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Martha Wangari Gikenye

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Land Settlement Schemes in Nyandarua District of Kenya, with Particular Reference Ol Joro Orok Division, 1960-1991

By Martha W. Gikenye

LAND SETTLEMENT SCHEMES IN NYANDARUA DISTRICT OF KENYA, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO OL-JORO OROK DIVISION, 1960 - 1991.

by

Martha Wangari Gikenye

THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI.

1992

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Declaration

THIS THESIS IS MY ORIGINAL WORK AND HAS NOT BEEN PRESENTED IN ANY OTHER UNIVERSITY FOR A DEGREE.

Gikenye----------

Martha Wangari Gikenye

THIS THESIS HAS BEEN PRESENTED FOR EXAMINATION WITH MY APPROVAL AS UNIVERSITY SUPERVISOR.

SIGNATURE ----------

Dr. David Sperling

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Dedication

To my Parents, Brothers, Sisters and my late cousin Smith Waititu for their support, love and encouragement.

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First and foremost, special thanks go to God for granting me good health which was important to the success of this study. I would like to thank the University of Nairobi, through the Chairman, Department of History for awarding me a two year fulltime scholarship to undertake this degree course. I am greatly indebted to my informants whose willingness to give information gave this study its backbone. I would also like to thank my research assistants, Mr. Kamathi Kiunga and Mr. Maina Kairu, for their devotion in the collecting of information. I would also wish to acknowledge the assistance of the Ministry of Lands and Housing, through the deputy Director of Settlement and Land adjudication, Mr. Karagania and his staff. Also not to be forgotten are the staff members in the Library of the Ministry of Agriculture. I am grateful to my supervisors, Prof. Muriuki and Dr. Sperling for their guidance which gave this study a meaning. Many thanks go to my husband John Musalia for his encouragement and moral support which motivated me to work harder all through the time of writing this work. Thanks also to my classmates for their comradeship. To all others who in one way or another contributed to the success of this work I say THANKS!. Any shortcomings in this work are entirely mine.

Abstract

This study examines the settlement schemes of Nyandarua District from 1963 to 1991, with particular emphasis on the schemes of Oljoro-orok Division. In 1960, the exclusive reservation of the Highlands for White settlers was terminated the by repeal of the Kenya Land Order-in-Council of 1960. The White Highlands were then opened to all races, thus leading to the establishment of the African land settlement schemes.

The area under study has been occupied by three groups of people in different time periods: the Maasai, the White settlers and the African settlers. The Maasai occupied the area during the pre-colonial and early colonial period. After the establishment of the British rule, and following the treaties of 1904 and 1911 between the Maasai and the British, the Maasai were moved to create room for White settlers. Large areas of the Kenya Highlands were thus alienated for White farmers and came to be known as the White Highlands.

Present-day Nyandarua District was created in 1963, and in the same year the first African settlers were settled there, with the Kikuyu being the majority.

The settlement schemes of Oljoro-orok Division were of two types,low and high density. The schemes in were settled in three time periods. The first group of settlers arrived in the 1960s, the second in the 1970s and the third in the 1980s. The

government was more involved with the settlements of the 1960s then with the later settlements.

Using loans and grants from the British and West German governments,the World Bank, and the Commonwealth Development Corporation,the Kenya government purchased land occupied by the White settlers with the idea of establishing African settlement schemes. This was done to facilitate a smooth transfer of resources from the White settlers and to satisfy the land hungry Africans. By so doing,the colonial government was trying to ensure that the economy was not disrupted by the abrupt departure of White settlers most of whom were reluctant to remain under an African government, and that independence was not delayed.

To help the African settlers make maximum use of the land, the government not only gave them operating budgets but also advanced them loans to start them off. The settlers were also advised on how to join marketing co-operative societies that would enable them to receive economies of scale. The operating budgets proved to unrealistic as the settlers were unable to keep to them because of internal and external factors beyond their control. Moreover, the co-operative societies did not live up to their expected roles. The failure of the societies was a severe to the settlement schemes of the 1960s, because they were not only supposed to do marketing, but also to act as a social unit where settlers converged to do communal activities.

The government was less involved in settling the 1970s and

1980s settlers in Oljoro-orok settlement schemes. In an effort to minimize the costs any development undertaking the 1970s and 1980s settlement schemes were established with minimum government involvement. This was especially so in the marketing of farm produce. The settlers were expected to find their own marketing channels. Apart from the Githumbato Farmers Company Limited, that was founded on rule and regulations formulated by its members, other marketing agents were founded on the lines of the co-operative movement. The findings of the study concluded that the co-operative movement in Oljoro-orok Division settlement schemes was a failure.

Despite problems in the schemes, the settlers were able to acquire new knowledge in crop and animal production. In the 1960s, settlers had agricultural extension officers moving from farm to farm. But as the years advanced, individual settlers had to take the initiative of looking for the officers.This applied also to livestock farming.

Settlers' initiatives were demonstrated in the social projects they undertook. They were keen on building schools, health centres and water projects. All these social activities were made possible by social welfare groups formed by settlers themselves.

Due to varying circumstances and the different adjustments and adaptation that the settlers themselves made, they advanced differently, and differentiation occurred. Though there were

some factors that settlers could not control, how an individual settler reacted to a situation also mattered. Therefore,as settlers adapted and adjusted, to their new environment, they proved to be active agents of change.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.0 Subject and area of study

Land resettlement schemes are among the most ambitious projects undertaken by the Kenya Government. The first government sponsored schemes were aimed at settling landless and unemployed Africans on the eve of independence. The government has continued to resettle people in the post independence period but not on a large scale.

Present- day Nyandarua District, one of the five Districts of Central Province, was created in 1963. Before independence it was a part of Laikipia District in the so called 'White Highlands'. Administratively the District is divided into five divisions namely, Kinangop, Kipipiri, Ol Kalau, Ndaragwa, and Oljoro-orok. The present study examines Oljoro-orok Division which is made up of Oljoro-orok and Gathanji locations and the Municipality of Nyahururu.[1] The two locations have six settlement schemes, namely, Lesirko, Silibwet, Oljoro-orok west, Oraimutia, Nyairoko and the Ojoro-orok Salient. Apart from Oraimutia and Nyairoko, which are low-density schemes, the other schemes are high-density schemes. The Municipality of Nyahururu is, however, not included in this study for two major reasons. First, the municipality has no settlement scheme farms. Secondly, as a municipality serving the whole district of Nyandarua and some parts of the neighbouring districts, especially Laikipia, it was impossible to isolate the relations

of Oljoro-orok Division with the Municipality. To understand the development and role of the municipality a special study in itself would be required.

1.1 Organization of the study

The organization of the study is thematic: each chapter discusses a theme.

The first Chapter, which is mainly introductory, includes the statement of the research problem, the objectives of the study, a discussion of the theoretical framework, a literature review, the hypotheses and research methodology. Chapter Two discusses the establishment of the East Africa Protectorate, the alienation of African land for European Settlement, the events leading to the decolonization of the 'White Highlands' and the subsequent establishment of African Land Settlement Schemes. Chapter Three discusses the actual implementation of the Land Settlement Schemes in Oljoro-orok Division and the settlement of the African settlers on their new farm plots. Because of its difference in management in the initial stages, Oljoro-orok Salient scheme is discussed separately from other schemes. Chapter Four deals with the changes that have taken place in the fields of agriculture and livestock, between 1963-1991 and how the settlers responded to changing circumstances. Chapter Five discusses the social implication of the schemes, and ends with a section on social differentiation among the settlers. Finally, Chapter Six presents the summary and conclusion of the study.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Land settlement schemes are part and parcel of the people of Oljoro-orok Division. The story of the Africans settled there since 1963 has remained virtually unknown. Since the inception of the schemes, no study has been carried out to examine the social, economic and political changes that have occurred over time and their impact on the settlers. For instance, did the schemes develop as originally envisaged? To what extent did the settlers themselves introduce changes and how did the government react. How did the settlers respond to changing circumstances? Who benefited from the various changes that occurred and who suffered? How have all these developments affected the way the schemes function today?.

1.3 Objectives of the study

The study aimed to examine the history of African settlers in Oljoro-orok Division.

First, when, why, and how the settlers settled in their respective settlement schemes.

