

**AGRICULTURAL TRANSFORMATION IN NYAMIRA COUNTY,  
KENYA; 1945-2002**

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**A Thesis Submitted to School of Humanities and Social Sciences in  
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for The Award of Master of  
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**2019**

## DECLARATION AND RECOMMENDATION

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

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## **DEDICATION**

To my parents Mzee Isaboke and Mum Kwamboka for their devotion in farming through which all my siblings were able to acquire their education. Their selfishlessness and hardworking will always be remembered by our family.

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## ABSTRACT

The study focused on agricultural transformation in Nyamira County between 1945 and 2002. The study objectives included process of agricultural transformation and policies during the onset of the Second World War, drivers of agricultural transformation in the County since 1945. The study also examined the social-economic effects of agricultural transformation between 1979 and 2002. The year 1945 was important to the study because after the Second World War, for the first time in history there was a deliberate attempt by the colonial government to resuscitate agriculture following negative socio - economic effects of the war. Therefore, it marked a watershed and provided basic historical background information on agricultural development in Kenya and on the topic of study. The research ended in the year 2002, when Kenya witnessed the lowest level of economic development characterized by poor performance of the agricultural sector. The study was guided by one, articulation of modes of production theory which explain that two or more modes of production emerge to co-exist. The two combined to form a mixed economy which was exploitative in nature particularly to African farmers. The other theory used was dependency and underdevelopment which elucidate that resources flow from the 'periphery' the poor and underdeveloped states to a 'core' of wealth states, enriching the latter at the expense of the former. Here, the poor states were improvised by the rich as their economy was integrated into the world system. The research adopted a descriptive design and historical approach because it sought to probe the experiences of peasants in the agricultural sector in the area of study. The research used primary sources of data which included use of archival and oral evidence. The study also marshalled secondary materials in libraries and internet sources. The study population included the five sub- counties of the County and findings were analyzed using both quantitative and qualitative methods. Some of the key findings of the study included the confirmation that agricultural changes have been taking place from the advent of European colonial economy. However, it was also found that there were no special incentive packages to motivate farmers to engage in meaningful agriculture. Weak producer cooperatives worsened the situation on the ground because of mismanagement and corruption among other factors. Notwithstanding that, the sector created some meaningful socio-economic impacts in the society. The findings will be of great value to social and economic historians in understanding trends, drivers, and socio-economic impacts of agricultural transformation in the County.

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## OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

**Agriculture:** It is used to refer to both crop and animal husbandry in general. In the study it was used in narrow sense referring to crop cultivation.

**Dependency:** is an historical condition which shapes the structure of the world economy such that it favours some countries to the detriment of others. It limits the development possibilities of the subordinate economies, a situation in which their economies are conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy, to which their own is subjected.

**Development:** A process that implies creativity, skills and wellbeing. It is also the process of change towards the enhancement of a people's socio-economic welfare and the average individual's scope for self-fulfillment. It can also mean successive transformation that enables a community, sub-national group or nation to cope with demands upon it. In this study, it constitutes the growth of domestic product (GDP) and levels of employment that would be used to measure the socio-economic development.

**Modes of production:** According to this study, mode of production means production and appropriation of nature where the capitalist mode of production was introduced in a non-capitalist mode of production in Africa. For this case, the capitalist mode of production overthrew the African mode forcing it towards a new-colonial type or co-existed as an articulated economy.

**Pre-colonial economy:** As used in this study, it refers to the economic activities Africans were involved in before colonial period. They included hunting and gathering and practice of simple food crop production such as millet, sorghum among

others for local or family use. However, the surplus was exchanged in form of barter with what the particular communities did not produce.

**Post-colonial economy:** According to this study it was used to refer to economic legacies of colonialism and imperialism focusing on economic exploitation of the colonialized people and their land.

**Subsistence economy:** An economy in which agricultural production is mainly for own consumption. It is non-monetary economy which relies on natural resources to provide for basic needs through subsistence farming, hunting and gathering and no more than the basic necessities of life such as food, shelter and clothing.

**Synthetic commodity substitutes:** Commodities that are artificially produced but of like nature with substitutes for the natural commodities for instance pyrethrum. Producers of raw materials mainly from Less Developed Countries (LDCs) which are becoming more and more vulnerable to competition from synthetics from industrialized countries as a result of the latter's more advanced state of scientific and technical progress.

**Transformation:** Qualitative change in form, shape or appearance, (Pingali, 1997). In relation to this study, it will involve process that improves or worsens the quality of farming and economic wellbeing of the people through agriculture.

**Underdevelopment:** The term is used in the study to refer to economic underdevelopment which includes lack of access to job opportunities, industries, water, education, housing, low standard of living among others.

## **ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

AADP	-	Africa Agriculture Development Programme
ADC	-	Agricultural Development Corporation.
AFC	-	Agricultural Finance Corporation
ALDEV	-	African Land Development Board
AMP	-	Articulation of Modes of Production
AU	-	African Union
BM	-	Blue Mountain
CAADP	-	Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Program
CDC	-	Commonwealth Development Corporation
ERS	-	Economic Recovery Strategy
FAO	-	Food Agricultural Organization
FDG	-	Focused Group Discussion.
GDP	-	Gross Domestic Product
KADU	-	Kenya African Democratic Union
KFA	-	Kenya Farmers Association
KGGCU	-	Kenya Grain Growers Cooperative Union
KPCU	-	Kenya planters Coffee Cooperative Union
KPHC	-	Kenya Population Households Census
KTDA	-	Kenya Tea Development Authority
LDCS	-	Less Development Countries
MDGS	-	Millennium Development Goals
NARC	-	National Alliance Rainbow Coalition
NEPAD	-	New Partnership for Africans Development
RoK	-	Republic of Kenya
SCDA	-	Special Crops Development Authority
UK	-	United Kingdom
UN	-	United Nations
UNDP	-	United Nations Development Programme
UNEC	-	United Nations Economic Community

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1 Background to the Study**

Research on agricultural transformation, cause and its significance in Africa and Kenya in particular tends to ignore its development in specific and small units of study. The study of specific local area attempts to overcome the challenges of generalization. This work takes into cognizance of the fact that Agriculture forms the backbone of most economies in Sub-Saharan Africa. The sector contributes to the Gross Domestic Product, employment, provision of food requirements and foreign exchange (Nyangito, 2003).

Despite the importance of the sector in Africa, food production for the local population is backward. Skill development and technology for the majority of small-scale farmers has also been neglected and yet to undergo the expected transformation (Njuguna, 2011). The study focused on agricultural transformation process, drivers and socio- economic effects among the Gusii of Nyamira County in the period between 1945 and 2002. The geographical area of study was formerly Nyamira District carved out of the larger Kisii District in former Nyanza Province in 1988. The same geographical region came to be known as Nyamira County.

The term agricultural transformation has been described by Pingali (1997) and Rigg (2006) as a process by which individual farms shift from subsistence to highly modern oriented production or otherwise. They aver that government policy

intervention may determine the transformation process from traditional small holders to modern scale economy. The experience of the evolution of agricultural sector over centuries tells us that the sector has evolved from being simple food gathering to an intensive production system. Among other causes, this has been brought about by rapid population growth and technological revolution.

According to Timmer (1988) both historical and contemporary cross-section perspectives indicate that agricultural transformation evolved through a process of at least four phases that call for different policy approaches. The process starts with the rise in agricultural productivity which generates surplus that can in the second phase, be tapped to develop the non-agricultural sector. The phase was the focus of most of the dual economy models of development.

Along that line, the traditional Agricultural industry will finally become a modern one with the characteristics of intensification of production, concentration of farming and trend toward specialization of production (Wilson, 2001). A success of third phase will lead to a fourth phase where the role of agricultural sector will be the same as manufacturing services on rural development. The historical record after the Second World War suggests that many countries saw an opportunity to pursue a 'Jump strategy' and move directly from the first stage where high proportion of resources are devoted into agriculture.

The strategies saw the extraction of resources from agriculture for economic development as being in conflict with the investment of public and private resources

in its modernization. Burton (2004) concurs with Timmer who did almost the same study on process of agricultural transformation. Their studies provided major in-depth study in assessment of remarkable changes of agricultural process which took place in the area of study. Cone (1972) observes that that the second stage, which he called diversified or mixed agriculture, entailed that part of the produce was grown for self-consumption and for sale to the commercial sector. This stage of development from subsistence economies to cash economies is based on the presence of cash production. This phase constitutes what may be called agricultural transformation. From the analysis, Nyamira County fits easily into the model where African subsistence farming was converted into food and cash crop economy after 1945.

The assumption here is that local economies initially experimented with cash crop requirements and then at some point chose to specialize in specific crops. The third and final stage represents the modern farm which is exclusively engaged in high productivity, specialized agriculture catering entirely for the commercial market and thereafter promoting rural development. The above scholars did not however fully demonstrate its process, drivers and socio-economic impact on the area of study, which this research sought to address.

African scholars appear generally optimistic that agricultural growth linkages do exist in rural Africa albeit at levels lower than those found in Asia (Heerink, 2006). However, the colonial period provided critical influence on imperial Africa and its legacies which have continued to attract a lot of attention (Mamdani, 1996). The period marked influence of European settlement, both direct and indirect, on the

pattern of African agricultural development. This aspect has not received adequate attention from scholars and therefore, there was need to look at it from a wider perspective. The experience has been termed by AduBoahen 'as deep and certainly destined to affect the future discourses of economic events in Africa' (Akurang-Parry, 2007: 7).

Prior to the advent of European imperialism, African economies particularly agriculture were simple and based on traditional practices. The production, therefore, was primarily for collective subsistence rather than individual accumulation and to some degree the same trend has persisted. Sheriff (1985: 1-31) observes that this could be the reason agricultural sector's growth has lagged behind in national economic growth in Africa.

Cone (1972) postulates that African growers relied on small-scale farming and lacked the incentives to grow more than for subsistence. He further noted that modern agricultural economy has evolved for the last seventy years or so as a result of European agricultural philosophy and development in Africa. Historically, countries that had achieved large increases in real income from agriculture did so through structural transformation of their economies. This involves increased integration of agriculture with the rest of the economy, improvement in input and output market facilities among others. Agricultural transformation boosted by a sustained industrialization with an expanding overall economy.

Colonial as well as post-independent administrations employed different strategies to obtain similar objectives (Irz, 2001). In other words, the colonial powers organized the rural world so that they could control it, for producing export crops such as coffee, tea, pyrethrum to mention but a few. The mobilization of peasants through the built-in mechanisms in socio-economic and political system caused underdevelopment among Africans. The small peasants were perceived as rightful and natural targets for exploitation. Even though peasants tried to put up some resistance, the colonial government used their administration to mobilize them for the capital market (Ley, 1973).

In Africa, over the years, agricultural systems have undergone transformation triggered by various factors. Levi (1982) describes this agricultural situation as being static and flexible. The colonialists played a major role in incorporating African agriculture into capitalist economy (Rodney, 1972: 162). The post-independent agricultural development has largely been built on the colonial heritage. After some time, the mode was actually articulated combining the capitalist modes of production and the pre-capitalist mode of production which co-existed to form an articulated economy. This resulted in creation of dependency and underdevelopment of African economic structure through expropriation of its labour and raw materials. It is argued that this created a state of perpetual dependency among Africans.

Ese (1990) examines the British economic policy in Africa that was meant to be a source of raw materials for British domestic economy and for the world market. Furthermore, he observes that the growth of settler agricultural economy in Kenya

was at the expense of Africans. Therefore, transformation of indigenous African farming into European agriculture model was for selfish economic interest. Esese's argument was confirmed by Fredrick Lugard who was regarded as the high priest of British imperialism in East and Western Africa. Lugard greatly supported and perpetuated European interest and activities in Africa and at some stage he made the following comment to support his thoughts.

European brain, capital and energy have not been, and never will be, expended in developing the resources of Africa from motives of philanthropy (Chiryankaudath, 2007: 7).

Lugard had no doubts about the motives of British colonialism and economic benefits for British metropolitan and local investors in Africa. In other words, Lugard was clear on what the British government was after more so in promotion of economic interest of their mother country. He was further supported by another British scholar who argued that:

The surplus was kept in London in British government bonds as forced savings from African farmers which assisted the British metropolitan economy recover from the post-war dollars' shortage. Earlier on, Africa had already revealed an emerging comparative advantage in export agriculture (Rimmer 1992: 41-2).

Both arguments attested to the fact that the imperial governments never cared much about the welfare of Africans. In the same vein, agricultural transformation such as rural economic diversification increase in non-agricultural income, and income delocalization was certainly taking place in vast majority of developing countries, Africa being among them (Rigg, 2006). It was, therefore, necessary to examine features and mechanisms behind these transformations on rural development and the quality of the farmer's life. Agricultural specialization was also used as an important indicator to examine agricultural transformation.

Studies in West Africa on agricultural transformation during the colonial period have revealed that colonialism destroyed indigenous farming (Levi, 1982). Colonialism neglected African agriculture through its policies which were designed to facilitate the spread of foreign owned plantation companies. The African indigenous crops were given a raw deal until after Second World War, when the Europeans realized their significance and made the colonial government to invest a lot in the sector. The following quotation illustrates this fact;

Gross fixed capital formation in Kenya between 1946 and 1958 totaled 378.6 million pounds of which 234.2 million pounds were in the private sector. The immediate post – war periods, 1946 – 1952, saw the investment of 128.8 million pounds, bulk of which 88.8 million pounds was concentrated in African agriculture, the private sector (Bruce 1990: 380)

By far, the largest proportion of private investment was not in the sphere of plantation and settler estate production but in small-scale farming. The Kenya economy experienced not only growth, but also increased internal structural diversification. Therefore, from the late 1950s, tens of thousands of peasant's households in Kenya entered into active community production and by 1957 Nyanza Province was one of the principal regions with higher cash crop production. Importantly, Gusiiland (Kisii District) by then was among the leading in production of tea, pyrethrum and coffee in the region. The findings provided useful guide in the study of agricultural transformation in the area of study.

Shanin (1971) postulates that in Kenya, the pre - colonial system of production and exchange of peasant production took place as it did in the rest of the continent.

Central Kenya was among the earliest regions in the country to witness agricultural transformation in the 1950s when Africans were granted freedom to grow cash crops. It can be concluded that peasant farming economy in Central Kenya was in a state of flux as traditional agriculture was by then being replaced by commercial farming, contributing to underdevelopment of African economy. The theories such as articulation of modes of production and underdevelopment paradigm explain on the evolution of farming system and agricultural transformation which resulted in transforming a subsistence oriented production system (Pingali, 1997). It can be argued that Africa's traditional agriculture was in collision with the capitalist modes of production. The capitalist mode of production overthrew the African mode, thus forcing the Africans toward a neo-colonial type of production.

Fearn (1961) contends that in much of the colonial period, Nyanza Province of Kenya remained a supplier of professionals or skilled labour to the local and the rest of East Africa. Cokomu (2001) concurs with Fearn, that Luo households in Siaya suffered from insufficient labour, resulting in low food production making the community suffer from hunger. He further argues that capitalist's agriculture was confined to the Asian owned sugar. However, did not mention other cash crops like coffee, pyrethrum and tea which were being grown in parts of Nyanza and in particular Nyamira County.

Finally, Omwoyo (1992) and Maxon (2003) have done commendable work on Gusii agriculture. Omwoyo analyzed transformation of Gusii Agriculture from 1875 to 1963. His focus was mainly on the dynamics and innovations of indigenous

agriculture from the pre-colonial up to Kenya's independence. However, the study sought to fill the knowledge gap by analyzing agricultural transformation in Nyamira County in the period from 1945-2002. A critical and in-depth analysis of these changes and their socio – economic impacts on the residents of Nyamira was the focus of the study.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

A number of scholars have made tremendous scholarly contributions to agricultural transformation in Africa and other developing countries before 1960. However, no comprehensive study has been done and documented on the same among the residents of Nyamira County in post - independent period, yet it is an important economic aspect in agricultural sector. Further, more questions as to the process, drivers and the socio – economic impact of agricultural transformation in the period 1945 – 2002 on the residents of Nyamira awaits resolutions.

Similarly, the topic has not been subjected to historical analysis particularly on land, farming practices, types of crops, agents leading to accelerated transformation and its socio-economic effects in the period between 1945 and 2002.

## **1.3 Research Questions**

The study sought to address the following research questions:

- (i) How was the process of agricultural transformation in Nyamira County from 1945 to 1962?

(ii) What were the drivers of agricultural transformation in Nyamira County from 1963 to 1978?

(iii) What were the socio-economic effects of agricultural transformation in Nyamira County from 1979 to 2002?

#### **1.4 Objectives of the Study**

The study sought to achieve the following objectives:

(i) To examine the process of agricultural transformation in Nyamira County from 1946 to 1962.

(ii) To analyze the drivers of agricultural transformation in Nyamira County from 1963 to 1978.

(iii) To examine the socio-economic effects of agricultural transformation in Nyamira County from 1979 to 2002.

#### **1.5 Research Premises**

The study was guided by the following premises:

(i) The process of agricultural transformation in Nyamira County was characterized by subsistence and cash crop production from 1945 to 1962.

(ii) Agricultural transformation in Nyamira was mainly driven by commercial factors from 1963 to 1978.

(iii) Agricultural transformation led to significant socio-economic changes in Nyamira County from 1979 to 2002.

## **1.6 Justification and Significance of the Study**

Many works done on agricultural transformation are on the continental, regional or national levels. Such work tends to be general given their broad coverage. This study therefore, assumed that agricultural activities are regionally specific and their analysis requires systematic local studies. The study therefore, was narrowed down to the unit of focus, Nyamira County in former Nyanza Province.

The study adopted a historical approach, covering the period between 1945 and 2002. The research underscores the fact that agriculture is an important aspect of economic history and a major discipline in African historiography. Apart from Omwoyo's work, *The Transformation of Agriculture C.1875 - 1963 on Gusii*, no other exhaustive research work has been undertaken in the County. Therefore, there exists a lacuna on agricultural transformation in Nyamira County in post – independent period up to 2002. The study sought to fill a glaring gap of knowledge and historiography of agricultural transformation in the County.

The period 1945 to 2002 was long enough to enable the researchers to analyze the process, drivers for change and socio–economic impact of agricultural transformation among the residents of Nyamira County. The study began in 1945 to provide basic historical background information on agricultural transformation and development among Africans which dated back to aftermaths of Second World War. Equally important, the study ended the year 2002 marking end of a political transition when agricultural sector had performed dismally. The findings and recommendations of study may make the government come up with appropriate policy framework to revamp the agricultural sector.

Nyamira County was suitable and settled for this study, given its ideal climatic conditions for farming. The area of study has attracted many scholars particularly anthropologists who have been interested with human and cultural activities of the community because of its rich cultural heritage. But few economic and social historians have made attempts to do research in the area of study. Therefore, the County offers more attractive opportunities for profitable cash cropping than many counties in the country. Some high value crops such as tea, coffee and pyrethrum are suited to the area more than other areas. This constitutes a basis for establishing a strong and realistic case for the study of the County. Nyamira County was preferred more than other counties because the researchers did not anticipate language problem because many of the researcher assistants hail from the same locality.

In addition, the study was physically limited to Nyamira County since it was not possible to study all the areas where agriculture was done in Kenya within two years of study for masters' programme. Besides that, a lot of research works have been done in many other regions and Nyamira stands out as among the few which have not been researched exhaustively.

The study was motivated to have recommendations for development strategy to transform the area into a newly industrialized, middle-income county through agricultural transformation. The recommendations can be generalized for application in the rest of the country especially in rich agricultural regions. It is true as agricultural transformation was not only an alternative but also a major policy priority in tackling the much wider problems of rural development. The study was urgent

because it could facilitate coming to grips with the problem of low Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and lack of agricultural raw materials for industrial growth and ensure food security. The study was anticipated to help the relevant specialist for example economic historians and agriculturalists in understanding trends and social-economic impacts of agricultural transformation in Nyamira County. The in-depth analysis of agricultural transformation among the Abagusii community of Nyamira County would benefit scholars in economic, social and history. It may also benefit those who may be interested in micro-economic research in rural Kenya.

The research findings would constitute a significant element in the accumulation of historical data necessary in economic development of Gusii, the community of Nyamira County and the country in general. It may be difficult to formulate meaningful economic development goals without its findings. Finally, the findings of the study were hoped to bridge the huge gap that the previous researchers had left as far as agricultural transformation in Nyamira is concerned.

### **1.7 Scope and Limitations of the Study**

The study was confined to Nyamira County formerly a district as from 1988 when it was carved out of the larger Kisii District. Refer to Chapter One on the Area of study page 38. It officially became a County after 2010 with the new constitution. Much as it was not yet a county by 2002, for the sake of clarity, we refer to it as county for its current status and for the interest of this study. It is constituted of five sub-counties, namely; Nyamira North, Nyamira South, Borabu, Masaba North and Manga. The research was carried out in all clustered divisions and locations in each Sub- County.

There are clear bounds from Kisii County even though the two-share same climatic conditions and economic activities.

According to the 1999 census, the County had a population of about 500, 000 (RoK, 1999). The study sampled 150 in total respondents both men and women from all sub-counties engaged either in farming activities, administration, agricultural officers, religious leaders and teachers. Agricultural extension officers from each sub-county played a crucial role as key informants for the provision of objective opinion on the subject of study. However, not all those interviewed whose data and views were recorded as others repeated same information. The findings were taken to be the true picture of the subject under study.

The research focused on agriculture, more so cultivation of crops, both indigenous crops and cash crops. The indigenous crops included sorghum, maize, sweet bananas and finger millet and the cash crops included tea, coffee and pyrethrum. The study was limited to crop farming because the importance of cattle in the larger Gusii economy has been plummeting since colonial era (Maxon, 2003). In addition, the Gusii wet highlands made of rolling hills and ridges generally lack extensive open pastureland which can be suitable for livestock. The ever-increasing population has also contributed to scarcity of grazing lands.

The County is vast and expansive with poor terrain and inaccessible and other logistic constraints hence made travelling quite difficult due to lack of accessibility in the

rural areas. The data was collected from identified knowledgeable respondents on the subject within the five sub-counties of the county. This was to mitigate the above limitations.

In the course of collecting data, some respondents did not take the exercise serious because they argued agriculture was a routine activity. To surmount this situation, the researcher took a lot of time to convince them to develop a positive attitude to the sector. The weather was also a challenge especially during the rainy days, rendered our research work difficult to some extent. The study experienced communication breakdown as one of the challenges due to level of education of respondents. Some of the respondents were unable to fill the questionnaire appropriately. Lastly, lack of adequate resources in terms of finance and time was a serious limitation to the study.

## **1.8 Review of Related Literature and Theoretical Framework**

The literature review for this study has been presented in three categories, namely; the process of agricultural transformation in a wider perspective especially in developing world and Africa as a whole. The study also analyzed drivers of agricultural transformation in Africa and in reference to the area of study, and examination and interrogation of the socio – economic effects in the affected societies.

