EFFECTS OF SMALLHOLDER TEA PRODUCTION IN KENYA: THE CASE OF BOMET COUNTY, 1954–2002

BY

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DECLARATION
This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university

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DEDICATION

Dedicated to my dear husband, son and daughters for their encouragement and love during the time of writing this thesis.
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GLOSSARY

**Imbaret ab soi**
Plot located outside the home on lower lands

**Ipinda includes, Korongoro, Maina, Chuma, Sawe,**
**Kaplelach, Kipnyige, Nyonyi**

**Kanzu**
Age-set

**Isakek**
Swahili cotton cloth

**Kapingui**
Spider plant

**Kenut**
Kitchen garden

**Kipande**
Wooden Mortar

**Kipketinik**
Identity card

**Kokwet**
Alcoholic drink made from honey

**Kanzu**
Swahili cotton cloth

**Kapingui**
Kitchen garden

**Kenut**
Wooden Mortar

**Kipande**
Identity card

**Kipketinik**
Alcoholic drink made from honey

**Kokwet**
Village

**Meskenek**
Christian Converts

**Mborochek**
Amaranthus hybridus

**Mongirito**
Tea hawking

**Mursik**
Cultured milk

**Orkoiyot/Laibon**
politico-religious leader

**Piat ab tuga**
Cattle pen/kraal

**Rupet ap Kimout vigiret**
Famine during which any braying
of donkey was sought for food.

**Rupetap Kimata/kimatauur**
Famine during which people cast away proper
conduct behaviour.

**Rupet ap Moko**
Famine of Cassava

**Rupet ap Kimauito**
Famine during which hides and skins were never
dried but eaten by people.

**Sochek (soiyot)**
Sotanum nigrum (night shade
vegetable)

**Temet/Temenik**
Several homesteads close together

**Tuberet**
Condition of heavy rainfall and
Cloudiness.

**Tulwop Kiupsigis/tulwop tumwekk-**
The hill of the Kipsigis where circumcision was done
OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

**Smallholder farms** - small farm units in which labour and enterprise come from within the farm household.

**Plantation** – large scale farms of one crop involving labour intensive agricultural operations

**Devolution** - Transfer or delegation of power to a lower level, especially by central government to local or regional administration.
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

**BEADOC**- British East Africa Disabled Officers corps

**CBS**- Central Bureau of Statistics

**CDA** - Central Development Agency

**CDC** –Commonwealth Development Corporation

**CPDA** - Christian Partners Development Agency

**EIA**-Environmental Impact Assessment

**GDP**-Gross Domestic Product

**IBEAC**- Imperial British East Africa Company

**IMF** - International Monetary Fund

**KTDA**-Kenya Tea Development Agency/Kenya Tea Development Authority

**KNBS** - Kenya National Bureau of Statistics

**LNCs**- Local Native Councils

**MOA**- Ministry of Agriculture

**NGO** - Non-Governmental Organization

**PAO** - Provincial Agricultural Officer

**SAPs**- Structural Adjustment Programmes

**SCDA** - Special Crops Development Authority

**SOMO** - Stitching Onderzoek Multinationale Ondernemingen, (Centre for Research on Multinationals)

**SFT**- Settlement Fund Trustees
TBA - Tea Board Agency

TBK - Tea Board of Kenya

TRFK - Tea Research Foundation of Kenya

UN - United Nations

UNEP - United Nations Environment Programme
ABSTRACT

Tea is grown in estates mostly owned by multinational companies and smallholder tea producers. This study investigated smallholder tea production and its effects in Konoin, Bomet County in the period 1954 - 2002. The objectives of the study were: To investigate the factors that led to the introduction of tea growing in Konoin, Bomet County; To analyse the effects of smallholder tea production on food crop production and to examine the role of KTDA on the expansion of Smallholder tea production in Konoin, Bomet County from 1954 to 2002. The study was informed by two theories: The Dependency theory and The Articulation of Modes of Production theory. Purposive sampling technique was used to identify the informants with vital information. These included the people who witnessed the introduction of tea growing in Konoin Bomet County. The research tools for the study were interview schedule and observation schedule. Data was collected from farmers, and those practicing tea related activities sampled from the study area. Data analysis entailed corroboration of secondary data with primary data. Finally, data was presented qualitatively. The study established that smallholder tea production impacted adversely on food production as too much land was put under cash crops production. This, therefore made people to rely on the market for purchase of food hence their living standards was compromised. KTDA was also found to have had a positive impact in the development and expansion of smallholder tea production in Konoin, Bomet County.
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

The industrial revolution in Europe gave rise to the need for raw materials leading to an expansion in cash crop production overseas. Some of the most important cash crops that were grown in plantations in different parts of the world were, cotton, coffee, sugarcane, sisal, tea, rubber, among others (Rodney, 1972). The imposition of colonialism in Africa found in place an existing African agriculture which was pre-capitalist in the sense that the bulk of production was for subsistence rather than for market (Brett, 2003). Colonial administrators viewed agricultural developments in Africa as the development of various cash crops which was linked to ideas of modernisation and monetization (ibid).

Africans were not allowed to grow cash crops so as to provide labour to European estates and to protect European settlers from competition (Talbott, 1992). Europeans also alleged that peasant production of tea was uneconomical as large scale quantities of tea were needed for economic factory processing (Carlsen, 1980). However, it was in the mid 1950s that Africans were allowed to grow tea.

In Kenya, many studies have been done on tea production by scholars such as Korir (1976), Njogu (2002), Githinji (2003), Odhiambo (2004), Kabura (2005) and Kiprop (1991). Many of these studies have focused on the problems facing the Kenyan smallholders. Most of these studies have not discussed smallholder tea production in Bomet County and its effects. In these studies, the introduction, the expansion development of smallholder tea and how it has impacted on food production have not been adequately researched.
It is important to understand smallholder tea production and its performance over time. This is because tea is a major cash crop grown in Kenya. Kenyan tea is also one of the top foreign exchange earners alongside tourism, horticulture and Kenyan coffee. The smallholders produce 60 percent of the total tea while 40 percent is produced by the multinational tea estates (SOMO, 2007). This is important since Kenya’s population requires enough food and at the same time relies on foreign exchange from tea for export.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Little attempt has been made to provide a systematic discussion on the effects of smallholder tea production on food crop production. Save for Korir’s study (1976), generally there are scanty historical studies on the subject although smallholder tea production is a significant economic activity in Kenya. Tea production has had far reaching consequences on the lives of farmers in Bomet County. This study therefore attempted to address the gap of knowledge on smallholder tea production and its effects in Bomet County. This study adopted a historical approach to examine the development of smallholder tea production and how it has affected food crop production.

This study on smallholder tea production focused on Bomet County. It aimed at examining the development of smallholder tea production by the Kipsigis of Bomet from colonial period to post independence period. It concentrated on the effects of smallholder tea production on food crop production. Moreover, the role of KTDA in the development of smallholder tea production is examined.
1.3 Research Questions

This study was guided by the following research questions;

1. What factors led to the development of tea growing in Bomet County up to 1953?
2. In which ways did tea growing affect food crop production in Bomet County from 1954 – 1964?
3. What role did KTDA play in the expansion of smallholder tea production in Bomet County from 1964-2002?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The study sought to:

1. To investigate the factors that led to the introduction of tea growing in Bomet County up to 1953.
2. To analyze the effect of tea growing on food crop production in Bomet County from 1954 -1963
3. To examine the role of KTDA on the expansion of Smallholder tea production in Bomet County from 1964-2002.

1.5 Research Assumptions

The study was guided by the following research assumptions:

1. The white settlers contributed to the development of tea production in Konoin, Bomet County up to 1953

3. KTDA contributed to expansion of smallholder tea production in Konoin, Bomet County from 1964-2002

1.6 Justification and Significance of the Study

Smallholder tea producers contribute 60 per cent of the total tea produced in Kenya while plantations produce 40 per cent (Mwaura et al, 2005). The smallholder tea production plays an important role as the economy’s main anchor (TBK, 2005). In 1995, the tea sector employed over 3 million Kenyans in direct tea farming, manufacturing, and marketing and indirectly in retail outlets and transportation (Cheruiyot, 1995). The tea sector together with other sectors of marketing, warehousing, booking and packaging of tea is estimated to maintain directly or indirectly about four million Kenyans (ibid). Therefore the findings of the study could be useful as they could enlighten Kenyans on the effects of tea production, particularly on smallholder tea farming which contributes more than 60 per cent of the tea production in Kenya (Mwaura et al, 2005).

The findings of the study could also have both theoretical and practical implications on the future of the tea industry in this country and the production of food crops. It could also aid the formulation of policies by the Government and the agencies that deal with tea production and food crop production. The research findings could be used to address issues of food insecurity that has become an emerging issue in the country. The study will also benefit a wide range of scholars and teachers who are interested in agricultural studies. Moreover, most of the goals of the country’s vision 2030 can only be achieved if people are food secure.
1.7 Scope and limitations of the Study

The study focused on smallholder tea production. The smallholder tea producers in Kenya produce most of the tea in the Country (Nyangito, 2001). This study focused on smallholder tea production in Konoin, Bomet County and not on tea plantations in the area. Konoin is one of the Sub-Counties of Bomet County and is the major tea producing zones in the County. Plantations that border the area of study are owned by multinational companies like Finlays, Unilever, and George Williamson. However, the Multinational companies made a lot of contribution in terms of the development of transport. Konoin was one of the pioneer areas in Kenya to have a pilot scheme on tea to determine the possibility of African farmer’s involvement in the tea sector (KNA/DC/KER/1/30/1930). This therefore made the area suitable for the study.

The study covered the period between 1954 and 2002. Retrospectively, the research had to consider the coming of settlers and the introduction of tea plantations to form the basis for the study. The time frame (1954-2002) was significant in relation with tea production in Konoin, Bomet County. This period gave an ample time frame within which to historically investigate how tea production has expanded. Moreover the Swynnerton plan of 1954 marked the beginning of a process that allowed African peasant to own land and practice cash crop economy (Leys, 1994). The Swynnerton plan proposed that smallholder tea growing be started under a pilot scheme in Kimulot which is in Konoin, Bomet County (KNA/AGR/KSM/1954). From 1964 to the year 2000 smallholders were licensed to grow tea by Kenya Tea Development Authority as an authority (Swainson, 1980; KTDA, 1972, 1975). Liberalisation brought a lot of changes in the tea industry. It was during this time that Kenya Tea Development Authority became a commercial management agency called the Kenya Tea
Development Agency (KTDA, 1998). The year 2002 was deemed appropriate time to end the study. This was the year when President Daniel Toroitich Arap Moi handed over power as he went on retirement.

The researcher faced many challenges during fieldwork. Most informants were not willing to disclose some information such as the size of their land and even the size of the land under tea. To overcome this problem, the researcher was forced to always get the company of contact persons who were well known in the area. The other problem was that most informants did not wish to disclose how they used the income from tea. To overcome this problem, the researcher used research assistants from the area to convince the people that the information would not be used against them in whatever way. In some homes, the men could not give time to their wives to be interviewed because according to culture they are the heads of the family. Despite the challenges, the researcher was able to collect adequate information with the research assistants who helped the informants to allay their fears. There was also the challenge of weather. Konoin receives a lot of rainfall. The researcher had to conduct interviews early in the morning in order to avoid the rainy afternoons.

1.8 Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

1.8.1 Introduction

The literature on tea production is quite substantial although much work has largely focused on tea plantations. The sub sections of the literature review have examined studies thematically examining the expansion of smallholder tea production, its effects on food production and the contribution of KTDA in the expansion of smallholder tea production.
Works done in different parts of Africa and Kenya which were found to be important to this study were also reviewed.

1.8.2 The origins and development of tea production in Bomet

Matheson and Bovill (1950) conducted an historical study on tea production in Uganda. They argued that tea was introduced in Uganda from India in 1900, but for quite some time it was restricted to plantations. There was a belief that it was only economical at this scale and that the quality would be low if it was grown by smallholders. Plantations aimed at avoiding competition with smallholder growers and thus ensuring that labour was available to plantations all the time. It was the collapse in prices of 1920 which crippled the plantation agriculture and emphasized the already emerging dominance of peasant production in the economy of Uganda. The Government officers were anxious to initiate cash crops so that taxes could be paid. The study described the history of tea in Uganda from plantations to smallholder production. This research focused on smallholder tea production and its effects in Konoin, Bomet County in Kenya.

Korir (1976) studied tea plantation economy historically in Kericho District from 1925 to 1960. He noted that multinational tea companies undertook the production of tea in the district until the Swynnerton Plan of 1954 gave proposals for the Kipsigis to be permitted to grow tea on smallholdings in Kimulot which is one of the Divisions of Konoin, Bomet County. A pilot scheme was started in 1957 which marked the start of smallholder tea production in the area. The ideas in Korir’s study were found to be important for this research. He, however, focused on land alienation in Kimulot and not on the progress of smallholder tea production by the
Kipsigis after a pilot scheme was carried out in 1957. This study focused on smallholder tea production in Konoin from 1957 after the pilot scheme to 2000.

Maxon (1992) studied small scale and large scale agriculture and the establishment of colonial economy and noted that smallholder production in Kenya experienced a dramatic expansion. He attributed this to many factors which had been laid before independence. He asserted that the agricultural reforms introduced as a result of the Swynnerton Plan of 1954 continued and expanded after independence. Maxon cited the construction of “tea roads” as a factor that promoted smallholder tea production. This was an historical study that examined the factors that promoted smallholder tea production. The effects were not discussed adequately which became the focus in this study in Konoin, Bomet County.

Wambui (1995) in her economics study examined smallholder tea leaf transportation in Kiambu District. She argued that before mid-1950, tea was entirely produced on estates nearly all of which were owned by private companies in Kiambu District. The smallholder production of tea was not encouraged prior to the 1960’s. There was scepticism about smallholder tea cultivation on technical and economic grounds such that large and extensive plantations dominated production. It was assumed that smallholders’ entry into the industry would result in production of poor leaf with consequent deterioration in the quality of tea to be marketed leading to loss of reputation on Kenyan tea. Wambui’s study was done in Kiambu District whereas this study was done in Konoin, Bomet County.

Githinji (2003) conducted an economic study on the factors affecting production of tea in Othaya Division of Nyeri District. She observed that high plucking cost compared to tea
prices reduced the profit margin of the smallholders in Othaya in Nyeri. This made the farmer to rely on family labour, hence low tea harvest because family labour was not adequate to harvest all tea. The distance to the factory had an effect on tea yields as it forced the farmers to stop picking their tea so as to make it to the buying centre earlier because of the poor state of the roads and in order to catch up with transport. Githinji further observed that these farmers in the process lost the time that could be spent doing other farming activities. She explained that the most common problem among the farmers was that of financial constrains due to poor payments. The quality of tea is determined by plucking, processing and packaging. The quality attainment is tailored to capture the world market and the value attained from sales of tea would be reflected back to the smallholder in terms of payment. Land was also cited as a factor that hindered farmers from adding more tea on the land because of the high population. Githinji’s study was done in Othaya and it focused on factors affecting smallholder tea production however, this study focused on smallholder tea production and its effects on food crop production and household differentiation in Konoin, Bomet County.

1.8.3 Effect of smallholder tea production on food crop production

Ogot and Ochieng (1995) historical study observed that Post independent Africa kept increasing its cash crop production to earn foreign exchange. Transport, infrastructure and technical assistance have been directed towards reviving cash crops. As Africa has invested more heavily on cash crops, per capital food production has declined. They noted that even during drought, some African countries managed to increase their total harvest of cash crop. The reasons given include the value of cash crops as compared to other crops. This value is in terms of money earned through the sale of these crops. Ogot and Ochieng studied cash crops
generally and the attention that has been given. This research however focused on smallholder tea production in Konoin and how it has impacted on food crop production and standards of living.

Isaacman (1996) studied cotton production in Portuguese Mozambique and argued that just like in East and Central Africa, colonial planners in Mozambique initially assumed that cotton had to be a white man’s crop. There was a general agreement that plantations worked by Africans under the immediate supervision by Europeans would yield the highest returns. Since expanded crop production was the primary objective, there was a strong tendency to entice rural population to take up cotton cultivation. The efforts of the Portuguese to transform African farming practices were perhaps misguided especially with the ban on intercropping cotton with household food crops. Their main aim was to protect cotton from competing with other crops. The peasants had every reason to be distrustful because of the low yields and artificially depressed prices which left most of the households economically impoverished. Isaacman’s study, further demonstrates that cotton made Africans in Mozambique poor as it demanded a great deal in terms of inputs and offered little in return. Cotton production therefore led to food shortages hence poverty. Isaacman researched on cotton in Uganda while this research focused on smallholder tea in Konoin, Bomet County.

Njogu (2002) conducted a scientific study on household food security and nutritional status of children in tea and non-tea producing households in Kirinyaga district and observed that tea payments were usually made monthly and annual bonus given at the end of the year. Tea production on small land holdings did not yield high levels of income as large holdings would do. Tea producing households gave first priority to the purchase of food when they received
their money. The reason why food was given the first priority was because these households
did not get enough food through home production and therefore had to purchase from the
market. Njogu further asserted that most of the farmers in the tea producing areas devoted
most of their land to tea production at the expense of food. In terms of houses, tea producing
households had better houses than the non-tea producing ones. Njogu studied tea production
in relation to food production in Kirinyaga District. This study focused on smallholder tea
production and its effect on food production in Konoin, Bomet County.

Langat, Ngeno, Sulo, Nyangweso, Korir, Kipsat and Kebenei(2011) in their agricultural
economic studies, asserted that majority of farmers in Nandi South District faced food
shortage in the months of April, May, June and July and only got accessed to food through
markets. These markets are largely dependent on the tea incomes. Tea production and maize
production competed together for land resource in the District. Generally, tea production took
a dominant position among these farmers. Majority of the farmers preferred cash crops and
hence more land was put on tea production and less on maize production. These ideas were
very important to this research particularly, on the issue of farmers adopting cash crop
production at the expense of food crop production. Langat et al focused on the effects of tea
production on food production in Nandi South District. This study focused on Konoin Sub-
County in Bomet County.

