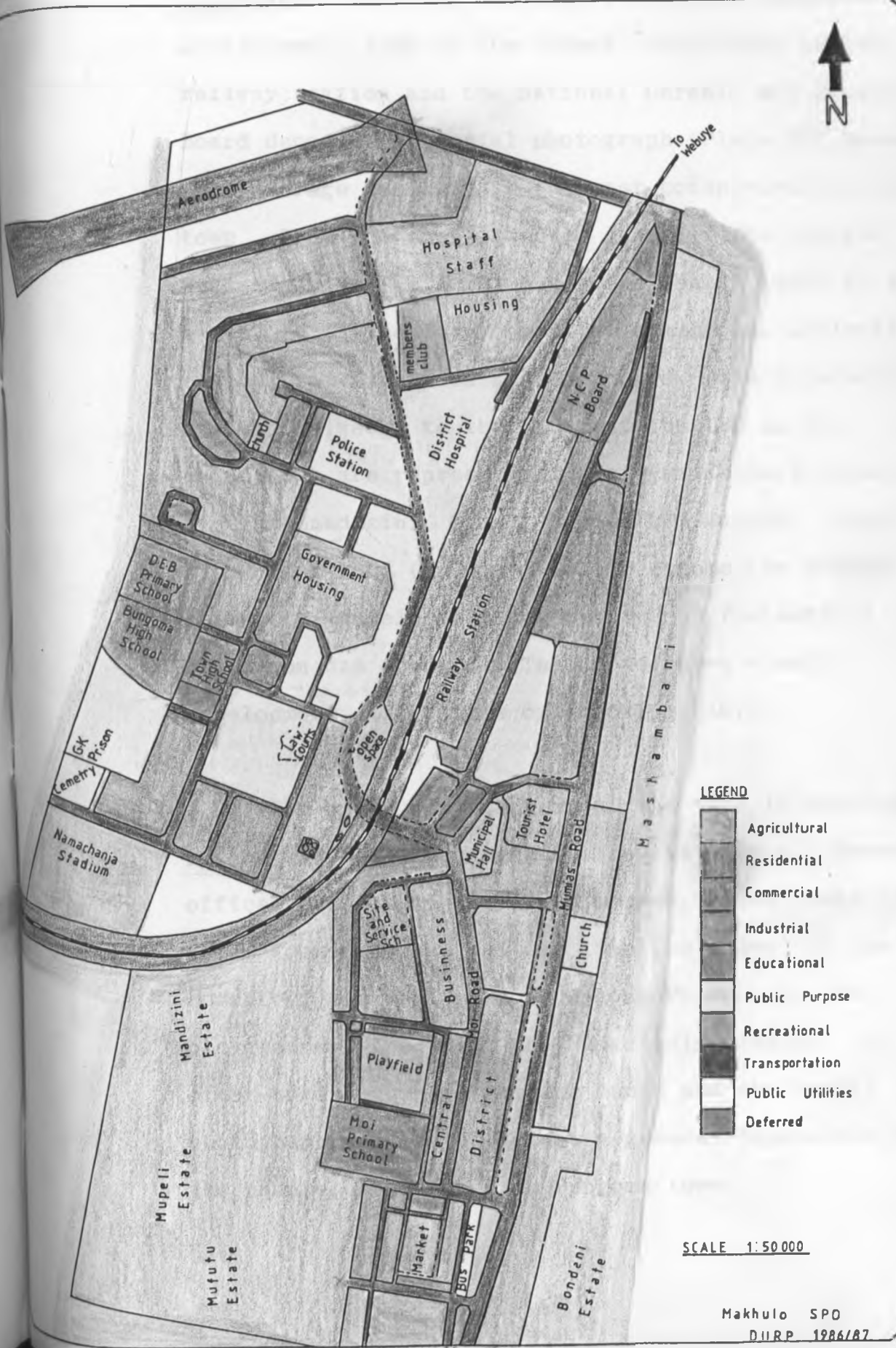
Table 16;

Current Land-use Distribution











Land-use	Approximate hectarage by 1986
Commercial	82
Residential	165
Industrial	13
Recreational	15
Education	22
Public purpose	18
Transportation	15
Public utilities	65
Deferred	93
Agricultural	275
Total	763

Source : Municipal Council Records and
Field work.