### **1.8.1 The Process of Agricultural Transformation**

The study analyzed the process of agricultural transformation and how it relates to national economic development. It can be argued here that persistence of pre-capitalist structures made many African economies remain underdeveloped. However,

it should not be assumed that there were no other underlying factors which contribute to this development which the study had attempted to address herein. It was therefore, necessary to examine the process and mechanisms behind the transformations and how the agricultural transformation impacted on rural development and the quality of the farmer's life.

According to Nerlove (1988), agricultural transformation is viewed as the transition of agriculture from traditional form which was in a state of disequilibrium in growth, to qualitative state in shape and appearance. The latter state of affair was also called modern agriculture described to be equilibrium. To achieve this level, there was need to strengthen incentives in the sector to boost the slow agricultural growth and declining food production per capita to higher levels. The process may include lowering of prices of agricultural inputs, farm subsidies, provision of research and extension services, and improvement of road infrastructure among others.

The changing of family economic activity and shifting from subsistence-oriented monoculture, food production system to modern agricultural system, involved a multifunctional farming and sustainable agricultural development. Even though his work tends to be general on African agriculture, the study found it invaluable as the area of study has undergone the same process in the period, 1945-2002. It was therefore, necessary to examine the process behind agricultural transformation and the impacts it had exerted on the residents of Nyamira County and specifically farmer's standard of living. Mkandawire (1988) avers that during the 1960s, most of the newly

independent African countries, the planning for the national economy, agricultural transformation became a prerogative and crucial instrument toward its realization.

Maxon (2003) observes that the World Bank (1993) report on agriculture for development supported the progressive farmer policy of rural transformation by concentrating on financial and extension services for a few model farmers in Kenya. This policy was adopted all over the country including among the residents of Nyamira County. This was meant to contribute to the growth of areas concerned, though soon after, it was found that metropolitan stood to gain more than the periphery.

### **1.8.2 Drivers of Agricultural transformation**

Wickramasinghe (2011) has argued that studies undertaken in some developing countries like Brazil and Republic of Korea have indicated that policy regimes play a decisive role in agricultural transformation. This happens through stable financing mechanisms in earlier stages of agricultural development. Besides that, implementation of appropriate policies in agricultural sector and economic environment play a vital role in transformation of agriculture. In addition, technological advancements complemented by institutional innovations ameliorate agricultural productivity. This allows smallholder agriculture to grow at a faster pace and achieve poverty reduction as well as food security. The findings were found to be invaluable to the study because of its relevance and applicability to the historical development of agriculture in Gusii more specifically to Nyamira County.

The above argument has been supported by Burton (2004) who focused on behavioral approach in agricultural studies. He alludes that changes in agriculture have been caused by individual or government initiatives. However, Burton does not point out the environmental factors which also play an integral role in driving agricultural transformation. This was what the study attempted to interrogate. Rodney (1972: 168) observes that in pre-colonial Africa there was a system of subsistence cultivation based on communal land. With the advent of European imperialists, intensive and rotational mixed farming based on personal possession of land was introduced. The pre-capitalist modes of production co-existed to form an articulated economy. It can be concluded that it resulted to the creation of dependency and underdevelopment of African economic structures. This was done through expropriation of African labour and raw material creating a state of perpetual dependence among Africans on the West.

Rodney's work has been significant for this study as the initial agricultural structure in Africa was transformed into the capitalist system of farming. Indigenous crops such as millet, sorghum, cassava just to mention but a few were replaced with cash crop which had a big demand in the world market where Africans hardly had a say. This view has been supported by (Swainson 1980), who argue that the development of agriculture after Second World War in all Anglo-phone colonial territories was expected to help in the construction of Britain hence such development became an instrument of economic transformation.

Boserup (1974) reports that population growth played a major factor in driving a transformation in an agricultural system from one land use system to another. She further argues that population growth increases the frequency of cropping on land, with combined improvement in agricultural technology. The argument advanced by Boserup has been echoed by world report on Africa where in 1970 growth of food production was below that of rural population. Her work was relevant because the County witnessed unprecedented population growth and therefore, became invaluable to the study. The researcher examined changes in agriculture with a view of interrogating other causes of transformation in Nyamira County apart from population growth. Boserup's work provided a framework to the study on how population growth rate in the County influenced agricultural transformation.

Policy processes in support of agricultural transformation in Africa forms one of the major drivers of change in agriculture. According to Binswanger (2012) the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Program (CAADP) which is an African Union (AU) initiative, was established to accelerate agricultural growth. It was also meant to improve food security and strengthen the resilience of African environment.

As an integral part of the New Partnership for Africans Development (NEPAD), the initiative was endorsed by African Heads of State and Government at the 2002 AU summit held in Maputo, Mozambique where African governments agreed to allocate at least ten percent of their national budgetary resources to agriculture to rural development and to adopt sound policies to achieve sustainable agricultural growth.

The CAADP provides a common policy framework for agricultural development in Africa. Chief among CAADP targets is the achievement of agricultural growth rates of at least six percent per annum. The targets relate to the thematic broad priorities like food supply and agricultural research among others. The study endeavored to investigate the relevance of the CAAP policies to the area of study.

Witzke (2009) observe that heads of state and government took major interest in agriculture and food security in addition to innovations and broader policy issues. The East African Community heads of state held a brainstorming meeting with this focus. Such overarching political leadership was essential for multi-sectorial and multi-dimensional agenda required for agricultural transformation.

Some of the policies they could want adopted included application of Agricultural Research and Technology Dissemination. Some 26 CAADP national-level pacts were signed. In the same vein, post-pact policy reviewed system in place under the umbrella of the African Union to speed up the move in strengthening agricultural information geared towards promotion of agricultural transformation. This was an historic moment as it promised to bring real African ownership, founded on evidence-based policy, adaptations and support to African agriculture. The study found this policy important especially in recommendations following the various suggestions from the informants and farmers themselves.

Raikes (1978) assert that Swynnerton Plan in Kenya in 1954 was a policy brought up by the colonial government at the national level. The policy was a reversal of previous colonial policies on native agricultural practices. It recommended that high-quality

native land be surveyed, enclosed and Africans be allowed to grow cash crops. At the same time, farmers were to be given a major increase in technical assistance and have access to all marketing facilities which were previously available and restricted to the white settler minority.

Policy reforms began with a modest programmatic reform of land tenure which sharply increased incentives for family efforts, resulting in an initiation of a major increase in agricultural production. No sooner had the government realized their adequacy of land reforms alone to bring about the required transformation in agriculture than the colonial regime introduced a second wave of reforms. They included the introduction of price support scheme modernization production processes through new re-adjustment of arable land to expand plot sizes, improved seed varieties and increased mechanization. These reforms set the stage for establishing processing and storage facilities as well as agro-industries.

Much as the Swynnerton plan was expected to intensify production among the Africans, it was a ploy to prop up a few of them who would side with the colonial power in the struggle for independence. It can be argued out that the plan made Kenya beverage economy, producing tea and coffee for the west at the expense of food for its citizens. His work could provide some in-depth reference especially in dealing with the same problem in the area of study where food production has gone down because of concentration of commercial crops.

Liu (2007), reports that agricultural technology advancement does not result in the demise of subsistence in agriculture. The provision of relevant technology and extension service played a key role in promoting agricultural changes and productivity in developing countries. Improving agricultural research technology dissemination and adoption in the country as elsewhere in the world need a scientific and technological underpinning to maintain sustained productivity gains. The study found the assertion useful especially in relation to unraveling drivers of agricultural transformation in Nyamira County.

Rosenzwing (1993) and Rosegrant (1995), states that shortfalls in crop production are due to insufficient rains. They further argue that much of African agriculture is rain-fed. The two authors illustrate this fact by indicating that in 1983, drought greatly affected Kenya's rate of GDP growth which shrunk agriculture greatly resulting to food shortage. The work of above authors contributed significantly to this study since it helped us understand the cause of agricultural transformation in Nyamira County.

Yeast (1985) and Omwoyo (1990) argues that Africa's continued dependency on export of traditional products is a primary factor for the region's poor agricultural development, transformation and export performance. This is true as the agricultural products face declining world prices and low-income elasticity. They observe that there was already a shift in international agricultural trade trend towards non-traditional processed agricultural products which could contribute immensely to agricultural transformation in Kenya. This situation has been compounded by what Terry (2004), calls a series of structural adjustment reform implemented in most African countries during the 1980s. The study found the effect of this programme

caused remarkable changes in most of agricultural activities in the area of study. This work provided the insight to this study particularly on the impact of structural programme on both commercial and indigenous farming.

Adedeji (1986) observe that increase in agricultural production cannot be substantial if not supported by adequate infrastructure, especially feeder roads. He attests to the fact that the improvement of infrastructure by the post-independence government was done to achieve this realization. Esese (1993) adds that improved road transport was to facilitate integrated agricultural development programmes during the colonial period, even though all roads and railways led down to the sea to serve the colonialist interest. The areas which were well served with transport network attracted more farming activities as compared to those which were not. Their arguments informed this study to establish whether transport network has any bearing to agricultural transformation in Nyamira County.

According to World Bank (2012) reports indicate that agricultural sector has hitherto failed to attract many investments from private sector. Therefore, majority of farmers are trapped in a vicious circle of low productivity, thus contributing little to agricultural transformation. The report further adds that the extent of credit extended to agricultural sector in Kenya for instance by financial institutions including banks has been just six per cent only. The amount may not be adequate and therefore, working to the detrimental of agricultural transformational process. So, in a way this promoted the dependency among the small-scale farmers as they were unable to produce enough to earn them enough returns. In turn, it caused underdevelopment

among the farmers because they never gained much from farming activities. These findings were found relevant to the area of study since most farmers are engaged in commercial farming which in actual sense does not benefit them enough. The terms of trade and prices are determined by other forces.

The Kenya government through the ministry of agriculture strives to have food security and a wealthy nation anchored on an innovative commercially oriented and competitive agricultural sector. According to Economic Review of Agriculture (ERA) 2015, it was aimed at improving the livelihood of majority of Kenyans. Furthermore, it could ensure food security and production of raw materials enough for agro based industrial development. The ministry therefore, closely monitors the performance of the sector which perhaps has a major impact on the Kenya's economic development. The study was informed that the area of study equally benefited from the national government effort to transform agricultural sector.

### **1.8.3 Social and Economic Impacts of Agricultural Transformation**

Agricultural transformation has led to socio - economic impacts in Africa particularly on those societies who practices agriculture. Rodney (1972: 103) argues that capitalism brought about technological backwardness in agriculture and environment in general. In addition, he observes that Africans were crowded on inadequate land and were forced to engage in intensive farming using techniques that are suitable only to shifting cultivation. Consequently, there was a technical retrogression as land yielded less and destroyed in the process due degradation. Rodney's findings were found invaluable in trying to find out why such practice persists among the residents of Nyamira County.

Mathias (1977) observes that the supply of raw materials to industries and strengthening of food security forms one of the most important features of agricultural transformation. It could boost rural income, increase rural employment and coordinate urban rural development. This probably explains why large proportion of public expenditure was made on agricultural sector soon after Kenya's independence. The major objective was to get raw materials for industrial growth. This study sought to interrogate the extent to which the government policy affected agricultural transformation in the area of study.

Timmer (1997) in his work, the *Political Economy of New Paradigms*, observes that the process of agricultural transformation can be understood through the trends in household diversification and specialization in agricultural sector. He stresses that in the start of transformation, there is more diversification in the sources of income for agricultural household through different types of crops and income sources. Suri (2008) concurs with him, that more diversification in rural Kenya was associated with less poverty as there were more benefits into a state where agriculture contributes more to GDP. Their findings provided more insight to the study on the process agricultural transformation went through in Nyamira County in the period 1945 to 2002.

In trying to find out how state policies affected gender relations in food production in Kenya, Wangari (1996) postulates that more land was alienated and conscription of African labour done during colonial period. This made more able-bodied men leave

women in the reserves with more responsibilities. The duties like tilling and growing crops such as bananas previously done by men were undertaken by women and children. The findings were found to be more relevant to the study as since that time, the practice and tradition of women being engaged in cultivation is more than men. Because of traditional setup, women were often unable to exercise their economic and social rights.

Similar studies in western Kenya on the role of women indicate that women were overburdened with various agricultural tasks in the absence of able-bodied males (Ndeda, 1991). She argues that women participated in farming activities while men were away which caused low production in agriculture. Their findings were useful in understanding the different roles played by various stakeholders like women in agricultural transformation among the residents of Nyamira County in the period 1945-2002.

Priscah (2010) employs a feminist political economy approach to examine agricultural development in Nandi district in Kenya since 1963. She argues that majority of farmers are women but are marginalized in policy formulation and operate within ideological environment defined by male dominated political, social and cultural structures. Her work informed this research of the various roles women have played among the Gusii community of Nyamira County in agricultural transformation in the period 1945-2002.

Fischer (1996) argues that various agricultural activities in many parts of Africa have impacted negatively on land. The depletion rate is 0.01 hectare per person obtained on the assumption of a linear relationship between population and available land. While the author's concern was land depletion, transformation of land use and land tenure system was equally important for this study. The practices of agricultural transformation in many parts of Africa have resulted to land fragmentation and unequal distribution of land. It came as a result of lack of a comprehensive land use policy and high population growth rate and limited diversification of production, (Kibaara, 2008). The author tended to leave out the socio-economic impact of the same which this study sought to establish in Nyamira County up to 2002.

Gabre (2002) argues that need to reduce poverty in itself have been a major drive to agricultural growth in the rural areas. However, the widespread poverty among many Africans has resulted to chronic underfunding of the sector. Oyejide (1986) also gave a striking illustration of the low input nature of African agriculture due to poverty. He adds that fertilizer use in Africa average 14.6 kilogram per hectare compared to 114.3 or more per hectare for most developed or developing countries like most of Asian countries. The author's finding on the effects of poverty on the agricultural transformation was important for this study. It was unraveled that the widespread poverty among the people in the area of study had played a major role in failure to attain the required transformation process.

Finally, in trying to find out the cause of poor agricultural production in Africa, Mike (2007) observes that environmental degradation caused poor intensification of

agricultural practices in the 1960s. This was true with the use of inorganic fertilizers which resulted in high nitrate phosphate levels in soils and waters. In addition, the continued heavy use of pesticides and herbicides has led to damaging buildup of toxic compounds in the food chain. Consequently, the need to transform agriculture, by extensive increase of cultivation of land has created demand for more land leading to clearance of small woodland and trees and hence loss of wildlife. Mike's observation was timely and relevant to the area of study as agricultural production over the years has gone down. So, the study used his view point to find out the resultant effects of the use of inorganic fertilizers and other related compounds.

#### **1.8.4 Theoretical Framework**

This study was guided by dependency, underdevelopment and articulation modes of production theories in analyzing the process of agricultural transformation in Nyamira County. The theories are used to explain the changes in agriculture from 1945 to 2002.

African political economy scholars and other writers have blamed Europeans for the underdevelopment of African economy. The application of dependency and underdevelopment theory explains Nyamira County's scenario on agricultural development and transformation. Dependency and underdevelopment theory hold, that the condition of underdevelopment in Africa is precisely the result of the incorporation of the third world economies into the capitalist world system which is dominated by the West in general. The theory was developed in the 1950s under the

guidance of Raul Prebisch, the Director of United Nations Economic Community (UNEC) for Latin America, (Ferraro, 2008).

Prebisch was concerned with the fact that economic growth in the advanced countries did not necessarily lead to the growth of the poor countries rather it contributed to their underdevelopment (Ibid). They concluded that underdevelopment in LDCs is the result of the subordinate role they play in the capitalist system where it includes a situation where the economies of certain groups of countries are conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy (Hodges, 1971). This explains why underdevelopment and persistent poverty in LDCS is a consequence of capitalist exploitation. This development has been moving at a pace determined by the capitalist states. They dictate the kind of crops grown and their market price. At the same time these resources from developing countries are bought at low prices, transformed into finished goods and are again taken back and sold at an exorbitant price. This has been explained as a historical product of the relations between underdeveloped societies and the penetrative capitalist nation-states.

Thus, the metropolis expropriates economic surplus from its satellite and appropriates for its own economic development. As capital accumulation was being drained away from the periphery, it creates a state of increasing dependence on the centre for flow of foreign capital and technology. There are also surplus goods such as cash crops through multinationals, which demoralize the farmers' undertakings. Therefore, farmers in the satellite nations remain underdeveloped for lack of access to their

surplus and benefits thereafter. Rodney (1972) argues that colonialism for Africa yielded nothing.

In other words, he condemned colonialism as having left more evil than good for Africa through exploitation which took place through various forms. Among them is trade as the terms of it is set by the industrialized countries in a manner entirely advantageous to them. Thus, the theory holds that underdevelopment was not an original condition of Africa rather it was a product of the historical process of the expansion of capitalism globally, which led to the development of the West at the expense of Africa. Studies of Kenya's colonial economy based on the underdevelopment perspective share a common argument that African resources, labour and agricultural produce were transferred from the African sector to the Europeans (Brett, 1973).

The theory has limitations, for instance, the theory is idealistic in the sense that the entire poverty in peripheral countries was solely blamed on metropolitan countries; it overlooks the possibility of local conditions abetting dependency. At the same time, these theorists overlook factors like poor planning and environmental factors which may contribute to underdevelopment of a state. In addition, the underdevelopment of the periphery was also associated with failure to carry out crucial land reforms and failure to change the distribution of income just to mention a few. Besides that, local institutions like cooperatives which perhaps were meant to assist farmers promote agricultural production and have value of their work ended up exploiting them.

Much as the western world paid very little for agricultural products from the periphery, principal institutions ended up exploiting them further. The institutions deducted farmers more to cover operations and ‘other expenses’ and worst was delay in making payments to farmers which became a big issue. The result was increasing demoralization among coffee and tea farmers and hence a sharp downward trend in production. Hence, demystifying the fact that underdevelopment among African farmers was caused by the West’s instituted underdevelopment. Table 1 below illustrates the above fact vividly.

**Table 1.0: Average Overseas Payment versus Payments to Tea and Coffee Growers**

<b>Tea (Year)</b>	<b>Average overseas payment per Kg (Kshs)</b>	<b>of Average net payment to KTDA growers per Kg (Kshs)</b>	<b>Payment to growers in %of overseas payment</b>
1976/77	15.72	2.50	16%
<b>Coffee (Year)</b>	<b>Average overseas payment perKg (Kshs)</b>	<b>Average net payment per Kg to members of Kisii FC Union (Kshs)</b>	<b>Payment to growers in %of overseas payment</b>
1975/76	20.93	2.01	10%
1976/77	44.30	5.04	11%
1977/78	39.70	5.56	14%

**Source:** Torben Bager, Marketing Cooperatives and peasants in Kenya

It should be noted that the above was calculated on the basis of the official exchange rate, one-dollar equivalent to Ksh. 3.32. The transport cost Ksh.0.31per kg was deducted (to arrive at the net payment shown) based on average of 1975/76, 1976/77 and 1977/78.

Despite the criticism leveled against underdevelopment theory, it still holds some water especially in relation to the underdevelopment of Nyamira County. Nyamira like other parts of Kenya had its economy converted into an export-oriented. This was true as farmers in the County had grown cash crops such as coffee, tea and pyrethrum whose market was outside the country. The prices and marketing of the products have not been decided by the farmers themselves but by forces far beyond their reach. This framework utilized in this study to analyze the process of transformation was relevant to the study. It provided insight and helped us understand how capitalism integrated the latter into global market economy.

Apart from the above theory, the introduction of the western mode of production led to the articulation with the pre-capitalists' system of production in Kenya. Wolpe (1972), one of the advocates of articulation of modes production, argues that a subordinate pre-capitalist mode of production based on kinship relations provides cheap labour power for industrialized capitalist economy. The concept was developed particularly within a Marxist critique of dependency theory to demonstrate links between so-called underdevelopment and development. Here, separate modes of production are seen to co-exist within one society or social formation.

The Gusii pre-colonial farming systems continued to exist alongside with the capitalist systems despite variations between them. One distinguishing feature from the capitalist mode was the extraction and exploitation of economic resources such as cash crop products like coffee, tea and pyrethrum. Colonial capitalism continued to be dependent on exploitation of pre-capitalist labour technology. Capitalism enclosed pre-capitalist modes of production thereby preserving them. Consequently, capitalism

captured and transformed economies of the developing countries creating a unique unified economy with some of its original features though much of it transitioned to capitalism.

The articulation process did not take place easily because African peasants put up some resistance. But the colonial administration used force to mobilize them for the capitalist market. The initial break in the self-sufficiency of pre-capitalist production in Africa was achieved either peacefully, through the use of merchant capital or through the colonial state by use of forced and compulsory production of cash crops. The indigenous productive systems were subjected to powerful forces of transformation where the capitalist mode of production was gradually articulated with non-capitalist mode of production. Once it was fully established, it began a process of modification, destruction, marginalization and finally subordinating the non-capitalist modes of production. Thus, articulation resulted in subjection and exploitation of peasant labor. The residents of Nyamira County had a taste of capitalism as they had their land, labor and other practices affected by capitalist form of agriculture.

The articulation of modes of production theory was relevant for the analysis of agricultural transformation during the colonial and post independent period as it focused on the exploitation of African labour and land. Once done, it continues to serve the needs of metropolitan world. Banaji (1977) observes that modes of production entirely deprived off their own laws of motion vegetating on the periphery of an industrializing Europe like a vast reserve of labour power periodically called into action by the spasmodic expansion of metropolitan states.

Although this theory has been criticized as being merely a mode of production, in actual sense it provides an essential tool for the analysis of historical experience which determines the conditions of agricultural transformation during colonialism and post - independent era. The theory also assisted the researcher to explain more appropriately the diverse patterns of agricultural transformation in colonial Africa and for the purposes of this study, Nyamira County. On the same note, articulation double- edged concept where certain sectors of the pre-capitalist economy were integrated into capitalist economy. However, some sectors were not integrated for some time with a view to achieving certain economic gains.

## **1.9 Research Methodology**

This section covers the study research design, target population, sample size and sampling techniques. It also captures the various research instruments, data collection procedures and data analysis techniques and ethical management considerations.

### **1.9.1 Research Design**

The descriptive research design was used in the study. It was most appropriate because it helped to describe the existing conditions or the state of subjects being studied and for this case, agricultural transformation in Nyamira County from 1945 - 2002. The design was found suitable for the study since it involves description, analysis and interpretation of conditions being analyzed. Tuckman (1978) argue that in *ex-post facto* research, the investigator examines the various variables without necessarily changing them. Therefore, his arguments justified the choice of the design

because the researcher tried to establish the possible transformation mechanisms in farming, production and their effects in Nyamira County for the period under study.

### **1.9.2 Area of Study**

The area of study, Nyamira County, was formerly known as Nyamira District from 1988 when it was carved out of the larger Kisii District to ease administration and make it sizeable and manageable unit. It is in the former Nyanza Province, the current lake Region of Kenya. Nyamira District officially became a County after 2010 with the promulgation of the new Constitution. It was important to note here, that it may be difficult to draw a line between Nyamira and Kisii counties. Nyamira County is found to the eastern side of Kisii County. Both Counties have almost similar climatic conditions and practice same economic activities. The County is inhabited by two of the main clans of Abagusii, the *Abagetutu* and *Abagirango*. In Borabu Sub- County, we have a diversity of people from different clans of the Abagusii community.