Njiru (1990) conducted gender studies on the effects of tea production on women’s work and
labour allocation in Embu District. In her study, she found out that agricultural activities led
to socio-economic differentiations. She further added that a lot of labour was directed to tea
production as opposed to livestock keeping and food production. However, despite the fact
that this increased the work load for women, on the other hand it increased their income. Her work focused on the effects of tea production on women’s work. This study focused on the effect of smallholder tea on food production in Konoin, Bomet County.

Odhiambo and Hezron (2004) and Kabura (2005) observed that declining living standards and poverty was evident among many rural families in Murang’a that for a long time depended on cash crops as a major source of income. What farmers earned from cash crops such as tea declined due to competition in the global market and changes in consumer’s tastes among other factors. At the same time, population brought conditions of large family sizes and small farm sizes which impacted negatively on food production. Odhiambo (2004) further observed that there was overuse of available land which coupled with drastic changes in climatic conditions led to poor agricultural performance leading to hunger and poverty. The ideas of these researchers were useful to this research. They showed how family size and farm sizes had contributed to a reduction of land under food crop production leading to food insecurity. The study focused on Muranga while this study focused on Konoin, Bomet County between 1954 and 2002.

Ongile (1996) conducted a study on gender and agricultural supply response to structural adjustment programmes on smallholder tea producers in Kericho noted that the standard of living was influenced more by changing economic environment for some household. Tea households had larger farms and more children attending school because of the economic status which they enjoyed as compared to the non-tea producing household who had even sold their land. Her ideas were found to be useful to this study. However, Ongile focused on
women while the current research focused on all smallholder tea producers regardless of gender in Konoin Bomet County.

Omwoyo (2000) conducted a historical study on the agricultural changes in Kipsigisland. He discussed the Kipsigis pre-colonial methods of animal husbandry and crop production. He further described how the Kipsigis agriculture was transformed from the pre-colonial state and incorporated into the capitalist mode of production. Omwoyo’s study was important as it provided an insight on the changes that took place in Kipsigis agricultural systems during colonial period and particularly the period before the introduction of smallholder tea. It formed the basis of understanding the economic organisation of the Kipsigis in this study. However smallholder tea production as one of the agricultural activities among the Kipsigis was not captured adequately in Omwoyo’s study, which this study focused on.

1.8.4 The role of KTDA on expansion of smallholder tea production

Chowdhurry (1974) in his developmental study observed that management was an important factor that influenced tea yields in Bangladesh. Farmers who took their tea to poorly managed factories had poor production levels as compared to those who were satisfied with the management of their tea factories. Chowdhurry’s ideas were useful for this research particularly in regard to the management of tea. However, this research focused on the roles of KTDA in the development and expansion of smallholder tea production in Konoin, Bomet County in Kenya from 1954 to 2002.

Kiprop (1991) and Nyangito (1999) studied factors affecting smallholder tea production in Kericho district and pointed out that smallholder tea farmers in Kericho faced the challenges
like high plucking costs, poor transport systems, the distance to the buying centres, the cost of fertilizers, weather conditions, low technological advancement and competition in the market. These studies observed that plucking costs have been rising relatively faster compared to tea prices which seemed to stagnate. Transport was cited as a constraint. The problems affecting smallholder tea sub-sector emerged in late 1980’s due to government’s intervention and KTDA’s institutional re-organisation. The authors further stated that the limited ownership and decision making by smallholders on processing, marketing and distribution of profits at the factory levels failed to provide incentives to produce quality tea. However, these studies did not specifically examine the role of KTDA in the development and expansion of smallholder tea production in Konoin, Bomet County which is done in this study.

Christian Partners Development Agency (CPDA) (2008) analysed the variation between smallholder tea producers and the tea plantations in terms of the monetary returns in Kenya. They attributed this to the high management fees charged by KTDA, various taxes imposed on small-scale tea farming, the high cost of production, the long and inefficient supply chain and general mismanagement. This situation is worsened by the fact that the small-scale farmers have remained at the bottom of the hierarchy in terms of participation, contribution and decision making in the tea sector. Despite the fact that the tea plantations and smallholder tea producers fetch similar prices on the world markets, the participation of many players who have to get a share coupled with mismanagement problems along the KTDA supply chain reduced the payment made to small scale farmers. The decisions which KTDA made on behalf of the farmers financially burdened the farmers. The consequences of these led to poor returns to the smallholder farmers. This research examined the roles of KTDA on the development of Smallholder tea production in Konoin, Bomet County from 1954 to 2002.
1.9 Summary of the Literature Review

From the foregoing review, it is quite clear that all these studies did not address smallholder tea production in Konoin Sub-County. Most of these studies did not focus on the smallholder tea production. In addition, generally most of these studies were not historical except Omwoyo’s and Korir’s. Apart from this, most of these studies were conducted before the year 2002.

1.9.1 Theoretical Framework

The study was informed by the Dependency and Articulation of Modes of Production theories, which were developed within the Marxist school of thought. One of the proponents of the Articulation of modes of production theory was Meillasoux (1981). The dependency theory was also used in this study. The dependency theorists perceive peripheral economies as part of the capitalist world economy. Dependency is a situation where the development in the metropolitan countries is responsible for underdevelopment in the third world countries. The introduction of cash crops in Konoin led to underdevelopment. This made the theory useful for this analysis. The introduction of new crops by Europeans both cash and food crops was a major move towards underdevelopment and dependency, this is because the traditional food crops which had high nutritional value were replaced with new crops that could be easily affected by the unstable world prices due to the marketing systems. In addition, Africa’s growing dependence on western technology marked the beginning of external dependency.

The Articulation of Modes of Production theory sees the appearance of capitalism either through a process of internal development or as a result of external imposition as leading to a process of more, or less rapid and inevitable disintegration of the pre-capitalist modes of production and the subordination of these modes under capitalist relations of production. The
appearance of capital as an independent and leading force in agriculture does not take place at once but gradually in particular lines of production. (Leys, 1994) asserted that the peasants’ mode of production was in a sense transitional and that every year that passed, the peasants would tend more and more to become mere aspects of the capitalist mode of production.

The establishment of colonial rule resulted in a lot of economic changes. The introduction of money economy, taxation, wage, labour and new crops was all geared towards the economic change among the Kipsigis who were progressing in their indigenous production systems before colonialism. This made the articulation of modes of production theory appropriate for the study. A part from keeping animals, they also grew food crops which sustained their food requirements. They had diversified food production, processing and storage systems (Omwoyo, 2004). The colonial period marked the introduction of the capitalist mode of production which slowly began to replace the indigenous mode. The new modes of production slowly modified the indigenous Kipsigis agricultural systems. This was experienced through the introduction of new crops like maize and tea as a cash crop. The capitalist mode of production began to modify, marginalise, destroy and eventually subordinated the pre-capitalist mode of production (Goodman, 1987). This theory was used in this study to investigate the extent to which the capitalist mode of production got integrated into the pre-capitalist mode of production in Konoin, Bomet County.

When tea was introduced into the area, it replaced the traditional crops like wimbileleusine making the Kipsigis to become commodity producers and gradually integrated into the capitalist world economy. As a result of this the Kipsigis started to lose their indigenous system of production and began producing for foreign market which was out of their control
Konoin was one of the areas in Kipsigisland to adopt tea production which has continued to experience tremendous expansion.

Some aspects of dependency theory were useful in the analysis of this study. Europeans introduced a cash crop which was labour-intensive and hence ways of recruiting labourers had to be devised. This led to all men being coerced into wage labour either by reason of taxation or force. As a result of this, Kipsigis households suffered severely from insufficient labour leading to food shortages. This means that introduction of estate tea production severely affected food crop production among the Kipsigis. In essence the introduction of tea was a step towards dependency among the Kipsigis of Konoin Bomet County as they totally became dependant on tea production at the expense of any other economic activities. The articulation of modes of production was also useful in explaining this scenario as well. The Kipsigis were made to rely on tea and in the process their indigenous production was affected (Omwoyo, 2004).

1.10 Research Methodology
1.10.1 Research Design
This study used a descriptive research design to investigate the smallholder tea production in an effort to understand the effects on food production and household differentiation in Konoin, Bomet County. This research design was useful as it helped in the collection of information in order to come up with well summarized, interpreted and clarified in-depth analysis.
1.10.2 Research Locale

The study collected data on smallholder tea production in Konoin, Bomet County. The study area lies on the flanks of the Lake Victoria basin. The area has an undulating topography with land that slopes to the west. To the north and north west are massive tea fields and estates owned by different multinational companies. To the north east are private smallholder tea farms stretching to the east (EAI, 2011). The area experiences highland sub-tropical climate with moderate temperature and low evaporation. It receives convectional type of rainfall which is well distributed throughout the year. The soil is characterised by volcanic as well as igneous and metamorphic complexes (ibid). Konoin as a Sub-County is administratively divided into three Locations namely Cheptalal, Kimulot and Konoin. This study focused on Kimulot and Konoin Locations.

1.10.3 Target Population

There are three administrative Divisions in Konoin Sub-County. These are Konoin, Cheptalal, and Kimulot. It has a total population of 139,114 distributed in the area of 879 square kilometres and has a total of 31,103 households (KNBS, 2010). The area is inhabited by the Kipsigis community of the Kalenjin speaking people and other immigrants working in the tea sector. These people depend on land as they are mixed farmers keeping livestock and growing crops. As a result putting too much land under smallholder tea production, most of the other income generating activities have been ignored. Most of the population in Konoin depend directly and indirectly on tea for their livelihood. Others are employed in the tea plantations and tea related industries in the nearby areas. The target population in this study were women and men who engaged in tea production and activities related to tea production. Administrators in the National and County governments, church leaders, KTDA officials and
extension officers were targeted. They were selected from a cross section of Kimulot and Konoin, Divisions of Konoin, Bomet County in order to ensure representativeness of their information /views. Gender composition was put into consideration.

1.10.4 Sampling Techniques

Purposive Sampling technique was used to get a representative sample from the highly productive smallholder tea zones in Konoin Sub-County. From the three Divisions of Konoin, the researcher purposely picked Kimulot and Konoin. The selection was based on accessibility and resourcefulness of the area in terms of the information required in the study. Konoin Division is divided into six locations; while Kimulot Division is divided into five Locations. Out of all the locations, Kimulot and Kaptebengwet Location were purposely picked. This selection was also based on the possibility of the area to provide the necessary information. Informants were picked on the basis of being informative or in possession of the required characteristics. Snowballing technique was used in order to identify the number of resourceful informants.

Informants were identified and introduced to the researcher by contact persons, who were invariably chiefs or village elders. The contact persons were well informed about the smallholder tea production in Konoin, Bomet County. The researcher decided to use contact persons because of issues of land which were sensitive in the area since people were not willing to disclose the sizes of their land holdings. Such information was sought with the help of local chiefs and village elders. Once the informants were introduced and interviewed, they were requested to recommend other persons who were knowledgeable. This snowballing
technique helped the researcher to reach out to more informants. Selected informants were well informed about the smallholder tea production in Konoin, Bomet County. The interview questions were however not posed in a rigid order. They were flexibly fielded depending on the knowledge ability and patience of response by informants. This being an historical study, the age bracket was taken into consideration. The researcher was interested with persons who lived throughout the period of study and had witnessed most of the developments on tea production. The informants were aged 25 years and above. The information gathered from the two administrative divisions of Konoin sufficed the data required. A total of 56 informants were interviewed.

1.10.5 Sample Size

Due to limitation of time and resources the researcher sought to interview a total of 56 informants. These informants came from Kaptebengwet and Kimulot. These informants sampled from the area were those involved in smallholder tea production and related activities. The sample was made up of 28 smallholder tea farmers, 5 tea buying centre workers were sampled, 10 KTDA officials, 5 retired KTDA workers, 3 administration officials and 5 agricultural extension officers. In total 56 informants were interviewed.

1.10.6 Research Instruments and Data Collection

The study used interview guide and observation schedules as the main tools for collecting data. The use of interview guide was advantageous to this study because it ensured confidentiality and information was collected in details (Orodho, 2002). To get primary data, oral interviews were conducted with the help of interview guide that was divided into sub-themes on smallholder tea production dating the study period and before in order to get the
background information. To conduct oral interviews, the researcher used two research assistants. The selection of the research assistants was based on the fact that they were able to understand the work of collecting information in a research. Pens, pencils and notebooks were used to take down the information. The use of tape recorders was found to be unnecessary since the informants were uncomfortable especially with regard to issues to do with land and payments from KTDA.

During the oral interviews the researcher was able to carry out observation using an observation schedule. The researcher observed the use of land, the presence of cow sheds, grazing fields, maize farms, vegetable farms and granaries. Distance from the tea farms to the factory and tea buying centres was also observed. Observation of the farms was done to see the type of crops planted apart from tea. It was noted that the women and children were the ones who carried the tea to the buying centres, while the men were hanging around the shopping centres.

Two categories of data that is secondary data and primary data were sourced. In order to provide a useful background for field research, primary and secondary documentary evidence was consulted and analysed. Library research was conducted at Post Modern Library of Kenyatta University, Kenya National Library Services, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences library of Egerton University and Moi University library at Kericho campus. Primary and secondary documentary information was derived from the scholarly books, thesis, dissertations, journals, periodicals, newspapers, Tea Companies and other agencies reports, local dailies, public documents, NGO reports and the internet.
The Kenya National Archives in Nairobi was consulted to analyse various documents such as district annual reports, agricultural reports, KTDA reports and handing over reports for both colonial and post-colonial officials. These sources constituted important first-hand information. These documents provided historical data on land policies, crop production, labour policies and agricultural policies. Data was also sourced from sampled informants. Information from informants was collected with the use of interview guideline which was presented orally. The aim of questions asked was for the purpose of addressing the research objectives and generated information was documented through note taking in note books.

1.10.7 Data Analysis

In analysing data, qualitative technique was used. Primary data was collected and transcribed. The cumulative data from the primary and secondary sources were synthesized and the resultant data categorized in accordance to objectives of the study. Theoretical probing was adhered to when analyzing both data in order to reach a logical descriptive analysis. Primary and secondary data was corroborated to authenticate the data. Data was then classified according to their content and the specific historical time frame within which each event and developments occurred.

1.10.8 Ethical Considerations

Research ethics were observed during the research such as confidentiality and privacy of the informants. A letter was obtained from the graduate school to authorize the research. The researcher also obtained a research clearance permit. The researcher explained the purpose of the study to the informants. The rights of the respondents ensured that there was
understanding and cooperation during the administration of the research instruments. Participation in the interview was voluntary. The participants were assured that the information would not be availed to anyone. The informants were not enticed with money or coerced to give information. Persuasion was done to get the cooperation of informants who were given appointments on time in order to have them schedule their time through the chiefs.
CHAPTER TWO

ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF TEA GROWING IN BOMET COUNTY UP TO 1953

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses origin and development of tea production in Konoin, Bomet County. The chapter also examines the pre-colonial land tenure system among Kipsigis, the coming of Europeans and land alienation to form the basis of this analysis. The impact of Economic depression and the Second World War on the tea production is also discussed. The coming of the large Multinational Companies Brooke Bond and Finlay leading to the introduction of tea plantation economy is also discussed in this same chapter. The consolidation of tea companies is equally examined.

2.2 The Pre-Colonial Land Tenure System of the Kipsigis of Konoin, Bomet County

In Kipsigis territory, all the land belonged to the members of the community as a whole. There was no private land ownership as land was a community’s common property. Traditionnally, the Kipsigis were pastoralists though they relied on crop production to a limited extent. They did not have much attachment to land as a resource to be owned privately. Land was treated as common property, including all that which grew upon it or beneath it, such as stone or salt lick (Peristiany, 1939). Among the Kipsigis, a person could acquire unchallenged use of land and ownership of the products from the land (Orchardson, 1961). Any man or woman could build his or her house anywhere and had a right to choose a piece of land to cultivate. All the crops cultivated on the land belonged to the person concerned. The person also had a right to continue to cultivate the land as long as he was ready to use it. It was only
when he decided to stop cultivating the land that other members of the community could use it for grazing or cultivation. Therefore, land never became the property of an individual. It was the property of the community and could not be inherited by individuals. After harvest, the land still belonged to the cultivator but could surrender to others if he was willing or when he had no intention of cultivating (ibid).

According to the Kipsigis customs, any person or family who did the clearance of the land first had a right to re-cultivate the area unless he or she decided otherwise (Toweett, 1979). This act of leaving land after use would later make the Europeans to make claims over it as it was assumed to have had no ownership. A person could continue to cultivate provided he did not interfere with the community’s grazing needs. The community had generally defined that an undeveloped land around the vicinity of the cultivated plots or hut enclosures was free and could be used for grazing of livestock, as a source of firewood, building and thatching materials (ibid).

Given that the Kipsigis did not own land individually, there were no elaborate rules or laws regarding land (Mwanzi, 1977). The property that could be inherited only applied to cattle, sheep and goats but not land (Nyonyi, O.I. 2013). This system of communal land tenure ensured that everyone had the means of subsistence. Landlords and the landless were unheard of among the Kipsigis. Everyone got access to land to cultivate, graze, build a house and get materials. One was allowed to have a right over the place where the cows were milked, the garden and the area of temporary cultivation though this land would be reverted back to the community for use. Any member of the community had a right to use rivers, the salt licks and grazing lands (KNA/DC/KER/4/1/1934).
The sale of land was unheard of generally among the Kipsigis community. The produce from the land could be sold or exchanged for other goods. As soon as the buyer had harvested the crops, the land was returned to the owner or reverted back as a bush. This is when the land could be available to the community for use. Among the Kipsigis, the loaning of land was also practised. This involved the giving of a *roret* which was a plot which crops had just been harvested, on loan to a person who lived close by if the owner lived some distance from that *roret*. The owner of the *roret* was entitled to take back the land after harvest season (Nyonyi, O.I. 2013).

### 2.3 The coming of the Europeans to Kipsigisland up to 1905

European interest in Africa started before the partition of the continent in the late 19th Century. Among the East African countries, Uganda region was of great importance to the British as it was the source of River Nile, which was of economic and strategic importance to Egypt (Okoth –Ogendo, 1991: Dilley, 1966). The Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 laid down the principles that would be used among Europeans to divide the continent. Through this conference, the British acquired Kenya (ibid).