Second, the problems they initially faced and how they solved them.

Third, how well the settlers followed the budget plans for their farms and what progress they made in the field of agriculture.

The co-operative societies were to performing their designated roles to advance the schemes.

Fifth, the social and economic impact of the settlement

schemes and how the settlers contributed to these changes.

Sixth, the factors that brought about social differentiation among the settlers, who were in theory initially given an equal chance to develop themselves.

1.4 Literature review

Literature on Land settlement schemes in Kenya can be divided into two categories. The first category deals with the alienation of African land in the British East Africa Protectorate and the subsequent establishment of European Settlements. It futher discusses the events leading up to the decolonization of the White Highlands. The second category of literature discusses land settlement policy and how this policy was put into pratice.

Sorrenson, in Origins of European settlement in Kenya,[2] discusses the origins and nature of European settlement between 1903-1915. This work gives information on the alienation of African land for European settlers; thus it gives a good background to understanding the land question in colonial Kenya.

Bogonko, in Kenya 1945-1963: A study in African National Movements,[3] sees the land question as one of the major causes of political movements in Kenya, especially among the Kikuyu, that pressurized change on colonial land policy. Bogonko further discusses the political, social, and economic situation in Kenya on the eve of independence that gave rise to the African Land Settlement Schemes.

Zwanenberg, in The Land Question in Kenya from the Nineteenth Century to the Present Day,[4] points out that land alienation and increase of population resulted in severe land shortage. This shortage of land among the Kikuyu, Akamba and Kipsigis drove them to European farms as cheap labour.

Carey, in The Decolonization of the White Highlands and The Anatomy of Uhuru,[5] argues that political and social pressure from the White Settlers and Africans brought about change in colonial land policy. In 1960, during the First Lancaster House Conference, an Order-in-Council was enacted opening the "White Highlands" to all races. In the Anatomy of Uhuru,[6] Carey discusses how the Kikuyu land unit was extended to the west to form the District of Nyandarua.

The foregoing literature gives an understanding of the origin of the White settlements in the colonial period and the subsequent idea of the African settlements in independent Kenya, but does not go on to evaluate the African land settlement schemes.

Van Arkadie and others, in Report of the Mission on Land Settlement Schemes in Kenya 1966,[7] discusses how the settlement schemes were implemented and how they were supposed to function.

Nottidge and Goldsack, in the Million-Acre Settlement Scheme 1962-66,[8] discuss what brought about the establishment of the One Million Acre Scheme, and how the various individual settlement

schemes were implemented.

Etherington, in Land Resettlement in Kenya: Policy and Practice,[9] reviews the general framework within which the schemes had to operate if they were to be economically successful. Though Etherington's work is general, he gives parameters in an attempt to determine the success of the Settlement Schemes.

Clough, in Some Notes on a Recent Economic Survey of Land Settlement in Kenya,[10] suggests ways of improving farm outputs. He suggests the adoption of good husbandry, the use of farm credit from the Department of Settlement and Agriculture, and the use of intensive cultivation and extension services.

Pagett, in The Land Settlement Program in Kenya,[11] accepts settlement schemes as an integral component of Kenya's economy. In research carried out in Western Kenya in the Settlement Schemes of Anabkoi, he evaluated the relationship between certain social and political factors of the schemes to the economic productivity in individual schemes.

In The Kenya Highlands: The Land Use and Agriculture Development,[12] Odingo describes in detail land use in the Kenya highlands and the changes that have taken place since the introduction of White Settlement and later the African Settlements. While Odingo's work is relevant, it differs significantly from the present study in that it concentrates specifically on agriculture and land use.

Dhillon, in his thesis The Settlement Schemes of the 'White Highlands,' Kenya a case study of Nyandarua District,[13] examines the overall economic success of the schemes. Dhillon points out that the transport system within the schemes was poor because most of the roads were not all-weather. Another aspect he raises is marketing. He argues that Co-operative Societies were not as strong as they were required to be.

The above reviewed literature does not go beyond the implementation of the settlement schemes in Kenya. Apart from the thesis by Dhillon which specially deals with Nyandarua District, the rest of the literature is general and none of the studies has done an evaluation of the settlement scheme of Oljoro-orok Division in particular.

Chipungu S., in The State, Technology and Peasant Differentiation in Zambia,[14] gives a comprehensive discussion on peasant differentiation in Zambia between 1930 and 1986. Chipungu discusses factors that brought about differentiation among peasants in the Southern Province of Zambia. Chipungu deals with small scale farmers in Zambia giving an understanding of what can bring about differentiation among rural agricultural people in a newly independent African country.

1.5 Theoretical framework

Previous studies on land settlement schemes have adopted the rural development approach. This approach concentrates on government actions, and considers land settlement schemes as

planned change, initiated by the government.

While the present study does not object to the rural development approach, it shifts attention to the settlers who are the participants in planned change. The study, therefore, seeks to understand the role of the settlers in initiating and promoting their new society: the land settlement schemes. The study concentrates on the settlers as the most important actors in adapting to their new environment and its changing circumstances. This approach is in line with recent historical thinking and writing which rejects the notion that rural agricultural people are passive forces simply waiting to be acted upon. Thus changes in structure and functioning of the land settlement schemes are viewed as the result, at least in part, of the settlers response to their environment.

1.6 Justification

Few historical studies have been carried out on land settlement schemes in Kenya. Most studies about the schemes have been done by economists, geographers and sociologists. The value of doing such a study, in this case of the Oljoro-orok Division of Nyandarua District, is unquestionable, because settlement schemes form an important part of Kenya's history as an independent nation. Moreover, the time period that has elapsed since the inception of the schemes is sufficient for a historical study.

Kenya's small-scale farmer is very important to the nation.

The farmers feed the rapidly growing population and earn foreign exchange for the country by producing for export. An inquiry into the settlement scheme farmer, can reveal the condition under which the settlers worked. Such an inquiry can also produce useful information which can be used for future planning.

Oljoro-orok Division was chosen for the study for two major reasons. First, it was among the first former European settler areas to be settled by Africans after independence. Secondly, the Division has both types of settlement scheme, low and high densities, and so provides a chance to compare the two types of schemes. Moreover, the limitation of time and finance made Oljoro-orok Division, being the smallest Division in Nyandarua District, an appropriate area of study.

1.7 Research methodology and limitation

The study was based on archival research, oral interviews and the analysis of existing works on land settlement schemes in Kenya. The archival research was done in the Kenya National Archives, Nairobi. The documents studied included Annual Reports, mostly of Laikipia District before 1963 and of Nyandarua District, and correspondence between District Commissioners in the Rift Valley Province before independence.

One major limitation of the archival sources was that most of the information was inaccessible because of the stipulated thirty years. Therefore, information that would have enriched this work was unavailable.

Before beginning oral interviews, a preliminary tour of the Division was undertaken to know its extent, its population and to establish contact with the area chiefs and assistant chiefs. The interviews were conducted between October 1990 and January 1991 with the help of two research assistants. Some follow-up interviews were carried out in the month of May 1991. A total of 87 respondents from the six Settlement Schemes were interviewed. After knowing the number of plot holders in each scheme, the informants were randomly chosen. In writing up my material, of course, I relied on respondents who seemed to be more informed about the research topic. The interviews were not based on any structured questionnaire. Informal discussions were held with the respondents based on themes that form this study. The open questions made the respondent speak freely without leaving out any vital information. However, to ensure that the respondent did not go off the theme of discussion, I constantly asked questions that brought the respondent back to the theme.

The problems encountered in my field work included time spent in walking. Being a rural area I had to walk from one farm to another, sometimes long distances. This was very taxing. Also due to the nature of the research topic, some respondents thought I was interested in land per se, and completely refused to give information, forcing me to find other respondents, thus wasting time.

1.8 Hypotheses

1. The land settlement schemes developed as originally planned.
2. The adoption of new agricultural crops and techniques depended on the presence of government field extension officers.
3. The Co-operative Societies played a key role in the success of the settlement schemes.
4. Since all settlers had equal opportunities, with the passage of time they all achieved the same standard of living, that is, no social or economic differentiation occurred.

Notes

1. Initially the municipality was.in Oljoro-orok Division but was moved to Laikipia District according to the recent administrative boundary map.