Kiriama (1986) indicate that two major clans of Gusii settled in their current areas of study during their dispersal from Manga ridge. The county covers approximately 890 square kilometers and is sub divided into five sub-counties and several divisions and locations which were our main focus. The county headquarter is located in Nyamira town, one of the major urban centres of Kisii, Kericho-Nairobi road. Generally, Gusii community have been recorded in history as people with a devotion to agriculture more so planting crops from time immemorial. Therefore, it is an agricultural area dominated by small - scale farms even though parts of Borabu have large-scale farms for tea, like Kipkebe, Magura, and Kiptenden, Kerritor and Mogusii tea estates. There

are also other large farms like Simbault, Masige tea estate and those owned by individuals like, Makone Ombese, Omanga John, Livingstone Atebe, James Nyamweya Mogeni tea and Sam Ongeru tea estates.

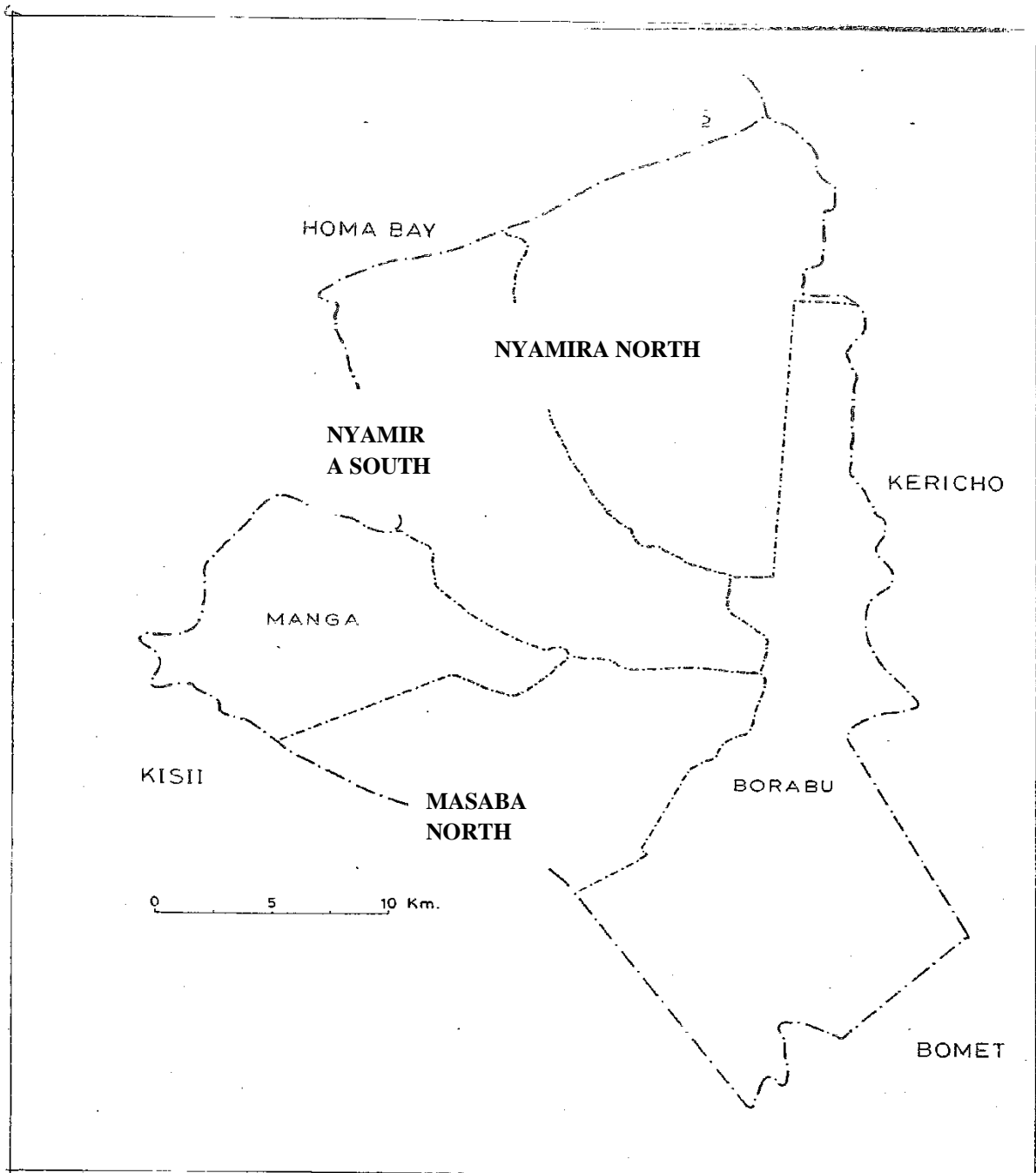
According to Development Plan of Nyamira, (RoK 1994-1996), the County is approximately 97 per cent arable. However, a number of factors have made farming rate to go down both in quality and quantity. Borabu sub- County, (initially part of west Sotik settlement scheme) is known to have the highest farm area in the County followed by Nyamira North. Manga Sub- County has the smallest farm area then Masaba North. The County has an area of 833 square kilometers under the small farm sector.

**Figure 1.0: Map of Nyamira County in National Context**



**Source:** RoK- Nyamira District Development Plan (1994-1996)

**Figure 2.0: Map of Nyamira County**



Nyamira County Headquarter Office

### 1.9.3 Target Population

The target population of this study included residents associated with the development and practices of farming in all sub - counties of the County and those thought to have valuable information on the topic of research. The County, by then Nyamira district in 1999 had a total population of about 514, 297 people based on the population census of 1999 distributed in its five sub- counties, Kenya Population Households Census (KPHC, 1999). The target population was drawn from entire population in which inferences were made. The other groups who formed a crucial group of our respondents also included sub-county agricultural officers, administrators, teachers, clergymen and prominent farmers in the five sub-counties. The total populations and number of small-scale farmers in each sub-county is indicated in Table 2 below.

**Table 2.0: Population per Sub- County**

<b>Sub county</b>	<b>Population</b>	<b>No. of small-scale farmers</b>
Masaba North	99,535	52,100
Borabu	61,320	48,450
Nyamira south	143,479	75,111
Nyamira north	133,967	52,343
Manga	75,996	39,672
<b>Total</b>	<b>514,297</b>	<b>267,676</b>

**Source:** KPHC1999 Census

### 1.9.4 Sampling Techniques and Sample Size

The complexity and expansiveness of the area under study and large sizes of population necessitated the researcher to use sampling techniques. According to Mugenda and Mugenda (2003), a sample size of between 10 and 30 per cent is

representative of the target population. However, in history what matters most are the reliability and validity of the information given and not the number of respondents. In view of this purposive, sampling was used to identify knowledgeable respondents for the purpose of collection of primary data. Those identified for interview were 150 respondents both men and women believed to have knowledge on agricultural development and transformation in Nyamira County between 1945 and 2002. However, because of repeated responses, a few were captured in the final list.

The researcher also used snow-balling techniques where he was not familiar with the most suitable respondents. By so doing, the researcher was able to identify knowledgeable informants who in turn were able to give us those thought to be having more and relevant information on the subject of study. Besides that, five Focused Groups Discussions were formed for detailed discussion on various thematic issues under research. The five groups comprised of five people from each of the five sub-counties.

The participants were identified depending on ability to provide valuable information on agricultural activities in the county for the period 1945-2002. The groups were guided by the questionnaires based on main research objectives which they discussed and made summaries thereafter. Their data were subjected to corroboration for the sake of accuracy of the information given.

Findings from our pre-visit in the entire sub – counties indicated that there are many small-scale farmers in the county in general. And for the purpose of getting more reliable and diversified data, we divided the farmers into two categories depending on the acreage of land and quality of farming activities. Those with more than five acres (>5) who were growing cash and food crops we referred to as better farmers (BF) for the purpose of sampling and collecting data. They practiced fairly modern methods of farming including use of fertilizers, better seeds and sprays which led high yields. It was found that most of them are in Borabu Sub-county previously a settlement scheme. A part from their farms being big in size, the population was sparse.

The other group referred as PF constituted small-scale farmers who owned land less five acres. They were the majority and also grew both cash and food crops which were oftenly intercropped. We sampled ten respondents from each category in every sub – county. In total we sampled fifty respondents who gave vital information on farming and agricultural transformation in their respective areas. The other respondents were administrators, religious leaders, teachers and divisional and county agricultural officers. The latter groups acted as key informants on agricultural changes in all counties in general. They were also identified as they could give objective opinion on the subject of study.

### **1.9.5 Data Collection and Procedures**

Before data collection, necessary procedures like acquisition of research permits from the Kenya Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation was done. The study utilized archival sources and oral information as primary sources. During our field

research at the Kenya National Archives, we scanned through records on Gusii agriculture in general covering colonial times, particularly after 1945 and post independent period up to 2002. The documents contained detailed records on the type of new crops introduced in Gusii land more especially during the colonial period.

The study also used oral sources of information on agricultural transformation in the area of study. The collection of oral data involved interviewing individuals who were identified to answer sampled questions. All this was done using prior prepared questionnaires and interview schedules. In some cases, interviews were tape recorded and later transcribed into English.

On average, ten to fifteen respondents were interviewed per day. Interviewees were identified based on their experience, age, position and role in society. However, there were a number of challenges encountered during interviews including distortions and variation of information in personal recollections. The diversity of historical experiences for instance introduction of white maize in Gusii in general is attributed to a number of different agents; European agricultural officers, missionaries and local traders among others.

Observation schedules were also used to collect data in specific sampled areas engaged in both food and cash crop production. It was meant to make personal observations and obtain more and corroborative data to supplement data gathered through questionnaires. In addition, individualized observations enabled the

researcher to take note of the socio – economic effects and general lifestyle audit of agricultural transformation in the community.

The secondary sources used to gather data included published sources such as books, newspapers magazines and other articles. Besides that, unpublished theses, periodicals and reports formed an important source of the study. Much of the materials on agricultural transformation were obtained from Kenyatta University Post Modern Library, Kisii University Library, Kisii National Library and University of Nairobi. Online sources also proved a significant source of secondary source of information to this study.

#### **1.9.6 Data Analysis Techniques**

The data obtained by the researcher was analyzed quantitatively and qualitatively using the Excel 2016. The Data was grouped into different thematic areas and research objectives depending on the responses given by various respondents. Content analysis system was also used to analyse data for the sake of validity. All the data collected were finally corroborated in order to eliminate any contradictions arising. The data gathered were taken through some processes of clustering interpretation and conclusions drawn.

#### **1.9.7 Data Management and Ethical Consideration**

The study was conducted after obtaining permission from relevant administration as already noted elsewhere. The respondents were assured that information and data would be confidential and used only for the purpose they were intended for. At the same time, they were sensitive to their respondent language and level of education

and their identity was not revealed without their consent. The interpretation of the findings was done objectively. Finally, respondent's consent form was signed by the respondents to confirm that all the information was provided voluntarily without any coercion.

The data collected was availed for analysis with the necessary safeguard for privacy concerns. The data and findings were interpreted honestly and objectively. In a nutshell, all research protocols were followed to the letter and anything that was given by respondents and was found not to be true was avoided.

**CHAPTER TWO**  
**HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND PROCESS OF AGRICULTURAL**  
**TRANSFORMATION IN NYAMIRA 1945-1962**

**2.1 Introduction**

This Chapter analyzes the background information of the Gusii community of Nyamira County, their brief migration and evolution of the major clans in the County and their involvement in agriculture before the advent of Europeans. This was necessary because it formed the baseline information of the study. Once settled in their current area, they engaged in agricultural activities within their environmental setup and land tenure system. The section also examined adoption of cash crops and how the colonial regime interfered with it up to 1963.

The articulation mode of production theory was used to analyze the relationships between the traditional farming and cash economy as introduced by the colonial government. The pre-capitalist farming system was articulated into the capitalist methods of farming. At the same time, the introduction of cash crops such as pyrethrum, coffee, maize, and tea made Africans spend much of their time and labour tending cash crops at the expense of indigenous food crops hence making them dependent on the western capitalist system.

**2.2 Evolution of the Gusii of Nyamira County before Colonization**

The study focused on Nyamira County which was part of the former Nyanza Province of Western Kenya. It is part of the larger Gusii region. Its economy is driven by agriculture and to some extent livestock farming (RoK, 1994). The topography is

mostly hilly with long ranges of Gusii Highlands. The high and reliable rainfall and fertile land promotes a wide range of cash and food crops like coffee, tea, pyrethrum, bananas, maize, sorghum, cassava and sweet potatoes respectively. Oral interviews with Kinanga, (O.I/08/06/2015), a retired agricultural officer, noted that in all other Sub-Counties except Borabu sub-county, they are dominated by small-scale farmers. In Borabu, there are large tea farms owned by multinational companies and some by individuals.

The county is inhabited by Gusii mainly followed by Luo and other communities such as Kalenjins and Kikuyu who are engaged in business activities (RoK, 1994). The major clans of Gusii living in Nyamira County are the *Abagirango* who constitute various sub - clans: *Abanyamatuta*, *Abasamaro*, *Abakeira*, *Abagichora*, *Abanyaiguba*, and *Kiambori* among others. These clans occupy mainly Nyamira north, south and Borabu sub - counties Omwoyo (O.I/19/6/2015). The other clan residing in the county is the *Abagetutu*. It comprises many different clans from Gusii community and it is referred to in Gusii parlance as *enday'enchogu* (the stomach of an elephant). Most of them occupy Masaba North and Manga sub - counties. The major clans in the sub-county constitutes; *Abatobori*, *Abageka*, *Abagetaorio*, *Abanyamondo*, *Ababene*, and *Abamoori*, Ndege (O.I/16/6/2015).

Ochien'g (1990) argues that both clans found in Nyamira County are part of the Abagusii community who also form part of Bantu speakers and they are major linguistic classification of African people. The Abagusii are said to have originated from a mystical place known as *Misiri*. The Gusii traditions indicate that in the

distance past they were the same people as the Kuria, Kikuyu, Kamba and Ameru who are part of the Eastern Bantu Nyangai (O.I/06/8/2015).

Ochien'g (1974) asserts that historians and anthropologists like Hobley and Whitney who did a lot of work on Gusii and other Bantu societies confirm that the Gusii are related to those other Bantu societies. And even if there is no existing corroborative linguistic archaeological evidence to support the *Misiri* theory, Ochieng argues that after their arrival in Uganda toward end of 14<sup>th</sup> century, they followed River Nzoia to Nyanza region. Later on, they arrived on the eastern shore of Lake Victoria and, Kano plains at around 1520.

Nyangai (O.I/0608/2015) confirmed that the oral traditions of the Gusii indicate that at Kano plains, they stayed for sometimes before they encountered a number of challenges. Among them were constant raids from the Maasai and Luo which made them migrate to parts of Manga hills and adjacent areas. Ochien'g (1974) also indicates that due to population pressure, some segments of Gusii moved as far as the Rift Valley; Belgut and Kabianga areas. After sometime, they found the place cold hence unsuitable for habitation for stay and growing of crops like finger millet. According to Ndege (O.I/16/6/2015) Belgut areas host a number of clans who claim their ancestral origin from the Gusii community who were left behind during the second dispersal. He also indicated that there are many Gusii related names among the community residing in the area.

In addition, calamities made them retreat southwards through Sotik and moved to as far as Trans Mara where they later traced their way back to original settlement; Manga escarpment (Ochien'g, 1974). Ochien'g further adds that, it was from here that various clans spread to their current settlement. Among these clans as already noted included the *Abagetutu* and *Abagirango*. Well –to - do individuals from these clans migrated to Borabu settlements, now Borabu Sub-County, after independence. The settlement was acquired from Kipsigis community through wars and forced eviction which was dominated by European settlers for some time (Nyamwaya, 1986).

### **2.3 Impact of Colonization of Gusiiland on Agricultural Sector**

According to Ochien'g (1974), the establishment of colonial rule in Gusiiland was a fiercely contested and bloody affair. A major bloody encounter was the attempt by a Gusii warrior named Otenyo to kill a colonial District Commissioner in the resistance of 1907. Oral interview with (Nyangai, O.I/06 08/2015) of Ikorongo location noted that establishment of the colonial rule in Gusiiland witnessed the growth of administrative centres. The centres had a bearing in shaping up agricultural sector in the region. He further observed that the colonial administrators encouraged the Gusii people to produce surplus foods which had a high demand especially among the Asians and white community in urban areas especially in Kisii town. There was also a big demand for cash crop products in Europe where they used them as raw materials for their industries. They also exported them to Europe for value addition.

Kiriama (1986) argues that during the years preceding colonial rule, agriculture was the main pre-occupation of the Gusii community. He adds that the Gusii were mixed

farmers who emphasized the cultivation of grains and supplemented their diet with limited livestock products. Crops such as cassava, finger millet, beans, and bananas, among others formed their main staple food. Other crops included pumpkins, maize, sweet potatoes with sorghum were all grown through an elaborate system of intercropping which Zeleza (1986: 174) calls it the 'heart of African agriculture' and appears to have been the order of the day in Gusiiland. This system helped to preserve the soil by preventing soil erosion and exhaustion. It also ensured food security, self-reliance and maximized labour, (Lavine 1979: 5). This made the Gusii people to be fairly stable, efficient and largely self-sustaining.

Nevertheless, with colonialism, it led to several innovations which changed the economic and social aspects of the Gusii significantly. There was the introduction of tea, coffee, pyrethrum and hybrid maize by the colonialists. Maxon (1989) concurs with this assertion by indicating that colonial administrators distributed seeds of new crops such as maize and other cash crops. Maxon reiterates that a colonial agricultural instructor who had been posted to Gusii assisted in promotion of agriculture. Through advice and innovations, the acreage under crops grew rapidly during the colonial times. The author observes that a lot of tea was planted in one of the Gusii divisions, Nyamira, by then in a place called Kebirigo which is the heart of Nyamira County.

The Gusii agricultural economy was devoted on the production of primary products for the developed world and provision of markets for their finished products. The colonial government disrupted the peasant farming with introduction of cash crop

economy. This forced the community to abandon some of their farming activities in favour of the western type of farming.

Buxton, the South Kavirondo DC (District Commissioner) on the eve of Second World War, took a personal initiative to convince the colonial government to allow local farmers in the larger Gusii to grow coffee and other cash crops at expense of the indigenous food crops (KNA/PC/NZA/AGR/1/2VOL.1/1954). This led to a condition of underdevelopment which precisely was as a result of the incorporation of the Gusii peasant economies into the capitalist world system dominated by the west. The Gusii economy, which was initially livestock and subsistence based became cash crop economy that was greatly entrenched into the colonial government production. The same structure and form were inherited by the independent government where foreigners have had bigger say in production and marketing of cash crops.

At this level Sherriff (1985: 4), observes that the Gusii system of cultivation was destroyed and modified and hence formed the basis of severity of earliest colonial famines. Sherriff further adds that famine became frequent, not as a result of drought, but due to colonial erosion of fairly stable system of food production and distribution in pre- colonial period.

Another area of interest in agriculture was land among the Gusii which in the pre – colonial era was communally and corporately owned. But with the advent of capitalist system, land was privatized and this led to increase of production especially for cash crops. Colonization in a way transformed the African understanding of labour. There

emerged more division of labour with changing roles of women which was to their disadvantage. Respondent's reports indicated that men were forced to withdraw from cultivation of indigenous crops as they were expected to provide labour on European farms (Nyangai, O.I/06/08/2015). A big number of men had to migrate to the White Highlands and to the neighboring Kericho District to work on tea plantations. Maxon (1989), observes that the migration of men to settler farms brought back with them knowledge and interest in tea growing and were some of the first to take up tea growing in the villages in Nyamira. While men were away for work, women were obliged to perform more of the tasks men undertook during the pre-colonial era besides the cultivation of cash crops. Such tasks included fencing, bush clearing, splitting firewood, thatching of houses among others.

#### **2.4 Agricultural Transformation in Nyamira during the Colonial Period**

As already observed, agricultural development in Africa, prior to colonial period consisted of simple subsistence form of farming and shifting cultivation (Tempany, 1958). It was done on self-sufficient basis and farmers grew food crops only for themselves and their families. Some surplus was either exchanged by barter or given out freely based on African socialism. The length of time a field was cultivated was usually shorter than the period the land was allowed to regain fertility. Before colonization, the Abagusii in general had relied on livestock herding, hunting and gathering for their living (Lavine, 1966). The author further adds that with colonization, the importance of livestock started to diminish due to reduction of places of grazing, epidemics, and government policy. More importantly, there was a serious competition from newly introduced crops such as tea, coffee, pyrethrum just to mention but a few.

Zeleza (1986) contends that Africa pre-colonial agriculture was flexible, complex dynamic and hence it would be unfair to term it shifting cultivation. This study took a similar viewpoint and attempted to examine agricultural transformation in Nyamira County, during the colonial period up 1963. Nevertheless, Zeleza further argues that, the coming of Europeans from the beginning of nineteenth century, intensive subsistence agriculture was introduced to replace subsistence African farming which was characterized by various features. The agricultural activities involved some degree of labour specialization but not in the capitalist sense.

According to Zeleza (1989), the advent of Europeans witnessed a fairly industrial or commercial intensive subsistence agriculture featuring high output unit of land. This was true as they insisted on the use of modern methods of farming which was not there before. As a colony, Kenya was expected to provide raw materials for industrial Britain. This time Africans were made to grow cash crops which they hardly benefited from because their marketing and pricing was determined in the western world, (Wolpe, 1972). In all ways it was exploitative in nature creating a situation of dependency among African farmers. It also created a state where Africans continued living in poverty. Therefore, the capitalist penetration into traditional economies was greatly accelerated and negatively transformed the indigenous methods of production.

It all started with the introduction of unpopular land policies which were meant to provide Europeans with enough land to cultivate. The depression of the 1920s in Europe had put settler farmers out of business and the colonial administration was compelled to look to African reserves for food. Maxon (1989) argues that the early

1930s marked a turning point for the economy of Gusiiland when, partly, as a result of the depression, the colonial administration embarked on a more positive programme of economic development. Consequently, it was followed by the establishment of capitalist estate production which depended upon the appropriation of land in Gusiiland in general, the introduction of cash economy by Europeans which led to change in socio- economic setup of the community, more so in Borabu Sub-County which at one time was an epic of colonial settlement (Omosa, 1998).

The demand for land increased and in the course of time and the traditional land tenure changed drastically. Letsoale (1987) avers that the dislocation of communal land tenure attributed to the fact that colonization aimed at exploiting African land. The end result was that in the course of colonization, communal land was transferred through land alienation and creation of native reserves in section of the county. They include areas now under Manga, Nyansiongo, Matutu, Isoge, Mwangori, Ekerubo and Kineni settlements (Nyangau, O.I /06/08/2015). These areas were set aside for tea growing.