The British began to secure their permanent interests in Uganda due to the competition from Germans in Tanganyika. In 1890, the Anglo-German agreement resulted in the drawing of the southern boundary with the Germans. A line from the Indian Ocean through Mt Kilimanjaro to Lake Victoria was drawn, marking the British sphere to its north. This line reached western Uganda through Lake Victoria (Gordon, 1946). These developments culminated into the declaration of Uganda as a British Protectorate in 1894.
Within the British sphere an eastern line was drawn along the Rift Valley to mark the boundary between Uganda and Protectorate and British East Africa (Kenya). This boundary turned westwards from Naivasha up the Mau Hills and then down along the Mara River which marked the southern reaches of Kipsigisland. Thus Kipsigisland initially fell within Uganda Protectorate. At first, Kenya was not of importance to the British as was Uganda, (Okoth-Ogendo, 1991).

The European penetration of Kipsigis land and Konoin in particular began with the arrival of the District Commissioner from Narok in the early 1890’s (KNA/DC/KER/16/1930). His arrival was followed by series of events and encounters, beginning with the coming of Indian traders followed by European settlers. The Indian traders who arrived in those days in Kericho were Arindas and Bragash who sold food stuff like flour, sugar and sweets as well as some Kanzus or cotton cloths to the settlers and Africans (Soi, O.I 2013). Others were Sergom and Chadha who sold hardware goods (ibid). These foreign merchants were provided with money and were facilitated by the Europeans to induce the local African people to appreciate the benefits of trade goods and services so that they could not stage resistance to the British colonial rule. The presence of the Europeans in the area marked the beginning of signing of treaties with African leaders officiated by a white man by the name Frederick Jackson, a servant of the IBEAC (Soi O.I. 2013).

When the British arrived in the area they found the Laibons as leaders of the Kipsigis and the institution of the Orkoiyot was already established under the leadership of Arap Koilegei. The institution of the Orkoiyot or the Laibon was introduced from Nandi and got established among the Kipsigis. The Laibons, initially of Maasai origin, were a group of families who
migrated from Nandi and went to live among the Kipsigis during the last half of the 19th century. Oral tradition has it that three brothers of Orkoiyot Koitalel Samoei were requested by their father Orkoiyot Kipnyole to go to Kipsigisland. When they arrived in 1890, Orkoiyot Arap Koilegei, one of the brothers, went to settle in Belgut west of modern Kericho Town. The other brother by the name Arap Boisio went to Bureti to the south west and the third one, Kibuigut, went to the present day Kipkelion to the north east. Upon arrival, the three brothers started a very powerful institution that made the Kipsigis to become wealthy, as they used to warn the people of any impending danger such as drought, epidemics, among others (Tuei, 1995). Over time the office of the Orkoiyot became very powerful among the Kipsigis.

The institution of the Orkoiyot helped to unify the community. The Orkoiyot was not pleased with the coming of the British and therefore staged a lot of resistance. He was however recognised as a very powerful leader and even appointed as the paramount chief of the Kipsigis by the British (Tuei, 1995). Despite the British holding a meeting with Arap Koilegei at Kipkelion, he was determined to resist the intruders. The construction of the Kenya-Uganda railway had brought the Nandi and the British into contact from 1898 to 1903 (Tuei, 1995). The Nandi under the leadership of Orkoiyot Koitalel Samoei were not pleased with the passing of the railway through the Nandi country. This resulted in a conflict with the British. The Nandi attacked the railway line making the British to plan to arrest the Orkoiyot because they believed that he was the figure behind the Nandi strength. The Kipsigis were drawn into the Nandi resistance against the British because the fight took place close to Kipsigisland (Matson, 2009). The intense Nandi raids continued to annoy the British.
In 1900 the Kipsigis had a more intense encounter with the Europeans. This time the Europeans were pursuing cattle that had been stolen from the Luhyia and driven through the Nandi country. These animals were alleged to have entered Kipsigisland much to the annoyance of the community. The Europeans pursuing these animals were Colonel Evatt, Lieutenant Henderson and Dr Sherlock (Matson, 2009). At the same time, the Nandi were determined to frustrate the construction of the railway through their country on the advice of the Orkoiyot. The British carried out an expedition on the resisting Nandi who lost during the battle and were forced to surrender. Others however ran into Kipsigisland to take refuge (ibid).

The Europeans were determined to force these Nandi refugees back into their home and also recover the stolen animals believed to be in Kipsigisland. The Kipsigis were forced to return the cows but they declined simply because the animals were not in their land. The Kipsigis did not take the events of this encounter kindly especially when the British pursuing the fleeing Nandi fighters started taking the Kipsigis cattle not knowing which ones were stolen and which ones rightfully belonged to the Kipsigis (KNA/DC/KER/30/1930). The Kipsigis reacted by attacking the European party at night killing Dr Sherlock and a number of soldiers. Lieutenant Henderson was wounded and the Kipsigis recovered a number of cattle (ibid). The Kipsigis only withdrew from fighting after the British used the Maxim gun. This fight was at Chepleel in 1901 and it was an extension of the battle between the Nandi and the British forces. The encounter between the foreigners and the Kipsigis was therefore not a peaceful one (Tuei, 1995).
There was also another battle which was fought at Chilchila in the current Fort Ternan area of Kipkelion in 1902 when Arap Koilegei dispatched some Kipsigis and Nandi warriors to attack a railway camp (Soi, O.I. 2013). During this attack one coolie was killed and six others were wounded. This attack made the British to call for reinforcement from Uganda to protect the railway line from the Kipsigis and the Nandi threats. After this, the Europeans made Kericho their administrative headquarters. Chiefs and headmen were picked from among the Kipsigis as a process of establishing an effective colonial structure of administration (memoirs of Ex-Chief Torongei Arap Taptugen in Toweett 1979).

The British on the other hand had a lot of determination to subdue the Kipsigis. In 1902, an office was opened in Kericho by a British political officer called Major Evans Gorges. This was followed by a visit by Queen Elizabeth of Britain. These events increased the number of foreign staff in Kericho station (memoirs of Ex-Chief Torongei Arap Taptugen in Toweett 1979). After their arrival, the Europeans then carried out a survey of the whole area inhabited by the Kipsigis to find out the suitability of the area for European settlement and economic activities. The Europeans through the survey discovered that the area was suitable for European settlement and for agricultural purposes (ibid). These areas included Kerenga, Chepaon, Sotik, Kipkelion, Kimulot and Fort Ternan (Soi, O.I 2013).

After these the Europeans were more determined to show the Kipsigis of Konoin, Bomet County that they were powerful and that they could not be resisted easily. Consequently, the British called the warriors to a meeting at Kaptebengwet in the present day Konoin, Bomet County and when everyone was seated, one of the British officers demonstrated how powerful their arms were as opposed to the Kipsigis arms (Tuei, 1995). He did this by shooting at the
tree in full view of the Kipsigis representatives present in the meeting. This was to warn the warriors and their leaders against continued resistance. It was during this meeting that the whites introduced maize into the land after feeding the warriors with porridge and ugali. The British also asked Arap Koilegei to send his sons to school but the Orkoiyot did not welcome the idea at all (Tuei, 1995).

Meanwhile the long resistance staged by the Nandi motivated the British to plan the capture of the Orkoiyot whom they believed to be the powerful figure behind the long Nandi resistance. Captain Meinertzhagen a soldier stationed at Nandi fort was authorized to capture the Orkoiyot Koitalel Samoei. It was hoped that the killing would reverse the extra ordinary influence of the Orkoiyot (Maxon, 2009). This was because it was established that there were no major raids carried out by the Nandi without the endorsement of the Orkoiyot. Koitalel was tricked to attend a peace meeting between the British and the Nandi. Instead of capturing the Orkoiyot as planned Meinertzhagen shot him dead as he attempted to shake the white man’s hand as a sign of peace. The killing of the Orkoiyot in 1905 marked the end of a long Nandi resistance.

The killing of Koitalel Samoei in 1905 made the three brothers who were living in Kipsigisland as per the instruction of their late father unhappy with the British. The British continued to ask Koilegei to give them part of the Kipsigis land but because of the bitterness towards the British who had killed their brother, he refused (Nonyi, O.I. 2013). He was then invited to Mombasa to be convinced but he became adamant. The British later tried to entice him by giving him and his delegation gifts like Kanzus, umbrellas, beads and other presents (ibid). Orkoiyot Arap Koilegei refused saying that he needed to consult the community first.
before giving them part of the land they were asking for. This did not stop the resistance from the three leading brothers against the British. It should be noted that the Kipsigis resistance against the British took a very long time. In 1914, a warrant of arrest was issued by the British against the three brothers in order to give way for a smooth European settlement in Kipsigisland. The brothers were arrested and detained in different places. Arap Koilegei was detained in Maragua in Fort Hall (Muran’ga) where he died in 1916 (ibid). However, even in the absence of the three brothers their sons continued to struggle for land rights. They were then taken and confined to Kericho Township where their movements were checked and monitored. This was followed by the rounding up and deportation of the Laibons to Gwassi on the shores of Lake Victoria in South Nyanza (Tuei, 1995). All this was done to ensure that the British activities were free from interference and resistance.

2.4.1 Land alienation by the British in Konoin, Bomet County up to 1915

Most of the European settlers who came to Kenya turned to farming. However, their success depended on the provision not only of land but also cheap abundant supply of labour. Colonial administration employed the use of land policies to make land available for the European settlers (Ogot, 1989). The efforts of Charles Eliot led to the promulgation of the Crown Land Ordinance of 1902 to provide for sales of land and leases to settlers (Sorrenson, 1967; Okoth-Ogendo, 1991). The ordinance underlined that all unoccupied and wastelands in the protectorate were declared Crown land and were either sold or leased to the coming white settlers (Berman, 1990). This ordinance stated that no African had any title to land as his claim to land was only recognised as long as he occupied it.
This would affect the system of land ownership among the Kipsigis of Konoin, Bomet County as it marked the beginning of the loss of land to the Europeans. Of particular importance was the loss of grazing land. The loss of grazing land marked the beginning of subordination, marginalization and destruction of pre-capitalist modes of production. Although the ordinance recognised the existence of African reserves it did not demarcate them leaving them vulnerable for further alienation by the Governor (Sorenson, 1967; Dilley, 1966). It should be noted that the Crown Lands Ordinance of 1902 did not affect the coastal belt because it was assumed that private property rights had been institutionalized through the practice of Muslim law and Arab custom (ibid). The absence of titles made settlers to argue that the Crown Land Ordinance effectively treated the state as a land lord in which case the settlers were to be subjected to strict state control (ibid). This ordinance affected the African communities in Kenya. The Kipsigis too lost land in the highlands.

The pressure of the settlers made the colonial land commission to suggest the creation of African Reserves as early as 1905 to limit the expansion of Africans (Dilley, 1966; Wolf 1974). With an influx of Europeans and the promulgation of the crown Lands Ordinance, the highland were exclusively set aside for the European settlers (Sorrenson, 1967). Policies were also formulated on labour and tax aimed at supporting settler agriculture. Over time this affected the economic structures of the Africans. The loss of land by the Africans affected their economic production so that the only option available for them was to provide labour for the settler production. Here we begin to see articulation of modes of production as the new capitalist mode of production beginning to modify, marginalise and destroy the pre-capitalist modes. These developments were subordinating the African pre-colonial modes of production as African men were forced to move away from their homes in search of wage labour (Leys,
The Europeans took every step to have Africans out of their economic production. Dependency among Africans began to emerge as able bodied men began to depend on wage labour in the European farms.

The Kipsigis were determined to secure their land by resisting the coming of the Europeans. This continuous resistance made the whites to come up with an ordinance known as the ‘Native Removal Ordinance’ (Tuei, 1995). This ordinance marked the start of land alienation in the area around Konoin in present day Bomet County. Kimulot area which is presently in Konoin was proclaimed Crown Land in 1909 (KNA/DC/KER/16/1934) and the Kipsigis were forcefully evicted from their land. The Kipsigis however, remained in this area for a long time so that by 1927, they had built huts in the little valleys to avoid being seen by the Europeans (KNA/LAN/1/76/1950). This was an indication that the Kipsigis habitation of the area was long standing and continuous. However, the British were determined to remove them completely from the land. Forcible evictions were facilitated by burning down of houses (KNA/DC/KER/16/1934). This was a method that was used many times in the next 50 years when the Kipsigis seemed unwilling to surrender their land to the Europeans (Manners, 1967). There were a number of clans among the Kipsigis who lost much land due to this alienation. The most notable clans were the, Kapsaosan whose land was named Saosa by the Europeans. The other one was Kapchamogondek whose land was named Chemogonday (Soi, O.I. 2013).

The colonial administration also imposed taxes on the Africans. Taxes were introduced as early as 1901 but it was not until 1910 that it was paid in monetary means (ibid). Hut tax which was introduced in 1902 was to be paid only by married men as owners of dwellings (Sorrenson, 1968). Poll tax was introduced in 1903 and this was payable by all adult males of
over 16 years of age. This was meant to target the young unmarried men who could not qualify to pay hut tax (Soi, O.I, 2013). The payment of taxes was meant to recruit labour for the settlers who were increasing in numbers (Sorrenson, 1968). The Europeans found that this was the best way of forcing Africans into wage labour.

With the monetization of the rural areas through wage labour and taxation, the Kipsigis found themselves subject to an economy over which they had little control. The farmers in Konoin, Bomet County started producing surplus maize for sale in order to pay taxes, but the prices of the produce were determined by the colonialists. The introduction of maize for export demanded a lot of labour on the other hand. New systems of land ownership began to emerge. This marked the beginning of the appearance of capital as a leading force in agriculture. The peasants were becoming mere aspects of the newly introduced capitalist mode of production. The capitalist mode of production began to modify, marginalise, destroy and eventually subordinated the pre-capitalist mode of production in Konoin, Bomet County. Thus, the Kipsigis of Konoin remained economically and socially oppressed by the colonial capitalistic system. It was a method that was used to encourage both wage employment and peasant commodity production (Zeleza, 1989). The Kipsigis households suffered from insufficient labour and traditional duties were gradually transformed. This eventually led to food shortages as women were left to cultivate farms while men went for wage employment in the white farms.

Meanwhile the developments in the tea industry were taking place. Tea was introduced into Kenya for the first time in 1903 by a Limuru settler called G.W.L Caine (Swainson, 1980). Caine had an experience in tea production after planting it in India. He began planting tea on a
two acre piece of land. He waited for the trees to mature and sent a sample to the imperial institute in London to determine the suitability of Kenya for tea production (ibid). The report indicated that tea could be grown in the Limuru District of the East Africa Protectorate and this was an indication that Kenya had suitable conditions. The introduction of tea into Kenya led to the establishment of Mabroukie estate of Brooke Bond in Limuru (Swainson, 1980). In the year 1911, samples of soil were taken from Kericho to the United Kingdom and the report was positive again proving that tea could be grown (Eden, 1965). It was in 1912 that the first one and a half acres of tea were planted in Kericho by two European farmers. Further developments in the tea industry will be discussed in the next chapter. While this was going on; African agriculture was deteriorating as land was made available for the European settlers to plant the new crop which was being introduced. The introduction of tea as a cash crop severely affected food production and led to new systems of land tenure. This made the Kipsigis move into the plantations to provide labour. This marked the beginning of the gradual integration into the capitalist world economy.

The demands of the settlers for more land led to the promulgation of the Crown Lands Ordinance of 1915 (Ogot, 1989). This ordinance declared that all African land belonged to the British Crown. Africans therefore got disinherit ed of all legal rights to their land. The ordinance empowered the Governor to alienate African land if it was not occupied (Dilley, 1966). This altered the African pre-colonial customary laws that regulated the acquisition and use of land. Generally, the Kipsigis practised pastoralism as land was available in plenty. This caused pressure on land among the Kipsigis of Konoin in Bomet County. A similar situation was also experienced by the Gikuyu in Kiambu with the coming of colonialism (Wangari, 2010). The ordinance also defined the boundaries of the Native Reserves (Toweett, 1979).
However, these reserves were not demarcated leaving room for further alienation. As a result, the Kipsigis found themselves confined in an area without an option of spreading out as was the case before. This was done in order to pave way for European settlement.

A number of factors could explain why the Europeans decided to alienate the land belonging to the Kipsigis. First, the Europeans wanted to create a buffer zone between the Kipsigis and the Gusii (Toweett, 1979; Saltman, 1971). This was due to the frequent fights that were common between the two communities. These fights were deeply rooted to the period of expansion and settlement of the Kipsigis in the region that was earlier on occupied by the Gusii. The other reason for land alienation in the area was purely economic as it was to create an opportunity to make the Kipsigis to adopt agriculture and abandon pastoralism (Saltman, 1971). In addition land had to be made available for the European settlers who were beginning to establish tea plantations.

Furthermore, the ordinance created room for more demands for land adjacent to the railway line and that which was already occupied by the Kipsigis community earmarked for the settlement of Europeans (Dilley, 1966). This led to the creation of the reserves for the Kipsigis which were located far away from areas earmarked for the white settlers. Stichter (1982) observed that the Kipsigis community reserve policy which was introduced by the British confined African population to legally delimited areas. The land that was reserved for the Kipsigis was to be under the customary tenure system. This system was under the control and authority of the chief who was appointed to help in the administration of the natives by the colonial state (Okoth- Ogendo, 1991).
The ordinance had major consequences on the structure of accessibility to land for the Kipsigis community. Their rights over land were taken away and the original owners thus became tenants (Okoth-Ogendo, 1991). On one hand, the Europeans ensured that the reserves which were areas designated for Kipsigis were located in the areas which were unsuitable for European settlement. The boundaries were also drawn along ethnic lines and the Kipsigis Community were not allowed to reside in other areas besides the one allocated to them. On the other hand the colonial authorities made sure that stable land tenure for the settlers was obtained by legislation and even force. Any community that tried to resist was subdued without mercy (ibid). This was done through the burning down of houses and property in various places closer to the alienated land (Toweett, 1979).