According to Table 16, agriculture is the main land user within the municipality. It has a factor of about 36 per cent of the total municipal land. This owes to the fact that only 5 square kilometres of the Municipal is trustland, the rest constituting freehold land. The commercial facilities are another important land user constituting about 11 per cent of the total land use, Map 6 gives a spatial impression of the existing land-use types in the town.



LEGEND

-  Agricultural
-  Residential
-  Commercial
-  Industrial
-  Educational
-  Public Purpose
-  Recreational
-  Transportation
-  Public Utilities
-  Deferred

SCALE 1:50 000

Makhulo SPD
DIIRP 1986/87

Map 6 : Land Use [Existing]

When examining the town's point of origin of development, some of the oldest structures include the railway station and the National Cereals and Produce Board depot. The aerial photograph (Plate 13) shows this storage facility as the most conspicuous in the town. From the photograph we see that the Central Business District (CBD) has established itself to the south. With the development of commercial activities, residential expansion also occurred. The innumerable structures seen to the north of the CBD in the photograph are representative of residential areas such as Mandizini, Mjini, Mupeli and Mufutu. South of the Mumias road (in light colour across the photograph), commercial development accompanied by residential expansion has occurred. The photo shows scanty development at the time of shooting (1974).

The north western part of the town is dominated by low and medium density residential areas. Government offices are also found in this area. Also found in this area looped by the railway line (as shown) is the cemetery, the G.K. prison, secondary schools and playgrounds, including the Namachanja stadium. In other words, when we compare Map 6 and the aerial photograph (plate 13) we get a general impression of the nature of land-use in Bungoma town.



Plate 13: Bungoma Town in the late 1970's.

Details of Plate 13

1. The Central Business District - C.B.D.
2. The Bungoma Tourist Hotel
3. The National Cereals and Produce Board Dept.
4. The Bungoma Post Office
5. The Railway Station
6. The District Hospital
7. Hospital Staff Housing Area
8. Kanduyi Centre
9. The Airstrip
10. The Police Station
11. The Bungoma District Headquarters and Civil Servants' Housing Area. (Low and Medium Density Residential Area).
12. Playground (formerly a cricket club ground).
13. Moi Primary School (formerly the Commonwealth Primary School).
14. The Bondeni - Mashambani Residential Axis.
15. Musikoma Village
16. High Density Area (Mufutu, 'Mjini,' Mupeli, Mandizini etc.).
17. G.K. Prison, Bungoma
18. Bungoma High and Bungoma Town High Schools
19. Bungoma D.E.B. Primary School.

As far as land use is concerned in Bungoma town, the problem is not one of scarcity of land due to high population densities. This is because with boundary extension, more agricultural land has been incorporated into the municipal jurisdiction. On the other hand, we have noted in our analysis that there is still some amount of deferred land which can be transformed into development when the need arises. The problem seems to have more to do with the acquisition of freehold land within the municipality from the individual land owners. We pointed out in our discussion in the early part of the Chapter about the financial constraints the Municipal authority faces with respect to land acquisition. A large land-bank has positive implications for urban development planning in that with sufficient land, the municipality can lease it out or just sell it out to developers for desirable developments. It can also be in a better position to control development. Limited trustland is therefore a development problem in the town.

Summary:

In this Chapter we have attempted to analyse at length the main influences on the town's growth and development. We have also where possible identified development problems. In our analysis of commerce and

industry, it was revealed that the commercial and social service sectors are more developed than other sectors, with their large number of establishments. A comparative analysis of Bungoma town with other major towns in the region on the said aspect revealed the relative importance of Bungoma in the service sector over the other towns, Webuye and Kakamega. This has come a long way to underscore the influence of commercial and social factors in the town's development. The analysis of population has revealed that the growth of commerce and related ancillary activities, the growth and development of administration and the expansion of the town's boundary together have affected population growth to the extent that in post-independence times the growth has been rapid, particularly after 1970.