Uchendu (1975) indicates that no much land alienation took place in Gusii apart from a section of a small coffee plantation near Kisii town, which was owned by a white man by 1931. He adds that in Borabu Sub- County, large tracts of land were brought under European settlers. Oral interview with Nyangai (O.I/06/08/2015) retired chief attested the fact that Borabu areas witnessed much colonial land alienation. He observed that land was alienated and later given to European ex-soldiers as reward for the work well done during the First World War. The colonial penetration to Gusiiland modified, marginalized and subordinated Gusiiland indigenous agriculture. Zeleza

(1986) observes that the community was forced at this stage to start engaging themselves in production of surplus for sale to pay taxes.

Capitalist system was entrenched into the community through peasant and cash crop production. Whatever farmers produced in form of cash crop products; the west benefited more than the producers. It all started when the Europeans came up with the African Land Development Programme, a blue print for the development of the African areas, a ten-year plan 1946-1955 and Swynnerton Plan of 1954 were put in place to promote individual proprietorship. The policy was implemented in the form of land consolidation and registration. However, it somehow resulted to landlessness of communities as the Gusii. Importantly, after a long period of colonial neglect of agriculture in Kisii District and Nyamira in general the new policies of the Swynnerton Plan in the late 1950s opened the productive choices of peasants to variety of cash crops.

According to archival sources on ALDEV loans, a letter from Secretary for Agriculture No.AGR/32/2/3/11/109 of 6<sup>th</sup> October 1956, ALDEV was to provide loans to Africans for agricultural purposes (KNA/DP/3/67/1954/1958). They used these loans to improve and develop agriculture like purchase of farm inputs. The plan sought to encourage the growth of cash crops among African farmers (Cowen 1982:142). The Director of Agriculture visited Kitutu division of Nyamira in 1963 (KNA/DP/3/91/1964/1974). In a public *Baraza* he encouraged farmers of Central Kitutu Location to grow cash crops such as pyrethrum, passion fruits and coffee. He

further advised farmers to the west of Kitutu to grow coffee, bananas and passion fruits and to the east; he recommended the same crops with supplement of dairying.

This laid the foundation of the role of the government in agriculture concentrating on development of commercial agriculture in the “small farm” sector-agriculture units outside the large farm sector. Therefore, many areas in Gusiiland including Nyamira were gradually initiated into money economy and production for sale. Then there followed an increase and expansion of cash crop growing in many areas of Nyamira County (Ochien’g, 1992).

## **2.5 Adoption and Cultivation of Cash Crops in Nyamira County Up To 1963**

Maxon (1989) postulates that, on the eve of the second World War and after, Europeans regarded farming in Kenya as an industrial venture at the same time agriculture was to be on experimental basis since farming conditions, were unknown by many settlers. A number of settlers were forced to concentrate on specific crops and in particular regions, to make sure that optimal condition for this period were sufficiently exploited. Hence European settlers and government resorted to monoculture farming in profitable staples such as coffee tea and pyrethrum just to mention a few.

### **2.5.1 Pyrethrum**

Pyrethrum (*Chrysanthemum cineraria etolium*) is a commercial crop. The first commercial pyrethrum nursery was established at Rigoma in East Kitutu location of Nyamira County in 1950. However, the first varieties were not successful and it was not until improved strains were introduced in 1952 that the crop slowly became

popular. The Pyrethrum Ordinance of 1956 led to expansion of Pyrethrum cultivation because land devoted by African farmers to grow the crop increased from 600 acres in 1950 to 1800 by 1960 (Maxon, 2003).

The motivation to grow more Pyrethrum came from local leaders. Uchendu (1969) avers that Chief Zachariah Angwenyi of Kitutu location of Masaba Sub-County encouraged the planting of the crop in 1952. It should be noted that pyrethrum production served the interest of the Western World. The Africans received very little payments as compared to the overall earning because they had no opportunity to negotiate prices in the world market. Ochien'g (1992) indicates that from 1950s pyrethrum proved a successful crop in Gusiiland and sales of pyrethrum extract from the dried flowers expanded and continued to grow even after 1963.

According to a report on Pyrethrum in South Nyanza in 1962, the region Gusii had requested to be allowed to grow more pyrethrum after a survey had been done in a number of areas (KNA/DP/3/86/1973/1975). The areas included Birongo, Magombo, Kebirigo and north Mugirango in Nyamira County and Kiamokama in Nyaribari, Kisii District by then. However, the Nyaribari people especially of Kiamokama areas refused to grow the crop even after being given a permit. They claimed colonial agricultural officers were likely to supervise them very closely something they detested. They also claimed it could lead to overworking them.

The same report indicates that the District Agricultural officer from Kisii with the local chiefs held *Barazas* to find out those who were willing. The people of Rigoma

location of Masaba north of Nyamira County were ready to grow the crop. Besides, that the area was preferred because pyrethrum drier would be erected at Rigoma market since it had plenty of trees on the banks of the River Kuja necessary for drying flowers. As per the report, by 1962 in Kitutu alone about 120 acres had been put under pyrethrum cultivation. This made the agricultural officer recommend that an area be set aside for a pyrethrum store. This was done at Keroka, Rigoma, Gesima and Kenyenyia all in Nyamira County.

There was also support from the Pyrethrum Board which was to regulate the growing and licensing of Pyrethrum in the county. In Nyamira County, and Gusii land in general, the Board supported the growing and planting of pyrethrum by Gusii small-scale farmers (FGD). According to Kenya Agricultural Department Annual Report of 1958, Victor Burke, an Agricultural officer in South Nyanza, was impressed that Kisii farmers had had massive over-planting of pyrethrum which by far surpassed Central Province. Respondent, Mongare (O.I/19/06/2015) observed that in Gusii areas which grew pyrethrum in large quantity included Rigoma location now Masaba North Sub - County, Manga and Borabu sub-counties. Mongare further noted that there was high rate of adoption of pyrethrum than say coffee in the County. This was attributed to higher returns got from pyrethrum. This indicates that pyrethrum was easier to adopt in small units which made expansion possible (KNA/D/KSI/I/17-21/1974).

In a letter to Assistant Director of Agriculture, Nyanza province, from Pyrethrum Board of Kenya advised that increased planting of pyrethrum in Gusii be restricted as laid down in the license. In addition, it indicated that if there was more planting of

pyrethrum it was inevitable that it will have a detrimental effect on selling prices (KNA/DP/3/421961/1962).

Carlsen (1980) corroborates the assertion by confirming that aggregate cash income demanded from pyrethrum and other crops in Kisii rose to 12.7 million shillings in 1959. This was true as many farmers abandoned the cultivation of indigenous food crops for the cash crop. The major reason was to get money to pay colonial taxes. Much of all the improvement in agricultural practices was only in relation to export crops. Food crops and other locally required agricultural produces were generally ignored even though fundamental transformation in farming practices and tenure system took place. From 1963, pyrethrum production was influenced by the producer's prices and the independent government came up with policies and structures through the Ministry of Agriculture to improve African farming.

### **2.5.2 Coffee**

Coffee is an evergreen shrub that grows in the tropical climate region. Its seeds are ground to prepare beverages. For some time, coffee growing was a preserve of white settlers and its importance within the settler economy had made the colonial government deny Africans opportunities of growing the crop. The Europeans claimed that African grown coffee could be prone to diseases which would easily spread to their farms. They also argued that Africans could pose unnecessary competition to the market that was monopolized by Europeans. Notwithstanding that, Wallerstein (1961) argues that the war brought African peasants into the exchange economy. He goes on to say that it provided the basic discourse for the agricultural revolutions in the 1950s. Hence, the introduction of exchange economy in wages and cash crops greatly

contributed to Africans participation in agriculture. Using the provisions of Swynnerton Plan of 1954, there was a large increase in Africans acreage of cash crop and extension services to the coffee farmers.

According to (KNA/AGR/1/5/11/1952) coffee production in Gusii, the government tried to encourage the growing of coffee after Second World War. This fact well illustrated in a letter dated February 8, 1952 to Senior Chief Musa Nyandusi by the District Agricultural Officer. Part of it stated that;

This Department is very anxious to encourage the cultivation of coffee in this District but only if it is looked after properly and am most disappointed that the most influential man growing coffee in this district is not setting a good example (Ibid).

Like most of the areas where coffee was grown in Kenya, Gusii farmers were allowed to grow the crop on condition that all land planted with coffee could be taken care of well and protected against soil erosion to the satisfaction of the District Agricultural Officer in Kisii.

Maxon (2003) argue that due to insistence of the Colonial Office, pressure and demand from Africans to grow coffee made Europeans allow more Africans to grow coffee but on experimental basis. He further contends that Gusiiland was one of the experimental areas that were allowed to grow coffee. Maxon added that Gusiiland was preferred because of fertile highlands which were considered by Donald Stewart as potential areas for European settlement. This was in response to a follow, up of the circular, August of 1931 where it was agreed that coffee growing in Kisii land be encouraged as the conditions were suitable (Lavine, 1979).

Adequate supervision was to be done to introduce the highest coffee grade which could be grown in the region (KNA/PC/NZA/AGR/1/2/IVOLI/1954). There was a strong support for coffee growing which came from DC, Clearance Buxton by then. The DC had felt that the area had been greatly neglected by the central government. Therefore, and he enthusiastically fought for coffee growing in Gusiiland. According to KNA/PC/NZA/4/5/SKDIR, a group of Local Native Council members and other leaders from Gusiiland toured part of Uganda for benchmarking on desirable agricultural practices. This was an effort to stimulate interest in the district development projects including growing of coffee. Talbot (1992: 85) indicates that in the larger Gusii, the growth and cultivation of coffee by the 1950s had covered about 1,392 acres and by 1960, it increased to 3,317 acres representing an increase of 231 percent in a decade.

Barnes (1976) argues that Nyamira County coffee was found to be concentrated mainly in the lower zone which covers both Nyamira north and south sub counties, Manga and some parts of Masaba North sub- counties. At the same time, it was confirmed that about 30 per cent of the farmers grew coffee in the County. Most of the area under coffee falls under cooperative sector which provided farm input to the farmers. This followed an increase in production for instance in mid 1950s and earlier 1960s much of the crops in south Nyanza district came from Kisii land where Nyamira division by then contributed a larger percent (KNA/DC/KIS/1/22/1966). Towards the end of colonial period, various marketing boards were formed to market the various industrial cash crop products among them coffee.

### **2.5.3 Tea**

Tea is one of the major cash crops grown in most parts of Kenya. Much of the tea produced in Kenya is black tea. Most of the tea growing regions are endowed with climate; tropical volcanic red soils, and well-distributed rainfall ranging between 1,200 mm to 1,400 per annum and long sunny days.

Garst (1972) argue that tea was first introduced in Nyamira County in 1957 when 10 acres of the crop were planted in North Mugirango location Bomabacho sub location. It then spread to Mokomoni (near tea estate of Kericho) and Magombo areas in East Kitutu Location of Masaba Sub-County. The areas were selected because of ecological suitability and many Gusi people had previous work experience in the tea estates, Sotik Tea Highland of Kericho District by then.

Maxon (1989) observe that at the beginning a 'tea line' was established where tea was first introduced in order to control the outward expansion of tea growing. Anybody living inside the line could grow tea while those outside were not allowed. Nevertheless, with time, the line was moved gradually until tea-growing areas in Gusiiland went far beyond the original tea line.

The planting of tea was confined to higher areas not well suitable for coffee growing. Interview with an agricultural officer, indicated that the initial planting of tea in Kitutu Masaba (Masaba North) and North Mugirango (Nyamira North, sub-county) was quite successful (Matara, O.I/16/06/2015). Maxon (1989) indicates that the Assistant Agricultural Officer in charge of Nyamira division was impressed with the

progress of cultivation and expansion of tea in the area. Interview with Masaki (O.I/9/06/2015), demonstrated that a lot of tea was planted across the county more so in large settlement schemes of Borabu Sub-County. During oral interviews, the researcher witnessed presence of large tracts of tea in areas especially Mecheo, Matutu, Tindereti, Raitigo and Nyansiongo settlement. Most of these farms are individually owned. The residents confirmed that they had bought their farms together with tea bushes from British settlers after independence.

In 1959, about 4,898kg of green leave tea was being produced from the larger Gusiiland and almost three times as much to 12,980 a year later (KNA/DC/KSI/I/17/1959). And two years later, in 1961 the acreage had also increased drastically with all planting stumps produced locally and a specialist tea officer posted to the district. The report further indicated that by the same time, only 0.004 percent of the national production came from the District in 1963, production had increased to 0.13 per cent.

Many of the cash crops introduced by the colonial government had their profits repatriated to the metropolitan more so Britain (Rodney, 1972: 162). This created underdevelopment which impoverished the community through expropriation of cash crops as raw materials. In other words, the surplus and African labour was used for the development of Europe on part of the same dialectical procession and in turn Africa was under developed. Thus, it can be argued that the underdevelopment of many Africans communities may be occasioned by contemporary internal politics, poor governance and climatic changes in Africa and other third world countries.

#### 2.5.4 Passion Fruits

Passion fruit is a cash crop and commonly found in the tropics. The origin of the crop and its introduction to Gusiiland is not clear. According to Popenre (1974), the fruit was edible and divided into varieties. One, *passiflora edulis* was tasty and its succulent varies considerably. The other type which is adapted to the tropics and commonly grown in Gusii land was *passiflora flavicarpa*. The crop requires well - drained soil, rich in organic matter, rainfall of about 900-2,000mm and optimal temperature range of 18-28 degrees centigrade. It was a perennial crop which produces fruits throughout the year. One of the retired agricultural officers informed the study that before independence, the crop was grown in places such as Ting'a, Keroka, Mochenwa, Rigoma, Lietego, Kitutu location and Keumbu. The crop was grown on small-scale farms (Ndege, O.I/16/06/2016). He added that a good number of those who grew passion fruits were those who used to work for Europeans as labourers. He observed that the crop was grown by Europeans to supplement their depressed income from cereals and cash crops.

After Second World War the prominence and production of this crop in Gusii went down (AGRII/1/7/1/1958). This was due to the fact that there were no experiments done with passion fruits and marketability of the crop was a problem. Nevertheless, after independence, it was revived by the Government. Oral historical information indicated that in Gusiiland, more people were encouraged to grow the crop even though its processing was not done in the District but in Thika, Central Kenya. This worked against the cultivation of the crop later. Many respondents demonstrated that

the production process of passion fruits was complicated and knowledge about it was insufficient to many farmers by then.

## **2.6 Food Crop Growing In Nyamira in the Period 1945 - 1963**

### **2.6.1 Maize**

This was found to be the major staple food and sometimes treated as cash crop in the County and its productivity entirely depended on exact timing of planting season, application of fertilizer and quality of hybrid seed. The years after the Second World War, as already noted, constituted an important period of transition in agriculture in Gusiiland of western Kenya. Apart from cash crops, food crop cultivation played an important role in colonial administration. Maize (*Zea mays*) is a monocot plant (cereal) commonly cultivated in the tropics.

The oral tradition of the Gusii indicates that it is not clear where maize grains may have originated. But some Gusii traditions claim that they cultivated traditional mixed colour maize which later changed to white seed because of a new maize seed that was brought in from Uganda. Bryceton (1997: 2) corroborates the tradition by arguing that the white maize was brought in by some Maragoli (Luhya) speaking people who had migrated to the new area. Bryceton further adds that the Gusii kept on planting the traditional maize for some time and later decided to shift and replace it with the hybrid maize.

Maxon (2006) demonstrates that after the Second World War, there was increased production of maize and other grain crops in the Gusii highlands which resulted from

wartime need to feed the allied forces. The district administration put more weight behind the drive of planting more through increasing acreage under cultivation of maize. This was common in higher regions of Gusiiland of Borabu, Manga and Masaba areas. In the course of time, *Wimbi* was replaced with improved hickory maize as the major cash crop among the Gusii. Bowles, (1979) indicates that the crop had a ready market among white planters and settlers who needed it to feed their workers. The crop was cheaper to grow despite its low nutritive value in comparison to other indigenous crops like sorghum and millets. By 1950 maize occupied about 40 per cent of cultivated land while the area under say millet was diminishing in size.

Zezeza (1989) observe that in 1954, there was a deliberate effort to promote maize cultivation and to increase its availability in the market. The production increased steadily due to introduction of tax that forced the Gusii people to produce more for the market and to raise cash for taxes. The other reason for increased production was because of progressive decline of pyrethrum in 1960 and 1961 (KNA/DP/3/42/1961/1962). The decline was occasioned by a number of factors, for instance, natural disaster of 1961, unfavorable weather conditions and drop in world market prices of pyrethrum. Maize was still perceived as a staple crop and it was intercropped with beans. There was fear that the finger millet was found to be disappearing slowly since the skills and knowledge of its production are no longer passed on from generation to the other (Ndege, O.I/16/6/2015).

According to Nyangito (1995), at independence, the public policy singled out maize as the major staple food. Therefore, its production and marketing received budgetary support through government-controlled marketing board. In addition, more policies were instituted focusing on subsidizing producers and inputs prices, credit research and extension activities were implemented. Nyangito further observes that the resettlement programmes in the late 1960s greatly doubled maize production to the extent that large surplus was realized. This was true as many people who were initially landless got space to cultivate. Ochien'g, (1992) attests to the fact that improved extension services, credit and transport, small farm production rose dramatically after 1963.

Bowles (1979) argues that maize was a tool for the penetration of capitalism in rural areas because it was a more saleable crop than indigenous crops. Bowles further observed that maize as a crop was introduced in order to make a change in the mode of production in Gusiiland as a whole to capitalist mode. However, its production suffered from market fluctuation and the regional distance from the railway as it was costly and expensive to transport out of the country. As shown in Table 3 below, crop production underwent drastic changes after Swynnerton Plan and the Gusii peasants took advantage of the plan to expand commodity production.

**Table 3.0:** Maize and Wimbi yield, Price and Value, 1955/61

Food	Yield	Per	Acre	Price Per bag Kshs.	Value	per	Acre
Crops	1955	1961		1955	1961	1955	1961
Maize	6	9		$\frac{25}{80}$	$\frac{22}{30}$	154.80	200.70
Wimbi	4	4		$\frac{30}{50}$	$\frac{27}{75}$	122.00	91.00

**Source:** KNA/DC/KSI/1/23/1961

Consequently, maize and wimbi were relegated to the position of mere food crops and their place taken by the more valuable cash crops such as coffee pyrethrum and tea. Hence, the decline of maize from Kshs. 25.80 a bag in 1955, to 22.30 in 1961 and that of wimbi dropped from Kshs. 35.50 to Kshs. 22.75 over the same period.

### 2.6.2 Sweet Potatoes

Sweet potatoes require at least four months of warm temperatures even though there are varieties that can do well in fairly low temperatures. They are easy to grow and it is a drought resistance crop. The sweet potato is nutritious and relatively low in calories.

The oral interviews of the various informants in the County indicated that the origin of sweat potatoes among the Gusii is not clear. It is considered as indigenous food crop and seems to have been in existence before colonialism. Its tubers are for human consumption and vines are for livestock feeding. In Nyamira County, the areas with above requirements and where it was grown in plenty included; Ekerenyo, lower parts of Nyamira South, and much of Borabu Sub County (Nyangai, O.I/06/08/2015).

A number of respondents noted that the surplus from the farms was sold in nearby local markets such as Magombo, Kebirigo, Nyansiongo, Miruka, Tombe just to mention a few. Sweet potatoes are popular among the Nyamira residents as a food crop than Irish potatoes and production trend declining. However, farmers sold their sweet potatoes directly as they had no cooperatives to assist them to market the crop.

Table 4 below indicates sub-counties area covered and respective cash and food crops that are grown there and maize was the major staple food crop which was grown in all sub- counties. It was observed that the county was endowed with high potential agricultural land, with a widespread participation in cash crops farming mainly tea by the majority of the farmers. In the county, many of the large farms that are 5 ha and above are in Borabu Sub –County and had above 80 per cent of the total area of large farms.

**Table 4.0: Summary of Farming activities in the County**

<b>Sub-County</b>	<b>Farm area (Km<sup>2</sup>)</b>	<b>Main Food Crops</b>	<b>Main Cash Crops</b>
Nyamira South	173	Maize, finger millet, sorghum, Bananas	Tea, Coffee, bananas Passion fruits
Nyamira North	210	Maize, sweet potatoes, Finger millet, bananas	Tea, Coffee, Pyrethrum, Bananas
Manga	100	Maize, beans, finger millet bananas	Tea, Coffee, pyrethrum
Borabu	230	Maize, beans, finger millet bananas, sweets potatoes.	Tea, passion fruits
Masaba North	120	Maize, beans sweat potatoes, finger millet, Bananas	Passion fruits Coffee, tea pyrethrum

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**Source:** Field survey

## **2.7 Second World War and Agricultural Transformation**

The prolonged depression of the inter-war period and its effects thereafter created an urgent need for the British authorities to reverse this position. After Second World War, colonies were expected to help in the reconstruction of Britain which emerged out of the war badly wounded physically and economically. There was need therefore to increase colonial production and so the British state apparatus were mobilized for this course. So, colonial rule effected the articulation of indigenous modes of production and the integration of African economies into the western capitalist system with the main objective of changing the equation. It was felt that the problem of post war reconstruction could be eased partly through the development of agriculture of

agriculture, Zeleza (1989). Then pre – capitalist modes of production continued to exist though subordinated to the capitalist system through process of ‘‘preservation and destruction’’ or ‘dissolution and conservation’ by which they were articulated in the diverse relation with capitalist system, particularly through unequal exchange relation, (Goodman, 1981: 60).

In view of the aforementioned, the last ten years of colonial rule had the dismantling of European settler dominance of the agricultural economy, and initiation of policies which could effectively incorporate African farmers to take settlers space (Throup, 1988). Kabiru (1994) observed that in the 1950s and 1960s the World Bank supported the so-called progressive farmer policy of rural transformation whose objective was to concentrate on financial and extension services on a few model farmers.

The strategy was expected to trickle down on majority of the peasants’ especially subsistence farmers. The strategy resulted to big transformation of African agriculture as production increased greatly. It happened by doing away with old conservative policies and gradual acceptance of new methods especially on land tenure. Cone (1972) demonstrates that the large-scale settlements schemes involving many hundreds of thousands of acres were being initiated with the object of transferring farms from Europeans to Africans ownership. Soon it was realized African agricultural production could not be ignored any further. However, it affected farmers as the prices of their cash crops could be decided far from their reach, hence ended up being exploited.

## **2.8 Impact of African Liberation Activities on Agriculture**

Liberation activities took place in the twentieth century when a wave of struggles for independence in white ruled or dominated African territories were witnessed. The liberation activities across Africa, and Kenya specifically, had common objectives. The main ones included the return of stolen land, allowing Africans to grow cash crops to enable them to participate in economic development of the country; removal of racial and political barriers among others. Lelo (1994) indicates that after the Second World War the colonial officials both voluntarily and out of coercion were under pressure to increase production of grain crops. The officials also wanted to transform the economies of communities in Kenya into efficient, specialized and commercialized agriculture with Africans as wage labourers on their farms. Africans provided about ninety per cent of the labour force but received about four per cent. All these facts agitated liberation activities. Lelo adds that there was persistent low production on the reserves and growing political insurrection in some parts of the country. This led to a liberal proposal for land tenure reforms which continued to shape the evolving landscape in many parts of the country.