Loss of land was followed by a shortage of pastureland hence the Kipsigis were forced to move into the European farms as squatters (Korir, 1976). These lands were allocated to the tea companies. The Kipsigis lost considerable land in three main areas namely; Londiani-Kipkelion-Muhoroni, the area presently occupied by the tea plantations around Kericho and Sotik farms. By 1919, cases were noted of people living outside the reserve boundaries as some went to live as squatters on European farms. Squatters were given a small area to cultivate in return for labour they provided. They were allowed to keep up to 15 goats on white settler farms. They were provided with flour and milk and were also given land that was ploughed fully as well as maize seeds (Soi, O.I. 2013). The Kipsigis of Konoin are believed to have lost more land to the settlers in Kenya than any other section of the community. Kericho District Commissioner, A.C. Swann acknowledged that no community had lost considerable amount of land as compared to the Kipsigis of Konoin (KNA/DC/KER/1/19/1946).
The loss of grazing and agricultural land as a result of colonial penetration marked the beginning of systematic modification, marginalisation and subordination of Kipsigis indigenous agriculture. On the other hand, the Kipsigis indigenous mode of production was beginning to undergo the process of change. The capitalist modes of production were slowly replacing the indigenous modes. The movement by the Kipsigis into the European farms as squatters did not completely do away with the indigenous agricultural organisation because they moved with their animals into the white farms and were allowed to do farming. This means that the indigenous agricultural organisation kept readjusting, was articulated and co-existed with the capitalist sector.

2.4.2 The First World War and the Establishment of the Ex-soldier Scheme from 1914-1919

The First World War took place between 1914 and 1918 and it had negative impacts on the British economy in Kenya. Kenya got involved in the war by virtue of being a British Protectorate. In Kenya, over 10,000 soldiers and about 195,000 carrier corps were involved in the war (Ibid). Some Africans were forced to join the war against their wishes. However, some Africans volunteered based on the belief that things were going to change if they enlisted against Germany. There was a propaganda circulated by the British that those who enlisted in the war would be exempted from taxes (ibid). The war caused a crisis in labour demand for the many projects. The British Government embarked on massive recruitment of carrier corps from the whole Protectorate to be used against Von Lettow Vobeeck in Tanganyika. This led to many strong men being recruited to offer their services. Labour was needed to complete the infrastructure development in the country. Cheap labour was also
required in the European plantations which were beginning to develop, but the war disrupted its supply.

The urgency of the need for labourers made the Kipsigis age-set circumcised before 1914 conscripted to join the British army (Towett, 1977). The actual recruitment at the village level was done by African chiefs who had been mandated to carry out the exercise of locating the most suitable candidates. These chiefs were rewarded with gifts like blankets and even food stuffs (Soi, O.I. 2013). Youth were therefore rounded up in homes. In Gusiiland the youths were rounded up during cultural ceremonies and recruited as carrier corps (Omwoyo, 1990). Most of those who were taken to join the army either through force or persuasion came from Bureti area or the present Konoin, Bomet County (Koe, O.I. 2013). However, it is possible that the able bodied youths from other parts of Kipsigis were also conscripted into the British army. The withdrawal of strong men during this period generally affected the settler agriculture in Kenya and African production in general. The European farms ran short of labourers and on African farms the women were left to work alone. The war years generally affected the Protectorate negatively because able- bodied labourers were uprooted from their homes (Gordon, 1946). The withdrawal of men into the war subordinated African indigenous production. This affected gender roles.

The British therefore had a task ahead that of reconstructing the economy soon after the war ended. The uprooting of males contributed to food scarcity in the native reserves in 1917 and 1918. European settlers were encouraged to grow cash crops like coffee, cotton, sisal, wheat, maize and flax (Ochieng, 1985). The settlers were motivated by the fact that they were going
to get full support from the Government. The settlers therefore returned to their farms full of hope and determination after the war (ibid).

After the war, land was to be given to the soldiers as an attempt to fulfil the British Government’s commitments to the promise given to ex-soldiers (Ochieng, 1985). This led to the establishment of the Ex-soldiers Settlement Scheme in 1919 and through it some of the ex-soldiers were given land in the plains of Nanyuki to start sheep keeping project (ibid). In Kericho, the ex-soldiers were to produce coffee, flax and tea, and in Trans-Nzoia, they were expected to produce maize.

Large numbers of new members belonging to British East Africa Disabled Officers Corps (BEADOC) arrived in Kenya and went to Kericho District to produce flax. Flax was in high demand in European countries and that is why the soldiers were encouraged to venture into it (Talbot, 1974). Flax growing scheme called for more land. In the post–war period after settling the ex-soldiers in the country, the British came up with plans and measures to restructure the system of agricultural production and especially to boost the settler sector (Ochieng, 1985). Again the Kipsigis suffered massive loss of land and displacement during this period. About 5,000 acres of land had been taken from the Kipsigis was taken at Chepaon, parts of Kimulot in Konoin and Saosa. This affected the local agricultural production whereas on the other hand the European agricultural sector was being developed (Okoth-Ogendo, 1991). Generally, Africans had no more land for expansion and grazing of animals. The Kipsigis lost approximately 25,000 acres of land to white settlement under the soldier settlement scheme known as British East Africa Disabled Officers Corps (BEADOC) in 1919. This impacted adversely on food production among the Kipsigis of Konoin and their
rights to grazing land. In Kericho, the European settlers used the Kericho-Sotik road as a boundary to create a buffer zone between them and the natives. No African was allowed to trespass into European settler farms without permission (Soi, O.I. 2013).

In 1919, Sir Edward Northey the Governor then, issued a circular dated 23rd October to the government officials to encourage Africans to go to work in the European farms (Ochieng, 1989). Flax had been an important crop until tea which was on experimental basis was introduced in 1912. Just like land, labour was an important means of production that the Kipsigis had to make use of in the elaborate systems of production. The use of Kipsigis labour in the colonial economy was the only option given the heavy presence of the settlers in the region. Labour intensive methods were necessary (Okoth-Ogendo, 1991; Stichter, 1982).

Forced labour, squatting and migrant labour systems started emerging as this was within the capitalist mode of production. Forced labour was the most severe form of exploitation (Zwanenberg, 1975). It modified and marginalized the pre-capitalist mode of production. District Officers and all the other officers in the system were asked to use all means to encourage Africans to go out and work. By using officials and the machinery at the disposal, the colonial authorities were determined to get the males out of the reserves to provide compulsory services (Maxon, 1980). Chiefs played an important role in maintaining the regular supply of labour. Apart from forced labour, the Kipsigis under some circumstances were forced to squat on settlers farms. This was the only way of ensuring labour supply (KNA/DC/KER/3/1/1913). Squatting was the second most dominant forms of African labour. Under this system, the Kipsigis would move to the European farms with their livestock and supply labour in return for grazing.
In addition, a policy was put in place for the registration of African men so as to secure settlers with regular, cheap and reliable labour supply. By 1920 African males over 16 years were subjected to a pass system that required them to carry an identity (Kipande) document. The introduction of the Kipande document was an instrument that was to be used to keep track of labour supply (Zeleza, 1989). The identity card that was expected to be carried around by the Africans was put in a four cornered tin and contained all the personal details (Soi, O.I. 2013). A worker was expected to be registered and once this was done, the person was not allowed to be deregistered. Any employee who attempted to run away from an employer could be returned easily. The Kipande system denied the workers freedom to leave their workplace or switch employers. The system also standardised and put a rubberstamp on the low wages. This was because a worker could not bargain with a new employer for better wage that was higher than the one given by the former employer. The colonial government was determined to force Africans to fully participate in the development of the colonial economy (ibid). The Kipande restricted movement from one place to another. Any person who trespassed was taken to court and jailed for three months (Soi, O.I. 2013).

The British had spent huge sums on war-related equipment, guns, food, ammunitions and other materials during the First World War (Brett, 1973). The war had reduced Britain’s economic power and she needed to recover. In addition, money was expected to be raised for administration costs and other public expenses. Therefore, after the First World War, the colonial Government increased taxation, which affected African producers (ibid). The other step was to deny African farmers from getting involved in cash crop economy in order to ensure that labour was readily available. Africans faced severe economic hardships in the first years of the 1920’s as they had come directly under colonial domination. The foreigners were
beginning to take advantage of the economic opportunities in the land. On one hand, the Europeans concentrated on agriculture and this led to the introduction of new crops. The Kipsigis on the other hand were beginning to adopt new crops and at the same time staging an opposition to colonial rule (Brett 1973; Korir, 1976).

However in 1921, prices of flax and sisal fell drastically prompting the Government to respond immediately to rescue the situation as this affected the settlers. Trade therefore collapsed leading to a reduction of wages which made it hard for Africans to pay taxes (Ochieng, 1989). One of the steps taken by the colonial Government to sort out the problem was to replace flax with Maize. Grain cultivation by the European settlers required exploitation of African land and African labour (Talbott, 1992). The British however, realised that the only way to solve Kenya’s economic problems, was to promote African production. Despite all these, the British still despised African production. The settler’s agricultural production continued to expand because they were given finances and the necessary support.

2.4.3 Introduction of Tea Plantations in Konoin from 1920 to 1953

The decline in the prices of flax at the end of 1920, the drought of 1921 and 1922 led to the closing down of flax mills (KNA/DC/KER/1/1922). By 1924, flax growing scheme had faded (Manners, 1965). This forced the ex-soldiers to return to England leading to a reduction in their numbers. The Ex-soldiers sold their land in Kericho to two British companies Brooke Bond and Finlay. The failure of flax made the Europeans to opt for tea production after they found out that the area met the geographical requirements in terms of climate and soil for growing tea (Eden, 1958). The area generally had favourable physical conditions with an
altitude of 1800-2400 metres above sea level; soils were also acidic and the area received high rainfall which was well spread throughout the year (ibid).

After conducting research and successfully planting tea in Limuru, it was decided that the same could be done in Kericho (Eden, 1965). As we have already seen, the first one and a half acres of tea had been planted in Kericho in 1912. This was done by two European farmers who tried to develop it as a commercial crop. By early 1920, tea drinking habit was a luxury reserved for a small European and Asian groups in East Africa (Swainson, 1980). During this time several British tea merchants started competing with each other in the East African markets. In 1924, planting of tea by the Europeans had progressed and about 200 acres had been planted (ibid). The success of tea production led to the arrival of two biggest tea firms in Kericho. These were Brooke Bond and Finlay (Swainson, 1980).

These two companies were responsible for the development of tea in Kericho although there were other European small planters who were given the mandate to develop tea production in the area apart from the large companies. These were C.F Caddick and Lord Egerton among others (KNA/DC/KER/117/1934). There were two other small planters who were nicknamed Chemasusu and Chebangoror who owned tea plantations and later sold their farms to the companies that were arriving in the area. These small farmers had a lot of challenges; one of them being the shortage of tea seed (Soi, O.I. 2013). There was also the challenge of labour supply because the Kipsigis were a bit hesitant to work for anyone. The reason behind their laxity was due to the elaborate circumcision ceremonies among the Kipsigis of Konoin which took much of their time (Soi, O.I. 2013). Tea production therefore became the monopoly of big companies at this early stage.
The largest of this tea growing company was Brooke Bond, which had taken tea as an import-substitution industry to develop it and ensure that the other competitors were kept away from the internal tea market. Brooke Bond was a limited company based in London and was playing the key role of distributing tea under the leadership of directors like John Grumbley, Oliver Brooke, among others (ibid; Soi, O.I. 2013). Its subsidiary companies were Kenya Tea Company and Mabroukie Tea (Swainson, 1980). Tea sales remained limited to the small European population, Asians and coastal people. These had become consumers and provided ready market for the beverage (ibid).

These two large companies in Kenya got involved in tea production with an objective of capturing the local market (Swainson, 1980). Brooke Bond had emerged as an international tea firm and became the dominant and the leading tea company in Kenya (ibid). It emerged before the Second World War and monopolized tea distribution in East Africa. By this time Brooke Bond was already aware that tea would do well in Limuru after conducting an inspection of the physical conditions in the area (Swainson, 1980). After the Second World War, there was an increase in the area under tea because tea prices were going up. This expansion was encouraged by the dominant tea growing firms in Kenya. In 1922, a branch of Brooke Bond (India) was opened in Mombasa (ibid). Two years later in 1924, a thousand acres of land was purchased at Limuru and an agreement was made with the neighbouring farmers for them to plant tea. In 1925, 5,500 acres of land was purchased in the Kericho area and a private company the Kenya Tea Company Limited was locally registered to run the plantations.
Meanwhile as these developments were going on in the tea industry, the directors of James Finlay were looking at the possibility of growing tea in Kenya. In 1924, one of the company managers visited Kenya to find out the suitability of the area for tea production (Swainson, 1980). He arrived in Kericho and found that large block of land was available for purchase as a result of the failure of British East Africa Disabled Officers Soldier Settlement Scheme in the production of flax (ibid). This scheme had been established by the British Government to fulfil commitments to demobilize soldiers by engaging them in agricultural employment overseas. These soldiers had been settled in Kericho area where they had begun growing flax under a scheme in 1920. But by the end of 1922, the soldier settlement scheme had collapsed in Kericho because the prices of flax went down (Brett, 1977). The findings by the manager of Finlay resulted in the arrival of a more senior executive at Kericho within three months after his visit.

Approximately 20,000 acres were purchased by James Finlay and this was followed by the formation of a new company the African Highlands Company Limited to develop the property (Eden, 1958). The company officially began to carry out the experiments on the possibility of growing tea. This allowed more land to be added to the white man’s domain. As a result of these developments, Kericho became the leading area in tea production in Kenya (ibid). A number of reasons could explain the successful tea production in Kericho area and particularly in Konoin. The reason was that rainfall was abundant and was well spread throughout the year. In addition, the soil was acidic and generally the altitude and drainage were suitable for tea.
There were other conditions in Konoin which was part of Kericho District during that time apart from the physical conditions that gave the tea industry added advantages. In 1926, there was a lot of rainfall (*tuberet*) in the area that led to almost complete destruction of the native crop *wimbileleusine* (Soi, O.I. 2013). The destruction of the crop was indeed a blessing to the tea industry (KNA/DC/KER/1/2/1926). This devastation indirectly led to a rapid expansion of tea in the coming years (ibid). This was because the Kipsigis easily got convinced to go and provide labour in the tea plantations. Brooke Bond and James Finlay embarked on large scale expansion programmes to increase tea output in their areas. In addition, there was an effort to take advantage of the market prices at the export market which had risen dramatically (Swainson, 1980). After the First World War in the 1920’s, tea prices shot and this motivated the tea companies to increase the land under the crop. In 1926, there were 1,689 acres. By 1928, Finlay Tea Company had managed to open up large areas for tea cultivation. The approximate area for cultivation was about 4,125 acres of land and about 3,167 acres added by 1929. By 1930 there was about 8,000 acres under tea (KNA/DC/KER/1930). Thus the years between 1926 and 1932 marked a remarkable increase of the land under European tea plantations. In terms of transportation, the proximity to the railway station at Kipkelion was an added advantage. Dependency theoretical formulations applied to the Kipsigis at this time as they began to produce for market.

### 2.4.4 The impact of Economic Depression 1929 to 1939

In 1929 the world was faced with economic depression that negatively affected the colonial economy of Kenya. Both African and European producers suffered from the decline of commodity prices. The settler agriculture was adversely affected by the depression and the Government revenue declined. The coffee producers were no longer able to remit the revenue
to the Government due to the poor performance of the crop (Kanogo, 1989). The tea industry was also faced with the period of stagnation in the early 1930’s. As a result of this economic depression, restrictions and control schemes for crop commodities, tea included, were instituted. These restrictions included prohibition and expansion of new acreages in all parts of the world. The colonial regime was interested in protecting tea in Kenya. This was because tea was seen as the only way to save the economy after the failure of coffee in Nandi, Sotik and Kaimosi (Kanogo, 1989).

In addition, by 1934, the most important producers of tea in Kenya were large scale plantations and small scale white settler farmers. These small planters included C. F Caddick, Lord Egerton of Tatton, and R.T. Sneyd (KNA/DC/KER/1/7/1934). The Government had to take a look into the conditions of these small planters’ problems. By 1936, the farm belonging to Caddick was bought by the Kenya Tea Company, British-based Company (KNA/DC/KER/14/9/1936). These farmers experienced a shortage of seed as a result of restructuring scheme which had prohibited the supply of planting material (Eden, 1958). The farmers tried to negotiate in 1938 for the terms to be revised although the international tea committee was opposed to this. The colonial Government in Kenya appeared to have been favouring these small planters. This led to new developments in the tea industry.

In 1938, the Associated Tea Growers of East Africa was formed (Swainson, 1980). The two British companies, James Finlay and Brooke Bond, became members because many problems brought them together. They began to cooperate in many aspects like recruitment of labour, regulating labour supply and providing medical services. They came together to do research, arrange for sales and in the distribution of tea (Korir, 1976). The outbreak of the Second
World War in 1939 created more problems to the tea industry. Most of the service providers in the tea industry were deployed to provide service in the war. The tea industry therefore had acute shortage of European personnel. There was hardly any independent farming because all the activities were undertaken by the tea estates (ibid).

The Economic depression can be said to have created the break the Africans were waiting for in order to gain official recognition for their productive dynamic (Kanogo, 1989). The experience made the colonial Government to find it necessary to revive and encourage greater peasant production. There was a realization that this was a cheaper way of producing both for local and external market. It was also a cheaper way of production because it did not require expensive capital and labour which was the case with the settler sector (ibid). It is important to note that still by this time Africans were not being allowed to grow tea. They were encouraged to grow the much needed maize.

It should be noted that from 1930 to 1938 there was an increase in African agricultural production. During this period, there was an increase in the adoption of new crops. Maize was widely grown in most African reserves and even squatters took advantage of the available maize market being provided by the Asian middle men. African traditional agriculture was therefore altered as new crops were introduced (Ogot, 1989). The entrance of the Kenya Farmers Association (KFA) which held many contracts for the supply of maize to the tea plantations ensured ready market for Kipsigis maize with a good price. By the beginning of Second World War maize had assumed dominance over other crops. The colonial state as an agent of capitalism set in motion various mechanisms in favour of the settlers and settler economy (Brett, 1973). Articulation of modes of production was becoming a characteristic of
those regions falling under imperialist domination (ibid). Unlike before, Africans were being encouraged to become commodity producers.

It was during this period of being completely under the control of the Europeans that the Kipsigis of Konoin shifted from the production of millet/eleusine to maize production. Maize grew in importance to a status of monoculture among the Kipsigis of Konoin although there was lack of support from the Government (Zwanenberg, 1972). The Kipsigis of Konoin saw this as an opportunity as they were now able to sell their maize to the tea plantations and resorted to its production because of the demand for tax by the colonial authorities. Extensive maize cultivation was made possible by the use of ploughs, thus making it the main crop grown (Soi, 2013). This scenario portrays the articulation of the Kipsigis pre-colonial mode of production as the capitalist modes began to take effect through the production of maize. Maize soon replaced millet/eleusine as the Kipsigis of Konoin, Bomet County became commodity producers.