2. Sorreson, M.P.K., Origins of European Settlement in Kenya, (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1968).

3. Bogonko, S.N., Kenya 1945-1963 A Study in African National Movements, (Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau, 1980).

4. Zwanenberg, R.V., 'The Land Question in Kenya From the Nineteenth Century to the Present Day' (Paper presented at the third International Congress of Africanists, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia; Dec.9-19, 1973).

5. Carey Jones, N.S., 'The decolonization of the White Highlands', in Geographical Journal, Vol.131, 1965.

6. Carey Jones, N.S., The Anatomy of Uhuru: An essay on Kenya's Independence, (London: Manchester University Press, 1966).

7. Van Arkadie, B. Apthorpe, R., MacArthur J.D., Omamo W.M., Report of the Mission on Land Settlement in Kenya, (Nairobi: Government Printer, Dec., 1966).

8. Nottidge, C.P.R and Goldsack J.R., The million Acre Settlement Scheme, 1962-1966 (Nairobi: Department of Settlement, 1967).

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10. Clough, R.H., 'Some Notes on the recent Economic Survey of Land Settlement in Kenya', East African Economic Review, Vol.3, 1963.

11. Pagett, R., The land Settlement Program in Kenya, (Harvard: Harvard University, 1968).

12. Odingo, R.S., The Kenya Highlands: Land Use and Agricultural Schemes, (Nairobi: East Africa Publishing House, 1971).

13. Dhillon Michael, 'The Settlement Schemes of the former White Highlands' Kenya: A case study of Nyandarua District' (M.A. thesis, Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario, August, 1970).

14. Chipungu, S.N., The State, Technology and Peasant Differentiation in Zambia. A case study of the Southern Province 1930-1986, (Lusaka: Historical Association of Zambia, 1988).

CHAPTER TWO

Geographical and Historical Background

2.0 Geographical setting

Nyandarua District is the largest of the five Districts of Central Province.[1] It is bordered by Laikipia District to the north, to the east are Nyeri and Murang'a, to the south is Kiambu District. The District lies between 0^0 80'N and 0^0 50'S latitude and between 36^0 13'E and 36^0 42'W longitude.

To the south lies the Aberdare Range. From the range, the land drops westwards in a series of fault escarpments to the floor of the Rift Valley around Naivasha. These escarpments form the Kinangop plateau and the Ol Kalou Salient lowland.

2.1 Weather

The District has two major rainy seasons.[2] Normally the long rains start in mid-March and subside in mid-June. The short rains last from mid-August to late November or early December. The District enjoys an annual rainfall of between 750-1500mm. The rainfall, however, can be erratic which causes a debilitating effect on agricultural production. Since the District is in the rainshadow of the Aberdare range, rainfall decreases rapidly from east to west. The driest period is between January and late February when the main harvesting of maize is done.

The District has a climatic problem because of the low temperatures generated during clear nights on the moorlands of

the Aberdare Range. The cold air moves down to Kinangop and Ol Kalou Salient causing night frosts nearly every month, which retards the growth of food crops especially maize.[3]

2.2 Economy

Today the economy of Nyandarua District is based on agriculture and animal husbandry.[4] Over time, there have been substantial changes in the types of crops cultivated and the methods used. In the colonial period, the White Settlers used to cultivate pyrethrum, then the main cash crop of the District, on a large scale using African labour. In the settlement schemes, with the subdivision of the large farms into small plots, the Africans continued to grow pyrethrum but on a small scale. Since colonial times, maize has continued to be grown by Africans as the primary food crop even in areas where the weather does not favour its growth.

The District is predominantly one of mixed farming with small scale farming replacing the large scale farms that characterized its former "scheduled areas" status. The major crops grown in terms of cultivated acreage are maize, potatoes, pyrethrum, vegetables, beans and wheat, and other horticultural crops.[5] The main farming areas are concentrated on the upper parts of Ol Kalou, Oljoro-orok and Ndaragwa Divisions and some parts of Kinangop Division.

Dairy farming is practiced in almost every part of the District,although in small herds. Sheep rearing is also

practised in almost every part of the District, but mostly in Kinangop and some parts of Oljoro-orok and Ol Kalou Divisions. Most of the lowlands, especially the Ol Kalou Salient, are poorly drained and are only suitable for grazing.[6] Grazing is, however, made difficult by lack of enough pasture unless suplemented with fodder crops like napier grass.

2.3 Historical setting

Present day Nyandarua District lies in what was formerly part of Maasai territory.[7] The Maasai lost the land early in the century when British colonial policy favoured White Settlement at the expense of their pastoral economy. Though regarded as the most fierce people in the British East Africa Protectorate, established in 1895[8], the Maasai had declined in power by the end of the nineteenth century.[9] Their power had been reduced by three factors. First, civil wars between 1870-1890 disunited the Maasai; thus they became physically and militarily weak. Secondly, there were natural disasters which made the decade of 1884 to 1894 be regarded as the period of 'The Disasters' or 'when the cattle died,' in Maasai traditions.[10]

Thirdly, the disasters reduced the population of people and livestock, thus putting the Maasai on the defensive, rather than on the offensive, against their African neighbours.[11] As the population of the Kalenjin, Turkana and the Kikuyu expanded, they moved into Maasai grazing lands.[12] So, when the Protectorate was declared, the British found the Maasai a weakened people and, therefore, ready to welcome anybody who could protect them from

their incoming enemies.[13]

Once the area between Uganda and the Indian Ocean was declared a Protectorate, it was necessary to secure communications with Uganda which looked economically promising. A railway was started in 1895 at Mombasa.[14] To build the railway the British had to secure maximum co-operation from the African groups in the interior, especially the Maasai who though weak were still regarded as a threat to reckon with. Therefore, being in short supply of money and troops, the British could not afford to antagonize the Maasai.[15] Between 1895 and 1904, the Maasai and the British entered into an informal alliance, each pursuing different interests.[16] The alliance worked well up to 1904. The British allowed the Maasai levies that accompanied them in punitive expeditions against the unco-operative Africans to take home the spoils[17]. Under that arrangement, the Maasai were able to restock their herds, while the British solved the problem of shortage of troops by recruiting the Maasai as needed.[18]

The completion of the railway in 1902, changed the future of the Protectorate and the Maasai-British alliance. Having completed the railway, the British were no longer in need of Maasai co-operation and soon British colonial interests overtook those of the Maasai.[19] The opening up of the interior by the railway significantly changed the colonial government's ideas concerning the settlement of non-Africans. Earlier, between 1895 and 1901, the settlement of non-Africans was motivated by the country thrust of the railway without official encouragement.[20]

But after the railway's first year of operation, 1902 - 1903, financial setbacks altered official attitudes towards non-African settlement. To offset the financial setback, and have the Protectorate pay for itself, the Foreign Office encouraged and indeed solicited the settlement of Europeans in the interior.[21] This was the origin of European settlement in Kenya which eventually gave birth to African land settlement schemes in the late 1950s and in independent Kenya. Close relations between the Maasai and the British ended up benefiting the British; when the Crown began to alienate land for European settlement, the Maasai were prevailed upon to give up a substantial area of their grazing pastures.[22]

2.4 Land alienation and the creation of the 'White Highlands'

The Kenya Highlands were spotted as the most attractive regions for European settlers. Pioneer settlers, meeting in Nairobi in 1902, resolved that the highlands were in "every way suitable" to European colonization and urged Sir Charles Eliot, the Commissioner, to prevent the immigration of Indians to this region.[23] Eliot, using his administrative authority, instructed the land officer, Barton Wright, not to give land in the Highlands to Asians but to confine them to the lowlands.[24] This was the origin of the creation of the "White highlands". Between 1906 and 1908, the Colonial Office policy of segregating the Highlands for Europeans was confirmed when the Secretary of State, Lord Elgin, agreed to it, 'as a matter of administrative convenience'. This law remained in force for fifty years.[25]

Before Europeans settlers could be settled, the colonial government had to have authority over land in the Protectorate.[26] Therefore, to create the necessary legal framework, various Ordinances were enacted giving the Crown the right to possess and to dispose of land in the Protectorate. In 1901, the East Africa (Lands) Order in Council, brought all "unoccupied" land under the Crown. Traditional land tenure and ownership among Africans were misinterpreted, thus depriving them of much of their land. In 1902, the Crown Lands Ordinance was passed, authorizing the Colonial Office to issue European settlers with ninety-nine year leases on land designated as Crown Land. The 1915 Crown Lands Ordinance declared all African lands to belong to the Crown making Africans tenants-at-will and thus at the mercy of the Colonial Government.[27]

As far as European settlement in the area present-day Nyandarua District was concerned, two African groups played an important role. First, the Maasai were removed to create room for the settlers.[28] European settlers arriving in 1903 and 1904 cast covetous eyes on the fertile Maasai grazing areas of the Southern Rift Valley.[29] To create room for the settlers, who were important to the colonial export economy, Sir Donald Stewart, the Commissioner, concluded an agreement with Lenana, the Maasai Laibon[30] in 1904. The Maasai who were in the Southern Rift valley moved to the Laikipia plateau which was virtually unoccupied after the nineteenth century epidemics and civil wars.[31] The Laikipia reserve was then created, giving European settlers entry into the Rift Valley.