The colonial administration started to reorganize agriculture in African areas. Through the Swynnerton Plan of 1954, the Africans were allowed to grow cash crops and continued practicing subsistence farming. Crop production underwent drastic changes after Swynnerton plan to expand commodity production. This was done through initiation of reforms of land tenure by consolidating fragmented holdings, provision of freehold titles, intensifying and developing African agriculture.

In Gusiiland, individual farmers or peasants started to enclose land in their possession. The fencing was taking shape at high rate to a point of threatening even areas set aside for public utilities (KNA/DC/KSI/I/15/1995). Oucho (2002) agrees that the programme was intended to formalize greater African participation in agriculture which was the mainstay of the country's economy. Hence, there followed an increase in private land enclosures leading eventually to individual land tenure in most African communities especially among the Kikuyu and Gusii (Omwoyo, 1992).

Wangari (1991) observes that the process was carried out in phases of programs namely; land consolidation into one block per household to eliminate small-dispersed parcels and allow greater specialization and hence realize economics of scale in cash crop production. The other programme was land registration that was meant to provide for security of ownership. Bradshaw (1988) indicates that there followed much growth of cash to increase investment in agriculture and productivity. The crops grown by Gusii peasants of (Nyamira County) in 1950s included pyrethrum, coffee and tea (KNA/DC/KSI/1/17-21). The document also indicates that by 1955 there were already 68 coffee nurseries able to provide sufficient seedlings to plant nearly 1,000 acres.

## **2.9 Summary**

In a nutshell, the existing agricultural transformation policies in Kenya are as a result of the colonial and post-colonial developments. Before colonialism, Africans used to depend on cultivation of indigenous crops which provided them the necessary food and surplus that could be used for exchange with what they did not produce.

European colonization of Gusiiland, like in many parts of Kenya, introduced diversification of the economy with the introduction of various cash crops. The imposition of colonial rule affected the cultivation of indigenous modes of food production and led to the integration of Africa economies into the western capitalist system.

The decade of 1950s saw the face of increased agricultural economic development activities in Gusiiland. This was after the implementation of Swynnerton Plan of 1954 where Africans were assisted in form of getting farm input and necessary skills in farming. The colonial government extended its effort to promote production in cash crops and to some extent food crop cultivation. The African liberation activities also spurred agricultural development and transformation. There was unprecedented demand from the Africans for participation in both economic and political development of the state. In one way or the other, it gave birth to Swynnerton Plan to assist the framework for the changes. This was to fill the gap that had been created by the colonial policies and effects of the Second World War. There followed increased acreage for cash crops like tea, coffee, pyrethrum in Gusiiland. This development came up as a result of the desire to spur production by African small holders so as to export at lower cost than those produced by the settlers. It also led to process of exploitation; a system geared towards the creation of capitalist relations of production. As already noted, the penetration of colonial capitalization threw the Gusii pre-colonial economy into disequilibrium. This was through the modes of production which were locked in a complex and sometimes contradictory struggle and relegation of some of the community's agricultural activities.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **AGRICULTURAL TRANSFORMATION IN NYAMIRA, 1963-1978**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

This Chapter analyzes the drivers of agricultural transformation in Kenya and Nyamira in particular during the period 1963-1978. Much as the agricultural transformation is ongoing process the study endeavored to analyze the same within the reign of Jomo Kenyatta. This was the period drastic measures were taken to transform the agricultural sector to make it more beneficial to Africans. The economic changes of the independent government pursued after independence were aimed at promoting industrial development and attainment of food sufficiency. Therefore, there was need for Kenyanization of the sector with reformation of land policies and resettlement of landless population. This was an important step towards transforming the economy more so the agricultural sector. The Chapter also looks at the expansion of smallholder cash crops production, establishment and development of cooperative movements for coffee, tea, pyrethrum among others and the role they played in promotion of agriculture.

#### **3.2 Kenya's Agricultural Policies**

At independence, the founding Father of the Nation Mzee Jomo Kenyatta decided to pursue an agricultural policy that made export production the basis of economic development as part of government policy to eradicate poverty and create employment (Kimathi, 1999). This was in response to the political and social environment at independence where many Africans had been forced into a state of poverty, ignorance and disease by the imperial system. Therefore, a lengthy process

of reconstruction was to be given a chance to heal the enormous wounds of foreign domination and ruthless exploitation. The study endeavored to illustrate how the government attempted to change this scenario by involving Africans in management and transforming agricultural sector. The independent government attempted to encourage the growing of cash crops to promote industrial development and general economic growth in the country.

### **3.3 Land and Resettlements in Kenya, 1963 - 1978**

At independence, the government thought it prudent and politically expedient that large scale farming sector should be Africanized. This was necessary because the farming industry on which the economy of the country was most dependent had been mainly in the hands of Europeans (KNA/DP/3/55/1966/1971). The Europeans had occupied and owned best and richest large-scale farming farms in Kenya Highlands. The independent government wanted to do away with a typical underdevelopment economy they had set up which was not favourable to Africans particularly on land ownership. Besides that, traditional African communal landownership system in itself was also cited as an impediment to investment in modern agriculture, which required enactment of land policies.

Bates (1989) indicates that on land issues, Kenyatta swayed from radical nationalism to conservative bourgeois politics. He had the large farms formerly owned by white settlers sub-divided and given to African farmers. After independence, there were land market opportunities in the former white highlands, which were also accessed on the basis of political patronage and consideration. This was aimed at breaking the

foreigner's dominance of the Kenyan economy. This was followed by dramatic reforms in agricultural sector by the independent government as summarized below;

Thus between 1964 and 1966 a major reversal of policy took place. In August 1964, Kenyatta had announced a new 'Two million Acre 'scheme to resettle 200,000 families on 10 – 15 acre plots that was the whole of the remaining mixed-farm area. But by the time the 1966- 1970 Development Plan appeared it is said that, the declared objectives of settlement had been largely attained and no more settlement was provided for in it. (ROK, 1975: 83)

It can be argued that quite a number of people remained landless in Kenya. It was only the pressure of landless that had certainly been relieved of course, the landless of long standing, in particular, no longer represented an immediate political danger to the government. The problem of landless inevitably remained growing all the time. And even up to this day, land issue remains thorny and emotive to handle in the country. Otherwise, the resettlement was only done for a few at the expense of the many, which the 1966/1970 Plan attempted to redress with little success.

Sorrenson (1968) observes that the white highland formerly under the possessions of Europeans was opened for settlements of African farmers. The government created the million acre settlements schemes with specific objectives of achieving land ownership transformation and consequently enough production from the farms. Besides that, it was also meant to maintain and develop agricultural economy of the country. In these programme large farms were bought and split into small holdings with the aim of settling landless families.

In Nyamira County (by then a Division of Kisii District) a number of residents made applications for farms at the various settlement schemes in the current Borabu Sub-

County, initially part of west Sotik settlement (KNA/DP/3/55/1966/1971). Barnes (1974) adds that the government wanted to manage the rapid transfer of land from European settlers to Africans in a more orderly manner to avoid decline in agricultural production. The other reason was to replace Europeans ownership of medium size farm with African smallholders. It was also aimed at facilitating the introduction of better farming methods to a large section of Africans farmers.

Wilde (1967: 188) reports that the Department of Settlement which had been set up by the government came up with different types of schemes. One was high-density schemes for the unemployed and landless. Here, a number of holdings, about 27,687, for high density were settled. The second category of schemes was the low density with a bigger landholding, which was meant for people with higher income. Over 178,754 acres of land was categorized and divided into 35 schemes for 4,967 families. Those interested were to raise about ten per cent of the total working capital. The other category included the large-scale corporation farms in Sotik. These settlement schemes cover west of Sotik settlement scheme consisting of the large tea estate in Borabu and part of Kericho District, (KNA/DP/3/55/1966/1971).

Respondents indicated that the other areas which were for arable activities included: Kamasege, Mogusii, Matutu, Isoge, Kineni, Magombo, Kerumbe, Mwongori and Tindereti which were open to the public for purchase. The farms were sub-divided into small farms by the requests of the shareholders (RoK, 1994).

The residents acquired these holdings on loans. The loans were channeled through AFC (Agricultural Finance Cooperation) and ADC (Agricultural Development Cooperation) which were government lending institutions that mainly financed land purchase and large development (Mongare, O.I/19/06/2015). There were several letters of application to Kisii District Commissioners for allocation of plots in the Matutu settlement scheme (KNA/DP/3/63/1966/1968). Among the applicants included Stanley Ongubo (March 7<sup>th</sup>1967), William Obino (February 25<sup>th</sup>1967) and Bensford Ainya (March 7<sup>th</sup>1967) just to mention a few.

Maxon (2003) demonstrates that in the period 1963 and 1967, about seventy per cent of the families in Kenya had been settled. It was intended to provide an agricultural livelihood for thousands of landless people. Consequently, the government adopted a market-based land distribution strategy to address landlessness and traditional African communal land ownership system and stimulate production (RoK, 2004).

According to Ndung'u (2010), the credit was tied to production of cash crops as well as undertaking other productions. The farmers of Nyamira County, by then Nyamira District, virtually benefited from this facility which led to high cash crop production. All this was aimed at the transformation of agriculture so as to facilitate industrialization viewed as crucial in overall economic development. At the same time, the government wanted to have equitable access to land by all members of society, even though it was difficult to achieve it. Land rights were also guaranteed by government through land registration and safekeeping (Nyangito, 2002).

During the first decade of independence, the official development policy was termed as “African socialism” as outlined in Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965, (Kimathi, 1999). The policy called for a mixed economy and its Kenyanization even though its framework was undoubtedly capitalist and exploitative. The Kenyatta government continued with the thinking adopted in the Swynnerton Plan of 1954 that laid out the road map towards modernizing agriculture in former African reserves.

Kenya’s agricultural policy makers were strongly influenced by classical economic ideas holding that a country can best improve its economic well-being by producing the highest possible value in agricultural commodities for export (Bates, 1989). According to this doctrine, a country’s choice of crops should be prompted by consideration of economic efficiency and high returns. This included developing infrastructure in the agricultural areas and potential areas to boost production and the economy of the country (RoK, 1971: 81).

As already noted, by time of independence Africans had started growing cash crops and the government encouraged more to engage in farming; acreage under cash crops increased (Ochien’g, 1989). Ochien’g further observes that there was rapid economic growth which took place in the initial years of independence. Maxon, (1990: 34) concurs with Ochien’g by indicating that the mid 1960s and the first half of the 1970s witnessed the rapid growth of marketed crops. The crops behind this expanded agricultural production were coffee, tea, pyrethrum, maize and other food crops as already noted. However, the area of study adopted tea, coffee and pyrethrum as main cash crops.

The agricultural policies carried out by Kenyatta government between 1963 and 1978 affected the entire Country. Nyamira County which was part of the larger part of Kisii district was not left behind. This was the only way the government could achieve agricultural transformation (Kabiru, 1994). It would change the country from being a labour reservoir to agricultural sector in which small-scale and indigenous farmers' would dominate. The farmers in the then Nyamira District intensified the growth of different cash crops like tea, pyrethrum and coffee, besides food crops, to take advantage of government policies on promotion of agricultural activities in the rural areas (Omanwa, O.I/24/6/2015).

Pereirra (1962) adds that more farmers engaged in farming activities especially in growing cash crops as the policy of giving license to farmers to grow cash crops had been done away with. To boost the growth of these cash crops, the government put more emphasis on the establishment and maintaining agricultural cooperatives for various cash crops and commodities.

### **3.4 Establishment of Agricultural Cooperatives, 1963-1978**

The development of cooperatives in Kenya has been closely related to and considerably determined by changes in the agricultural development policies. This has been so because the mainstay of Kenyan economy is agriculture and cooperatives developed initially to assist production in the agricultural sector. After independence the government viewed cooperatives as a vital and tangible means of boosting African's participation in many sectors of economy. The cooperatives established in African areas included coffee which had been introduced in selected areas among

them Kisii District. It was through these public organizations that Africans had to enter the monetary economy of the country by promoting producer, marketing and consumer cooperatives. They were also seen as vital means of bringing about social and economic betterment to majority of people. However, cooperatives for African farmers never existed during the colonial period as the social and economic life of Africans was squarely in the hands of colonialists.

In addition, at independence, the Kenyan government was convinced that there was need for African cooperative societies to assist Africans in their pursuit of economic development particularly in agriculture. Kobia (2011) argue that this was articulated in the government Sessional No Paper 10 of 1965. He further postulates that societies were to provide opportunities to strengthen bonds among Kenyans. The First President, Jomo Kenyatta, also encouraged the promotion of cooperative societies as a key strategy for national development.

Cooperative movements assumed an important role in the nation's economy. The evolution of modern cooperatives was closely related to the colonial economy. However, at first Africans were discouraged from participating in cooperatives activities (Kobia, 2011). This was because the colonial government did not wish to provide peasant households with the means to compete with settler farms in cash or food crop production. It was thought that it would interfere with the outflow of labour to settler farms and estates (Ochien'g, 1992). So, for sometime, peasant's households

remained heavily dependent on Asian middle men for the sale of their produce and transportation services.

### **3.4.1 Origin and Development of Cooperatives in Nyamira**

The first cooperative society for the Africans was organized in 1946 with the passing of the Cooperative Ordinance Act. This created the Department of Cooperatives. One of the reasons for its formation was for the expansion of the cooperative movement after the Second World War and change in colonial policy towards socio-economic development of Africans.

After the war, the colonial government decided to introduce changes in the African areas that were aimed at developing this area. A beginning was made in the agricultural sector with introduction of the Swynerton plan which encouraged Africans to grow cash crops in 1953. As a result, Africans also began to set up cooperatives. One of the possible reasons for this was that Africans wanted to eradicate economic exploitation and domination of the economy by Europeans. After independence, there were several cooperatives formed among them land buying and of major concern cash crop-oriented cooperatives. During the same period, it witnessed formation of number of cooperatives in the then Kisii District.

A respondent, Miriam (O.I/20/06/2015), explained that there were a number of cooperatives formed to help farmers in Nyamira after independence. Among them included Masaba Cooperative Union for pyrethrum. There were other several

cooperatives about 17 of them associated with pyrethrum which assisted farmers in different areas within the county. They operated in areas such as Gesima, Mochenwa, Rigoma, Magombo, Tombe, Kebirigo and Manga. They all worked under the umbrella of Gusii Pyrethrum Farmers Cooperatives Societies. There were also a number of coffee cooperative societies in the county.

Table 5 below summarizes the sub-counties, type of cooperatives which operated there and those registered. Twenty-three of the producer cooperatives existed in the county and out of these 17 were for pyrethrum and the rest (6) for coffee. However, it was noted that majority were not active because the respective crop production had dwindled

**Table 5.0: Cooperative Movement in Nyamira 1963 - 1978**

<b>Sub –County</b>	<b>Types of society/cooperative</b>	<b>Number registered</b>
Nyamira South	Coffee	-
	Pyrethrum	6
Nyamira North	Coffee	2
	Pyrethrum	3
Manga	Coffee	2
	Pyrethrum	-
Masaba North	Coffee	1
	Pyrethrum	8
Borabu	Coffee	-
	Pyrethrum	-
<b>Total</b>		<b>23</b>

**Source:** Field Survey

The cooperatives majored in collection, processing, storage and sale of produce from members and supplied members with seeds, fertilizers, machinery and equipment. Therefore, cooperatives played an important role in the drive for agricultural transformation. However, Heyer (1976) argues that the establishment of cooperatives was seen as a means of enhancing the commercial efforts of a few and enriching

them. This was true as studies of such cooperatives demonstrated that in the initial years of their existence, the bulk of their profits went to a small number of members.

Available evidence indicate that cooperatives were a basis of integrating Africans farmers and this led to the registration of many smallholder producer's cooperatives and marketing services (Kibagendi, O.I/26/06/2015). The 1966-1970 Development Plan had stressed the need to strengthen cooperatives for the purpose of socio-economic development.

#### **3.4.1.1 Coffee Cooperatives Nyamira County, 1963- 1978**

On May 1960, Coffee Board of Kenya (CBK) was established under Coffee Ordinance Cap 33. From that time on the law had a big influence in promotion and development of coffee industry in the post independent Kenya. The CBK performed specific roles which included, the formulation of policies to enhance coffee production, processing and marketing of coffee in the country and globally. In addition, the institution was to register and license coffee operations in the country (Karanja, 1998).

The application of the law after independence greatly contributed to the growth of smallholder cooperatives which continued to grow rapidly. The government sought to involve small-scale holders in the management and development of the national economy. The period witnessed the formation of many primary societies drawn from farmers in coffee farming areas of Gusii among them the Nyamira division by then and now a county (Nyangito, 2001).

During the reign of President Kenyatta, over 27 coffee societies were formed under the umbrella body of the Gusii Coffee Farmers Cooperatives Union. In the same period coffee farmers grew in numbers to about 57,000 growers. However, out of the 27 cooperative societies that formed the Union only 6 were from Nyamira County with four factories. The Cooperatives included Kemera, Nyabomite, Manga Isecha, Girango and Magwagwa cooperative societies. The cooperatives provided soft loans to farmers in terms of farm inputs and sometimes in cash. The prosperity of coffee societies witnessed the acquisition of 1,130 acres of land at Simbault Farm, Borabu Sub- County, which was an established farm that had tea, coffee and dairy farming (Karanja, 1998).

An oral informant, (Ombati, O.I/6/7/2015), concurred with Karanja (1998) that after independence in Kenya, the societies were charged with the responsibility of providing seedlings to new farmers, inputs, processing facilities, loans among other roles. He further indicated that in the late eighties and early nineties, coffee farming in Gusii thrived so well to a point that farmers through their cooperatives could afford to buy land and construct a five-floor storey building in the heart of Kisii town.

Stickers (1982) argue that labour input to coffee farming activity and quality was found to have been critical for the success of coffee growing. The increasing adoption of coffee production among the Gusii helped to improve their socio-economic standards. Nevertheless, coffee farming marked the beginning of a permanent policy switch from growing food crops for markets to producing raw materials for industry.

Zwanerberg (1972) observe that agricultural cooperatives such as coffee assisted farmers to re-invest in other crops such as tea, pyrethrum and food crops leading to tremendous transformation of agriculture.

According to Nyangito (2002) from 1975, coffee constituted over 40 per cent of Kenya's total export though after sometime the value was on the decline. However, after some time the sector started to have a myriad of problems. Uchendu (1975) illustrates this fact by showing how in the late 1970s the coffee industry experienced a lot challenges arising mainly from poor management at the local cooperative societies. Though there was a small increase in production in the start of 1970s, it was a short-lived experience, as the decline. This situation greatly affected coffee growers in Nyamira as loads of it remained in stores because there was no market (Nyaribo, O.I/09/06/2015).

The exploitative nature of farming activities in more so in coffee industry in the area of study was manifested in the marketing and fixing of prices of export crops. The theory of underdevelopment was played here as farmers in the county had no role in deciding prices of their products. In the same measure, cooperative management exploited farmers through misappropriation of funds meant for farmers and by 1978, most coffee farmers had been disillusioned with the operations of coffee cooperatives. The coffee farmers were forced to dig deep into their pockets to buy inputs from commercial suppliers who increased prices at will. This indeed killed coffee farming activities in the Nyamira as cooperatives had failed to carry out their mandates (Kibagendi, O.I/26/06/2015).

### **3.4.1.2 Pyrethrum Board of Kenya, 1963 -1978**

Prior to independence in 1963, pyrethrum was mainly cultivated by large-scale farmers in former White Highlands. It progressively changed, and towards the end of 1960s, majority of the growers were small-scale farmers (Heyer, 1976). In addition, he observes that in the year 1969, Gusii was the largest producer of pyrethrum in the country to the extent of having a surplus in the market. The majority of the growers were small-scale growers. This came as a result of the support the Pyrethrum Board of Kenya gave to Africans, more so the Gusii who were growing the crop. The Board was set up by the Pyrethrum Act (Cap 340) laws of Kenya and has also a mandate of registering and licensing growers and to control production, extract and market Pyrethrum in Kenya. It was charged with the responsibility of storing, grading preparation of pyrethrum products and research.

The annual report for 1969/70 of crop production in Kenya indicates that dried flowers representing an increase of 48 per cent over the corresponding twelve months was realized, courtesy of the Board. This was the highest figure of production in the history of the industry and marked the success of the extensive crop expansion programme introduced in the extensive crop expansion programme in the same period. This improvement was an indicative of the positive efforts production through the introduction of high content planting materials in addition to the improvement of general agronomic practices.

Pyrethrum on small farms had experienced an expansion of acreage and production up to mid-1970s (Maxon, 1995: 162). The growers were thus, not only to deliver and sell

all of their available production, but also to intensify their replanting programme in an effort to expand their overall production. According to the same annual report, farmers did this so that they may qualify for the allocation of bigger quotas covering the subsequent roughly three-year crop cycle starting October 1972 to September 1975.

Kay (1982) observes that the production started to fluctuate in response to the substitution of other chemicals. In addition, the situation was worsened by the decision of Pyrethrum Board of Kenya to deduct a special cases of fifty-five cents of a kilo of dried flowers for the expansion of a factory in Nakuru. This made farmers not to deliver the flower products to the societies for some time. However, after President Jomo Kenyatta's intervention when he visited Keroka town to talk to farmers with the promise of better pay, the farmers resumed production. The production intensified as was reflected in the increased productivity per unit of land (Uchendu, 1975). Uchendu further adds that new prices favourable to farmers, made them resume growing pyrethrum and the upward production trend resumed.

Most of the affiliate cooperative societies invested in real estates in major towns in Kenya. For example, Mochenwa and Gesima cooperative societies, all from Masaba Sub- County of Nyamira County were able to put up some commercial buildings in Kisii town and Nairobi (Kibagendi, O.I/26/6/2015). There were also improvements in transportation, extension services, input availability and marketing through expanding pyrethrum cooperative societies. They equally played a part in the very impressive record of agricultural expansion which marked the years 1963 -1978 (Maxon, 1989).

### **3.4.1.3 Kenya Tea Development Authority 1963 - 1978**

The origin of Kenya Tea Development Authority's comprehensive oversight of its growers was based on the colonial organizational model that emphasized control over tea production. It sought to incorporate the African peasants into the market and transform them into petty bourgeoisie (Leonard, 1991). After independence, it was to accelerate economic development and income growth for small-scale farmers. Leonard further indicates that before its formation, African farmers lacked technical knowledge and were scattered over a large area. With the support from the Commonwealth Development Corporation (CDC), the United Kingdom's development finance institution, the government set up Special Crops Development Authority (SCDA)—a parastatal agency that was renamed the Kenya Tea Development Authority in 1964 after Kenya gained independence (Maxon, 1989).

The Authority emerged as a powerful institution that provided extension services to the farmers and encouraged those to grow tea. Muller (1982) observes that the body was expected to become self - sustaining in every aspect of production including agricultural extension, providing planting materials, transport, processing, and marketing services among other functions. The Authority was given powers of providing fertilizer to its farmers on credit inspect and grade the crop and advise the growers on good husbandry practices (Leonard, 1991).