In our analysis on employment and income, we have learned that the commercial and social service sector (including administration offices) are major sources of income and major employers. A study of the growth of employment found this to be true for the town. Transport and communication was found to be well-developed in and around the town. Traffic flow analysis revealed a steady growth of vehicular flow to the town, owing the major role the town plays as a commercial and administrative centre. All these findings lead us to the conclusion that commerce and administration are the main factors which have influenced the growth of Bungoma town.

REFERENCES

- 1 Taylor, D.R.F. Development of Central Places
in Coast Province, Kenya.
Department of Geography, Carleton,
University of Canada.

2. Obudho, R.A, and El-Shakhs, S. (Edits).
Urbanization National Development
and Regional Planning in Africa
Praeger, New York, 1974.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE TOWN'S POSSIBLE DEVELOPMENT PROSPECTS

INTRODUCTION:

Upto this extent we have noted several points about Bungoma town. First and foremost, the town has experienced rapid post-independence development due to the siting and development of government services and offices at the centre. Secondly, it has also been noted that Bungoma town is a major collecting and distribution centre for commercial products in the district and that its relatively central position in Western Province and its well developed connectivity together put it in a better position for future commercial development.

Thirdly, Bungoma has been found to play an increasing role in terms of services provided to other towns; currently it handles the railway transportation services for sugar from the Mumias Sugar Mills. Finally, the assumption has been that administration, railway services, storage and small scale retail and large wholesale activities are the main functions on which Bungoma was founded and operates on todate. It is against these premises that we examine the future development prospects of the town.

Industry:

At present Bungoma town lacks a strong industrial base. Unlike urban centres such as Webuye and Mumias which enjoy the services of giant paper and sugar mills respectively, Bungoma only has small industrial activities which have been characteristic of it for a long time. These comprise posho mills, light motor repairing, furniture works, dressmaking and tailoring, among many other light industrial activities.

In the most recent times, the dairy industry has developed. In December, 1985, a co-operative dairy factory, Kitinda, was opened for processing and marketing milk. Cheese and ghee are also extracted. The opening of the factory has been the product of the efforts of dairily farmers in Bungoma district - over a long period of time. It is the brainchild of the Kitinda Co-operative Society which was started in 1957. The factory processes milk from member suppliers all over the district. Tongaren division, one of the district's leading dairy producers is a major supplier. One of the society's future plans is to request the Ministry of Agriculture to intensify the lending of soft loans to farmers so they can increase production. If this is done successfully, the industry would be assured of a reliable dairy supply

and this would come along way in developing the dairy processing industry in the town.

The town is favourably located in a rich arable area with maize ranking high as both a food and cash crop. Other cash crops include coffee, cotton, sunflower, tobacco and sugar cane. There is a tobacco leaf collecting centre at Malakisi, an important rural centre about 20 kilometres from the town. It is operated by British American Tobacco Company (BAT). We highlighted this in Chapter Two. There is a sugar factory at Nzoia, another site about 20 kilometres away. The giant Pan Paper Mills located at Webuye, about 25 kilometres away is another major industrial site in the district. The Mumias Sugar Factory, though in another district is not far away, only a 25 minutes drive. Despite being juxtaposed by the preambled industrial axis, Bungoma town is slowly beginning to gain its share of the region's industrial activities in agricultural products. This owes to the long established National Cereals and Produce Board depot located within the town. Currently, a Japanese Company is involved in an expansion programme for the construction of silos. Its main objective is to solve the spatial storage problem existing there at the moment. The facilities are also to be fitted with a

computer system for data processing of the stored produce. This huge expansion programme may be considered as a major step in the direction of maize milling in future. Indeed of the district's priorities for the current development plan (1984/88), the construction of a maize milling factory in the town has been given top consideration.

Following the completion of the Kenya Industrial Estates sheds in the town entrepreneurs have identified several lines of light industrial activities including furniture and general works, engineering, manufacture of office equipment, saw milling, processing of hides and skins, processing of fruit and horticultural products, et - cetera.. Already in operation include the Arrow Furniture and General Works, Namaindi Garments who specialise in school uniform and all outwear making, and the Rafiki Garage works. We may therefore conclude that depending on the successful operation of the KIE Programmes, the aforementioned developments are an indication of the town's future in small industrial activities.