2.4.5 Impact of the Second World War on tea growing in Konoin, Bomet County 1939 to 1942

The Second World War, which affected many parts of the country, was accompanied by famine. This war brought destabilization of agricultural labour. Just like the First World War, the colonial masters recruited African carrier corps and soldiers. Defence (Native Personnel) Regulations gave the Governor power to order Provincial Commissioners to produce quotas of workers for the military and other services throughout the country. This went ahead to disrupt peasant production. Force and propaganda were used to recruit men into the war on one hand; a rumour was passed around that those who got recruited would be exempted from
paying taxes. On the other hand, those who were unwilling would be forcefully taken and would be placed on the front line in the war where the war was fiercest (Zeleza, 1989). Apart from recruitment of able bodied men into the war, Africans were affected when the conditions of the war demanded for an increase in commodity production. The increase in prices during the war led to the need for more products. Among the Kipsigis, the production of maize increased in order to meet the war requirements. This impacted on land use and altered the pre-capitalist mode of production. Maize soon replaced the production of indigenous crops. Maize was now produced for sale and this marked the introduction of capitalist mode of production which was slowly beginning to replace the pre-capitalist mode. It is important to note that the introduction of maize was a tool for the penetration of capitalism in the rural areas because it could be sold especially in the plantation where the labourers used it as a staple food.

The effects of the war were also experienced in Konoin as male migrant labour increased as a result of the war. Men were drawn in the army while some were taken to the white settlers’ farms to provide labour. The women and children were left as sole producers. Therefore, the war brought great social and economic changes which affected the social relations in African households and rural economy. This led to outbreak of series of famines. The first famine experienced after the war was so severe that people were forced to consume dried cattle hides as well as sheep and goats’ skins (Toweett, 1979). Ordinarily, hides and skins would be used for various purposes in the community ranging from making clothing, to using it as sleeping mat (Chebose, O.I. 2013). Therefore, this famine came to be known among the Kipsigis because people no longer dried hides and skins outside but ate them (Ibid). The reason was because of food scarcity, people resorted to eating hides and skins. Apart from the effects of
the war, this famine also came as a result of land alienation in Kipsigis land particularly Konoin area. The Europeans had taken massive tracts of land that were productive. For example the land around Kerenga and Chepaon in Belgut and Kimulot in Konoin had been alienated (Toweett, 1979). This land was found to be suitable for tea farming. This made the Kipsigis of Konoin, Bomet County to lose the grazing and agricultural land and when famine broke out they were severely affected. It is said that during this famine the area around the present tea plantations was better off with regard to food production simply because the Europeans had alienated the best area (Chebose, O.I. 2013: ibid).

Soon after this, another famine broke out in the period around 1942-1945. This famine was called the famine of cassava *Rubetap moko/muhoko* (Toweett, 1979). The outbreak of the famine was caused by the effects of the war on labour supply. The energetic men had gone away to participate in the war leaving the women behind to run the homes (Ibid). This famine affected the community and called for the intervention of the European colonial officers. The Europeans colonialists had to look elsewhere for relief food. In this case cassava flour was imported from the western countries to feed the starving Kenyans. Oral traditions among the Kipsigis of Konoin have it that cassava was brought from the west and distributed amongst the people in the community, hence the name *Rupetap moko* or the famine of cassava (ibid).

Esese (1990), Omwoyo, (1990) and Muchoki, (1988) have linked food shortages experienced during the colonial period to emphasis laid on the production of cash crops. They argued that the incorporation of the indigenous economies into colonial systems resulted into less food being stored as it was the practice during pre-colonial period. Monoculture was encouraged altering the ecological organization of agriculture and responses to famine and food shortages
(Zeleza, 1986). Among the Kipsigis the introduction of maize as a cash crop replaced the elaborate systems of food production and storage. Production of maize made the soil to degenerate because it was a heavy consumer of soil nutrients.

2.4.6 Consolidation of Tea Companies in Konoin, Bomet County 1946 to 1953

In 1949, Brooke Bond established African Tea Holdings Limited to take the responsibility of conducting research on tea production in the region (Swainson, 1980). To achieve this objective, Brooke Bond acquired 1,000 acres at Limuru the same year. Tea Holdings Research Department of Brooke Bond later became The Tea Research Institute of East Africa in 1951 which has since changed its name to the current Tea research Foundation based near Kericho (ibid).

In 1950, about 5,500 acres of land purchased from the European settlers in Kericho by Brooke Bond Tea Company was put under tea. Kenya Tea Company limited was registered and was given the mandate to run the plantations. This resulted in about 20,000 acres out of 25,000 acres being made available for purchase from the government under lease for 999 years. Meanwhile, James Finlay formed a private firm called African Highlands Produce Company Limited (AHP). The Company was formed and given the responsibility of developing the already purchased land (Eden, 1958).

Meanwhile, the remaining 5,000 acres was bought by Brooke Bond which also formed a private company known as Kenya Tea Company Limited. Brooke Bond then continued to acquire more acres of land through the process of absorbing small planters’ plots. Some of these included, Lord Egerton of Tatton; R.T Sneyd, W.E. Brierley, J. Butterfield, H.C.
Allison and B.V.H. Shaw, among others (KNA/DC/KER/1/7/1934). The foreign companies owned a lot of land under tea such that by 1958, Brooke Bond had acquired around 7,500 acres of mature tea in the region (Swainson, 1980). Brooke Bond completed consolidating land under tea in Kericho District after acquiring the local tea estate, Bureti Tea Company, among others (ibid).

The main area that was affected by land alienation in present day Konoin was Kimulot area. The Europeans were particularly interested in the area because it was favourable for establishment of tea plantations. In 1949, the Nyanza PC made proposals for alienating more land in Kimulot area of Konoin. He stated in his proposals that the Kipsigis were to give up their rights to an area of 6,500 acres in addition to another 4000 acres north East of Kimulot for European tea production (KNA/LAN/1/76/1950; KNA/DC/KER/1/9/1943; KNA/DC/KER/1/25/195). Land alienation for European farming was not resented by the Kipsigis who responded by staging resistance which took varied forms. Land consciousness was witnessed through the increase in the number of native tribunals land cases (KNA/DC/KER/1/7/1934). Through the many cases presented to the tribunals, the Kipsigis were laying claims to all the lands which they had occupied before. However, these tribunals favoured the Europeans and did not address the issues of land but instead more land was claimed for European occupation and the establishment of the tea estates. The Kipsigis lost Kimulot totally to the Europeans and therefore had a shortage of grazing land for their animals. Honourable B.A Ohanga who was a member of the Legislative Council representing Nyanza held meetings in Kimulot area where he witnessed massive alienation of African land by the European tea companies in the area (KNA/DC/KER/1/23/1950). During this period the entire Kipsigisland was within Nyanza region.
2.5 Summary

In this chapter it has been found that the Kipsigis community land tenure system ensured that there were no landless. Land belonged to the community and not individual. The settlement of the Europeans in Kenya became a significant factor in the history of Kenya until after the Second World War. Kenya Highlands were declared a White Man’s Country in order to settle the white settlers. The Europeans extended their tour to Kipsigisland and by 1896, they had penetrated the land. The settlement of the Europeans was met with a lot of resistance under the leadership of the Orkoiyot. After the British exiled the Orkoiyot, the land was forcibly taken away and given to the European settlers and this forced the Kipsigis of Konoin, Bomet County to become squatters on the European farms or provide wage labour in the tea plantations.

The coming of Europeans led to the introduction of tea. By 1912, two European farmers were already planting it in Kericho. This was followed by the arrival of the tea companies into Kericho which marked the beginning of tea plantation economy. This became more successful after the failure of the ex-soldier scheme. The collapse of the ex-soldier scheme led to the acquisition of land by African Highlands Company Limited and Brooke Bond. These companies dominated tea production. The introduction of new crops marked the introduction of capitalist mode of production which was slowly beginning to modify, marginalise destroy and eventually subordinate the pre-capitalist mode of production. The introduction of tea plantations led to kaffir farming or squatting on white settler farms, wage labour and migrant labour. This was a step towards dependency among the people of Konoin as they began to depend on wage labour in the tea plantations. Colonial economic and military policies during this time led to food shortages.
CHAPTER THREE

EFFECT OF SMALLHOLDER TEA GROWING ON FOOD CROP PRODUCTION
IN BOMET COUNTY 1954 TO 1963

3.1 Introduction
This chapter covers the period from 1954 to 1963. The chapter examines the introduction and development of smallholder tea production in Konoin, Bomet County. Effect of smallholder tea production on food crop production is analysed in this chapter. The Swynnerton Plan of 1954 is also discussed as one of the major economic reforms which led to consolidation of land and the introduction of African smallholder tea production.

3.2 Swynnerton Plan 1954 and the introduction of African smallholder tea production
After the Second World War, Britain was exhausted. She suffered immense material and manpower loss during the war. She was compelled to heed the demands of the USA with regard to granting political independence to her subjects. Apart from this, the United Nations Organization which was created in 1945 also contributed to the process of decolonization (Ochieng, 1989). The war experiences made the colonial peoples to become politically conscious. It is argued that the period following the Second World War was characterised by radical African nationalist activities. Despite all these, the colonial state policy continued to favour the white settler sector of the economy. In the African reserves shortage of land was becoming an issue. This land shortage was worst in central Kenya among the Agikuyu. Forced labour and heavy taxation, poor housing conditions explains the reason for the growth of militant trade unionism in Nairobi and Mombasa. It was against this background that Mau Mau movement began in the second half of the 1940’s. The situation worsened in central
Kenya and Rift Valley where arson on white farms was reported. The Governor, Sir Evelyn Baring, was posted to Kenya in the same year and he first toured Central Province. He was convinced that a state of anarchy was brewing in the country. Baring concluded that a state of emergency was the only measure of saving the situation. He was granted permission by the secretary of colonies to declare a State of Emergency on 10th October 1952 following the assassination of prominent African loyalists and attacks on white settler farms in central Kenya (Ochieng, 1989: Maloba, 1989).

Under the emergency measures the colonial government decided to carry out major economic reform. This was because during this period, the government acquired immense powers to carry out physical brutal war against Mau Mau supporters. Major economic reforms were also put in place in order to discourage and do away with local Mau Mau support (Ochieng, 1989). Mau Mau movement resulted in the realization that the settlers were incapable of ruling the country. Secondly, a number of commissions were set up to find out the economic situation in Kenya. These included the East African Royal Commission (1953), the Swynnerton Plan of 1954 and the Lind Bury Commission. The East African Royal Commission called for decolonization of the white highlands while the Swynnerton Plan recommended for registration and consolidation with a view to giving African land titles. On the other hand, the Lind Bury Commission called for an increase in African participation in civil service. This was followed by constitutional changes (Ochieng, 1995).

The major reform was the land consolidation programme which was conceived by Swynnerton who was the assistant director of agriculture (Leys, 1994). He was previously very instrumental in encouraging peasant agriculture in Tanganyika (Mackenzie, 1998). The
Swynnerton Plan which was released in 1954 intensified the development of African agricultural policy in Kenya (Leys, 1994). This policy was published in 1954 and it gave a comprehensive change of African agriculture from what the government termed ‘a circle of subsistence or near subsistence agriculture’ (Lipscomb & Cone, 1972).

The objective of the plan was to promote the growth of small African capitalists through improved productivity. The plan recommended the growth of cash crops by land owners. The plan assumed twenty years would be needed to implement it. Coffee was to expand by 5,000 new acres per year targeting 71,000 acres by the year 1968 (Swynnerton, 1954). On the other hand tea was expected to reach 70,000 acres by the same year while pyrethrum was expected to reach 48,300 acres (ibid). The plan was intended to change African pre-capitalist production in Kenya to capitalist model of production. Consequently, Africans were allowed to grow cash crops and engage in smallholder farming (Odingo, 1971). Initially, this had been the preserve of the whites. The plan also found it necessary for land to be privatized in order to promote an intensive type of agriculture. According to the plan, land consolidation, registration and enclosure was necessary for an intensive agriculture (ibid). This increased land adjudication and privatization in all African reserves. The Swynnerton Plan aimed at creating a stable land owning class with access to capital and income from growing of cash crops which had been predominantly grown by Europeans. In this sense therefore, Swynnerton Plan increased access to land governed by a codified law that favoured men who were highly placed in society at the expense of the poor (Elkins, 2005).

Among the Kipsigis of Konoin, Bomet County the beneficiaries of the Swynnerton Plan were those who had converted to Christianity and those who were lucky to be appointed as leaders in the Government (Tobon, O.I. 2013). These people allocated themselves massive pieces of
land. The members of African Inland Church and African Inland Mission through the leader’s campaign were among the first Africans to adopt tea production (Soi, O.I. 2013). The Kipsigis Christian converts, a privileged group, acquired the name *meskenek* which was a term used to refer to those who converted to Christianity by other members of the community (ibid).

The Swynnerton Plan proposed the development of planned farming and introduction of cash crops to raise living standards and to provide finance for farm development. According to the plan, there was to be a provision of staff and training on how to take care of the special cash crop. It was estimated that the long-term target for tea development in the African land units was to be developed by the years 1968 and 1970 respectively (KNA/AGR/KSM/1984). The Swynnerton Plan gave a proposal that the Kipsigis smallholder tea growing scheme be started at Kimulot area in Konoin, Bomet County. In connection to this plan, the Nyanza Provincial agricultural Officer wrote to the director of agriculture Nairobi suggesting that the first controlled tea growing scheme be started at Kimulot Settlement Scheme (ibid).

The tea board was asked if the tea companies, James Finlays and Brooke Bond would be prepared to purchase tea leaves produced by the Africans (KNA/AGR/KSM/1984). The tea companies refused giving reasons that purchase of leaf would encourage Africans to steal leaf from European owned tea estates. Besides, the companies argued, the factories had been planned to capacity and that erecting new factories would be costly. Furthermore, transport would be a challenge because of the distance from African farms and European tea estates would be denied African labour (ibid).
To ensure that the process of introducing tea was smooth, the Tea Board of Kenya had been established in June 1950 as a State Corporation through an Act of Legislative Council under the Department of Agriculture (Swainson, 1980). It was given the mandate to regulate tea industry in Kenya which was in accordance with general or special directions given to it by the Minister for Agriculture. It was also given the duty to license tea growers and tea factories, establish factories, control pests and diseases, control cultivation of tea, processing, exporting of tea and conducting research (ibid). The body provided advice on policy matters concerning tea. The chairman of TBK was appointed by the minister from among the tea producers (KNA/TBK/1950). TBK was not ready to allow Africans to grow tea and explained that this would give rise to theft of leaf by Africans from European owned tea estates. Members of the TBK also argued that the existing tea factories were already planned to capacity and therefore new factories were needed. Distance from the factories was also cited as a major problem that would be experienced in addition to shortage of labour for European tea estates if Africans were to be allowed to produce tea (KNA/TBK/1950). Therefore the opinion of the tea industry stakeholders was that there was going to be more chances of success if African grown tea was allowed to be established on large acreage and provided with its own central factory (ibid).

3.3 African Smallholder Tea Production in Konoin, Bomet County from 1957 to 1963
A number of developments laid the foundation for the introduction of smallholder tea production by the Africans in Kenya and particularly in Konoin. The country’s political history, with the struggle for independence which gained momentum in the early 1950’s, is closely linked to the adoption and development of tea farming in Kenya. This was the period that Africans began to agitate for land rights and also the right to grow tea. In 1950 Mr
Gambie, the Provincial Agricultural Officer gave a directive that tea grown in Kericho should be planted in blocks (KNA/DC/KER/1/30/1930). This meant that a number of families living close would plant tea together to make supervision easy. Scattered plots were perceived to be a contributing factor towards neglect of tea especially in times when the prices were low (ibid). Neglecting tea was unacceptable as it was viewed as a menace to neighbouring European tea plantations. It was believed that this would cause diseases to spread easily from one farm to another. It was a requirement for tea growers to maintain the quality of tea (KNA/DC/KER/1/30/1950). The Kipsigis of Konoin felt that this arrangement was interfering with the indigenous land organization system. This made some of them not to accept to grow tea as they saw it as a way of losing more of their land to the Europeans (Siele, O.I. 2013). Two companies, namely Finlay and Brooke Bond were mandated by Tea Board of Kenya (TBK) to help in developing tea growing by Africans in Kenya (KNA/DC/KER/1/30/1930).

3.4 Kimulot Settlement Scheme and Smallholder Tea Production 1957 to 1963

The Kimulot Settlement Scheme was established in Bureti Location, Kericho District which was then part of Nyanza Province. However, Kimulot currently is located in Konoin Sub-County of Bomet County. Kimulot was affected by land alienation during the colonial period. A block amounting to approximately 4,500 acres of land had been alienated for European tea production in addition to approximately 4,000 acres to the north east of Kimulot. There was a lot of resistance by the Kipsigis of Kimulot over the loss of this land (KNA/LAN/1/76/1950). Land alienation in this area led to the creation of African Reserves where the Kipsigis were forced to move into. One of the African Reserves was Kimulot. The confinement in the African reserves was resisted by the Kipsigis who began to protest. They sabotaged the work
done by the tea companies, including uprooting of European tea in the neighbourhood (Langat, O.I. 2013).

Earlier on in 1954, the Nyanza PC wrote to the Director of Agriculture in Nairobi proposing that the first controlled tea growing scheme be started in Kimulot Settlement Scheme (KNA/AGR/KSM/1954). The PC was of the opinion that if the scheme was not going to be successful in the area then there was a possibility that tea growing would not succeed anywhere else in Kenya (ibid). The reason for this argument was that Kimulot had all the physical conditions necessary for smallholder tea production.

Before tea could be grown, the tea companies in the area were to give their consent with regard the quality of leaf required and times of delivery (Eden, 1965). These companies which included Brooke Bond and African Highlands were given the role of expanding and improving the cultivation of African smallholder tea. Brooke Bond therefore embarked on an expansion programme which involved both new planting, improvements of plucking and manufacturing techniques (ibid).