In 1911, the second Maasai - British agreement was concluded, though the Maasai were reluctant to move, because this additional move constituted a breach of the 1904 agreement.[32] Moreover, the Masaai did not consider the proposed area in the south to be large enough or to have sufficient water for their animals.[33] The treaty provided the removal of the Maasai from the Laikipia Reserve to an extended Southern Reserve. The removal of the Maasai from the Laikipia plateau created room for the entry of European settlers into the Highlands. So when the settlers entered the Laikipia region, the indigenous people had been removed.

The removal of the Maasai from Laikipia in 1911 made it possible to reserve the Highlands for European settlement only. This was made possible by a section of the 1915 Crown Ordinance which forbade any European to lease, rent or leave his land under a non-European manager.[34] Further official encouragement for segregation was in the recommendation of the Kenya Land Commission of 1932 -1934.[35] The commission was set up to 'examine and settle the claims of all Kenya people pertaining to land once and for all'.[36] The Commission's recommendation of making limited extensions to the African reserves and marking off boundaries of the "White Highlands" did not solve the problem of land shortage. The marking off of the Highlands boundaries was implemented by the Kenya Colony (Highlands) Order in Council of 1939.[37] Sealing off the Highlands blocked the Africans from extending out of the neighbouring reserves.

The second group to play an important role in European settlement in Nyandarua was the Kikuyu. They provided much of the labour without which the settler economy could not have prospered.[38] Their land had been alienated for the earliest European settlement in southern Kiambu and later in Nyeri and Murang'a. The creation of reserves in the three Kikuyu regions found a proportional number of the Kikuyu landless. It was such landless people that moved to the Rift Valley Province as squatters.

Apart from the land ordinances, other laws were enacted that forced the Africans to work on European farms.[39] In 1902, a hut tax was introduced which required the payment of two rupees for each hut. The tax was increased to five rupees in 1916. In 1912, a poll tax of thirty shillings on all males of eighteen years and over was introduced. Since Africans had no money, they had to work on European farms to earn more to pay the tax. Moreover, the Colonial Government had continuously prevented the Africans from entering the market economy to keep them from competing with the European settlers.[40]

Though Kikuyu went to European farms as labourers, they mostly did so only when they wanted wages to pay taxes.[41] This created an irregular supply of labour. Therefore, in 1913, the Native Labour Commission was appointed to make recommendations on how to improve the labour supply.[42] To ensure the stability of labour supply , a Registration Ordinance was passed in 1915. After 1919, when the ordinance became effective, a labourer could

not desert his employer anytime he wished to, but had to follow certain established procedures.[43]

Another arrangement that helped to increase and regulate the supply of labour was the introduction of the squatter system.[44] By having squatters on their farms, the settlers were assured of obtaining a regular long term supply of labour. This arrangement encouraged many Kikuyu to move to the Highlands where they had access to the use of land in exchange for labour. But by the mid-1930s, squatters had become more prosperous and began to be a threat to the settlers. The white settlers began a campaign to change the status of squatter from independent producers to resident-labourers. Thus, from 1937, the status of squatters began to change.[45]

2.5 African migration into the 'White Highlands'

Though Africans had moved into some regions of the Highlands like Njoro and Nakuru long before the first World War, it was not until 1946 that a significant number of Kikuyu got a footing in Laikipia District, especially in the Thompson's Falls (Nyahururu) and Oljoro-orok areas.[46] Their migration into the District was as a result of pull and push factors. While the majority moved as individuals, there was some migration of families.[47] Most of those migrating were forced out of their native home areas in the reserves by alienation and scarcity of land.[48] Their small plots of land had become infertile due to constant cultivation because there was no more virgin land to cultivate or practice crop rotation. They wanted a place where they could get unlimited

fertile land for cultivation and grazing, together with fire wood and water.[49] In 1926, when the boundaries of the African Reserves were defined, it became impossible for the Africans to move out of the reserves in search of land for cultivation. Despite confinement on limited land, people continued to base their land use and tenurial practices on the old patterns, until the land became too small for their needs.[50]

Another reason that forced Africans out the reserves was the need for employment. In the reserves, jobs were scarce and there was little if any income from the small plots of lands for those who still had any.[51] For many of the squatters, employment on European farms was a way of meeting the poll and the hut taxes. The white settlers, acting as tax collectors, deducted taxes from the wages and only presented the people with receipts.[52] Other factors like hostile neighbours and family feuds also played a part in making individuals move to the Rift Valley. In most cases, the move was the result of a combination of reasons.[53]

Kikuyu resident-labourers stayed on white settler farms until October 1952 when the State of Emergency was declared, after which they were repatriated back to Central Province. With the relaxation of the Emergency restrictions around 1954, former squatters wished to go back to the 'White Highlands'. As Muriithi Kahiro stated, "Starvation and poverty had gripped the Kikuyu reserves, and the hope of getting a half-acre of land for subsistence, rather than wage employment, drove most of the former Kikuyu squatters back to the Highlands".[54] The wish to go

back was increased by a comparison of life in the reserves and that on the European farms. Since in the reserves there was no longer room for expansion nor for absorption of more people, many Kikuyu opted for the European farms.[55] After the Mau Mau War, other Kikuyu who had never lived on European farms moved there, having been influenced by the favourable stories that they heard from former squatters.[56]

The return of Kikuyu squatters to the 'White Highlands' took various forms.[57] First, the former white employers sent for them. This action by the settlers was a change of policy considering that with the outbreak of the Mau Mau War, the settlers had influenced the Government to remove the 'dangerous' Kikuyu from the Rift Valley.[58] Instead of the Kikuyu, they engaged non-Kikuyu on their farms. But before long, the settlers complained about the low productivity of their new employees. They argued that non-Kikuyu labourers demanded higher wages but their labour output was inefficient.[59]

To allow labourers to go back, the interested settler had to procure passbooks for them. This meant going through an elaborate administrative machinery before the labourers could be finally released.[60] If a labourer managed to trek back to the employer through a series of labour camps in transit, the settler had to make arrangements to procure a passbook for him.[61]

Another form of labour movement was where the administration took the initiative. Labourers and non-labourers who had been

kept in concentration camps[62] went through a process of screening. Those declared loyal to the government were moved from the reserves to work on settler farms.[63] In such instances, the Government was responding to the 'White Settlers' outcry due to the inefficiency and shortage of labour supply.