To ensure tea farmers got skills and knowledge of tea planting, the authority organized field days. During this occasion, farmers were invited to learn good farming practices. According to (KNA/DP/3/80/1968) report from Kisii District tea field Day

done on August 19<sup>th</sup>, 1968, it was noted that high productivity of tea depended on sound agricultural practices. The practices were passed on to growers by KTDA field staff and other government officers such as agricultural extension officers.

The Kenya Tea Development Authority also maintained roads in the small-scale tea growing areas to ensure leaf collection from farms to the factories was done efficiently. Evidence of such roads was common in the county especially in sloppy areas where they still exist (Kibagendi, O.I/26/6/2015). Kibagendi further noted that in 1966 in Borabu Sub-County, the authority established a tea factory, Nyankoba, in Masaba North Sub-County. He further added that tea leaves for processing were mainly obtained from the settlement schemes in Borabu Sub-county. This was due to the fact that by this time, the farmers had just planted tea and was not yet ready for harvest.

The other tea factories which were established in Nyamira County by the KTDA included Kebirigo (Nyamira South) 1978 (Kibagendi, O.I/26/6/2015). Others were established after the year 1978. There were a number of private tea factories in the county, namely; Kipkebe, Kerritor, Kiptenden and Mogeni tea factory some of which were set up during the colonial period. These factories are located in areas which were formerly under the colonial settlers. Apart from Mogeni tea the other factories are managed by Kipkebe tea estates which are under the management of Sasini group of companies.

The Annual Report, (2003) by crop Development Division attests to the fact that small holders in the county continued to dominate production. It adds that KTDA has continued to encourage the growth of tea as a cash crop and many farmers in Borabu own large farms of tea like Tindereti, Mecheo, Matutu and Raitigo settlement schemes farms that were acquired by the inhabitants from the British soldiers of the Second World War (Nyangai, O.I/06/08/2015). KTDA gave authority for more acreage to be planted during 1971/72 planting season. Under minute 28/70 of the Kisii District Tea Committee meeting held in the office of the Tea Officer in Kisii in 1970, the committee agreed to lift restrictions of planting tea. During the meeting, Nyamira, Kitutu and Keumbu locations were allocated 43,000 while the later got 44,000 more stumps for planting. At the same time KTDA ensured that the leaves delivered to factories for processing were of highest standards (KNA/DP/3/80/ 1968).

In conclusion, tea industry did well up to around 1978 when the founding President, Kenyatta died and when Moi came to power he decided to take a different approach on the growth of cash crops (Bates 1981: 150). More emphasis was given to food crop production to ensure food sufficiency. This marked the beginning of problems with the cooperatives that dealt with cash crops. However, KTDA was one of the few institutions which attempted to achieve outstanding record in developing small holder tea industry in comparison with other cash crops institutions.

### **3.4.1.4 Marketing Board for Food Crops 1963 - 1978**

#### **3.4.1.4.1 Maize**

During the first two decades after Kenya's independence in 1963, the public policy singled out maize as the major staple food. There was an expanded food production in the period between 1960 and 1970 (RoK, 1981: 1-2). According to Sessional Paper No. 4 of 1981 on national policy, the major concern of the government during this time was provision of improved prices and inputs to growers. It further adds that it led to the achievement of self-sufficiency in the main food crops. Its production and marketing received budgetary support through government-controlled marketing board (Nyangito, 2002). The government also focused on subsidizing producers and research and extension activities. The same document indicates that Gross Domestic Product (GDP) grew at almost an annual average of 6.6 percent from 1963 to 1973 and 7.2 per cent during the 1970s (Ibid). During the same period, agricultural production grew and was stimulated by diffusing new crop strains and opening new areas for cultivation. The resettlement programmes and increased small-scale production in the late 1960s and early 1970s greatly doubled maize production to the extent that large surplus production was realized (Ochien'g, 1992). He attests to the fact that improved extension services, credit and transport, small-farm production rose dramatically from 1963 onwards.

It was observed that the introduction and spread of hybrid maize was important in facilitating significantly in the increase of yields for small farmer (Omwanwa, O.I/24/06/15). In addition, he noted that though maize sales provided some income, the majority of it was consumed by the peasants' family. Ochien'g (1992) further

observes that not all sales were channeled through government official marketing Board. By end of 1970s, only twenty percent of smallholder sales were made through the Board. However, later on it declined drastically since peasants found alternative channels for maize sale. Since independence the importance of maize has been on the increase to the point that it has replaced the traditional staples like finger millet and sorghum, (Matarara, O.I/06/6/2015). Maize provides more yields per unit (approximately 2.2 times) more than sorghum (Carlsen, 1980).

There were a number of other crops like beans, sorghum, bananas and finger millet grown among the Gusii in the same period. However, they did not have their umbrella cooperatives or boards to assist the growers in marketing and other inputs and logistics. Some of the growers of crops which did not have cooperatives or boards got their in-puts through the Agricultural Finance Cooperation (AFC). Nevertheless, in line with government national development strategy, the AFC mandate was essentially geared to commercial projects which were aimed at the transformation of agriculture, so as to facilitate industrialization, viewed as crucial in overall economic development.

#### **3.4.1.3.2 Bananas**

A banana is an important cash and food crop. It is believed to have originated from South West Asia before its subsequent dispersal to the rest of the world including Africa (Moald, 1997). Moald adds that much of Western regions of Kenya account for 64 percent of production while central and eastern region account for 26 per cent. Other parts of the country like Rift Valley accounts 3.9 per cent and coast region 5.5

per cent. The crop is essentially tropical and does well at altitudes below 1,300 metres. It is an important crop in Kenya, staple food and source of income to many households. One of the informants Kemunto, (O.I/28/07/2015) informed the study that it one of the best-known food crops in the county. She added that women bananas forms part of the foods consumed in the home while ripe or boiled.

The bananas grown in Kenya, particularly in Nyamira County, came from Uganda, (Masaki O.I/09/06/2015). A banana is both a subsistence and commercial crop. It is grown mainly for its edible fruit, which may be eaten in various forms as already noted. It was observed that bananas are planted at the beginning of the rains, in holes dug and filled with a mixture of topsoil, and fertilizer a few days in advance before actual planting Kinanga (O.I/05/08/2015). The planting of bananas has no season otherwise it is done throughout the year.

Qaim (1999) indicates that bananas are most widely consumed after maize in Nyamira. The County is the leading banana producer in Kenya. The argument was illustrated by the fact that there was an average farmer production of 17 tons per hectare while the national farmer average production is 12 tons per hectare in the period between and 1975. In Nyamira County, the crop is predominately grown by small-scale farmers who have an average holding of 0.3 hectares making up to 13 per cent of the total farm area (Ibid).

Although bananas are grown virtually in almost every household in the county, the areas known for producing plenty of it includes, Rigoma, Kemera and Gesima (Masaba North Sub-County). The other areas are Kebirigo, Sironga, and Makairo in

Nyamira south and in Borabu Sub-County; they are grown in Mecheo and Nyansiongo locations. The various varieties grown are *pogo pogo*, *Kiganda*, *Ngombe*, *Egesukari*, and East Africa Highland banana (Munyi, O.I/28/07/2015). These varieties are adapted to various agro-ecological zones in the county. Munyi further added that banana production has become an important income earner to many farmers in the County. There was a big demand for bananas from the County to major urban centres especially Nairobi.

The buying and selling of bananas in the County, initially was controlled by a group of unscrupulous middlemen who took advantage of farmers for their own selfish gains. Kemunto (O.I/28/27/2015) informed the researcher that middlemen exploited farmers by buying one bunch of banana at between hundred and two hundred shillings, which was considered too low for their produce. She further added that in some areas in the county like Magwagwa area, banana farmers had established a marketing centre which planned to register to help them in marketing of the crop among other roles. Kemunto indicated that majority of their buyers were usually travellers to various destinations including Nairobi, Nakuru, Kisumu, Mombasa just to mention a few. With the registration of this group, the farmers project that it will enable them to get better market information and empower them to increase their production.

Despite the importance of bananas, its production, from 1963 started to go down drastically. According to Munyi (O.I/28/07/2015), the decline was attributed to several factors, among them lack of enough clean planting materials as most farmers

planted the traditional type. However, with the introduction of more industrial crops, the acreage under bananas started to diminish shortly after independence because of the emphasis on cash crops.

Most of the oral informants of Rigoma Ward of Nyamira County indicated that population growth rate in the area was also threatening areas covered by bananas. The space for growing bananas has become scarce with traditional land tenure system. However, it should be noted that the Cooperatives Act somehow contributed to decline of the crop because it focused more on cash than food crops. The cooperatives hardly assisted food crop farmers leading to improvisation of banana growers.

#### **3.4.1.3.3 Other Marketing Facilities**

The county has several other marketing facilities which were utilized for many activities that involve buying and selling other agricultural goods and other services. There are auction facilities for cereals and produce boards stores, in the major market centres. The centres include permanent daily market and major rural weekly markets (RoK, 1994). The activities in the various market centres, and auction facilities were well utilized. They were spread in various parts of the county as shown in Table 6 below.

**Table 6.0: Major Market Centres and Auction facilities as per Sub- County**

<b>Sub-county</b>	<b>Auction facility</b>	<b>Market centre</b>
Nyamira South	Kebirigo, Tinga, Riochanda and Miruka	Kebirigo and Tinga
Nyamira North	Ikonge and Karuta	Ikonge and Magwagwa
Manga		Manga ,Omogonchoro
Masaba North	Keroka	Gesima, Keroka and Mosobeti
Borabu		Chebilat and Kijauri

**Source:** County Council of Nyamira, 1993

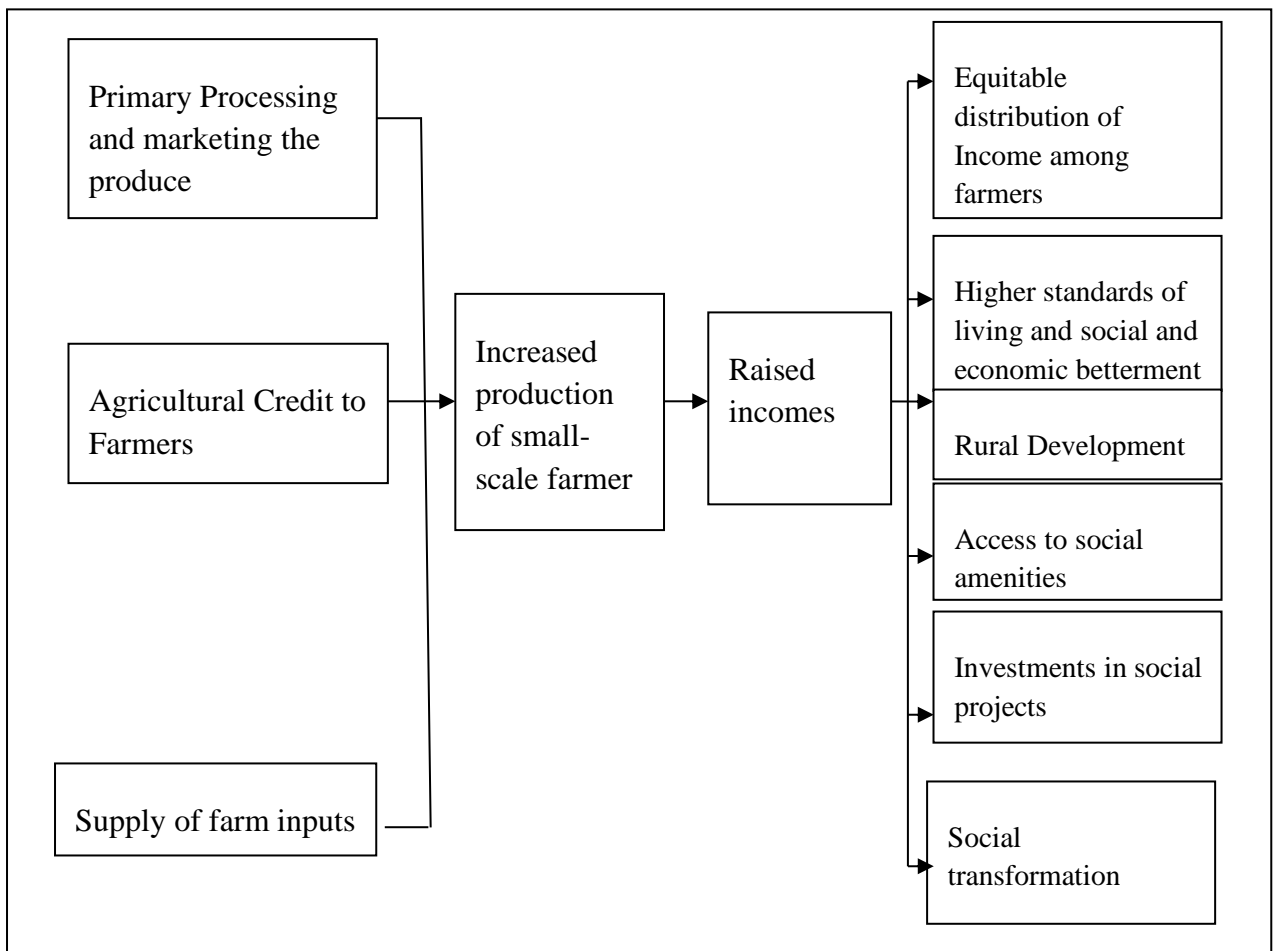
It was ascertained that there was only one National Cereal and Produce Board Store at Kijauri and several other agents' stores of NCPB in other centres of the County.

### **3.5 Summary**

The post-independence era, more so in the period 1963-1978, witnessed rapid rise of many Production Organizations with the aim of promoting agriculture. This was in form of cooperatives, boards and societies which were part of Africanisation of the Kenyan economy on agriculture. One of the first steps the government took was to formulate agricultural policies, land and resettlement of the landless in Kenya. Many Africans including some Gusii of Nyamira County were resettled on the land that was formerly owned by the Europeans. In Nyamira County, it was made possible through formation of land buying cooperatives and agriculturally based cooperatives such as Isoge, Matutu, Mwangori, Mogusii, Kerumbe, and Kineni in Borabu Sub-County. The Africans were encouraged to form cooperative societies to assist them enhance agricultural activities like getting from which otherwise were under the control of the Europeans for a long period. Some of societies which already existed were realigned to suit and promote interest of African farmers. The cooperative societies served as a

venue for channeling credit and farm input to small farmers, which did not exist before independence. Some of the cooperative societies and boards included Pyrethrum Board, Coffee cooperatives Societies, Kenya Tea Development Authority and Maize Marketing Boards of Kenya. As already noted, cooperative societies served as the vehicles for marketing crops grown by many Gusii farmers on small plots. Figure 3 below summarizes the role of cooperatives have played in the county and the country as a whole.

**Figure 3.0: Roles of Agricultural Cooperatives**



**Source:** Field Survey

**CHAPTER FOUR**  
**THE SOCIO -ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF AGRICULTURAL**  
**TRANSFORMATION IN NYAMIRA COUNTY, 1979- 2002**

**4.1 Introduction**

The Chapter examines and discusses the role of agriculture in rural development and interrogates the interaction between the external influences on agricultural transformation and local actors. Agricultural transformation in Nyamira County in the period 1979 - 2002 caused a number of impacts. The year 2002 for this study was important because it marked the end of Nyayo era which toward its end was characterized by decline or witnesses of ‘negative transformative’ of the economy more so the agricultural sector. The decline was attributed to mismanagement and maladministration. It also witnessed another political transition which on its campaign platform had pledged to revamp the diving agricultural sector.

**4.2 Effects of Agricultural Transformation in Kenya from 1979-2002**

By 1979 when president Moi took over power, a number of Kenyans had been resettled on former European farms. However, those farms that had been bought through cooperatives, the government ordered members to partition them out for the members. Indeed, this was necessary for the interest of stability and social-economic growth of the country.

Maxon (2003) indicates that after independence, the Kenya Government promoted rapid economic growth through public investment and encouragement of smallholder agricultural production. He further indicated that by late 1970s Kenya’s economy was still protected by strict policies and was not in any way open to external competition.

The Government of Kenya Report (2009) shows that in the first two decades or so after independence, the agricultural sector recorded an impressive growth. It registered an average rate of six per cent per annum of national economy. This was due to government control of the economy and better agricultural policies which supported both small-scale holders and large-scale producers. The same report also indicated that better use of technology with government provisions and support to agricultural extension and research, agricultural inputs, marketing, credit and agro-processing as well as establishment of agricultural institutions like research centres, played a vital role in the flourishing of agriculture.

There was increased economic growth and development in Nyamira (Ndege, O.I/16/06/2015). It was extrapolated through transitioning of subsistence agriculture in the region to agribusiness. He further added that a number of tea factories were set up in 1970s such as Nyansiongo and Kebirigo. Other coffee factories were also put up due to availability of agricultural raw materials among them Kemera, Magwagwa, and Manga just to mention a few. The export of the two processed crops generated foreign currency for the farmers. Various non-agricultural activities had come up due to income from cash crops. In view of that it contributed to economic well-being of the county and Kenya at large.

The same factories created employment opportunities and through farming business to the local population. Hence, it has controlled outmigration of rural people to urban areas, perhaps the prime contribution that agriculture has made to industrialization.

It was confirmed that the six tea factories in the county had over 400 employees each. Besides that, there were five privately owned factories in the county employing over two thousand people. In addition, there were a number of coffee factories which also employed over eight hundred people in the county (Munyi, O.I/28/07/2015). On the other hand, pyrethrum production, the District Commissioner (DC) Kisii in his remarks in late 1970s observed that the growing of pyrethrum had improved the standards of living for large number of Gusii community and it was attested through better houses (KNA/DP/3/42/1961/1962).

An informant, former member of Pyrethrum Board of Kenya, Matundura (O.I/10/06/2015) observed that because of much proceeds earned from pyrethrum, literacy levels and standards of education improved. The literacy level improved due to a number of schools put up using resources obtained from farming activities. Many of these schools were found in areas or locations known for growing pyrethrum and tea in the County. One of the informants, Sabina (O.I/28/6/2015) had this to say during the interview;

For many years, pyrethrum was the leading cash crop in the former Nyamira District and Gusiland at large. And for a long time, the numerous hills and valleys that define the County were covered by Pyrethrum flowers. I was rich then. Most of these houses you see here were built from pyrethrum proceeds. We educated our children, fed them and satisfied all our needs. We abandoned pyrethrum farming and you could not trace a single pyrethrum farmer in the area.

The above assertion indeed indicated that the crop did so much to the community but with time, the production went down due to a number of factors already noted in this work. The study was informed that advances in technology had its own impact on

land. The use of modern technology has changed agriculture (Masaki O.I/09/06/2015). He added that the excessive use of pesticides and fertilizers, contaminated with heavy metals, had caused soil depletion and this effect was already felt among many farmers in the County. The concentration of heavy metals resulting from fertilization and waste water were higher than the intake of crops such as maize. The County Agriculture Director, Munyi (O.I/28/07/2015) observed that agricultural production had drastically gone down and particularly that of Maize. He noted that preliminary report from the research that had been carried out indicated that the polluted fertilizers are behind the depletion of soils in the County. The Borabu Sub-County was found to be the worst hit by the problem followed with Masaba north.

Ndung'u (2016) observes that between the periods 1974 to 1990s somehow the economic performance shrank with GDP growth averaging about 4.2 per cent per year in the 1980s and 2.2 per cent in the following decade. He further added that the government's inward-looking policy of import substitution and rising of oil prices made Kenya's manufacturing sector uncompetitive which also greatly affected agricultural production. The government responded to this by starting a massive intrusion in the private sector. It was demonstrated that during 1980s, coffee and pyrethrum production was higher but there was no market for the respective products (Mongare, O.I/19/06/2015). Hence the situation demoralized farmers and production started to go down particularly industrial products in the subsequent years.

Ochien'g (1992) avers that the production of food crops in Gusii in the 1980s and before was high and rapid. This in turn contributed to unprecedented growth of Gusii

population. He further indicated that population growth rate was almost 4 per cent per year which almost neutralized agricultural expansion in the 1980s. The situation continued to aggravate the problem of land shortage in small farm areas which holds the greatest potentials for farming in the region. The Nyamira Development Plan of 1994 confirms that in early 1980s, Nyamira was experiencing population growth rate of almost 4.6 per cent; which was associated with food production which increased fertility rates. The observation made during the field study confirmed that a number of farmers are faced with difficulties of access and utilization of land.

In the same vein, it was indicated that the County lacked precise and articulate land policies in land use, management and tenure reforms. The failure by the national government to come up with legislation and procedures relating to excessive subdivisions of land had brought about uneconomic utilization of this resource. It came as a result of among other factors, traditional customs and practices where each son of the family was entitled to his own land from the father. This has resulted to uneconomical use of land as plots were too small for cultivation.

The Director of Agriculture in the County, Munyi (O.I/25/07/2015) informed the researcher that agricultural transformation in Nyamira and Gusii in general intensified in 1970s and 1980s because of support from the government. The assertion was corroborated by the data available in the Nyamira department of agriculture. This was before institutions like Agricultural Finance Cooperation (AFC) had collapsed. Farmers were provided with the necessary inputs like fertilizers, farm implements

among others which enhanced production. It made the Gusii farmers concentrate on particular crops such as tea, coffee, pyrethrum and maize.

The emphasis on one or two primary commodities was for sale and export. This kind of situation has made farmers to entirely depend on same crops for their daily income. For instance, according to Sunday Times of February 27<sup>th</sup>1990, the period between 1980 and 1987, Kenya economy dwindled from positive to negative. This persisted for long and exacerbated the perpetual state of disequilibrium of the Gusii farmers and thereby aggravating underdevelopment of the community. The farmers continued to cultivate coffee, pyrethrum and tea at the expense of food crops. This has contributed to low food production in Nyamira County as many farmers concentrated on cash crop farming.

The economic growth of the West in a way created underdevelopment and poverty among farmers as much of the profits made from cash crops ended up benefiting them. The elimination of price controls of many key products including agricultural and imports licensing, removal of foreign exchange controls and a number of public owned companies were privatized among other measures. The measures were introduced by the whims of the western multinational companies among them the World Bank. The policies led to low production because farmers were not able to get government agricultural subsidies which they were used to obtain for enhancement of agriculture. However, marketing structure subjected farmers servitude hence making them feels abandoned and turned into prisoners of monolith that claim to stand for them.

Influencing policies have a major impact on agriculture. Nyangito (2002) indicates that in 1980s there was introduction of Structural Adjustment Programme. It marked period of Liberalization of the economy in Kenya which had a far-reaching consequence on agriculture. The programme was aimed at shifting the economy from an inward orientation to externally oriented policies that subject economic agents to competition.

Nyangito further argues that the program led to perpetuation of poverty inequality and deregulating laws and diminishing the country's capacity to protect the welfare of citizens, especially farmers. The policy created a negative impact on agriculture. The government reduced its investment support to the agricultural sector. More so its budget allocation to agriculture was much lowered compared to other sectors.