By the end of 1954, Kimulot was found to be suitable for a pilot scheme for the production of tea by the European companies (KNA/DC/KER/1/25/1952). The climate was ideal, leading to the setting up of a small tea nursery (ibid). The seed for the nursery at Kimulot was brought from Tanganyika (East African standard 15/7/1960). Kimulot was selected as the trial area for the first tea planting because plots could be selected close together under high standard supervision by the resident settlement officer. The land where the nursery was set up was originally owned by a Kipsigis man called Arap Borowo who is remembered to have staged a
series of resistance to the European rule in the region (Soi, O.I. 2013; Korir, 1976). Majority of the people from Kimulot worked on the nearby tea estates after they lost their land to the Europeans. The Europeans who were already present in the area felt that the farmers needed to grow a valuable cash crop so as to break into higher level of farming (KNA/DC/KER/1/25/1952)

Consequently, African growers were allowed to put tea on one third of an acre at the start. Seedlings were to be sold to farmers (KNA/DC/KER/1/25/1952). In the beginning it was hard to convince the Kipsigis to accept to plant tea despite the fact that they were already familiar with tea farming having worked on the nearby plantations (East African Standard 12/8/60). Some informants in the area cited various reasons for this. There was a general dislike of tea by the Kipsigis as they felt that tea production was tiresome, that it made the soil to deteriorate and that this was perceived as a way through which the Europeans would take their land (Binbin, Koge, and Chepkwony, O.I. 2013). The production of maize had given them a lesson as it caused soil erosion in the reserves.

After the establishment of smallholder tea scheme at Kimulot, the Tea Board of Kenya was asked if the tea companies could purchase leaf grown in African areas. The companies had a major role to ensure quality control over smallholder tea. This was done through supervision during planting and ensuring that the recommended two leaves and a bud was picked during plucking. Inspection was also done at the collection centres. The growers sold their leaf to the estate company factories of Brooke Bond and Finlay. However, the companies feared that the development of smallholder tea production was going to affect the dominant position they
held in tea production. Despite this, Brooke Bond and James Finlay played an important role in shaping the conditions under which smallholder tea scheme developed.

Brooke Bond gave advice on tea growing and also assisted in creating a link between the British machinery suppliers and smallholder tea factories (Swainson, 1980). The stake holders in the tea industry were of the opinion that African tea was to be provided with its own central tea factory if it was to become successful. By 1957, the large European tea growing interests in Kericho District had agreed to process the Kipsigis grown leaf in the factories as they awaited the establishment of African factories (ibid). By so doing, tea production continued to be under the monopoly of the Europeans. In addition, the tea companies realised that the African tea needed to be located some distance from the established estates in order to discourage the stealing of green leaf from European farms by Africans (ibid). The Europeans were opposed to providing additional facilities for the pilot scheme at Kimulot area. This was to avoid competition from African grown tea.

Tea planting by Africans in Nyanza Province therefore began in 1957 with pilot schemes in Kimulot in Bureti Location, Kericho District as mentioned earlier. It was under the supervision of the Department of agriculture which gazetted the area for tea growing by legal Notice No 24 of 13th January 1958 (KNA/NYANZA/2/9/1957). This resulted in about 106 African farmers being allowed to plant tea in the scheme in 1957. This process marked the beginning of smallholder tea production in the area. By working in the nearby estates, Africans acquired a lot of experience in tea production. Each farmer was allowed to plant tea on 1/3 of an acre making a total of 35 ½ acres (KNA/DC/KER/1/30/1957; East African standard 15/7/1960). By 1962 free tea stumps had been issued in Konoin area. African tea
development got subsidies from the colonial Government but most of the development expenditure had to be paid for by growers (KNA/NYANZA/2/9/1957).

The reasons given by the informants in the area for accepting the new crops apart from the income they received was that it was mandatory for them to grow tea (Tobon, O.I. 2013). In addition, those who had worked in the European tea estates saw the need to venture in tea production because they wanted to be like the Europeans (Z. Siele; J. Siele; O.I. 2013). From the oral interviews it was found out that approximately a third of an acre land was allowed to be put under tea by African farmers at the onset. The first smallholders in Konoin sourced the seedlings from Europeans or from the Kabianga seed beds (Tobon, O.I. 2013; Soi, O.I. 2013).

The first plucking of tea in Kimulot was done in 1959 (Korir, 1976). By 1960 tea leaf was taken to Kimari Factory in Konoin for processing. The factory was owned by the European settlers’ (Soi, O. I. 2013). As African farmers started to get the financial returns from their tea; they became more interested in the crop (KNA/DC/KER/1/32/1950). The Kipsigis of Konoin were gradually getting integrated into the capitalist world economy. They began to lose their indigenous system of production and begun producing for foreign market which was out of their control.

Before Africans were trained to operate their own factories, management and technical assistance to smallholders was provided by the major tea companies, including Brooke Bond and African Highlands Produce, the subsidiary of Finlay. This influenced the smallholder tea scheme in the growing and processing of tea. They insisted that the smallholder leaf was to be of higher quality than the one of the tea estates. Brooke Bond in particular insisted on this so
that they could purchase the higher quality smallholder tea which was then blended with its own lower quality leaf (ibid). An agreement was sought with the tea companies to purchase African green leaf for manufacture until the African tea acreage justified the erection of a factory. This applied to the African lands which were found to be adjacent to the established tea factories. As for those African lands that did not lie in the proximity to existing tea factories, the aim of the government was to establish tea factories with the resources from the Government or by soliciting funds from commercial sources like Central Development Agency (KNA/DC/1/30/KER /1950).

### 3.5 Acres of planted Smallholder Tea in Konoin compared to other areas from the year 1957 to 1962

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Belgut</th>
<th>Bureti</th>
<th>Konoin</th>
<th>Bomet</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>35.33</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9.66</td>
<td>39.00</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>9.00</td>
<td>16.00</td>
<td>44.00</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>32.66</td>
<td>26.33</td>
<td>64.66</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>72.00</td>
<td>82.92</td>
<td>75.54</td>
<td>7.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>86.83</td>
<td>110.92</td>
<td>117.66</td>
<td>8.83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From the table above it can be concluded that Smallholder tea production was introduced to Konoin in the year 1957. The residents of Konoin adopted smallholder tea production within the same year. This was done by putting 35.33 acres of land under tea. By 1958 Konoin had increased the land under tea from 35.33 acres to 39.00 acres. This was the year when Bureti took up production by putting 9.66 acres of land under smallholder tea production. By 1959, Konoin smallholders were progressively increasing the land under tea production by having 44.00 acres of land under tea production. It was during the same year that Belgut started smallholder tea production by growing tea on 9.00 acres of land. Bomet by this time had not begun adopting smallholder tea production.

By 1960 Konoin stood remarkably as the leading smallholder tea producer in terms of the number of acres of land under tea. The land under smallholder tea production in Konoin stood at 64.66 Bureti had 26.33, Belgut 32.66 while Bomet was beginning with 5.00 acres. In 1961, Bureti District overtook Konoin as it had 82.92 acres of land under tea while Konoin stood at 75.54 acres. Bomet district was lagging behind Belgut. By 1962, Konoin took the lead again by increasing the land under tea to 117.66 acres followed by Bureti with 110.92 acres and Bomet trailing behind with only 8.83 acres. Therefore it can be deduced from the table that smallholder tea production was adopted in 1957 in Konoin and the production increased tremendously in the years that followed. Comparatively, it can be noted from the table that there was remarkable increase in acreage under smallholder tea in Konoin than the other areas (KNA/Nyanza Province/SCDA-Report for Kericho District).
The Swynnerton Plan set a precedent for future land tenure policy that legitimized differential access to land. Land planning which was advocated for by the department of Agriculture after land consolidation affected food crop production. Tea was allocated the largest and the most fertile land. It is important to note that Swynnerton plan outlined a plan to grow cash crops but none for food crop production (Elkins, 2005). This greatly affected the production of food crops especially maize which had become an important crop replacing millet. During the period of consolidation, various aspects of pre-capitalist mode of production like communal system of land ownership were abolished. This subordinated the pre-capitalist modes. It paved way for economic disparities among the Kenyan peasants, the Kipsigis of Konoin, Bomet County included. Maloba (1989) observed that in Kipsigis land, the Swynnerton Plan resulted in tea becoming an important cash crop compared to maize. This means that tea was regarded as a component in the proposed diversification of African agriculture. Chiefs were used to mobilise people to plant tea (Soi, O.I. 2013).

3.6 The consequences of smallholder tea production on food crop production in Konoin, Bomet County 1957-1963

There were several factors that influenced people to adopt the new crop in Konoin. Those who were working for the Europeans saw the benefits of tea and therefore decided to adopt the crop (Tobon, O.I. 2013). However, others got the encouragement from the settlers, while others got motivated by those who had adopted it earlier. What can be said to have been the most pressing factor were very attractive prices for tea and the constant payment made on tea which made the farmers to start growing it in their farms (Langat, O.I. 2013).
After adopting tea, most of the smallholder tea producers realised the benefits. Tea seedlings were made available making it possible for people to expand their land under tea (Siele, O.I. 2013). Most of the informants in the area confirmed that they had to abandon other economic activities to give way to tea production. Some stopped producing maize and keeping cattle because tea demanded a lot of land, labour, and time. The Government of Kenya added to this by encouraging people to increase land under tea (ibid). This was done by giving loans, establishing nurseries, improving transport and subsidising inputs, among others. These factors encouraged the farmers to continuously increase the land under tea. While this was going on, little land was left for food crop production (Langat, O.I. 2013).

Smallholders with large pieces of land allocated a major portion of their land to cash crop production (Serem, O.I. 2013). Putting too much land under tea production led to neglect of other income generating activities. Tea also demanded a lot of labour and this made the farmers to devote all their time to it at the expense of the other economic activities. Invariably, the family labour which was commonly used was forced to spend all the time in tea production and food production was neglected. Farmers also took too much time in the buying centres waiting for lorries to collect the tea leaf (Sofia, O.I. 2013). A lot of time spent by a farmer at the collection centres affected food production. In addition, time required to carry out other income generating activities reduced leading to food insecurity. Since people would be forced to depend on the market for food, any calamity or market forces that affected cash crop performance made the farmers to suffer food insecurity. This was because they did not grow their own food crops and any changes in market prices affected them (Lappe, 1977).

In Konoin, tea competed for land with food crops such as maize. There was also competition between food crops and smallholder tea production for labour as people gave more attention
to cash crop production. This had an implication on food security. The study established that there was a remarkable decline in food production evidenced by the reduction in farm size under maize and other food crops. There was also a reduction of land under livestock production. All these had an implication on food security especially among the smallholder tea producers. It was noted from the study that none tea producers offered their labour to tea producers which on the other hand reduced the time spent in their own farms in producing food crops. This aspect also contributed to food insecurity (Bommet, O.I. 2013). It was also observed during the study that there were many maize traders in the area from the neighbouring Districts. One informant also said that they relied mostly on the maize from the market brought by traders.

Smallholder tea production increased the rate of articulation of the modes of pre-capitalist modes of production into capitalism. The capitalist mode of production was slowly replacing the indigenous modes as more land was put under tea. Every year that passed there was a reduction of land under food production and an increase in the area under tea (Soi, O.I. 2013). This was an indication of dominance of the capitalist mode of production. As the smallholders of Konoin began to concentrate on labour intensive production of tea, they began to depend on tea at the expense of other economic production. This means that the adoption of tea was a step towards depending on cash crop production among the Kipsigis of Konoin.

3.7 Summary

In this chapter, it has been established that the outbreak of Mau Mau war led to series of events. The colonial Government declared a state of emergency and under the emergency measures the colonial Government decided to carry out major economic reforms. One such
economic reform was land consolidation programme. This programme was conceived by Swynnerton Plan in 1954. The Swynnerton Plan helped in bringing about drastic changes on African peasantry. It promoted the growth of smallholder African capitalists and contributed to the development of African smallholder tea in Konoin, Bomet County. The Kipsigis benefitted from the plan as it set a precedent for future land tenure policy.

The introduction of smallholder tea production in Konoin started following pilot scheme that was initiated in 1954 after the promulgation of Swynnerton Plan. Consequently, Africans were allowed to put one third of an acre of their land under tea at the start. The two companies, James Finlay and Brooke Bond played a key role in the introduction and shaping of African Smallholder tea production in Konoin, Bomet County. This was because before tea could be grown, the companies were expected to give their consent with regard to quality of leaf required and times of delivery. The early tea growers sold their leaf to the tea estate companies. The Kipsigis had mixed reactions to this new crop. Some smallholders adopted tea production because of the experience they acquired from working in the tea estates and hoped that they would get financial returns. Konoin, area of the current Bomet County adopted tea production and increased the land under tea in the years 1957 to 1963. This demonstrated that the Pre-capitalist mode of production was even more integrated into the capitalist mode of production in Konoin. Tea was beginning to replace the indigenous crops while the people of Konoin were becoming commodity producers. It has also been established that as the Kipsigis of Konoin put more of their land and labour into smallholder tea production, the land under food crop production was getting smaller and smaller. This affected food crop production as they were made to rely on tea as a source of income. Their
modes of production were getting articulated as they were drawn into depending on cash crop production as a source of income.
CHAPTER FOUR
KTDA AND EXPANSION OF SMALLHOLDER TEA PRODUCTION IN BOMET COUNTY 1964-2002

4.1 Introduction
The chapter discusses the role of KTDA in the expansion of smallholder tea production in Konoin, Bomet County during the post-independence period up to 2002. In the early years of Kenya’s independence the smallholder tea sector got the attention of President Jomo Kenyatta whose government began to enact policies in favour of African smallholder tea producers. The formation of Kenya Tea Development Authority is discussed in this chapter. The transfer of land from the European settlers to the Africans is also examined in this chapter as one of the infrastructural developments. This chapter also discusses the developments in the smallholder tea production during the time of President Moi from 1978 up to 2002. The period of liberalization of the tea industry and restructuring of KTDA is analyzed in this chapter.

4.2 Changes in land ownership and use
In Kenya, the transfer of land owned by the European settlers to the Africans began a few years before independence after the period of emergency. The Swynnerton Plan of 1954 set the pace for this process. The process of transfer of land was aimed at breaking up the large farms into smallholder units. The land transfer programme was a means of settling the landless and to ease population pressure in the Native Reserves. Two different types of settlement schemes were established for this purpose. They were the low density schemes and the high density schemes, both of which targeted the landless, unemployed and the squatters on European farms (Maxon, 1992). The low density schemes were meant for the experienced
African farmers who would own and manage 100 acre plots and therefore were expected to make substantial income from farming (Harbeson, 1971). The high density schemes were meant for farmers who were starters. The other programme involved land consolidation, registration and provision of title deeds (ibid).

In 1960s smallholder tea producers had hopes in the Government of Jomo Kenyatta, as the president showed a lot of interest in the growth of the tea sector. The president began by introducing legal state policy that was instrumental in the promotion of smallholder tea sector (Ochieng, 1995). He also ensured that the tea sector received the necessary protection from internal and external threats. Apart from Kenyatta, there were other founding fathers of smallholder tea sector in Kenya. These were A.A Lawrel Jackson, Jackson C. Kamau, Douglas Penweil, Charles Karanja, George M. Kimani, Eric M. Kamau and Stephen M. Imanyara (Kimanthi and Muriuki, 2008). Most of these people were members and chairmen of KTDA in their respective home areas. In 1964 the Special Crops Development Authority (SCDA) was replaced with the Kenya Tea Development Authority and gave it the responsibility of focusing specifically on smallholder tea production. However, SCDA continued to take care of coffee production. This was one of the measures by the government to develop and promote smallholder tea production in Kenya (ibid). One of the most important developments was transfer of land from the European settlers to Africans which was instrumental in the promotion of smallholder tea production.

African nationalist demanded land reforms and resettlement. On the other hand the settlers also wanted their land rights to be protected. During the second Lancaster House Conference the British impressed on the Africans to accept a willing buyer “willing – seller approach as a
means to distribute land from settler farms to Africans. In 1960, there was a proposed bill of rights which guaranteed property rights. In the same year, the Land Order-in-Council was formed. It provided for the conversion of leaseholds into freehold. The law allowed Africans to acquire land in the Highlands. High poverty level in the country was a major challenge to land acquisition. Therefore the political affiliates and those who were of higher social class were opportune to acquire land. The post-colonial state could also buy and redistribute land (Ghai and Mcauslan, 1970).

In 1963 Registered Land Act, cap 300, was enacted to ensure efficient registration of title deed. This was a legislation that dealt with African grievances that had been ignored earlier. Land registration and issuance of title deeds was to be done for Africans. Under this legislation individual ownership and registration of land was achieved. All titles that had been issued were to be reissued under this law. Title deeds issued under this Act were considered proof of absolute ownership (Ghai and Mcauslan, 1970).

At independence, Kenyatta government established the Settlement Fund Trustee (SFT). This was a fund put in place to enable the government to purchase and distribute settler farms to the landless Africans. The high density settlement provided some land to the landless (Belshaw, 1964). It is important to note that the system of land transfer benefited Kenyans with the financial means to purchase land (ibid). The five year one million acre scheme for the purchase of European-owned mixed farms and the European-owned small-holdings was not scheduled until 1967 (Belshaw, 1964).
Thus in 1965, a special commissioner was appointed at the Ministry of Agriculture to arrange for the settlement of squatters on what later came to be called the Haraka Settlement Schemes (Abrahams, 1979). These schemes were meant to control the wild squatting that was taking place (ibid). With these arrangements over 30,000 families were settled on a million acre scheme by 1970 (Ochieng, 1985). Another 18,000 was settled on schemes meant for squatters. Many large farms were also bought privately either individually or as groups. By 1975, a total area of 581,000 hectares in the white highlands had been transferred to smallholder tenants (ibid). In Konoin there were many squatters on European tea farms who needed to be settled (Serem, O.I, 2013). An informer claimed that a group of squatters still settled at Chepchabas in Konoin long after leaving European tea estates (Kirui, O.I, 2013)

Developments at independence that encouraged the development and expansion smallholder in the country tea producers were also felt in Konoin. The government employed the extension officers who were given the responsibility to teach the farmers how to grow tea. Field days and training of farmers began. Kabianga farmers Training centre was used for such trainings for smallholder tea producers. In the early 1970s there were many extension officers visiting Konoin to train farmers on smallholder tea production. (Kirui, O.I, 2013; Serem, O.I, 2013). In addition, the government through the Ministry of Agriculture provided free seedlings and subsidised farm inputs in order to encourage people to increase the land under tea. This was a programme aimed at encouraging those who had not adopted the crop to do so. The government also increased prices for tea leaves in order to encourage people to venture into the tea industry in Konoin. Through the Ministry of Agriculture, the Government also put measures to improve transport by increasing the number of lorries and putting up a new tea nursery at Chebangang, which is in Konoin Sub-County. This was to ensure that the seedlings
were closer and readily available for the farmers of Konoin (Tobon, O.I, 2013). In addition, several feeder roads were constructed to ease transport. During this period Koiwa – Chebangang road was constructed to connect Kaptebengwet. All these roads are found in Konoin, Bomet County.