Commerce:

One of our main findings in the study has been that Bungoma town is the main distribution centre for most consumer goods and services in the district. For a long time it has had a fairly strong commercial base with a well-developed retail and wholesale infrastructure. We have also identified in the town a good banking system comprising four banks. Recently modern marketing and distribution systems have been extended to the town. The Kenya Co-operative Creameries depot, situated along the Mumias road is one of the newly established commercial facilities. Opened up in 1985, it engages in selling K.C.C. products - milk, butter, cheese and ghee. These products are distributed to many parts of Bungoma, Kakamega and Busia districts. Given the presence of this facility, the town's future distribution role in dairy products has been made certain.

Another facility in the town is the Kenya National Trading Corporation (KNTC) depot which is a sales representative for various industries in the country. The products sold at the depot to wholesalers, who subsequently, dispose of the goods to the consumer, include sugar, cement, salt, iron sheets,

barbed wire, toilet rolls and fertilizers; the list is long. Sugar is marketed here from Mumias and Nzoia, salt from Kensalt (Mombasa) while cement comes from Bamburi (Mombasa) and Athi River. The depot serves mainly Bungoma district. It also has a few agents from the neighbouring districts; Kakamega and Busia. The availability of such a facility within the town, therefore, has set a pace for the town's importance in the distribution of industrial products in future, this strengthening its future commercial base.

There is also a new depot for the distribution of Kenya Breweries' products. The agent, Andimi distributors, serves the entire district of Bungoma by obtaining the products from the main depot at Kakamega. Other commercial organisations include the Bungoma Farmers Co-operative Union, the Kenya Grain Growers Co-operative Union, the National Cereals and Produce Board and the Kenya Planters Co-operative Union. What we are saying in effect is that going by the number of commercial premises identified and the marketing functions they perform, it is evident that Bungoma's commercial base, especially in collection and distribution of both industrial and agricultural products, has a bright future.

Transport And Communication

In our study we have identified Bungoma town's central location along various communication lines. Some of the current and immediate future plans in this sector may see the town even growing further. The Bungoma Municipal Council has already proposed to move the airstrip from the town to a new 16 hectare site at Siritanyi and to improve it with the ultimate objective of having it form part of the expanded regular scheduled flight services. This programme is likely to enable a continuous physical development between the old town and Kanduyi. The present airstrip is an impediment in this direction. The airstrip transfer programme will also link Bungoma with other towns of the country by air more easily.

More bus companies have opened up booking offices within the town. These include the Alliance Bus Services, Mbukinya, Egwena and Trans-Kenya. This is an indication of the town's future as an important transport centre.

On the other hand there is a national proposal to extend the railway line from Butere to Bungoma through Mumias. This extension is primarily for

transportation of sugar and other produce. It is also intended to reduce the heavy wear and tear of the existing roads by large tractors and trucks. This programme has development implications for Bungoma's future transshipment role of Mumia's sugar. It is likely that part of the sugar may be transported through Butere in future.

Lastly, the construction of Subscriber Trunk Dialling (STD) facilities in the town has given the Posts and Telecommunication system a boost. These facilities, though not yet operational, have placed the town at a future advantage of an automatic telephone exchange with the rest of the world.

Social and Community Services:

The Bungoma district hospital has for a long time had its initial capacity far exceeded. It is now overutilized and faces problems of lack of buildings for the out patient department, maternity wing, operation theatre, and lack of land for expansion. Health care, as it were, is very essential. In the town, this would be an area of future expansion and improvement to cope with the ever increasing number of patients.

Todate there is neither a vocational training centre nor a technical institution in the town. The need for a village polytechnic within the town is long overdue and so this stands out as one of the town's immediate future developments.

Tourism:

With the gradual interest of the Central Government in the development of tourism in Western Kenya in general and Western Province, in particular, Bungoma is likely to benefit from the industry in view of its good hotel facilities at present. An expansion programme which is partly financed by the Kenya Tourist Development Corporation (KTDC) is set to make the Bungoma Tourist Hotel bigger and better. The hotel which currently has 36 beds will, on completion of the expansion have 130 beds - including three VIP suites, a 250 - sitter conference-hall and a swimming pool among other facilities of tourist standards.¹

Furthermore the Mt. Elgon National Park is not far away, neither is the Broderick Falls nor the Sangalo Rock. Bungoma's location at the hub of communication may be seen as a stepping stone towards the development of Bungoma in future as a viewing spot or atleast a starting point for mountain viewing.