Karanja (2002) observes that onset of the liberalization saw the economy grow at a slow pace with Gross Domestic Product(GDP) and real agricultural growth rates declining. Therefore, the value of economic activity goods and services related to agriculture went down greatly. This situation was well demonstrated by the fact that the annual average growth rate was estimated to be 17 percent by 1980 and declining to 2.4 percent by 1990s. The downfall growth of the economy was attributed to its exposure to external competition. In turn, it led to decline of agricultural revenues, food insecurity and increasing of poverty as it was witnessed in Gusii in 1984 and the larger Kenya (Nyangito, 1998).

The application of World Bank and SAPs policies had a far-reaching effect on farmers in the County. Both Public and private sector could not be able to sustain a big number of work forces. Munyi (O.I/25/07/2015) indicated that the policies made many people retrenched from public sector made them look for alternatives in informal sector like in small-scale farming. However, the sector could not accommodate all people. Many youths remained unemployed which increased poverty and upsurge of culture of violence and crimes.

In Borabu Sub – County, between 1987 and 1992 crime rate was high compared to the previous years (Nyangai, O.I/06/08/2015). Many youths were engaged in rape, stealing, house breaking, simple robberies and theft of stock which was very rampant that time. The Chief disclosed that a number of youths joined gang groups which used to terrorize innocent people in the region particularly in the main towns of the County like Kisii, Keroka, Kijauri, Gesima, Chepilata and Tombe just to mention a few.

In addition, it was indicated that school dropout rates were high at all level of school system as most parents and guardians were unable to raise funds for fees as the agricultural sector performed dismally. Rono (1992) argues that those who dropped out of school found it difficult to secure employment and therefore become frustrated and ended up as social misfits in society. However, he went to add that only children from well to do families continued to learn because their parents were able. This created social inequality and underdevelopment.

Smith and Karuga (2004) observe that there was emergence of new phase in the political and economic policy environment in the country. It was seen as a reflection of the changing roles for various actors in the agricultural sector which had serious impact on agricultural transformation. Such actors initiated and formulated new policies and legislations meant to improve agricultural production. Before they were implemented, they had to be approved by parliament and then accompanied by the release of Sessional Paper. This development adversely affected agriculture more so its performance. This was worsened by reforms in the tea and coffee sectors at this time with the removal of foreign exchange controls and the floating exchange rate helping export crops. These policy changes greatly affected the agricultural sector especially given the liberalization of internal trade and price.

Maxon (2003) noted that decline of agriculture in 1980s contributed to increased poverty. As poverty also continued to entrench in the rural areas of Nyamira County, there was low productivity of maize, beans and indigenous food crops, (Omanwa O.I/24/06/2015). This was reflected in low yields per acre of land in the county during the same period. Among the reasons that explain this situation was the inability by farmers to afford readily available modern technology skills and farming tools and inputs.

The dramatic fluctuation prices of agricultural products equally contributed to intensification of poverty among farmers in Nyamira during this period of liberalization (Munyi, O.I/28/07/2015). Other factors which may have worsened this

situation included the little or inadequate consultation from private sector stakeholders during the implementation of the reforms.

Central Bureau of Statistics (1997) for the purpose of comparison the documents attest that impact SAPs in the agricultural development of Kenya can be well illustrated as follows; in the period 1964-1974, the agricultural sector contributed 36.6 percent of GDP, 1974-1979 contributed 33.2 per cent, 1980 -1989 and 1990 – 1995 contributed 26.2 per cent. Hence, throughout the 1990s in the government budget, agriculture expenditure declined drastically to about 5.2 per cent of the total budget.

The implementation of the programme forced many rural households to venture into alternative agricultural and non-agricultural activities more especially in Nyamira County. Matara (O.I/16/06/2015) an agricultural extension officer illustrates this fact by indicating that many farmers started engaging in livestock rearing and in agro forestry. Many informants indicated a number of farmers started planting blue gum in tea and coffee farms. They preferred this type trees because of being economically viable compared to tea or coffee. They also took a short time to mature (Onguso O.I/16/06/2015). He made the following comments;

I have planted tea on 3-acre land and of recent times, payments for tea have not been good. This has made me think otherwise. The final payments (bonus) equally have been disappointing because much of it goes to fertilizer advanced to us on credit and other overhead expenditures. The blue gums, I have already planted can fetch me a lot more compared to tea.

From his comment it was like most farmers have underwent same experience decided had diversified their agricultural activities such as intercropping major cash crops with other crops.

**Plate 1.0: Blue gum trees planted in tea plantation**



**Source:** Field Survey (Photo taken on 16/6/2015 from Onguso's farm in Masaba North Sub County)

Nyangito (1992) indicates that the collapse of the Kenya Farmers Association (KFA) in 1980s greatly impacted negatively on agricultural transformation in Kenya. Since independence the Association which was a state supported agricultural institution was a major feature on Kenyan agricultural scene. Its main aim was to support its growth and greatly contributed to the development of Kenyan economy. Bates (1987) affirms that the association, once vibrant, was meant to solve problems of marketing of farmers produce and provision of agricultural input. The agency was replaced with Kenya Grain Growers Cooperative Union (KGGCU). Bates adds that the KGGCU was established to compete with KFA in offering lower prices of farm input. Therefore, in 1984 the government ordered KFA to hand over its operation to the

outfit, KGGCU. Within a short time, there was abrupt shift of resources away from coffee, pyrethrum and tea sectors. During that time, early 1990s the Gusii were unable to sustain or grow their crops because of credit access challenges (Ongeri, O.I/19/06/2015). Lack of quality input and reliable market for their products was as result the collapse of the association. This greatly affected the production of the same in Nyamira County just like in many other parts of the country. The production of maize and dairy farming went down in 1990s. This was associated with failure to get the necessary assistance from KFA (Makori, O.I/26/06/2015).

The possible reason for the change was actually political and it was made in such way that it looks economical. The political class wanted to control and manipulate the operations of the institution which operated independently before. A respondent and former cooperative officer reiterated that the decline of cash crops like coffee, pyrethrum and tea production was worsened by the collapse of most cooperatives' societies in the County (Kibagendi, O.I/26/06/2015). Kamenyi (2001) elucidates that the high level of corruption and mismanagement of the KGGCU made it broke and completely unable to serve or distribute farmer's inputs. Hence, it contributed to lack of essential farm inputs for farmers. The leadership of the union did not support coffee and tea production. It adversely affected its production in the country. Nyamira being a coffee and tea growing area was not spared.

The Moi administration revolved around the main goals of increasing productivity mainly in food crops and income growth for small holders (UNDP 2002). One of the respondents, retired agricultural officer noted that the government tried to encourage

traditional commodities and food crops (Kinanga, O.I/28/07/2015). The efforts were meant to enhance food security and promote agricultural processing industries though policy implementation contradicts its objectives. In the course of promoting food production, many farmers in the county ended up intercropping cash with food crops which finally made cash crops to disappear (Kerubo, O.I/28/06/2015).

**Plate 2.0: Maize and beans grown in coffee plantation**



**Source:** Field Survey; (Photograph taken from Simbault farm on 9/6/2013 in Borabu Sub County)

The emphasis of food self-sufficiency at the expense of export during Moi's reign itself was major impediment to agricultural transformation and production. These developments confirm the assertion that government policy intervention may determine the agricultural transformation process to the modern economy or otherwise. This was true with the trend and dimension agricultural development took

during the Moi administration in Kenya in the period 1979-2002. According to the Central Bureau of Statistics 1993, the agricultural sector witnessed a big decline in growth from an average of 4.6 per cent per annum during 1964-1974 to 0.4 per cent in the period 1980-1985 and declined even further in 1990s to less 0.4 per cent. This may have been as a result of decline of share of agriculture in GDP.

Land fragmentation has had a big impact on agricultural productivity in the Nyamira County. Using a cross-sectional data collected by respondents and observation made during the study, various conclusions came up about fragmentation in the County. One, land was found to be characterized by small farm holdings divided into small strips. The data revealed a common practice of the Gusii Community based on land distribution, redistribution and inheritance rules under tenure systems. Land fragmentation a common practice among the residents of Nyamira was a major source of inefficiency in crop productivity (Munyi, O.I/28/07/2015).

When farmers embark on intensive farming, the small strip plots were susceptible to erosion. At the same time, it was difficult to use machines and hence hindering modernization and agricultural transformation. It resulted to negative effect on farm yields and led to small and unprofitable size of operational holdings. The increasing farm fragmentation and competition of cash crop with food crops on the meager land contributed to low food production in Nyamira County (Masaki, O.I/09/06/2015). As farms got smaller and smaller, they became uneconomical to operate. Therefore, best and modern agricultural practices were needed to increase productivity.

During the reign of President Moi 1979 – 2002, soil conservation programmes were intensified in the County after realizing that it was a threat to agricultural transformation. According to (RoK, 1994) in Nyamira North alone 7,252 farms were fully terraced and about 18 farmer’s field day were held. Other areas where the same programme was undertaken included Nyansiongo, Mogusii and Eronge all in Borabu sub-county. Here, 1,504 farm gullies were conserved and 250 farmers trained on the same. The menace of soil erosion for long had caused degradation of farms to a point of impacting negatively on agricultural production.

#### **4.3 Effects of Local Corruption in Cooperative Movement in Nyamira**

Initially cooperatives played a big role in agricultural transformation when they were on a close watch of the government. But after the stringent SAPs and World Bank policies, cooperatives were supposed to continue doing more for farmers in developing agricultural sector. The cooperative movements had a great potential of changing many lives in the rural areas. This sector was totally ignored in 1990s (Kibagendi, O.I/26/06/2015). He further observed that, after the SAPs policies of 1990s many leaders of cooperatives became rich at the expenses of many poor farmers in the county. Therefore, many cooperatives started to collapse more so because of poor government policies and mismanagement by their leaders.

Some of the cooperatives in the county which declined at that time included Masaba Farmers Cooperatives Union for pyrethrum and Gusii Coffee Growers Cooperatives. These cooperatives had members from both Nyamira and the larger Gusiiland in general. Many of these cooperative societies had advanced loans to farmers but because of bad economic trends in the cooperatives, they were never serviced. At the

same time some cartels exploited farmers, for instance in coffee sector they squeezed farmers making them poorer by taking part of their earning in the name of maintenance of factories and other unforeseen able expenditures. The corrupt officers grabbed assets and properties of cooperative societies. The informant gave an example of Simbault farm and other prime plots and buildings in Kisii town and Nairobi which were converted to personal property by leaders. These demoralized farmers and they even started uprooting coffee and pyrethrum for other alternative economic activities in protest of exploitation by their leaders among other reasons.

Smith and Karuga (2004) indicate that partisan exercise of presidential powers had a strong effect and linkage between ethnicity and agricultural production system. In Kenya's political system, there was concentration of powers in the presidency which to larger extent determined how national policies were made. Bates (1989) indicated that the executive class had a final say on policy in respect to agricultural activities of which more often than not disrupts even earlier policy position.

Roadside declarations and announcements by the executive also had a big impact on farming activities. Agricultural practices and policy formulation processes are shaped to a large extent in favours of a given group. This echoed what used to happen during the colonial period when the European settler farmers had all the protection at expense of African peasants. It somehow persisted with subsequent government after independence where a few individuals or community got protection from the authority.

The decline of pyrethrum production in 1990s from Nyamira and Gusii region in general was caused by a number of reasons (Matundura, O.I/10/06/2015). Among them included, policies and regulatory environmental factors and mismatch between market requirements and production. The low earnings for farmer's produce also contributed to poor production of pyrethrum and sales (Kay, 1982). This was followed by low delivery of the crop to the factory declined. This resulted to some growers neglecting the crop and others uprooted it for food crops. Earlier interview with Matundura (O.I/10/06/2015), he noted that Nyamira County which used to be one of the leading in the crop production was lagging behind of other counties as Nakuru and Nyandarua. Most farmers also did indicate that payment after delivery of the crop took about five to six months. Besides that, payment was insufficient and not like before when they were paid handsomely.

This fact was illustrated that in early 1980s pyrethrum delivered to a collection centre, which was going at Ksh.49 per kilogram however, towards early 1990s, it was fetching as low as Ksh.32 or less per kilogram (Mongare, O.I/19/06/2015). Here farmers were exploited by marketing agencies and board of management team. They further complained that input and labour used was so much that whatever they were getting could not pay back. Therefore, majority of the farmers in the County switched off to alternative enterprises which were more paying.

Transport and communication had a big impact on agricultural transformation and development just like any other development in the world. It is a prerogative factor for industrial development for supply of raw materials to the industries, supply of

farm input and distribution of industrial products. The poor roads in the County had impacted negatively on agricultural transformation (Ombati, O.I/06/07/2015). Collected data showed that for quite some time Nyamira experienced bad roads more so during the period 1980s and 1990s. However, a number of feeder roads mostly in Nyamira North and Manga Sub-Counties had the worst feeder roads. Failure to transport agricultural raw materials such as tea and coffee to the factories because roads were impassable during rainy season had impacted negatively on farming activities. Farmers incurred a lot of wastage and losses of their products before reaching the factories or markets. Most of the farmers interviewed argued that they had been discouraged and demoralized from farming activities because they did not get the value of their effort.

#### **4.4 Summary**

Agricultural transformation in Kenya and specifically in Nyamira County had far reaching impacts in the period 1979-2002. This was during the reign of the second president, Daniel Arap Moi. The effects were those caused by the process of agricultural transformation directly and those which affected it not to achieve its potential objective.

According to Bates (1987) when Moi took over his government shifted resources away from cash crops sector. He argued that it was done deliberately with intentions of rewarding his loyal supporters, so that he could have the capacity to sustain his regime. However, those who benefited most were those who cultivated food crops such as wheat, maize among others.

President Moi's government started off by disbanding KFA which was operating almost independently from the government and replaced it with Kenya Grain Growers Cooperative Union (KGGCU). The former had long-standing commitment to assist in production of cash crops. The new outfit was to enhance production of food crops such as wheat and maize at the expense of tea, coffee and pyrethrum. This led to a major significant economic boom in the Rift Valley and parts of western Kenya in food production but at expense of cash crop.

The abrupt change of policy affected Nyamira farmers who actually depended on pyrethrum, tea and coffee as their main economic base. Soon after 1990s, there was introduction of Structural Adjustment Programme which was immediately followed by liberalization which continued up to 2002. The program created a negative impact on agriculture leading to perpetuation of poverty and inequality among the residents. This was due to the decline of agricultural revenues and food security.

In addition, it resulted to negative growth rate of 2.4 percent by 2000. The farmers were unable to afford modern technologies of farming and necessary farm input. To solve this situation, the government and other stakeholders came up with various formulations to safeguard farmers.

Agriculture took a different dimension due to political factors and declarations by leaders. This includes situations where the executive made arbitrary decisions of which some were unfavorable to procedures of farming. Such situations gave some

group in society favours regardless of laid down policies and procedures. For instance, the changing of AFC to KGGCU was seen to be more of political than professional. The outfit ended up favouring production of food to cash crop. It finally ended up disadvantaging cash crop producers leading to its decline.

Corruption in the political circles and at respective crop cooperative levels had its effects on agricultural transformation and ended up determining the course agricultural activities took. More often, it worked against the proper channels of farming activities, which disadvantaged many farmers. The same factors contributed to the destruction of cooperatives which used to assist many farmers. They were run down and swindled making them unable to assist farmers with marketing their products among other functions.

The liberalization and SAPs policies introduced by World Bank also had far-reaching effects on farming activities in the County and Kenya at large. It changed roles of various institutions which paved way for private sector to take over. The policy subjected farmers to exploitation which made them to neglect their crops. At the same time, it increased poverty among many rural folks due to mass unemployment. Many young people ended up engaging in destructive activities. All these happened due to decline of agricultural sector which could have provided employment opportunities to many of these youths.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

This Chapter presents the summary, conclusion and recommendations of the study on the agricultural transformation in Nyamira County in the period 1945-2002. The findings were summarized under the objectives of the study that corresponded to the research questions. Recommendations to the findings are also covered herein. Suggestions for areas that requires further research is also covered in the Chapter.

#### **5.2 Summary of the Findings**

More often policy interventions determine the process of agricultural transformation. Agriculture before colonialism was in a pre-capitalist stage which was termed as underdeveloped form of agriculture. Here, farming was characterized by growing of indigenous crops for local consumption and for barter of the surplus to acquire what was not produced by community concerned. Some schools of thought argue that it had to undergo some phases to reach what may be termed as modern agriculture. This type of agriculture was characterized by intensification of production.

After 1945, there was an additional demand for food which led to changes in farming methods and involvement of Africans in agriculture. The colonial government started to transform African subsistence farming by involving them in agriculture. In other words, the indigenous farming was articulated into cash economy. This led to specialization and production of cash crops like tea, pyrethrum, and coffee to just to mention a few. The process was described as moving from disequilibrium to more

qualitative form or equilibrium. To attain this level, it demanded strengthening of incentives to boost the slow agricultural growth.

Most of the African countries endeavored to carry out this process immediately after independence in the 1960s. From this development which took place, the metropolitan countries stood to gain more compared to the periphery. Importantly, in Nyamira County the residents used to practice traditional agriculture which was later influenced by colonial system of farming. They grew mainly food crops for local or family use and little was left for exchange in form of barter with their neighbours.

Europeans alienated some parts of Gusiiland particularly in what was known as west of Sotik Settlement or Borabuand a section neighboring Kisii town. They introduced a number of cash crops such as pyrethrum, coffee, tea and white maize. In the course of time these crops replaced the indigenous food crops such as millet, sorghum, sweat potatoes and colored maize.

The mentioned cash crops, particularly tea, were grown in both small scale and large-scale farms in the county. Some of the large-scale farms in the county include Kipkebe, Magura, Mogusii, Kerritor and many others owned by individuals. Oral data availed from various informants indicated that colonialism shaped the process of farming in the county through their encouragement of the Gusii community to produce surplus food. There was a big demand with the Asian community in major towns in Gusii, namely Kisii, Keroka and Nyamira. Besides that, their innovations changed the social and economic aspects of the Gusii significantly. This was

demonstrated by the colonial administrators and instructors who also assisted in promotion of agriculture in the county during colonial period. It was done through use of force and advising Africans on the best practices of farming. The colonial government was determined to produce primary products for the mother country. This ended up disrupting peasant farming in favor of cash economy. It led to erosion of a fairly stable system of food production. The communal and corporate system of land ownership was also done away with. The various land policies were introduced in regard to land ownership and use.

After the Second World War, Europeans started a massive venture of farming where they resorted to growing of specific types of crops. In Gusiiland pyrethrum, tea and coffee were identified as crops suited to the environmental conditions of the area. Pyrethrum as a cash crop was being grown in Kitutu locations of Masaba north specifically Magombo, Birongo and Gesima. Other areas in Nyamira County were Kebirigo, North Mugirango and Kenyenia locations. It was also grown in much of Borabu Sub - County particularly in areas of Nyaronge, Mwongori and Mecheo.

Coffee was a preserve of whites, but due to pressure from Africans, they were given opportunities to grow the crop. Many of the informants interviewed confirmed that in the county it was first grown in Girango location of Masaba North. The area is neighboring late Senior Chief Musa Nyandusi's, location of Nyaribari. They also indicated that Gusiiland was suitable for Coffee because of its fertile soils. Coffee was also grown in Nyamira North and sections of Borabu sub County.

Tea was another major crop grown in Nyamira County which was introduced in Gusiland in 1957. It is grown in both large scale and small-scale farms in Nyamira. It was first grown in Mokomoni, Magombo in East Kitutu Location. Large-scale farms are found in Borabu and majority of them owned by multinational companies and others individually owned.

Growing of food crops seems to be a major activity of many farmers and maize is the main staple food crop in the county. The oral interviews revealed that the community cultivated traditional mixed colour maize which was later replaced by hybrid maize. The findings indicated that after the Second World War, there was increased maize production which replaced indigenous crops such as millet. Maize became a staple food among the Gusii people because it was cheaper to grow and easily saleable.

The Second World War affected agricultural transformation in a number of ways. The effects of the war created big demand for food and raw materials for European industrial development. Therefore, the colonial government was forced to put in place various policies to meet exigencies of the war. Such policies impacted both negative and positively impact on the Africans. The demand for Africans to be involved more in farming led to signing of Swynnerton plan of 1954 and thereafter a number of changes came up. More and more Africans were allowed to grow cash crops. There followed land consolidation and greater African participation in agriculture.

There were a number of drivers of agricultural transformation in the period 1963-1978. Immediately Kenya attained independence there was need to transform

agriculture because it was the backbone of its economy and it was to promote much of the economic development. The government came up with various agricultural policies to this effect. The need to have export production, a basis of economic development and to eradicate poverty in itself was a major driver to agricultural transformation.

After independence, the government embarked on resettlement for the landless on formerly European owned farms. The areas west of Sotik settlement which included what is now Borabu Sub-County were redistributed to the locals (KNA/DP/3/55/1966/1971). The Matutu, Isoge, Kineni, Mwongori, Mogusii settlements were given out to those who were willing to acquire loan and pay land. Influence of classical economic ideas caused agricultural transformation especially after 1963. Bates (1987) argues that the government tried to improve its economic wellbeing by producing more for export. This was done through identification of specific crops which after export could fetch more and boost the economy. This became a major reason why in 1960s and 1970s there was witnessed rapid growth of marketed crops. In Nyamira County, farmers were encouraged to grow exportable crops like tea, coffee and pyrethrum.

Cooperatives movements played an important role in driving of agricultural transformation and played a key strategy in nation development. They integrated African farmers to accumulate their capital base. Over 6 coffee societies in Nyamira whose umbrella union was the Gusii Coffee Farmer's Cooperative Union, contributed to the growth in numbers of farmers. Respondents informed the study that societies

such as Gesarara and Nyaigwa with more than four factories were found in Nyamira County. Cooperatives gave farmers farm inputs which boosted farming activities.

The other organizations which promoted agricultural transformation in the county included pyrethrum Board of Kenya. In Nyamira, there were 17 cooperatives which worked with the Board. Maxon (2003) asserts that by 1969 the Board had assisted farmers in Gusii in production of pyrethrum, hence becoming among the largest producers of pyrethrum in the country. The Kenya Tea Development Authority for tea sector equally played a leading role in assisting tea farmers to boost the sub - sector in the County. Apart from inputs the authority established tea factories to facilitate the processing of tea before export. A number of factories were set up during this period, among them Nyankoba, Kebirigo and Nyansiongo. Besides that, there are some private factories in the County.

Among the food crops which became a target of promotion after independence was maize (RoK, 1981: 1-2). For instance, under sessional paper no. 4 of 1981, it talked of improving prices and provisions of inputs for food crop growers. Oral information revealed that the introduction and spread of hybrid Maize in the county facilitated significantly in the increase of yields for small-scale farmers. Ochien'g (1992) attests to the fact that since independence the importance of maize has been on the increase. It has even replaced some of the indigenous crops like millet and sorghum.