4.3 KTDA and Smallholder tea production in Bomet County 1964-1977

The Kenya Tea Development Authority is an important body or agency in the development of smallholder tea sector in Kenya. It is not possible to examine the origin of Kenya Tea Development Authority without first looking at the role played by CDC which was established earlier as a finance agency. The Corporation was established with the objective of increasing agricultural productivity in order to reduce dollar deficits of the United Kingdom and its colonial territories (Swainson, 1980). It aimed at increasing the production of simple manufactured exports to America.

The financial agency acted on a number of different levels in order to raise productivity in the areas of both agriculture and secondary industry in the colonial territories. The plan or the arrangement was that CDC was expected to lend money to the tea companies directly. In 1960, Smallholder Authority Development was formed to coordinate other sources of money including CDC and any other private companies who had shown the interest in investing in the agricultural industries (Swainson, 1980). There was a need to set up an authority that was to coordinate all possible sources of money and allocating them to the development of tea in African areas. The expenses of the authority in nursery development transport, and in providing staff to run the scheme was to be repaid by growers through a cess on green leaf. This was applicable to the tea estates and African smallholder tea producers (ibid).
By this time the government was already aware of the suitability and the potential of Kenya Highlands for tea production. This led the establishment of Special Crops Development Authority (SCDA) under the Ministry of Agriculture in 1962 to help African tea growers to ensure that quality tea was being produced and it had the responsibility to market the product after processing. It was composed of Government staff and experts from the commercial tea companies, African representatives from E.A growing areas and estate company representatives (Swainson, 1980). (SCDA) was responsible for expanding tea planting in African inhabited areas. In addition, Special Crops Development Authority (SCDA) was given the power to build six new factories and was expected to raise funds for these projects. One of the factories was constructed at Litein in Kericho (ibid). The Special Crop Development Agency and Commonwealth Development Corporation were to hold 51 percent of the shares and 49 percent was to be given to farmers (Swainson, 1980).

The Special Crops Development Authority (SCDA) was renamed the Kenya Tea Development Authority (KTDA) in 1964 (Swainson, 1980). The establishment of the authority resulted in the transfer of all the movable and immovable property of the Special Crops Development Authority to Kenya Tea Development Authority (ibid). KTDA was established under the Agricultural Act and Kenya Tea Order 1964 (Ministry of Agriculture, 1998). The authority was given the task of promoting and fostering the development of smallholder tea by Africans. It was formed as a non-profit making organization such that any surplus that was realized from its operation was expected to be re-invested to improve the smallholder tea. As a result of this KTDA was exempted from paying tax since its inception. This boosted the development of the sub-sector (ibid).
Upon its formation, KTDA was given the task of expanding smallholder tea production by encouraging the planting of approximately 25,000 acres of tea by 1970 (*East African Standard* 19/8/64). The authority was expected to raise several smallholders from subsistence economy to better standards of living, which would contribute significantly to Kenya’s foreign exchange. It was given the task of introducing tea in the potential areas previously uncultivated.

The formation of KTDA in 1964 was a major boost to the tea sector. The authority was mandated to oversee and support the smallholder tea producers through the provision of inputs and extension services. Moreover, KTDA issued licenses to the farmers, hence bringing them under its control. No one was allowed to grow tea without a license from the authority. The authority had also the responsibility of inspecting the land to be put under tea and conducted supervision during tea planting (Siele, O.I, 2013). The authority also inspected and collected tea leaves from the centres and transported it to the factories for processing (KTDA, 1972). At the time of payments, farmers received the money from the corporation after selling their tea to Kenya Tea Development Authority, which in turn sold it through the tea auction at Mombasa (Mukembu, 1993). KTDA was also mandated to give loans to smallholders through the cooperative societies formed by the smallholder tea producers. The authority also provided administrative services, and credit terms for fertilizer and any other relevant inputs. The smallholders were expected to pay cess on the green leaf sold through the authority (KTDA, 1972). The credit requirement of smallholder tea growers was determined by the size of the holding and the stage of production.
In Konoin, over 80 percent of the smallholder tea producers who were interviewed highlighted the roles of KTDA since its formation in 1964 to the year 1978. Some of the roles that they cited included the provision of fertilizers, collection and transportation of green leaf to the factory, payment of tea after marketing, provision of farm inputs like seedlings, giving licences permitting tea growing and providing extension services through the organisation of farmers open days, among others (Koe, O.I. 2013: Mitei, O.I. 2013: Kogei, O.I. 2013: Kirui, O.I. 2013). KTDA provided licences to new farmers after conducting inspection on the farms and supervising during planting. In some instances KTDA provided seedlings to farmers at a subsidised price. The smallholder tea producers in Konoin applied for fertilizers through their factories. KTDA purchased fertilizer on behalf of smallholders at subsidized prices. Farmers got the supply in their respective tea buying centres (Mitei, O.I. 2013). KTDA officials carried out regular inspection on the smallholder tea farms to identify the best farms which would be used during field days to train farmers on how to tend and maintain quality tea (KTDA, 1976; KTDA, 1989).

Farmers picked their tea and took to the tea buying centres where inspection and weighing was done. Green leaf was weighed in terms of kilos and loaded in gunny bags into the lorries dispatched by KTDA. This was then transported into KTDA managed factories for processing. Marketing of processed tea was done by KTDA. Most of the factories in Konoin were established after the formation of KTDA. One of the factories included Kapkoros Tea Factory which in the neighbourhood of Konoin (Chepkelem, O.I. 2013). The authority controlled factory management and tea processing in addition to paying the smallholder tea farmers. Despite the fact that farmers chose representatives, Kenya Tea Development Authority made all decisions regarding collecting, processing, transporting, warehousing and
made all sales and payments to farmers. This was an indication that farmers did not have much say on how their tea was collected, processed and sold (KTDA, 1972; Bommet, O.I. 2013).

The Authority developed a payment system from the 1980s where by smallholder tea growers were paid a set monthly payment for a kilogramme of green tea delivered in a month and second payment of bonus at the end of each year. This payment was based on the amount the crop fetched at the market. Deductions were also made from this money to recover the transport, input and administrative costs and where applicable loan repayments. The amount paid out to the farmers since 1964 when the corporation started functioning was determined by the strength of the shilling vis-à-vis world currencies like US Dollar and British Starling Pound, among others (Mukemmbu, 1993). KTDA’S marketing division developed rural access roads in Konoin, Bomet County and organized tea transportation from the factories to the central warehouse in Mombasa since 1964 to be auctioned (KTDA, 1989). In addition, the authority dominated the provision of supplies, collecting green leaf, processing and marketing for smallholders since 1964 to late 1990’s (Nyangito and Kimera, 1999).

Despite the responsibility of KTDA having been outlined during its formation, farmers in Konoin complained of delayed payments. The same situation applied to KTDA on service delivery to farmers. Farm inputs like fertilizer which was supplied to farmers by KTDA took long to reach the farmers. This led to conflict between farmers and Kenya Tea Development Authority (Nyangito, 1999). However, in Konoin, Bomet County, KTDA continued to play an important role in smallholder tea production since its inception in 1964. The Authority was involved in establishing new factories and organising extension services and education days.
for the smallholders. Smallholders were paid their dues by KTDA after marketing tea on their behalf. Through the agency, more factories were established in the area from 1964 to 2000. The period also witnessed an improvement of the buying centres. Most of the tea buying centres that were temporarily constructed were improved and made permanent for example, Kaptebengwet, Chebangang, Koiwa tea buying centres among others (Langat, O.I. 2013). The number of tea buying centres also increased to make it efficient for the collection of green leaf. In addition, the number of Lorries was increased within the study period to make transport available and in time to collect the green leaf (Koskey, O.I. 2013). The Board of Directors who were elected to represent farmers in the respective tea factories were given the responsibility of improving the roads in their area of jurisdiction and this promoted the smallholder tea production from 1978 to the year 2000 when KTDA was liberalised.

However, in Konoin, KTDA failed to meet the expectations of the smallholders between 1978 to the year 2000 in its performance. Payments were perceived to be low since farmers felt that they were not involved in negotiation. Since the authority supplied fertilizers farmers felt that there were lots of inconveniences (Langat, O.I. 2013). Farmers would present their orders but the supply would take a long time to reach them. Generally, the findings from the area of study indicated that there was no friendly agreement that existed between farmers and KTDA regarding final payment in the study period. There was a general complain that the payments took too long to reach the smallholder tea producers (Korir, O.I. 2013). KTDA made a lot of deductions causing unnecessary delays on farmer’s payment.

In Konoin, Bomet County tea was adopted as a perennial crop with returns expected and realised after four years from the time of planting (Tobon, O.I. 2013). The high labour costs
especially in plucking contributed to high operational costs. The net return realised from tea
did not cater for the family needs especially where food was bought or purchased from the
market. Farmers got loans to purchase land for tea production and vehicles to carry their tea to
the factory and collection centres in addition to paying fees for their children (Koskey, O.I.
2013). Each district in the county had a micro finance institution (SACCO). Konoin, smallholder tea micro finance at Mogogosiek served the smallholder tea producers in Bomet
County (Korir, O.I. 2013). The proximity of such institutions proved beneficial to the
smallholder tea producers. Apart from the loans which farmers got from these financial
institutions, most of the people in the tea producing area got employed in the offices and other
tea related sectors. Some of the people in the tea growing zones got employed in the tea
factories as clerks, accountants, drivers, and factory workers. This generally led to improved
standards of living.

The major problems cited by the informants were delay in tea collection, poor transport
network and poor coordination in the collection of the green leaf (Ngeno, O.I. 2013). Some
informants also said that there was a shortage of gunny bags at the tea collection centres
which led to congestion and time wastage. This was due to the rapid expansion of smallholder
tea production. Over 90 percent of the smallholders interviewed said that they took a lot of
time at the tea collection centres waiting for transport. The waiting could even take the whole
night and day because of fear that the leaf would be stolen by other farmers (Koskey, O.I.
2013). Most of the time delays would result in a lot of loses for the farmers. After waiting for
long at the tea buying centres, green leaf would wilt or rot. Farmers would then be asked to
carry the rejected tea and dispose it away from the tea buying centres. This caused a lot of
loses for the farmers (Mitei, O.I. 2013). Waiting for leaf to be delivered did not allow farmers
to engage in any other meaningful economic activities like, food production making them vulnerable. Farmers in Othaya also experienced the same problems (Githinji, 2003).

4.4 Developments in smallholder tea production in Konoin from 1978 to 2000

After the death of President Jomo Kenyatta in 1978, Daniel Arap Moi took over the leadership of government as the second president of the republic of Kenya. Moi’s administration continued with the promotion of smallholder tea production which remained a major source of foreign exchange. One measure taken to improve the tea sector in the area of study was the establishment of more KTDA factories at Kapset and Mogogosiek (Mitei, O. I. 2013). Kapset Tea Factory was established in Kimulot Division in Konoin in 1981 and commissioned to manufacture black tea (KTDA, 1989). Mogogosiek tea factory is located in Konoin Division, Bomet County and was commissioned to process smallholder tea in 1984 (ibid). The establishment of these factories encouraged the farmers in the area to increase the area under tea. Before more factories were established farmers used to pluck their tea on selected days to ease congestion at the factories (Bore, O.I. 2013).

Other measures that the Moi administration took to improve smallholder tea sector included employment of more agricultural extension officers to train farmers on the best husbandry in tea growing. Moreover, President Moi established the Nyayo Tea Zones Corporation in 1986 as a state corporation through a legal Gazette notice. The corporation was mandated to protect Kenya’s gazetted forests from human encroachment by establishing continuous belts of tea bushes and assorted tree species which acted as a buffer between forests and communities living adjacent to the forests. The Nyayo Tea zone established the Kericho Nyangores belt. This project was done not only to protect the Mau Forest which borders Konoin but also to
encourage farmers in the area to grow tea. As tea was being planted in the Nyayo Tea Zones, farmers were given free seedlings (Tobon, O.I. 2014; Ministry of Agriculture 1998).

Personal encouragement by the President was also important for the growth of the smallholder sector in Konoin. He persuaded local residents to grow tea in order to eradicate poverty and to help them educate their children (Maritim, O.I. 2013). Chiefs and assistant chiefs were used to encourage the farmers to plant tea in the area (Tobon, O.I, 2013). People were also given construction materials for establishing tea nurseries as an incentive to encourage them to adopt tea production. During this era, payment for tea was increased and infrastructure was improved in order to encourage people on the same. It was during this period, that most people in Konoin made some effort to increase the land under tea. The increase in the prices for tea and the available free seedlings provided the much needed encouragement for people to grow tea. The annual bonus paid to the farmers and the accessibility to loans by smallholders encouraged the people of Konoin to increase the land under tea and for others to adopt tea production.

However, not all the people in Konoin responded positively to the government’s encouragement to grow tea or increase land under tea. Some people did not plant tea in their farms during this period. Some of the smallholders who had adopted tea did not have enough land to expand tea production while some did not see the need to do so. Some people did not even see the value of tea and besides, to them tea was hard to maintain. Some of the smallholders did not have the money to expand their farms and some feared the elaborate labour that was required in tea production (Korir, O.I, 2013).
4.5 Liberalization of tea sector and the restructuring of Kenya Tea Development Authority, from 1992 to 2002

Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPS) have been described as a whole sale economic reform in developing countries Cassen (1991). These programmes were supposed not only to achieve international adjustment but to correct the policies and practices of past economic agreement where these were thought to be unsatisfactory. Malima (1994), states that, first, SAPS became inevitable in the 1980s because the economies of most African countries had not demonstrated the capacity to transform themselves into modern economies on their own. Secondly, given the basic structures, these economies had not been able to participate effectively as equal partners in the international economy and as such they had not benefited from the international trade. Lastly, the economies of African countries had become dependent. Therefore the state of African economies justified the implementation of SAPSs (ibid).

Mosley (1987) summarizes the reforms that African governments were expected to adopt by the World Bank Structural Adjusted lending programmes. On trade, there was to be liberalization which meant removal or reduction of restrictions such as quotas and tariff and the promotion of exports. Parastatal activities were to be replaced by private entrepreneurs. African Governments were expected to liberalize the agricultural sector as well.

Problems in smallholder tea sub-sector problems started to be felt more seriously from the late 1980s. The limited ownership and decision making by smallholders on processing, marketing and distribution of profits at the factory level failed to reduce operational inefficiencies in tea collection and processing. As a result of the challenges some reform measures were
undertaken on KTDA with a view to attaining greater empowerment of farmers. There was a realization that the authority was open to political pressures and outside interference by interested groups.

The organization was found unprepared to face the challenges of new international financial lending techniques and the increasingly more competitive international tea markets that accompanied SAPS (Ministry of Agriculture, 1998). This made the stakeholders to begin on liberalization and restructuring process which started in 1992 (Ministry of Agriculture Sessional Paper No 2 of 1999). The Government of Kenya and the World Bank signed an agreement under the public enterprise Reform programme covering five major parastatals, including the Kenya Tea Development Authority. The aim of liberalization was to remove constraints to the industrial growth. Through the liberalization, the Ministry of Agriculture defined the roles of various actors in the tea industry such as the Tea Board of Kenya, Tea Research Foundation, Kenya Tea Development Authority and Nyayo Tea Zone (Ibid).

The major change for the liberalization of the tea industry was published in Sessional Paper No. 2 of 1999 on the liberalization and restructuring of the tea industry. A debate was carried out in parliament and gazetted as the Tea Amendment Act of 1999 (Nyangito, 2001). What received a lot of attention in the Sessional Paper was the Tea Board of Kenya. It was given a lot of strength to control and regulate the tea industry. Kenya Tea Development Authority was to be restructured and privatized so as to give farmers more say in tea collecting, processing and marketing through their tea factories (ibid). As a result of the liberalization process, the government withdrew from controlling services such as extension, processing and marketing.
The major reason for privatization of KTDA and the restructuring of the tea industry was aimed at promoting efficiency and competitiveness. It was meant to make the grower to participate in the tea factory ownership and management. Through liberalization tea growing licensing and payment of cess were removed (Kimanthi and Muriuki, 2008). Smallholder factory ownership was transferred to the growers under the management of KTDA as an agent.

It should be noted that prior to this development smallholder tea production, processing and marketing was subject to government controls until 1997. These controls were implemented by the Kenya Tea Development Authority which was established under the agricultural act cap 318 as a parastatal and given the mandate to control and regulate the smallholder tea sub-sector in Kenya. The exclusive KTDA control over smallholder tea collection, processing and marketing worked well when members were few from 1964 to the period of liberalization in the 1980’s. With a larger membership this would not work marking the beginning of liberalization process in 1990’s. This was expected to give way to the private sector to take over restructured KTDA to a private entity.

Liberalization process was also meant to remove restrictions on foreign exchange to allow exporters to keep earnings in foreign currency (Ministry of Agriculture, 1998). The process was hoped to lower marketing margin, higher producer prices and increase productivity. The changes also carried with it a list of companies that were to be in close association with the agency. These were; the 45 smallholder tea factories, Majani Insurance Brokers, the Chai Warehousing Limited in Mombasa, Kenya Tea Packers Authority and the KTDA farmers
company limited whose shares are held directly by smallholder tea farmer. In 1998 KTDA reforms, the agency was required to pay a corporation tax (ibid).