Once they reached European farms, life was not easy, though admittedly better than in the reserves. Resident-labourers could still get a piece of land to grow their food crops.[64] They were, however, in no position to pick or choose jobs of their own liking, which gave the settlers an opportunity to exploit their desperate condition.[65]

2.6 African response to the land problem, and events leading to the decolonization of the 'White Highlands'.

Africans were dissatisfied with the Colonial Government for keeping them in the background in the government's policies. They were deeply aggrieved by land alienation that had accelerated landlessness,[66] thus resulting in a sense of insecurity. Before the First World War, Africans were determined to get adequate compensation for their land. It could be that the scarcity of land had not yet been felt by then. Furthermore, before 1926 when the boundaries of the African Reserves were gazetted, Africans could cultivate any land as long as it was not needed for public use.[67]

In subsequent years, they were not allowed to cultivate outside their own Reserves, thereby hardening their land grievances. Moreover, once the Reserves were marked off, Africans began to

feel the full rigour of population pressure.[68]

Returning servicemen from the War also had an effect on changing attitudes.[69] The war had enlightened them on world affairs, and they wished to see justice done in the own country. From the 1920s their claims assumed more significance as officials like Harry Thuku became an important stimulant to political action. They no longer wanted compensation, but the return of the land itself.[70] In the 1920s,political associations like the Kikuyu Central Association and the Kikuyu Association were formed which voiced their ethnic grievances.[71]

The problem of land shortage among Africans became worse after the Second World War. While the Colonial Government opened the Highlands for European servicemen, it was not prepared to do so for African servicemen, who were expected to get employment on the European farms or be absorbed into the reserves.[72] Moreover, the addition of white settlers in the Highlands from 1946 displaced the resident labourers who had previously cultivated the land these settlers settled.[73]

The Second World War had more far-reaching effects than the first. For the first time, African leaders united and founded the Kenya African Union to champion their demands.[74] African grievances were now strongly presented in one united voice rather than by the many different ethnic groups of the 1920s.

By the end of the Second World War, the land problem was

still unsolved. The causes of the problem were regarded as population pressure and overstocking on the land which had resulted in soil erosion.[75] To solve the problem, a ten year-plan, the Worthington Plan, was drawn up in 1946.[76] It was intended to prevent soil erosion and develop African land. But it did not succeed.

In the 1950s the situation grew worse, as African agricultural land had greatly deteriorated particularly among the Kikuyu. Consequently in 1953-54, the Government appointed the Swynnerton Committee to probe into the African land problem and recommend measures for improving African agriculture.[77] The Swynnerton Plan recommended the survey and enclosure of all high quality African land, the change of the traditional form of land tenure, the consolidation and enclosure of fragmented pieces of land and the opening up of cash crop market to Africans. The implementation of the Committee's recommendation of consolidation and registration intensified landlessness and poverty, especially in Kikuyu country, for many of the people were displaced.[78] The programme broke the Kikuyu land ownership system because it emphasized individual rather than clan ownership. The Kikuyu Ahoi[79] and those who could not prove rightful ownership of land ended up being landless.

In a parallel attempt to solve the African land problem, in 1953 the East Africa Royal Commission was appointed.[80] This commission, unlike the Kenya Land Commission[81], recommended the "removal of all racial and political barriers which in any way

inhibited the free movement of land, labour, and capital"[82] in the Kenya Colony. The Commission recommendations would have brought changes in the government's policy to the colony.If the recommendations were implemented then,they would have been equality of all races in all aspects including ownership of land anywhere in the colony. Not surprisingly these recommendations were not implemented 'for the time was not ripe', according to the Governor, Evelyn Baring.

Earlier, in 1951, the Kenya African Union had written to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, James Griffiths, describing the consequences of land alienation. It argued that there was severe overcrowding in the African Reserves and mass exodus of Africans to towns and European farms to serve as cheap labour. The result had been an increase in poverty, malnutrition, crime and moral degradation among the Africans.[83]

Mbiyu Koinange, an executive member of the Kenya African Union, and Achieng' Oneko, the Chairman of the Kisumu branch, in their article, 'Land Hunger in Kenya', stressed the urgency with which the Africans wanted back their land and constitutional rights. They argued that "land in Africa is life and whatever economy people practiced, land is the basis of society or social organization. Progress and development begins when security of land tenure is granted."[84] But as long as the Africans remained tenants of the crown, it was impossible for them to participate in development.[85] By the end of the 1950s, Africans were determined to have back the land while the European settlers were

determined to keep it.

7 **The idea of African land settlement schemes in the 1960s.**

As early as the late 1940s the colonial government had attempted to solve the African land problem by establishing African land settlement schemes. But schemes like Makueni, Shimba Hills and Giaki Gaitu, which were aimed at relieving population pressure and controlling tsetse fly, proved an ineffective means of solving the problem of the congested African reserves.[86] Another solution was needed to satisfy land hunger. The issue remained a problem until an Order-in-Council of 1960 terminated the preservation of the Highlands for Europeans only, thereby giving way to African settlement schemes.

The Constitutional Conferences held at Lancaster House, London, in 1960, had great significance for the future kind of government Kenya was to have and the policy on land ownership. The conferences ensured that African majority rule would prevail. The decision had a profound effect on Europeans in Kenya for they feared that under an African Government they would lose what they had invested in land and businesses.[87]

To calm the fears of the European settlers, in 1960 a small settlement project was planned. The project provided for the settlement of yeoman[88] African farmers who would be allocated farms scattered widely throughout the European settled areas.[89] This never took off, as independence neared and the needs of the country changed. The government realized that the scheme would

make an insufficient impact on landlessness amongst Africans.[90]

Early in 1961, another settlement project that had both 'yeomen' and 'peasant' farms was conceived. Yeomen farms were large, designed to allow each farmer a net income of 250 pounds per annum or more, whilst the peasant farms were designed to allow a net income of around 100 pounds per annum.[91] Both the 'yeomen' and 'peasant' farms as projected were acceptable to European settlers. The 'yeomen' farmers were to be settled among the European settlers on undeveloped land; they could get assistance and the advice necessary for development from the White Settlers. On the other hand, the 'peasant' farms, located on the periphery of the European area, would not pose any problem to settler farming.[92] Therefore, the essential aim of this project was to satisfy African land hunger but still maintain the European settler economy.[93] By mid-1961, the government realized that the 'yeoman' and the 'peasant' schemes, requiring the African settler to have farming experience and to contribute capital of his own, were not meeting the needs of the growing number of landless and unemployed.[94]

Moreover, the project fell short of finance because it was entirely financed by loan money. Therefore, because of financial constraints, the purchase programme was suspended in 1961 until 1963 when it was incorporated into the One Million Acre Scheme.[95]

the time of the second Constitutional Conference in 1962, investments had declined, as Europeans feared losing

their property with the advent of majority rule. The reluctance of the White Settlers to further invest in their farms had created massive unemployment making the land pressure much greater and thus creating political instability.[96] For instance, there was a trade deficit of 3.5 million sterling pounds in the first six months of 1960, while in the same period in 1959, there had been a trade surplus of 5.3 million sterling pounds.[97]

The draining away of capital and skilled manpower, and the general standstill of the economy, raised questions about the future prosperity of Kenya. To stop this course of events, in July 1962, the British government agreed to finance a massive settlement programme, which provided for the purchase of a total of one million acres of land over a five-year period. It anticipated the settling of over 30,000 families on land formerly occupied by the White Settlers.[98] The British government agreed to meet the cost of pre-settlement through a grant and 1/3 of the cost of the purchase of the land from the White settlers, while it gave 2/3 as a loan to the Kenya government. The loan was, however, to be repaid by the African settlers themselves.[99]

For the programme to be implemented, however, a few ethnic tensions amongst the African groups had to be solved first. Between 1960-1963, when the country was in a transitional period, there was much political tension. Ethnic suspicion centred around two main issues. First, what kind of government Kenya was to have once political power was handed over by the British. The minority groups, like the Kalenjin, the Maasai and the Arabs at

the coast, favoured regionalism in the fear that the central government would be dominated by the majority groups; the Luo and Kikuyu. Secondly, the question arose as to who was to occupy land formerly occupied by the White Settlers.[100]

The controversy over land centred on the 'White Highlands'. For instance, the Maasai United Front (M.U.F) argued that all the land extending from Naivasha to the Laikipia Plateau, which the Maasai had occupied before the 1904 and 1911 Masaai-British agreements, should revert to them.[101] The Kalenjin Political Alliance also wished to have the land issue settled before the British left. A solution had to be found to make sure that independence was not delayed.

Therefore, between 1960-1961, a Regional Boundaries Commission was set up to define the regions for each ethnic group. In 1962, the Commission recommended that the claims of each ethnic group be respected.[102] The Commission's recommendation gave more force to the Regional Constitution, which stipulated that Kenya would have six Regions, each with a Regional Assembly independent of the Central government. The Regional Assemblies would be responsible for the agricultural lands in their regions.[103] Therefore settlers for a given region had to be nominated by the Regional President.[104] Naturally, with the kind of tension that existed, a Regional President nominated settlers of his own ethnic group to occupy the schemes.