The information collected also indicates that banana is another crop commonly grown in the county. The crop whose origin is said to have been in Uganda is both a

subsistence and commercial crop. It is locally consumed and the surplus is taken to major urban areas for sale. There were several varieties grown within the County. The areas identified as main growers included Rigoma, Kemera, Gesima, Kebirigo, and Nyansiongo in Borabu Sub-county. However, it was also noted that production is going down as the acreage under bananas has diminished because of increasing population, (Siringi O.I/28/06/2015).

The third objective of the study was on social-economic effects of agricultural transformation in the period 1979-2002. After independence there were sound policies put in agriculture by the government. The policies resulted in an impressive growth in sector, hence registering a seven percent for national economy. This development had extrapolated through transition of subsistence agriculture in Gusii to agriculture business. From the data collected, it was indicated that a number of factories were setup to process the various crops, earned farmers' foreign currency through export.

Agriculture created employment opportunities for the local population in factories and through farming business. It managed out migration of some rural people to urban areas looking for job opportunities. In addition to this it has improved the standard of living for most farmers in the county. This was attested to by a number of observations made for instance through the lifestyle of some farmers who had permanent houses.

The oil crisis of 1973 had a far-reaching impact on agriculture in most of the third world countries. The effects dragged for many years even after 1973. The

skyrocketing of oil prices affected many sectors of the economy, among them agriculture. The operations of agricultural industries were affected as most of them depended on oil. It affected market of many of agricultural products, which demoralized farmers and hence production went down.

There was emphasis on food production during that period by the Moi government (Bates, 1987). The high growth rate of population neutralized agricultural expansion (Munyi, O.I/28/07/2015). He added that the situation was aggravated by land shortage due to high population growth rate which affected agricultural production. From the pre-visit report of the County it was found to be fairly populated and this asserted pressure on land leading to land shortage.

The intensification of agriculture in the county in 1990s led to a situation where farmers concentrated on specific crops. They grew coffee, tea and pyrethrum at expense of other crucial food crops (Munyi, O.I/28/07/2015). This kind of specialization impacted negatively on the community especially when the very crops were affected by fluctuations of world prices.

The introduction of Structural Adjustment Programmes and liberalization policy had far-reaching impact on agriculture and economic set up of many countries in developing world. The program stripped the capacity to protect the welfare of citizen more so farmers. The budget allocation to agriculture was greatly lowered. It directly and indirectly affected agricultural revenues and endangered food security and increased poverty in Gusiiland in 1990s. As already noted, many people were

retrenched from public sector creating inequality, inflation and unemployment of many youths. Therefore, many ended up involving themselves in destructive activities like stealing, drinking and theft of livestock. This problem was even worse in areas bordering Borabu and Bomet (Nyangai, O.I/06/08/2015).

There was emergence of new phase in political and economic policy environment in the country in the 1990s. There were various actors who initiated and formulated new policies and legislations which had a big impact on agricultural production. It took long before implementation and it contributed to dalliance of certain policies meant to mitigate emerging trends in agricultural transformation. In political circles, leaders wielded much power which more often affected the economic development of the country. According to Bates (1987), the political class has a final say on agricultural activities especially in third world countries. Some of their road side declarations have ended up favoring certain groups in society. The stress on the need for food sufficiency ended up disadvantaging cash crop production. During the reign of President Moi, he promoted production of more food as compared to cash crops. On the same note during our interview with Ndege (O.I/16/06/2015), retired agricultural officer we gathered information that farmers in Nyamira depended on such cash crops like tea, pyrethrum and coffee. They had to revert to food crop production yet land was not enough. So, they started embarking on intercropping, a situation that affected production of cash crops.

The collapse and replacement of KFA with KGGCU also impacted negatively on agricultural transformation in Kenya. There was information that there followed a

shift of resources from cash crops to food crops. This greatly affected cultivation of cash crops in the county. The mismanagement of the KGGCU made it difficult for the famers to get farm inputs.

On the other hand, the County Director of Agriculture observed that corruption in Nyamira County in cooperatives in 1990s had impacted negatively on agricultural transformation. He farther added that due to unclear government policies and mismanagement of cooperatives, leaders of some of the societies have taken advantage to mess up the institutions (Munyi, O.I/28/06/2015). In the County, some of the societies which were ran down included, Masaba Farmers Cooperatives Union for Pyrethrum and Coffee Unions. The societies which used to cater for all the farmers in Nyamira and Kisii Districts by then were affected by high level corruption leading to grabbing of societies' assets. Hence farmers were unable to get the expected services. These demoralized farmers and started to uproot their crops and replacing them with other crops.

Transport and communication had significant impact on agricultural transformation. A number of roads were found to be poor and impassable especially during rain (Omwoyo, O.I/19/06/2015). He added that because of poor road network raw materials to the factories has been a problem. The raw materials hardly reached industries in time and much of it ended up going to waste. Most of the informants interviewed expressed demoralization and felt that their efforts were not rewarded.

### **5.3 Conclusions**

In conclusion, the research established that agricultural transformation is a worldwide trend. Therefore, a number of observations were made. That inherited economic and agricultural structures that were colonial and exploitative in nature have continued to haunt agricultural transformation in many African communities including the area of study. Equally important, the government has continued to nurse the same policies which have had counterproductive effect on African farming, serving the interest of western imperialism.

The African participation in commercial agriculture started shortly after Second World War due to pressure from African nationalists and international community. The colonial government started to allow Africans to grow cash crops which were followed by a dramatic expansion of small holder production that marked the period after Second World War especially in 1954-1977(Carlsen, 1980). He further indicated that the value of small farm production increased from 18 per cent of marked production in 1954 to more than 50 percent by the mid-1970s. The abundant rainfall and fertile soils have made the Nyamira County and Gusiland in general one of the most productive agricultural areas in Kenya. About 70 and 80 percent of the land can be cultivated.

The County has undergone various agricultural transformations since independence. The earliest and most distinctive transformation was adjudication and demarcation of land from communal ownership to individual holdings in 1960s and 1970s. According to (KNA/DP/3/55/1966/1971) on land settlement circular entitled Administration

CircularNo.8/1969 to Kisii District by then Honorable J. K. Kebaso, MP requested the government to purchase land for landless in Kisii District. It was after this, a number of people made their application to be given land in the areas formerly under colonialists in Borabu Sub-County.

The land was sub, divided given to those who were ready to buy through the loans given to them. With title deeds, credit facilities became accessible and were mainly used for planting new high yielding crops. It was noted that during this time the Gusi farmers were encouraged to establish more acreage of cash crops such as tea, Pyrethrum and Coffee (Omanwa, O.I/24/06/2015). He added that in the same period, the government supported services were strengthened through the provision of agricultural field extension officers who provided farmers with the necessary guidance on farming.

The various respondents interviewed confirmed that Nyamira County had indeed advanced to first place as producer of small farm tea, pyrethrum, maize, coffee and bananas in Kenya by the end of the 1980s. Because of the nature and structure of the inherited economy growers didn't benefit much. Based on the findings from the research, it can be concluded that since the end of 1970s and early 1980s, the County by then a division of the larger Gusiiland, population growth rate of 4 per cent neutralized agricultural expansion. It has also been aggravated by land shortage in the small farm areas which held greatest potential for farming. The emphasis on food – sufficiency for the ever-increasing population and achieving domestic needs to a great

extent contributed to low production of cash crops. This was due to intercropping and sometimes deliberate uprooting of cash crops for food crops.

It was also concluded that the protective agricultural policies the government had put in place since independence to 1990s protected farmers from open external competition. Nevertheless, the introduction of Structural Adjustment Programme (SAPs) of 1980s agricultural sector started registering a decline in production. This was due to imports and increased production costs, during the period of liberalization. Apart from tea, other cash crops such as coffee and pyrethrum production in the County underperformed because the implementation of SAPs' and market in the midst of reforms. This led to decline in coffee prices and that of other key commercial crops in the County.

The proponents of the modernization school of thought recommend that commercialization of the factors of production and putting in place the right policies in place will contribute to complete agricultural transformation. Therefore, it is imperative to speed up the process of agricultural transformation in Nyamira under the support of favorable rural policy adopted by the County Government.

#### **5.4 Recommendations**

In view of the researchers' findings there was need to come up with recommendations in relation to agricultural transformation in the County. The agricultural sector is perhaps the most important driver of Kenyan economy. Therefore, the County's

agriculture needed to be transformed to higher levels. Its significance cannot be over emphasized and a raft of measures should be undertaken to transform it. This would ensure feeding of more people and provision of employment and generation of economic growth. The county government should strive to transform agriculture for the benefits of its residents.

The study recommended that for agriculture to realize real transformation, various agricultural policies should be put in place among them use of incentives. It entails setting higher produce prices and subsidization of inputs, provision of agricultural credit and research and extension services will improve agriculture. In addition, it recommended that provision of government services should change from supply-oriented approach to demand driven approach. The need to disseminate relevant information to farmers and support of agriculture education activities would be important to agricultural sector. This would be done through the use of tones of research on agricultural science gathering dust in our universities. The Universities have a role in addressing the problem of rural household poverty through generating research around better planting method, soil analysis techniques, mitigating the impact of climate change and post-harvest loss management.

The study recommended that the county government should ensure that farmers have access to supply of the right farm inputs such as seed, fertilizers and agro-chemicals among others. It is important to note that poor farmers in the rural areas of Nyamira County do not apply adequate fertilizers as required due to lack of finances. Some

farmers apply animal manure which takes long to decompose, hoping to achieve the same results.

Land, forms a major basis of agricultural sector in the country and more so in Nyamira County. Land tenure was noted to be the root cause of lack of proper agricultural transformation. Land fragmentation in the County has been an issue that cannot be wished away because it affects transformation process significantly. As farms get smaller, they become uneconomical to operate. Therefore, best and modern agricultural practices are needed to increase productivity. There was need for the County government to come up with land use policy and population growth management strategies. This would ensure and enable determinations of minimum economic farmland size to improve land productivity and finding ways to strengthen farming activities. By so doing, it will absorb more labor and promote means of earning more income.

It was further recommended that the County government should strengthen the management of cash crops cooperatives such as coffee and pyrethrum cooperatives by supporting and financing them. This will ensure management and efficiency of cooperatives. This may also be attained through contracting the management from private sectors for the necessary expertise, knowledge and management. On the same note cooperative societies, after being strengthened should offer farmers soft loans. Such loans are most needed during the planting season for maximum and reasonable investment in agriculture.

The tea farmers interviewed observed and recommended that KTDA should be changed from a limited company so that both the national and county governments would have a say in the Board of management. They insist that this would open up the KTDA to more scrutiny. The farmers also complained that more often assets acquired by the institution, are hidden from open scrutiny and farmers gain nothing from the investments. In addition they have no say in any development or services offered by the authority. In the same vein majority of farmers interviewed proposed that the number of directors for each factory should be reduced to two or three instead of eight. The farmers claimed that this could save much of the money spent on their salaries and hefty allowances and instead be diverted to other uses.

There was need to revive pyrethrum farming in the county. This would be done through resource mobilization to get pyrethrum farmers back to work. The county government should work with other agencies in research and development of diseases and high yielding pyrethrum seeds that would enable farmers to get higher returns. The county government should also find good pesticides to deal effectively with pests which may have been a menace to the sector.

Since agriculture accounts for about 34 percent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) more attention should be given to it with the emphasis on smallholder farmers. More budgetary allocations for investments say in education and practical learning programme would enable farmers to adopt best practices in the county. And because of poverty among many farmers in the county, there was need to exempt them from Value Added Tax (VAT) on some farm inputs such as pest control products,

fertilizers and quality seeds for planting. On the same note, there was need for reforms in crop seed sectors. The county government should strengthen the crop seed sector because the genetic potential of a crop seed variety drives everything else. The sector focuses overwhelmingly on maize seed, which means there is low supply for other crops. There appears to be raising levels of fake and poor quality seed reaching farmers. The farmers get to understand the kind of seed planted some months later, actually after witnessing poor yields. The study recommended that the county government should get the right seeds for farmers by involving the private sector.

For food crops, the county government should promote tissue culture for bananas and use of certified clear materials to improve production. The county government should plan and have processing plant for bananas to make crisps, infant foods, jam for commercial purposes. This would create a large market for bananas produced in the county and producers may benefit by getting value of their money. The other food crops that require commercialization are sweet potatoes and local vegetables which would be promoted by provision of households with alternative staple food to supplement maize.

The County Government should put measures in place to ensure its full potential was realized. Some of the measures it ought to put in place include management reforms to get rid of rogue and corrupt officials and set the sector from unrelenting cases of corruption that have rocked the agriculture sectors more so in cooperatives societies. The reform would help the county realize more profit in production of coffee, tea, pyrethrum and other crops.

The county government should provide quality farm inputs on credit from the enhanced budgetary allocation and deliver them within walking distance of farmers. Agricultural extension services are no longer offered by the government. This was a big blow to farmers in the County. High production can be realized if farmers were taught about improved methods of both cash and food crops. The extension services and capacity building of farmers with basic and technical information can help improve productivity. Otherwise, a number of farmers have not been told the extent to which application of fertilizers can boost their production and ultimately transform agriculture. With the acquisition of best agricultural practices, farmers will transform into experts of their own farming activities which will in turn translate into high production.

The County Government should adopt spatial planning to ensure that there is food security in the county. Much as population growth rate is blamed on low food production in actual sense it may not be the root cause. There could be reckless destruction of the ability of more arable land due to urban expansion and other activities which cannot be wished away. Observations made during field study noted that Kisii town was expanding to nearby coffee plantation which belongs to KARI. The trends seem to be common in the County which is likely to affect land for farming activities. The price of land has also been skyrocketing in the county at an alarming rate. This has made it difficult to grow crops that have value equivalent to that land itself. The county

government should promote greenhouse farming; a technology that would ensure farmers does not rely on season or rain-fed agriculture.

### **5.5 Suggestions for Further Research**

Based on the findings of this study, the researcher suggested further research in the following areas:

- (i) Historical evolution and migration of the two major clans in the county and find out reasons for settlement and their socio – economic organization in the county.
- (ii) There was need to analyse further the effects of population growth on land use in relation to agricultural transformation in the County. From the study it was found that the high population growth rate strained the limited land resources upon which the economy depended on hence affecting agricultural transformation.
- (iii)How the Kibaki and Uhuru Kenyatta Administrations handled the declining economy, more so agricultural transformation in the period 2003 –2018.

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## **GLOSSARY**

**The following are some non-English words used in this study**

<i>Baraza</i>	Public meeting
<i>Misiri</i>	Egypt
<i>Endaya'enchogu</i>	Stomach of an elephant
<i>Wimbi</i>	Finger millet/or eleusive

## APPENDICES

### Appendix I: Questionnaire for Farmers

#### *Instructions*

The information given in the questionnaire will be treated as confidential, please give your opinion as honestly and accurately as possible. No answer will be considered wrong because that will be kept secret and will only be used for research purposes.

#### **1.1.1 PART A**

Social demographic information

Tick the appropriate information (√)

- Gender: Male ( )                      Female ( )
- Age 50-60 ( )                      60 and above ( )
- Level of education
  - Primary Level ( )                      Secondary level ( )
  - Tertiary Level ( )                      University and above ( )
- Number of persons in the household.

#### **1.1.2 PART B**

##### **1.1.2.1 Background Information**

(i) Make a brief comment on origin and settlement of the Gusii of Nyamira County before 1945

.....  
.....

(ii) Comment on agricultural development and transformation before 1945

.....  
.....  
1.1.2.2 The process of agricultural transformation and policies in the period 1945-1962.

(i) What were the indigenous crops grown before introduction of cash crops?

.....  
.....

(ii) What was the purpose of the indigenous crops?.....

.....  
.....

(iii) What happened with the surplus production?

- a) Stored ( )
- b) Sold ( )
- c) Given away ( )

(iv) Mention various methods/types of farming used during that period.....

.....

(v) What was the source of labour?.....

.....

(vi) Were fertilizers being used?

- (a) Yes ( )
- (b) No ( )

If No, in (vi) what was done to ensure good production?.....  
.....

(v) Outline the various agricultural changes which have taken place in the recent past.....  
.....

**1.1.3 PART C**

Drivers of agricultural transformation in the post war period

(i) How big is your land?

Below one acre ( )

(ii) 1 acre ( )

(iii) Between 2-5 acres ( )

(iv) Above 5 acres ( )

(ii) How was ownership of land in the years 1945-1962?.....  
.....

(iii) Identify some of the crops grown in your farm after 1945.....  
.....

(ii) Briefly examine the causes of agricultural transformation in the post war period 1962 – 1978  
.....  
.....

(iii) Which crops (both cash and food) were cultivated in the same land within your knowledge:

- a) 1963 and below.....
- b) 1963-1978.....

(iv) What motivated you to cultivate these crops?.....

(v) Which farming methods do you employ in your land?.....  
.....

(vi) Have you witnessed any transformation of crop production in your farm?

- (a) Yes ( )
- (b) No ( )

(vii) If yes in (vi) above, what was the cause of transformation in your land?.....  
.....

(viii) How do you plan to best improve the production of the crops you in your land?  
.....  
.....

(ix) Has the government made any contribution to production of the crops you cultivate?

- (a) Yes ( )
- (b) No ( )

(x) If yes, in (ix) above, how has it contributed to your crop production?

.....  
.....

(xi) Has the private sector contributed to your crop production?

(a) Yes ( ) (b) No ( )

(xii) If yes in (xi) above, how has it contributed in its

production?.....  
.....

(xiii) How was the surplus production marketed?

(a) Cooperatives ( )

(b) Individuals initiatives ( )

(xiv) Mention some of the agricultural institutions or cooperatives that

existed that  
time?.....  
.....

(xvi) What was the role of cooperatives in the growth of these cash crops?

.....  
.....

#### **1.1.4 Part D**

(I) Outline some Socio- Economic impacts of transformation of agriculture to the  
society.....

.....

## Appendix II: Interview Schedule for Sampled Respondents

### Instructions

The information given in this interview schedule will be treated as confidential, please give your opinion as honestly and accurately as possible.

No answer will be considered wrong because that will be your honest opinion. The information given will be used for this research purpose.

### 1.2.1 Socio Demographic information

1. Age.....
2. Gender.....
3. Your position in the community.....
4. What types of crops are grown in this location/division/county?.....  
.....
5. How long have the crops been grown in the area?.....  
.....
6. Does land size affect crop production?
  - (a) Yes ( )
  - (b) No ( )
7. What changes in farming activities have you witnessed in the period?
  - a) Before 1963.....
  - b) 1962-1978.....
  - c) 1979-2002.....

8. Has the liberalization of agricultural products in the market affected the production of these crops?

a) Yes ( )

b) No ( )

9. Do farmers get any support from

i) Government ( )

ii) NGO ( )

10. Explain briefly the nature of support in 9(i) and (ii) above.....

.....

11. How are the agricultural products marketed in the area?

.....

12. Briefly, what is your personal opinion on agricultural transformation in

Nyamira

County?.....

## Appendix III: Research Permit-Nacosti



### NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

Telephone: +254-20-2213471,  
2241349, 310571, 2219420  
Fax: +254-20-318245, 318249  
Email: secretary@nacosti.go.ke  
Website: www.nacosti.go.ke  
When replying please quote

9<sup>th</sup> Floor, Utalii House  
Uhuru Highway  
P.O. Box 30623-00100  
NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref. No.

Date:  
**18<sup>th</sup> March, 2015**

**NACOSTI/P/15/4153/4173**

Isaac Motanya  
Kenyatta University  
P.O. Box 43844-00100  
**NAIROBI.**

#### **RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION**

Following your application for authority to carry out research on "*Agricultural transformation in Nyamira County 1945 - 2002*," I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Nyamira County** for a period ending **31<sup>st</sup> August, 2015**.

You are advised to report to **the County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Nyamira County** before embarking on the research project.

On completion of the research, you are required to submit **two\* hard copies and one soft copy in pdf** of the research report/thesis to our office.

  
**DR. S. K. LANGAT, OGW**  
**FOR: DIRECTOR GENERAL/CEO**

Copy to:

The County Commissioner  
Nyamira County.

The County Director of Education  
Nyamira County.



## Appendix V: Research Permit-Ku Research Authorization



**KENYATTA UNIVERSITY  
GRADUATE SCHOOL**

E-mail: [kubps@yahoo.com](mailto:kubps@yahoo.com)  
[dean-graduate@ku.ac.ke](mailto:dean-graduate@ku.ac.ke)  
Website: [www.ku.ac.ke](http://www.ku.ac.ke)

P.O. Box 43844, 00100  
NAIROBI, KENYA  
Tel. 020-8704150

---

**Our Ref: C50/CE/23250/2010**

**Date: 10<sup>th</sup> October, 2014**

The Principal Secretary,  
Higher Education, Science & Technology,  
P.O. Box 30040,  
**NAIROBI**

Dear Sir/Madam,

**RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION**  
**MS. ISAAC MOTANYA - REG. NO. C50/CE/23250/2010**

I write to introduce Mr. Isaac Motanya who is a Postgraduate Student of this University. He is registered for a M.A. degree programme in the Department of History, Archaeology and Political Studies in the School of Humanities & Social Sciences.

Mr. Motanya intends to conduct research for a thesis entitled, "Agricultural Transformation in Nyamira County, 1945-2002".

Any assistance given will be highly appreciated.

Yours faithfully,

**MRS. LUCY N. MBAABU**  
**FOR: DEAN, GRADUATE SCHOOL**

LNM/ewm

**Appendix VI: Research Permit-Ministry of Education**

**MINISTRY OF EDUCATION**



Telegram: "EDUCATION", Nyamira  
EDUCATION  
Telephone: (058) 6144224  
email. cdenyamiracounty@gmail.com  
When replying please quote

COUNTY DIRECTOR OF  
NYAMIRA COUNTY  
P.O.BOX 745  
NYAMIRA

NCEO/1/25/78  
REF.....

11<sup>TH</sup> AUGUST, 2015  
DATE: .....

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

**RE: LETTER OF INTRODUCTION**

The above subject matters refers.

The bearer of this letter, Mr. Isaac Motanya has the authority from the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation vide letter dated 18<sup>th</sup> March, 2015 to carry out research in Nyamira County in partial fulfillment for the award of Masters degree in Arts of Kenyatta University.

Please accord him the necessary support.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Dr. Arodi S.', written over a horizontal line.

DR. ARODI S.  
FOR: COUNTY DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION  
NYAMIRA COUNTY

## **Appendix VII: Letter to Respondents**

Kenyatta University,  
Department of History, Archaeology and  
Political Studies  
P.O. BOX 44944  
NAIROBI.  
24<sup>th</sup> May 2015.

Dear Sir/Madam,

### **RE: TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN**

I am a post graduate student in the school of Humanities and Social Sciences Department of History, Archaeology and Political Studies, Kenyatta University. I am carrying out a study to investigate Agricultural Transformation in Nyamira County, 1945-2002.

This is in fulfillment of Degree of Masters of arts of Kenyatta University. I am glad to inform you that you have been selected to take part in this study. Therefore, I would be grateful for your anticipated assistance in responding to all items in the attached questionnaire. The information given will be treated as confidential as possible and will only be used for academic purposes only.

Your response and cooperation will be appreciated.

Thank you.

**Isaac Motanya**