Tea production expanded rapidly since then and KTDA managed over 83 tea factories in Kenya (Ministry of Agriculture, 1998). Over 45 factories were owned by the smallholders and others owned privately. Since KTDA was a major seller in the overseas market, the mistrust that existed between the agency and the farmers had to be dissolved. Liberalisation forced the agency to be transparent on auction prices and marketing changes (ibid). This became the underlying reasons for the name of the authority to be changed into Kenya Tea Development Agency which retained the previous abbreviations of KTDA (Ministry of Agriculture, 1998). The privatization of Kenya Tea Development Authority was a major milestone for smallholder farmers who were beginning to own their own enterprises through their elected leaders.

However, after liberalization KTDA still dominated the provision of services to smallholders which dissatisfied the farmers. Things became difficult for smallholder tea producers in Konoin due to rising cost of production caused by rising costs of energy, falling tea prices, rising costs of farm inputs especially imported fertilizer and high cost of labour. Farmers were no longer getting support from the government in terms of subsidies (Kimanthi and Muriuki, 2008). With liberalisation imported fertilizer and pesticides became expensive as prices kept rising every year (Kiruthu and Mbataru, 2014). In Konoin farmers felt dissatisfied with KTDA and they began to neglect tea. The tea industry had become a private company. The government could not bail out farmers (Ibid, Zakayo, 2013). Tea bushes were left overgrown because of high cost of labour. In 1980s farmers would pay kshs 3 per kilo for plucking tea.
This rose to KSh 7 per kilo after liberalization. As a result of these challenges there was a reduction of yields (Bor, O.I. 2013).

It was out of this that a parallel system emerged in Konoin and the entire County where farmers sold their leaf directly to private factories or middlemen for immediate payments (Kavoi and Owuor, 2007). A number of private tea buyers began to emerge in the name of *mangiritol* tea hawkers. These traders bought tea without considering quality like KTDA and this attracted many smallholders who readily sold their tea to them (Kirui, O.I. 2013). This system disadvantaged the smallholder tea producers. Hawking reduced the monthly revenue and this affected the farmer’s ability to purchase farm inputs like fertilizer, employ workers for weeding leading to low yield and poor quality tea leaf. This crippled the farmers financially, making them unable to finance labour. Farmers who decided to sell their tea to these middlemen had their monthly income reducing and consequently their yearly bonus. Farmers who sold their tea to unregistered traders also could not access credit facilities because they had difficulty in repaying loans. (Kagira and Keraro *et al.*, 2012). Some smallholder tea producers in Konoin, Bomet County sold their tea leaf directly to private factories or Multinational tea Company factories for immediate payment. Finlay and Unilever tea companies purchased tea green leaf from smallholder tea producers through a newly formed out growers department (Langat, 2013). These Multinational companies contracted a few farmers in Konoin as out growers for the supply of green tea to some selected factories like Kimulot among others.

Smallholders in Konoin were not happy with the flow of information between farmers and KTDA. Farmers could not understand and appreciate the costs of services they received from
the Agency and how much the same would cost if supplied by other providers. When KTDA was under the Ministry of Agriculture, extension officers used to provide the essential services to the smallholder tea sector. It was for this reason that some of the smallholders in Konoin either neglected or uprooted their tea in the period between 2000 and 2002 (Serem, O.I. 2013). Those who did not uproot rented out their tea farms to their rich neighbours (ibid). This scenario of farmers deciding to uproot their tea was also seen in Central Kenya. This is where smallholder tea producers formed Kenya Tea Small-scale Producers Association led by a man called Wanjuguna (Kiruthu, and Mbataru, 2014).

4.6 Summary

In this chapter it has been concluded that at independence the smallholder tea sector got the attention of the independent Government which enacted policies in favour of smallholder tea production. This went hand in hand with land reforms. Land was transferred from the settlers to Africans through the formation of settlement schemes. The entry of smallholders into tea production in Kimulot marked the beginning of smallholder tea production in the area. At Kenya’s independence there was a lot of hope for the African smallholder tea production as a result of the formation of Kenya Tea Development Authority through the Kenya Tea Act of 1960. It was also given the responsibility of fostering the development of smallholder tea by introducing tea into new areas and expanding the existing ones.

The chapter also concluded that former President Daniel Moi was interested in the promotion of smallholder tea production in Kenya. He put up infrastructures to promote smallholder tea production. During his time tea factories were established in addition to the employment of extension officers. The establishment of the Nyayo tea Zone was an encouragement to the
smallholder tea producers. It was during this period that many people expanded the land under tea production in Konoin.

It has also been concluded in this chapter that KTDA became unpopular with the smallholders. The authority was seen to be open to political interference and was not prepared to face the challenges of new international financial lending techniques. This marked the beginning of liberalisation process. Through this liberalisation process, the ministry of agriculture defined the roles of various actors in the tea industry such as Tea Board of Kenya, Tea Research Foundation and the Nyayo Tea Zone Corporation. Restructuring of KTDA and liberalisation of the tea industry was to give farmers more say in tea, collecting, processing and marketing of the tea. Liberalization of KTDA was met with mixed reactions. Some of the smallholders decided to neglect or even uproot their tea because of inability to get the government support in clearing or waiving the loans. This led to the development of a parallel system where farmers sold their tea directly. The tea companies also set up an out growers scheme where farmers were contracted to deliver their green leaf directly to the selected factories within the tea estates.
CHAPTER FIVE
SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary of the Findings

The study was guided by three objectives; to investigate the factors that led to the development of tea growing, to analyze the effects of tea growing on food crop production and to examine the role of KTDA on the expansion of smallholder tea production in Konoin, Bomet County. The study established that smallholder tea production was introduced during the late colonial period. The establishment of colonialism and the influx of European settlers into Kericho and Konoin led to the establishment of tea estate plantation economy. This altered the economic structure in Konoin that resulted in a number of changes in the area. Colonial policies that accompanied the introduction of settler agriculture interfered with land tenure system. Land alienation reduced the size of land available for the Kipsigis economic activities as Land was the major factor of production. For European agriculture to be efficient, African pre-capitalist labour was heavily relied on.

The pre-colonial land tenure system in Konoin, Bomet County was organised in such a way that people easily accessed land and produced enough to feed themselves. Moreover, new policies that were put in place by colonial administration geared towards the exploitation of the colony’s economy. The colonial administration introduced laws and policies that facilitated land alienation. The Crown Lands Ordinances of 1902 and 1915 declared that all the land in Kenya belonged to the British. Land alienation and the introduction of tea plantation reduced the land that was used for grazing and food production in Konoin. The plantation economy brought considerable effects. First and foremost it led to forced labour.
The able bodied men from the region were forced by circumstances to go and provide labour in the plantations.

Kimulot was proclaimed Crown Land in 1909 and the Kipsigis were forcibly evicted through burning down of huts. After the First World War land was made available for the British ex-soldier scheme who planted flax until 1921 when the project collapsed. This was followed by the arrival of two British companies who purchased the British ex-soldiers scheme after the failure of the project. Consequently, the Kipsigis of Konoin lost more of their land in 1925, when 5500 acres of land was purchased by the tea companies in Kericho area for establishing plantations. This was after former larger Kericho District met the geographical requirements in terms of soil and climate in addition to the abundant supply of rainfall. The proximity of Konoin, Bomet County to the tea estates was found to have influenced the economy in the area. This shows how the tea estates directly influenced the development and expansion of smallholder tea production. For instance the adoption of tea was driven by the desire to be like Europeans especially for those who worked in the Europeans plantations. The extension officers were dispatched into the area to train people on the importance of tea as the settlers encouraged Africans to do so. This then initiated dependence on cash crop production in Konoin, which has continued to exist up to the post-independence period.

Swynnerton Plan of 1954 brought drastic measures on the economy of the Kipsigis of Konoin. The plan proposed that Kipsigis tea growing be started in Kimulot area in Konoin, Bomet County. In the same year, the Nyanza Provincial Agricultural Officer wrote to the Director of Agriculture asking that the first African controlled tea growing scheme be set up in Kimulot area. It was as a result of this that a small pilot scheme was started to find out if the area was
suitable. This marked the beginning of smallholder tea production in Konoin, Bomet County.

In 1957 smallholder tea production was started with about 106 progressive African farmers each with 1/3 of an acre under the scheme. The plan laid emphasis on the production of cash crops and not food crops.

Smallholder tea production in Konoin continued to expand after independence in 1963. It was noteworthy that most of the farmers increased land under tea. The reasons behind these developments were that most farmers saw tea as a permanent cash crop which provided the farmers with regular income. Unlike earlier, seedlings became readily available as farmers had acquired the essential skills to set up their own nurseries. The benefits from tea production became one of the motivating factors for the smallholder tea producers. It was noted from the study that because of these factors some of the people in Konoin abandoned the production of maize, millet and cattle rearing to create room for tea production under the smallholder scheme. People of Konoin have overtime increased the land under tea while on the other hand the land under food crops has continued to reduce.

The study established that cash crop production negatively impacted on food production. The study has shown that negative effects of cash crops occur when too much land is put under cash crops and little under food crops. Too much time was also allocated to tea and its elaborate activities and on the other hand food production was neglected. This was because plucking of tea was done every day mostly by women making it difficult for farmers to leave tea picking to cultivate food crops. In addition, farmers spent a lot of time at the tea buying centres waiting for transport which did not allow them to engage in any other economic activities. Consequently, most of the food consumed in the district was bought from the
market. Any changes in the food market affected the area of study either positively or negatively in terms of prices. The study found that granaries once used for food harvest had been turned into stores for farm tools. This dependence on tea production ultimately undermined food sustainability in Konoin.

The introduction of smallholder tea production in 1957 had a major effect on the pre-capitalist production. The new crops had a different system of production which was new to the people of Konoin. Labour organization was the driving force in crop production. Tea production interfered with the production of food crops like millet. The introduction of tea was a way of entrenching the capitalist mode of production in Konoin. A small size of land under food crop production contributed to food insecurity. Dependence on cash crops restricted availability of land for food crops. The study established that there was a close relationship between food security and standards of living.

The study also established that the formation of KTDA led to the expansion of smallholder tea production in Konoin. KTDA played a significant role in introducing tea into new areas. It provided support to smallholders through the provision of essential services. KTDA issued licenses to smallholders hence putting them under its control. The authority collected leaves from the centres and transported it to the factories for processing. At the time of payments, the farmers received the money from the corporation after selling their tea to KTDA. Smallholders paid cess on the green leaf sold through the authority. This was sold by the corporation through the tea auction at Mombasa. The Authority also provided extension services and maintained the tea roads. Smallholder tea producers got loans from KTDA through the cooperative societies. The credit requirement was determined by the size of the
holding and the stage of production. KTDA was instrumental in establishing factories like Kapset and Mogogosiek in Konoin, Bomet County.

However the study has also established KTDA was characterized by poor co-ordination and supervision of tea collection and processing. KTDA did not involve the farmers in accessing information on the nature of the market. The Smallholders in Konoin generally felt that Kenya Tea Development Authority was not efficient in the provision of crucial services. There were delays in payments and delay in leaf collection from the tea buying centres over the study period. The delays resulted in tea being rejected and this amounted to wastage of time and labour resources. KTDA also delayed in the distribution of fertilizers and was found to be slow in the construction and maintenance of roads. This misunderstanding between smallholder tea producers and KTDA created a conflict that led to the restructuring of KTDA and liberalization of tea in 2000.

5.2 Conclusion
The study has concluded that the coming of the settlers into Kenya and consequently into Konoin led to the introduction of tea as a cash crop. Introduction of tea as a cash crop led to land alienation which altered the pre-capitalist land tenure system among the Kipsigis of Konoin. The arrival of two British companies, James Finlay and Brooke Bond led to the expansion of estate tea plantation following the introduction of tea in 1912. These two companies acquired land from the British ex-soldiers and continued to expand. Africans were not allowed to grow tea so as to provide labour for the tea plantations. The Swynnerton plan
1954 led to the introduction of smallholder tea by Africans. This led to the establishment of a pilot scheme in Konoin marking the beginning and expansion of smallholder tea production.

The study concluded that, smallholder tea undermined food crop production in Konoin. This was because the introduction, development and expansion of smallholder tea production led to a reduction of land under food crops. Any change in land tenure has significant impact on the system of crop production. Therefore there is a strong correlation between food crop production and cash crop production. This period witnessed the subordination of the pre-capitalist mode of production. The introduction of tea as a commercial crop with its unique system of production replaced the production of traditional food crops and helped entrench the capitalist mode of production.

The formation of the Kenya Tea Development Authority in 1964 led to the expansion of the smallholder tea production. This was done through the introduction of tea in areas previously uncultivated. The formation of KTDA was a major boost to the tea sector. The authority controlled factory management in addition to paying the farmers dues. Farmers therefore had no say on how tea was collected, processed and sold. Despite these, payments delayed creating a conflict between the farmers and the authority. There was a general feeling of dissatisfaction between the smallholders and the Authority, which later became an agency.

5.3 Recommendations

The finding of this study recommends that it is necessary to examine the relationship between cash crop economy by smallholders and food production. Diversification of the economy needs to be looked into to ensure that there is sufficient food production. The study
recommends that the Ministry of Agriculture should examine ways of creating a balance between food production and cash crop production.

There is also a need for the Ministry of Agriculture to encourage smallholder tea producers to diversify activities outside the farm in order to improve their welfare. This can be done by ensuring that the prices of other crops like maize and milk are increased to encourage the farmers to grow maize and keep cattle. Strategies need to be developed to increase the value of food production per unit of land in order to improve food security and living standards. This is in line with vision 2030. Further study should be conducted on the irregular prices of tea in the international market. There is a need to save costs in order to benefit the smallholders.

The study raised the following issues as areas for further research historically; the role of MNCs Finlay and Brooke Bond in the development of smallholder tea production, increase in female labour on smallholder tea production which has an implication on food production and the control of tea income by household heads (men) yet women spend their time providing labour on tea farms. The relationship between MNCs and smallholder tea production from 1963-2017 could be researched on.
**PRIMARY SOURCES**

**Oral sources**

**List of informants**

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APPENDIX C: Interview schedule

Part A

Name...............................................................................................................................

Age.................................................................................................................................

Location........................................................................................................................

Sub-location..................................................................................................................

Number of acres owned..............................................................................................

Land acquisition, (inherited or bought) ........................................................................

Number of acres under tea-............(acres) food crops.............(acres).

and others-..........(acres)

TEA PRODUCTION DURING COLONIAL PERIOD

1. When did you start planting tea? _________________

2. Where did you get your seedlings? _________________

3. How did you get your seedlings (from settlers, own nursery)?

4. Did you own land during that time? _________________
5. How many acres of your land did you put under tea production when you started planting? ________

6. What were you doing with your land before you started planting tea? ________

7. Why did you decide to grow tea? ______________________

8. Which economic activities did you abandon in order to start planting tea? ______________________

9. Were there individuals who failed to grow tea during that time? ________

10. What were some of the reasons that made some people not to grow tea at that time? ______________________

11. What challenges did you face when you first planted tea? ______________________

12. Who provided labour in your tea farms? ______________________

13. Where did you take your tea leaves for processing? ________

14. Which seasons did you experienced food shortages before you planted tea? ________

15. In what ways did tea production lead to food shortages? ________

16. In times of famines where did you get your food requirements? ______________________

17. What benefits did you get from tea sales? ______________________
18. What did you do with the money you were paid for tea sales? 

PERIOD AFTER INDEPENDENCE 1964-1978

1. After independence did you make any effort to increase the land under tea? 
2. How did you acquire this land? 
3. What reasons made you to increase your tea bushes? 
4. How many acres of your land were put under tea? 
5. Were there some economic activities that you had to abandon to give way to tea production? 
6. Who provided labour for your tea especially picking and weeding? 
7. What challenges did you face as a producer of tea? 
8. Were there people who failed to increase their land under tea after independence? 
9. What reasons made them not to do so? 
10. How did the Government after independence encourage people to produce more tea on their farms? 
11. In your own opinion how has food production been in Konoin since you started planting tea? 
12. After independence were there times when the food supply was not sufficient in the area? 
13. How did people get their food requirements? 
14. Do you think there was a relationship between tea production and insufficient food production in the area? 
15. What roles did KTDA play to promote tea production in Konoin when it was established in 1964? 
16. Were there times when you felt that KTDA was not playing its role in Konoin?
17. What were some of the benefits of growing tea in the area that people saw in order to accept to grow tea?

TEA PRODUCTION FROM 1979 TO 1992

1. How did the Moi Government encourage the growing of tea in Konoin District since 1978 to 1997?

2. During this period did you make any effort to increase your tea bushes?

3. If yes what were the reasons?

4. Did all households in the area increase the area under tea during this period?

5. What reasons made some people not to plant tea or plant more tea on their farms?

6. What were the effects of this on food crop production?

7. Were there times when you felt like doing away with tea production?

8. If yes, what reasons did you have?

9. During the Nyayo Era what were the challenges faced by tea producers?

10. How did you respond to these challenges?

11. Who provided labour for your tea farms?

TEA PRODUCTION FROM 1993 TO 2002
1. Do all households in Konoin plant tea? ______________________

2. If so what percentage of acreage in your sub-location is under Tea? ________

3. Do all households produce food from their farms? ______________________

4. If so what percentage of acreage of land in your sub-location is under food crops? __

5. How do they supplement their food requirements? ______________________

6. In your own opinion how has tea production improved the standards of living of the people in the area? ________________________________

7. What are some the developments in the area that are associated with tea production?

8. In your own opinion do you think tea production has improved your living standards as compared to those people who have no tea? ________________________________

9. Who provides labour in your farms? ________________________________

10. Have you experienced any problems associated with tea production? ______

11. If yes, which problems? ________________________________

12. In what ways has KTDA failed to meet your expectations as a producer of tea? ________________________________

13. How have you responded to failures of KTDA? ________________________________

14. In your opinion when KTDA became an agency in the year 2000, do you think it is performing better than before? ________________________________

15. If yes, in what ways? ________________________________
## APPENDIX D: Observation Schedule

### Land use:
- **Tea farm**
- **Grazing field**
- **Maize field**
- **Cow shed**
- **Vegetable garden**

### Permanent house:

### Granary:

### Farming systems:
- **Monocropping**
- **Mixed cropping**
- **Zero Grazing**
- **Mixed farming**

### Others:

### Presence of a vehicle/vehicles:

### Tea buying centre nearby:
APPENDIX E: MAP OF THE STUDY AREA (KONOIN SUB-COUNTY) IN BOMET COUNTY

Source: Survey of Kenya Topographic Sheet for Kisumu (SA-36-4), 1:250,000