Under the regional arrangements, the issue of displaced

labour from the farms to be purchased by the Settlement Fund Trustees became prominent. The Kikuyu resident-labourers in areas like Nandi hills, Kitale and the Cherangani Hills could not be settled there. On the other hand, they could not move to the Kikuyu reserves which were already over-populated, and thus could not absorb more people.[105]

The Kikuyu problem was intensified because their 'tribal grounds'[106] in the Highlands were limited by the highly developed plantations bordering on Southern Kikuyu Country and ranching farms to the North. The plantations could not be subdivided because they would have become uneconomical. Moreover, the price of land was too high for the landless Africans to afford.On the other hand, the ranches were not climatically suitable for arable farming.[107] So the Kikuyu had almost no land for settlement.

The displaced Kikuyu labourers outside Kikuyu land and the landless Kikuyu in the reserves became a source of great pressure on the Government. In an attempt to solve the problem, the Government tried to make arrangements with the Tanganyika Government to settle them at Mpanda.[108] The attempt failed because some Kikuyu leaders regarded this as an attempt to deprive them of votes in the coming elections and discouraged their followers from going.[109] For the Government to 'buy' political stability to ensure no further delay for independence, Kikuyuland was pushed westwards into the lands of European settlers which had originally belonged to the Maasai. Thus the new District of Nyandarua was created in 1963 and opened for

African Land Settlement Schemes.[110]

2.8 Conclusion

To understand the origins of the land settlement schemes, a short historical summary of the establishment and development of the British East Africa Protectorate has been presented. The alienation of African land and the subsequent encouragement of White settlement in the Kenya Highlands created what was termed as the 'White Highlands'. As the Maasai were removed from the Laikipia region to create room for the White settlers, the Kikuyu and other Africans moved in as a source of labour for the White settlers. Land alienation became a major African grievance against the colonial government. Using constitutional means, and through various political associations, beginning in the 1920s, they demanded the return of their land. In the late 1940s and early 1950s, the colonial government began African Land Settlement Schemes to cater for the increased population and to clear some areas of tsetse fly, but these early Settlement Schemes did not solve the pressing land problem.

1960 was a significant year in the history of Kenya for two reasons. First, the Land Order-in-Council that had previously segregated the Kenya Highlands for White Settlers was repealed. Secondly, the State of Emergency was brought to an end, and Kenya colonial rule took a new turn as independent majority rule became imminent. The advent of political change in Kenya was not

welcomed by the White Settlers, who subsequently wished to move out of Kenya. While the White Settlers were thinking of moving out, Kenyan ethnic groups were suspicious of each other, particularly regarding the issue of land. The various ethnic groups wanted to reclaim land they thought they had originally occupied prior to colonial rule. In the face of these circumstances, the colonial government sought a way of bringing about an orderly transfer of land from the White Settlers to Africans. Therefore, in 1961, the Regional Boundaries Commission was set up to determine what land was to be handed to which ethnic group.

The resolution of the Regional Boundaries Commission to respect 'ethnic land' created a problem of displaced labour. People who had moved from their home areas to other regions to work were not able to settle there. Such was the case, for example, with Kikuyu who had moved to work in areas like Cherangani Hills, Nandi Hills and Kitale. They had to be settled elsewhere.

The Kikuyu in the reserves were also suffering from land shortage. Areas that they could have moved into were already under cultivation as plantations of either tea or coffee or were being used for ranching and, therefore, were not open to settlement or subdivision. The land problem of the Kikuyu became a serious political issue. To 'buy' political peace, the government decided to extend Kikuyuland to the west to cover a region of White Settlement that had been inhabited by the Maasai

in pre-colonial times. The extended area became the new district of Nyandarua. Because of the resolution of the Regional Boundaries Commission, the 1960s Settlement Schemes in Oljoro-orok Division were settled by a majority of Kikuyu with only a scattered number of Meru, Luhyia, Embu and Kalenjin who had been resident-labourers on European farms and wanted to remain in the area.

otes

. Ministry of Planning and National Development, Nyandarua District Development Plan 1983-1993, (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1983), p. 1.

2. Ibid., pp. 2-3.

3. Ibid., p. 2.

4. Ibid., p. 7.

5. Ministry of Planning and National Development, Nyandarua District Development Plan, 1979-1983, (Nairobi; Government Printer, 1983), pp. 2-7.

6. The lowland that cover most of the Oljoro-orok salient scheme are poorly drained making cultivation difficult.

7. Lijimbe, Z.A., "Maasai Resistance to Colonization 1895-1930" (Nairobi: University of Nairobi, B.A Dissertation, March 1972), p. 37.

8. Sorrenson, M.P.K., Origins of European Settlement in Kenya (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 14.

9. Mungeam, G.H., British Rule in Kenya 1895-1912. The establishment of Administration in E.A Protectorate (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), p. 14.

10. Waller, Richard, "The Maasai and the British, 1895-1905: the origins of an alliance," Journal of African History, xvii No.4 (1976), p. 530.

11. Lijimbe, "Maasai resistance to Colonialism", p. 37.

12. Waller, "The Maasai and the British", p. 532.

13. Ibid., p. 533.

14. Sorrenson, Origins of European settlement in Kenya, p.10.

15. Waller, "The Maasai and the British," p. 549.

16. Ibid.

17. Sorrenson, Origins of European Settlement in Kenya, p. 276.

18. Waller, "The Maasai and the British", p.549.

19. Ibid.

20. Sorrenson, Origins of European settlement in Kenya, p. 26

21. Sorrenson, M.P.K., Land reform in the Kikuyu country, (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 15-33

22. Sorrenson, Origins of European Settlement in Kenya, p. 276.

23. Sorrenson, Land reform in the Kikuyu country, pp 15-16

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid,. p. 16.

26. Ibid,. p. 45. According to British law, the Crown was the source of all title to land . Therefore, unless the Crown established an original title to land in the Protectorate, it was legally impossible to make grants under any other form of tenure recognized by the British law.

27. The 1901 and 1902 legislative ordinances were drafted on the assumption that Africans had no title to waste, or unoccupied and uncultivated land; therefore the Crown could assume a title to such land.

28. Sorrenson, Origins of European Settlement in Kenya, pp. 190-197.

29. Wolff, Richard, D. The economics of colonialism. Britain and Kenya, 1870-1930 (London: Yale University Press, 1974), p. 65.

30. Lijimbe, "Maasai resistance to Colonialism", p. 23.

31. Ibid., p. 37.

32. Sorrenson, Origins of European Settlement in Kenya, p. 195.

33. Ibid,. p. 202.

34. Sorrenson, p. 197.

35. Zwanenberg Van, R.M.A., "The Land Question in Kenya from the Nineteenth Century to the Present Day" (Paper presented at the third International Congress of Africanists, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, Dec 9-19, 1973), p. 16.

36. Zwanenberg Van, R. and King, Anne, An Economic History of Kenya and Uganda 1800-1970 (London: Macmillan Press, 1975), p. 43.

37. Sorrenson, Land reform in the Kikuyu country, p. 53.

38. Zwanenberg van, R.M.A., Colonial Capitalism and Labour in Kenya, 1919-1939 (Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, 1975), p. 1; Bogonko, N. Sorobea, Kenya 1945-1963: A study in African National Movements (Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau, 1980), pp. 4-5.

39. Bogonko, Kenya 1945-1963 A study in African National Movements, pp. 4-5.

40. Zwanenberg, Van R.M.A., Colonial Capitalism and Labour in Kenya 1919-1939 (Nairobi; E.A. Literature Bureau, 1975), concentrates on showing how the colonial policy favoured White settlers.

41. Furedi, Frank, "The Genesis of African Communities in the 'Settled Areas' of Kenya" (University of Nairobi, Department of History, Seminar paper 1971/72), p. 32.