REFERENCES

1. The Standard, Thursday, December 18, 1986
p. 17.

CHAPTER SIX

PLANNING IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In view of the findings of the study and the discussion, several planning implications for the town's future growth and development are examined within the framework of a set of policy recommendations.

Bungoma town has been found to have limited public health services, and more particularly sanitation. The conditions are poor. Lack of sewerage treatment works and only one sewer lagoon for the entire town has negative future sanitary implications more so when the sewer line being used currently is already obsolete and overutilised. Garbage collection is also limited and the machinery for providing this service is inefficient. This has implications for the town's future aesthetic qualities. Uncollected garbage has gradually attracted crows to the town and if the conditions are not improved the town may soon be invaded by these birds which are an indicator of untidiness. Serious consideration for aspects of public health is therefore due.

The town lacks any form of training facilities be it in the area of vocational training in industry and agriculture or in the area of technical training

at village polytechnic or institute of technology level. The town's population growth rate is high and paid employment opportunities cannot be created in a day. It is therefore urgent that a technical training centre be set up within the town to offer various courses geared towards income - generating self-employment opportunities.

Bungoma town is also likely to have problems of secondary school education. With only two secondary schools (one being private), but with a rapidly growing population, atleast another secondary school is required. Our projections indicated a current resident population of about 40,000. The town planning requirements in this country are that for every 25,000 population, one secondary school of 1-4 streams is required. The town todate can only confidently rely on the only senior government secondary school there. The private one, being operated by an Asian on Commercial lines may not be necessarily counted upon as a reliable future asset for the town's demand for education. The Municipal Authority should therefore liaise with the government, particularly the Ministry of Education to look into considerations for another secondary school. Secondary schools also serve student

populations from elsewhere. This makes future planning implications for secondary school education in the town clear.

The area of recreation is also one of concern. Within Bungoma town, recreation seems to be limited to drinking in bars and restaurants and dancing sprees in night clubs. There is no cinema hall and cinema shows are organised on open grounds. Indoor games are only available at the members' club (former Elgon Club). Popular games such as golf, cricket, hockey and basket-ball are unheard of owing to the lack of facilities. Apart from the Kanduyi and Namachanja stadiums, nothing else is mentioned about recreation facilities in the town. On the contrary, there are large tracts of deferred land within the town. The Municipal Council should therefore consider developing some of these areas into recreation grounds.

There is need for enhancement of general growth of the town's economy. It should be the responsibility of the Municipal Council to ensure that their terms and conditions of administration are not to the disfavour of potential investors. The recommendation has a basis on the fact that the town has good potential

in maize - milling and dairy processing. The Council should therefore try to acquire more land and provide relaxed conditions to would - be investors so as to promote the town's agro-based industries. Such an atmosphere would also enhance the commercial base.

Surface water drainage should also be improved. Currently, storm water is a nuisance along the roads during the rains. Drainage channel currently in use should be constantly cleared and new ones added to solve the problem. The same should apply to commercial and residential areas. Thus proper maintenance of storm water drains should be ensured, mainly by bush clearing along drainage channels. The wear and tear of the town's streets during the rains if not avoided would soon make road repair and maintenance a very expensive affair. The authority should therefore adopt a prudent step to regularise the network of surface drainage to avoid undesired consequences.

The supply of electricity is also limited in the town since more than half the town is either in complete or semi-darkness. Incidents of burglary and criminal attacks are not uncommon. The Municipal Authority should, in consequence, coordinate with the

Ministry of Energy and the Kenya Power and Lighting Company to reach a positive solution to this problem.

Finally, the study has recognised spontaneity in some residential areas. This has implications for the town's aesthetic beauty. Road circulation network in residential areas should be improved. Land acquisition by compensation should be attempted to bring more land within the authority's scope of planning. Unplanned development should be judiciously controlled through regulation of plot sub-division. Above all, the current land use plan will soon be obsolete since it is now about 15 years old. Many physical changes have taken place. It is therefore necessary to update the plan to reflect the current land-use situation.