42. Ibid., p. 3-4.

43. Zwanenberg, Colonial Capitalism and Labour in Kenya, pp. 183-209.

44. Furedi, "The Genesis of African Communities in the settled Areas of Kenya", p. 5.

45. Kanogo, Tabitha, Squatters and the Roots of Mau Mau (Nairobi: Heinemann, 1987), pp. 59-60.

46. KNA, DC/LKA/1/1 Laikipia Annual Report, 1946. At the time Oljoro-orok was part of Laikipia District.

47. Interview, Mwangi Ndirangu, 23 November 1990, West Oljoro-orok Settlement Scheme.

48. For details, see pages 19-21.

49. Interview, Wambui Kanyeki, 23 November 1990, West Oljoro-orok Settlement Scheme.

50. Zwanenberg, "The Land Question in Kenya from the Nineteenth Century to the Present Day", p. 6.

51. Interview, Mutitu Kimondo, 26 November 1990, West Oljoro-orok Settlement Scheme.

52. Kanogo, Squatters and the Roots of Mau Mau, p. 13.

53. Ibid.

54. Interview, Muriithi Kahiro, 29 November 1990, West Oljoro-orok Settlement Scheme.

55. Carey, Jones N.S., The Anatomy of Uhuru: An Essay on Kenya's Independence (London: Manchester University Press, 1966), p. 166.

56. Interview, Muthui Kiriogo, 13 November, 1990, and Warungi Njuguna, 26 October, 1990, Lesirko Settlement Scheme.

57. Kanogo, Squatters and the Roots of Mau Mau, p. 152.

58. KNA, DC/LKA/1/3, Laikipia District Annual Report, 1952.

59. KNA, DC/NVA/1, Labour Office, Thompson's Fall, April-June 1953.

60. Interview, Muthui Kiriogo, 13 November, 1990, Lesirko Settlement Scheme.

61. Interview, Kiunga Kamathi, 7 January 1991, Lesirko Scheme.

62. Concentration camps were enclosed areas where Mau Mau suspects were kept before screening.

63. Kanogo, Squatters and the Roots of Mau Mau, p. 153.

64. Interview, Wanjuki Kairu, 31 October, 1990, and Kairu Maina, 4, January 1991, Settlement Scheme.

65. Interview, Joseph Ndungu, 31 October, 1990, and Kagema ,14 october, Mbagathi, 14 october 1990, Lesirko Settlement Scheme.

66. Bogonko, Kenya 1945-1963 A study in African National Movements, p. 4.

67. Sorrenson, Land reform in the Kikuyu country, p. 19.

68. Kanogo, Squatters and the Roots of Mau Mau, p. 11.

69. Bogonko, Kenya 1945-1963: A study in African National Movements, pp. 6-22.

70. Ibid., p. 11.

71. Ibid., pp. 11-18.

72. Sorrenson, Land reform in the Kikuyu country, pp. 52-53.

73. Interview, Muthui Kiriogo, 13.11.90, Lesirko Scheme.

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84. Ibid., 'Land Hunger in Kenya' p. 4.

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89. Carey, The Anatomy of Uhuru, p. 151.

90. Ibid.

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5. Nottidge, C.P.R. and Goldsack, J.R., The Million Acre Settlement Scheme, 1962-1966. (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1966), p. 1.

7. Bogonko, Kenya 1945-1963: A study in African National Movements, p. 260.

1. Nottidge and Goldsack, The Million Acre Settlement Scheme 1962-1966, p. 1.

1. Carey, The Anatomy of Uhuru, p. 155.

10. Bogonko, Kenya 1945-1963: A study in African National Movements, p. 245.

1. Ibid., p. 246.

2. Arkadie, Report on the Mission on Land Settlement in Kenya, p. 10.

3. Bogonko, Kenya 1945-63, p. 246.

4. Carey, The Anatomy of Uhuru, p. 165.

5. Ibid, pp. 166-167.

5. 'Sphere of Influence' was the land which every African group claimed to have been originally theirs before colonial rule.

'. Plantations and ranches were left intact; only land that was undeveloped or under mixed farming was to have the small-scale settlement.

. Carey, The Anatomy of Uhuru, p. 167.

. Interview, Njau Wango, 23 October,1990, and Harun Mukunga, 23 October, 1990; Carey Jones, The Anatomy of Uhuru, p. 167.

. Carey, The Anatomy of Uhuru, p. 168.

CHAPTER THREE

The Implementation of the settlement schemes and the settling of the African settlers in Oljoro-orok Division.

3.0 Introduction

Nyairoko Scheme, the first of the six settlement schemes in Oljoro-orok Division, began in 1963. Thereafter, Oraimutia (1965), Lesirko (1965), Silibwet (1965) and Oljoro-orok West (1967) were settled. The last scheme to be implemented, Oljoro-orok Salient, was settled in two different years, 1974 and 1981.[1]

3.1 Types of schemes

The six settlement schemes were categorized into two major types: low-density and high-density. The low-density schemes were Nyairoko and Oraimutia, while the high-density schemes were Lesirko, Silibwet, Oljoro-orok West and Oljoro-orok Salient. Low and high-density schemes differed in several basic ways. Moreover, Oljoro-orok Salient differed from the others in the way it was administered and thus it will be discussed separately in a later section.

The low-density schemes which were designed to accommodate few families on a maximum of 20 acres depending on the land quality had large-size plots. The income target was 100 to 250 pounds per annum after subtracting subsistence expenses and loan repayment.[2] For the low-density schemes, funds for purchasing land from the European settlers came from the British government

in the form of grants and loans, while the World Bank and the Commonwealth Development Cooperation gave finance in the ratio of two to one, for developing the schemes.[3]

For the high-density schemes, the plot size was kept to a minimum of seven acres so as to settle as many families as the scheme would accommodate. The income target was 25 to 70 pounds per annum after meeting subsistence expenses and loan repayment.[4] The funds for purchase and development of the high-density schemes were grants from the British government and West Germany government.[5]

3.2 Choice of the settlers

Two factors determined the choice of a settler. The first factor was the location of the scheme. The land settlement schemes of Nyandarua District were mainly settled by the Kikuyu in accordance with the recommendation of the Regional Boundaries Committee.[6] Thus, the Nyandarua area was considered an extension of Kikuyuland. Therefore, settlers who were eligible for the Oljoro-orok settlement schemes were of Kikuyu origin. There were, however, scattered numbers of other ethnic groups, like the Kalenjin, Luhya and Meru who had worked for the white settlers and wished to remain in the area.

The second factor determining the choice of the settler was the type of scheme. People seeking land in the low-density

schemes were required to send applications to the Settlement Board. Applicants whose applications were selected appeared before the Settlement Board for interview. The interview Board consisted of agricultural Officers and two Settlement Officers. Each interviewee had to have Kshs. 5,000. He/she was individually selected after farming experience was proven.[7] The essence of the interview was to find out whether one had any knowledge of agriculture. The competence of a prospective settler in maintaining good animal husbandry was tested by the Veterinary Officer. According to Weru Maina, one of the settlers who underwent the interview, he remembers being asked "what measure would you take if your cow fell sick". In answering Maina said, "The answer to such a question was to consult the field veterinary Officer for advice. Persons who said they could treat the animal without the officer's help were disqualified for the farms".[8]

A prospective settler had to prove to the Board beyond any doubt that he was landless. The Chief and the Assistant Chief from the applicant's home area had to certify that the applicant had no land. Despite this condition, government officials were not able to identify all those who had farms elsewhere. Some people were able to conceal their real identities from their chiefs especially if they had stayed out of the reserves for a long time.[9] In some cases, if a husband had received a plot of land in one scheme, he would use the name of his wife to get a plot in another scheme.[10] After the whole exercise, a few settlers had received two plots contrary to the stipulations.