Proposals:

Many recommendations have been made above for future consideration if the town's development has to be guided towards the right direction. However, the following proposals have been given priority on the basis of their severity and urgency.

Sewerage

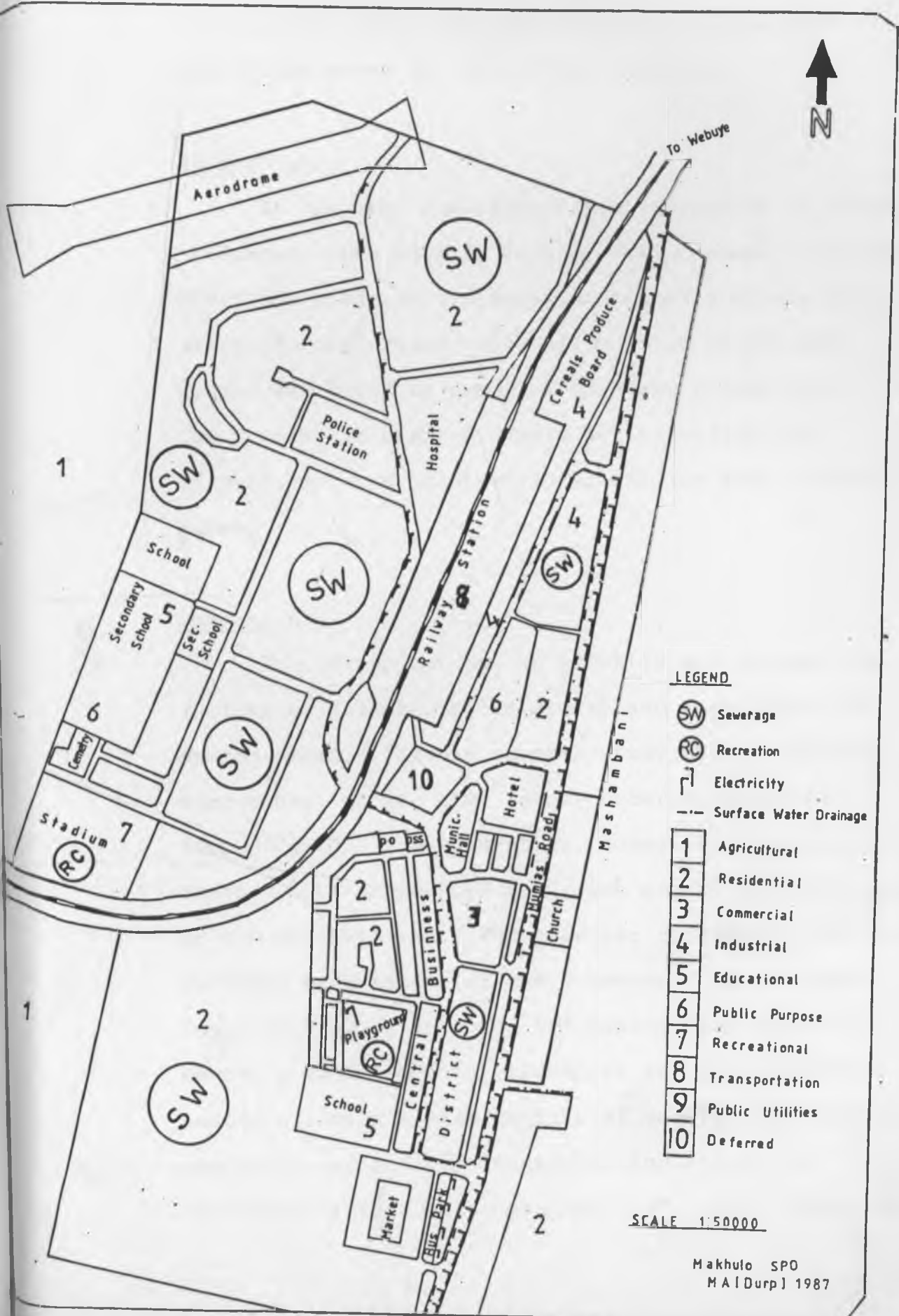
The sewerage problem in the town is an urgent and crucial one in view of the presently poor and near - obsolete facilities serving a town with a population of not less than 40,000. What is required is a new sewerage system. Priority should be given to the government housing area and the neighbourhood which is characterised by schools, government and County Council Offices, medical and welfare institutions and the police station. The Central Business District (CBD) should also be linked to the network since it is the town's economic stronghold with a large active population.

Surface Water Drainage:

This is a severe and urgent problem in the town and causes discomfort to both motorists and pedestrians once it has rained heavily. Priority should be given to the Moi Street which divides the CBD into two parts and the entire strip along Mumias Road. The populous Mufutu, Mandizini, Bondeni and Mjini estates should also be areas of consideration.

Electricity

Power supply should be improved particularly in the CBD. The bus terminus should be provided with enough lighting since it becomes a dark spot at night,



LEGEND

- Sewerage
- Recreation
- Electricity
- Surface Water Drainage

- 1** Agricultural
- 2** Residential
- 3** Commercial
- 4** Industrial
- 5** Educational
- 6** Public Purpose
- 7** Recreational
- 8** Transportation
- 9** Public Utilities
- 10** Deferred

SCALE 1:50000

Makhulo SPO
MA [Durp] 1987

MAP 7: PHYSICAL PROPOSALS

this perhaps explaining the nuisance of food remains and litter every day around the facility.

Recreation:

It has been highlighted how recreation is limited in Bungoma town to only bear drinking sprees. Priority should be given to the construction of a cinema hall at the former cricket club pitch which is now bare ground and which is used for open-air cinema shows. The Namachanja Stadium should be revived and offered improved stadium facilities for more outdoor games.

Summary:

This study set out to identify and analyse the factors so salient in the growth and development of Bungoma town. Through several study methodological approaches, it has come to our understanding that communication, administration, commercial and social factors have influenced the town's growth and development to the present time. But peculiar to Bungoma are two factors, administration and commerce. It has been found that owing to these influences, the town has become a major regional transport and administrative centre offering a wide variety of services including wholesale and retail, industrial and commercial commodity distribution, medical care, small industrial

services and informal services. Specific development potentials have been identified and policy recommendations and priorities discussed.

What is required now is a comprehensive planning approach to cope with the town's growth. Furthermore, the town's population growth characteristics are a manifestation of the need for a more comprehensive planning policy.

Areas for further research:

This exercise was executed within a limited time. In consequence, the housing situation in Bungoma town was not studied in detail. However, it was found that most available housing units in the town were more expedient to the demands of the low income groups. Future research should focus on the housing need and demand for all the income groups since the situation is now exacting.

The town's medical services continue to be provided by the district hospital and private clinics. This study noted that the services offered at the hospital are insufficient. There is need for the hospital's expansion but while this is so, there is no space within the vicinity. Future research work should assess possibilities of a trans-location of the hospital to a spacious site within the town.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alela, J.E.N. Road transport networks as a means towards economic development: A case study of Kakamega District, Western Kenya. M.A. Thesis, U.O.N. 1976.
- Amunga, M.O.H. A study of the interdependence and development potentials of the main towns in Western Province. M.A. Thesis, U.O.N. 1977.
- Andrew, W.A. A guide to Urban Studies Prentice-Hall Canada Ltd., 1976.
- Beaujeu-Garnier, J. and Chabot, G. Urban Geography: An English Translation. Longman Group Ltd., London, 1963.
- Berry, B.J.L. A Geography of market centres and retail distribution. Prentice-Hall inc. 1967.
- Costello, V.F.M. Urbanisation in the Middle East. Cambridge University Press, 1977.
- El, Shakhs, S. and Obudho, R. (eds.) Urbanisation, National Development and Regional Planning in Africa Praeger Publishers, New York, 1974.
- Friedmann, J. and Alonso, W. (eds.): Regional Development Planning A Reader, The M.I.T. Press Cambridge - Massachussets, 1964.
- Funnel, D.C. Role of small service centres in Regional and Rural Development with special reference to East Africa in Development Planning and Spatial Structure Edited by Gilbert, A., John Wiley and Sons, London 1976.

- Hall, P. Urban and Regional Planning
New York, 1971.
- Hance, W.A. Population Migration and
Urbanisation in Africa, New
York Columbia University Press,
1970.
- Hansen, N.M. Growth Centres in Regional
Economic Development, New York,
1972.
- Hauser, P.M. and
Schnore, L.F. (eds.) The Study of Urbanisation
Wiley and Sons, New York 1965.
- Mabogunje, A.L. Urbanisation in Nigeria
University of London Press Ltd.,
1968.
- Ibiá. The Development Process: A
Spatial Perspective. Hutchison
and Company Ltd. 197.
- Madunga, J.K. The role of roads in rural and
regional development in East
Africa: Case studies in Kenya
and Uganda. M.A. Thesis U.O.N.
1975.
- Munoko, G.N. The Emergence of rural service
centres as growth centres:
a case study of growth centres in
Bungoma District. M.A. Thesis
U.O.N. 1975.
- Obudho, R.A. Urbanisation and Regional Planning
in Western Kenya. Paper
presented at the Fifteenth
meeting of African Studies
Association: Philadelphia,
November 1972.

- Oram, N. Towns in Africa. Oxford University Press, London 1965.
- Republic of Kenya: Human Settlements in Kenya: A strategy for rural and urban development. Physical Planning Department, 1978.
- Ibid Kenya National Development Plan 1974-78, 1979-83, 1984-88 Government Printer, Nairobi.
- Ibid Bungoma District Development Plan 1984-88. Ministry of Finance and Planning, Nairobi.
- Rondinelli, D.A. Urban and Regional Development Planning Policy and Administration. Cornell University Press, London, 1970.
- REPORTS:
- Raanan, W. Urbanisation and Developing Countries: A report on the 6th Rehovot Conference, Israel, Praeger Publishers, New York, 1971.
- Republic of Kenya Employment and Earnings in the modern sector, Central Bureau of Statistics, 1982.
- Ibid Kenya Population Census 1962, 1969 and 1979 Vols. 1 Central Bureau of Statistics, Nairobi.
- Ibid Traffic Surveys: Ministry of Transport and Communication, Planning Section, Nairobi, 1986.
- Municipal Council of Bungoma Annual Report, 1985.

4. Sources of household income:

Business ----- Paid Employment -----

Others (specify) -----

5. Place of employment:

a) Public offices and other Government work places

(specify) -----

b) Commercial and retail sector -----

c) The informal sector -----

d) Others (specify) -----

6. Transportation problems faced by respondent:

a) To place of employment -----

b) For general transit out of town -----

7. Original home of respondent:

a) Within the town area -----

b) Outside the town area but within Kanduyi

Division -----

c) Outside the division but within Bungoma District

d) Outside Bungoma District (Specify) -----

8. Any other information on the town's living conditions

APPENDIX II: PASSENGER'S QUESTIONNAIRE

Interview number ----- Interview date -----

1. State: Origin ----- Destination -----

2. Home of the respondent (Location)

a) Within the town -----

b) Outside the town but within Kanduyi Division

c) Outside the division but within Bungoma District

d) Outside Bungoma District (specify) -----

3. How far the respondent's home is from the town
(in approx. kilometres):

0 - 5 km. -----

6 - 10 km. -----

11 - 15 km. -----

16 - 20 km. -----

21 - 25 km. -----

25+ -----

4. Means of transport to the town:

a) Walking ----- (b) By Bicycle -----

c) Bus ----- (d) Taxi -----

e) 'Matatu' ----- (f) Others (specify) -----

5. a) Which of the means in (4) above is most convenient: -----

- b) Reason(s) -----

6. Purpose of passenger's trip to the town (specify)
- a) Purchase of business and household goods -----

- b) On transit -----
- c) Sale of goods on the market -----
- d) Banking -----
- e) Attend place of Employment -----
- f) Attend medical services at hospital -----
- g) Seeing relatives and friends -----
7. Reasons for preference of Bungoma town to other towns (centres) for service requirements as stated in (6) above -----

8. Transport problems faced when travelling to the town -----

9. Any other information -----