For the high-density schemes, former resident labourers who had worked for at least four continuous years on the White Settlers' farms were eligible for holdings.[11] To identify the genuine resident-labourers, the Settlement Board asked the White Settler on each farm to supply the names of his employees before leaving the country. To do so, the White Settlers relied on their muster-roll books. This gave a settler much power to decide who was to get a farm because it was possible and easy to discriminate against labourers who at one time or another had clashed with him. There was another group of labourers who had worked for the white settlers on contracts and had continued to live on the farm after the expiry of the contracts.[12] In the allocation of farms, this group was given second priority; and later some contract labourers were given land in Oljoro-orok Salient.[13]

A third group was made up of illegal residents or the "Komerera"[14], as they were nicknamed by the other residents. These were persons who were related to resident labourers and had sneaked onto a farm without the knowledge of the White Settler.[15] In most cases, such people had missed getting employment with a settler but being in need of food and land for cultivation, found a good cover by staying with employed relatives. They would cultivate alongside their relatives and in some instances increased the land undercultivation without the settlers' knowledge.[16] In the allocation of land in the settlement schemes, illegal residents were given third priority. With the completion of the schemes the majority of them have remained landless up

to today. Some refused to move away from where they were before independence and therefore became a problem to the African Settler who was allocated the land on which they resided . Some African Settlers resorted to legal action to remove illegal residents, but this has not always been successful.[17]

Apart from the labourers, the high-density schemes were settled by a good number of former Freedom Fighters. Their eligibility was determined by local committees made up of elders in the reserves appointed by the District Officers. Only the poorest and those desperately in need of a farm as certified by the committees were chosen .[18]

3.3 Size of holding

A paramount factor in the subdivision of plots in each scheme was to have some kind of equality amongst the settlers. The basic factors determining the size of a holding were basic budgets for the scheme, the price of land to the holder, the potential of the available land and the cash crop grown and marketed.[19] In theory, all plots, though of varying sizes, had equal economic potential. This ensured in theory that every settler would get an equitable income, each having been given an equal chance of self-development.

3.4 Physical preparation of the land

Before the settlers were settled, the Settlement Fund Trustees under the Department of Settlement did pre-settlement planning. The land was surveyed and classified. Maps were

prepared showing the necessary soil conservation, roads, ditches, water holes and drainage required. The Town Planner was responsible for ensuring that sufficient land was set aside for public purpose such as new townships, trading centers and schools. After the map was drawn, the Department of Soil Conservation did the demarcation.[20]

Former resident-labourers were engaged by the Settlement Board in pre-settlement development. They were employed to construct culverts and trenches, and to clear roads within the schemes. They were also supposed to put plot numbers at every boundary of a holding to make allocation of plots easier.[21]

3.5 Movement into the newly acquired land

When settlers came to move to the new farms, they used various means of transport. Settlers of Nyairoko and Oramutia schemes had to find their own means since the government regarded them as relatively rich and therefore able to afford transport.[22] Moreover, they were widely dispersed in areas like Eldoret, Limuru, Kiambu, Gilgil and Nyeri, where they resided before independence.

The government came to the rescue of the settlers in the other schemes since generally they came from a poor background and were quite needy. Those coming from the Reserves were transported to their respective schemes by lorries belonging to the Settlement Department. But before settling on the farms, they camped at stores of the former White Settlers that the

Settlement Department had already purchased. There were five such camps, Major, Mwanda, Rose, Walker, and John Philip, all named after the White Setters who lived there previously.[23] The African settlers resided in the camps until such a date as they had finished constructing a dwelling structure on their new plot. To transport their belongings from the camp to their new plot, they hired the Settlement Department tractor at Ksh. 20.[24] But those near their allocated farms would go on foot to their homes.[25] The settlers were provided with public health officers by the government who advised them on where to put up their houses and where to dig a pit latrine.[26]

3.6 Problems and solutions in the initial stages

The African settlers faced problems while they settled down. Whereas the settler was expected to find solutions to his problems, the government did help to some extent.

Accommodation was one of the problems settlers faced. This was especially among settlers coming from the former African reserves. For this reason, in the early stages of settlement, only family heads, with one or two members of the family, went to the scheme to construct a dwelling.[27] Former resident-labourers hurriedly built on their own farms and moved out of their labourers' houses that were a legacy of the White Settler domination. The joy of owning a plot of land made them move into simple unfurnished shelters.[28] The urgency to move to the farms was so great that, as Harun Mukung'a put it, "We could move to a thick bush and clear it to accommodate us as long as it was

on one's own plot."[29]

To enable the new settlers to build, the government advanced them development loans in the form of building material, like doors, windows, nails and hammers. They were also allowed to cut down trees anywhere without obstruction for a period of six months for building and fencing-posts.[30]

Capital and labour were other problems. When the White Settlers left, the former labourers lost their source of income, meagre though it was.[31] To overcome this problem, the Settlement Board offered the settlers jobs repairing paths, clearing and building culverts and demarcating farm boundaries within the schemes at a pay of Ksh. 60 per month for six months.[32] The settlers in Lesirko scheme went for casual labour on the pyrethrum farms in the neighbouring Nyairoko scheme whose settlers were already settled.[33]

Settlers in the high-density schemes had problems of shortage of labour because they had no capital to engage labourers. The fact that farm sizes had increased from the half-acre most settlers had been used to previously, meant that extra labour was needed. The settlers solved this problem by forming social welfare groups.[34]

The formation of the social welfare groups was possible because in the allocation of farms, persons from the same White Settler farm or from the same Reserve were settled in close

proximity. This created a community spirit amongst a proportion of new settlers who already knew one another from elsewhere before the start of the settlement scheme.[35] It was such settlers who began the social welfare groups in the high-density schemes. But the social welfare groups of the 1960s were not the very first ones in the region. During the colonial period, the resident labourers used to have such groups for self-help, especially for farm work, like breaking of the land, planting and harvesting.[36]

Self-help groups were not common in the low-density schemes. The reasons for this can be attributed to the heterogeneity of the community and the size of the holdings in these schemes. First, while the groups in the high-density schemes were formed out of a spirit of self-help and community solidarity, the concept of community spirit did not exist in the low-density schemes. Not only did the settlers in the low-density schemes come from different areas, which made early interaction strenuous, but they were also regarded as relatively rich and therefore there was no spirit of communal help. The few settlers who needed help would not get people to pool their resources or time together.[37] To this day, Nyairoko and Oraimuta Schemes are referred to as "schemes of the rich".[38]

Secondly, the large size of plots in the low-density schemes hindered the formation of social welfare groups. The distance between farms obscured frequent interaction that could have encouraged the formation of the groups. Wanjiku Ndung'u,

stressing the negative effect distance had, stated, "The distance between one neighbour and the other was too big compared with the reserves making it hard even to beg salt from your neighbour."[39]

In 1965, famine broke out. This was the driest season the new district of Nyandarua had experienced since its inception in 1963.[40] Famine struck most of the settlers, especially those who had not yet cultivated and harvested a crop.[41] The majority of the settlers were in this condition because only settlers of Nyairoko scheme had been settled by the end of 1964. The situation was worsened by the fact that former resident-laborers had saved little food because they had sold or given most of it to the incoming settlers.[42] Moreover, when the Settlement Board took over the land after purchasing it from the White Settlers, it had discouraged individual cultivation to make the demarcation of plots easy.[43]

To solve the famine problem, the government gave food relief aid to settlers of the high-density schemes and any other persons who had not acquired land and were still settled in villages by 1965. The food given was yellow flour, tinned meat and dried fish, with the villagers getting a bigger ration than the settlers.[44] The settlers supplemented any little food they had with the aid relief food.

Apart from lack of solid food, shortage of milk was an acute problem that faced the former resident-labourers immediately the White Settlers left. In the colonial days , labourers used to

get rationed skimmed milk, the absence of which subsequently made the children suffer from kwashiokor.[45] Only children of those who were able to buy milk from the Kenya Co-operative Creameries at Nyahururu avoided the disease.[46]

The milk problem was addressed when the government loaned dairy cattle to the new settlers. These dairy cattle had been purchased from the outgoing White Settlers. During the period between the takeover of the White Settler farms and the arrival of the new African settlers, the Settlement Department took care of the livestock by employing the former labourers as herdsmen.[47] After the settlers fenced their farms and subdivided them into paddocks, they were ready to get the stock. Every settler got at least one mature cow that could be milked.[48]

Settlers of the low-density schemes were regarded as able to sustain themselves and so were not included in the food aid relief schemes. But this general categorization victimized some families in the low-density schemes that were in dire need of food. For example, settlers who had sold their property to get the required capital for acquiring land had big problems. They had to work for their fellow neighbours to be able to buy food.[49] Others had to go back to the reserves in search of food from their relatives.[50]

3.7 Oljoro-orok Salient scheme

The Oljoro-orok Salient Scheme occupies part of what was formerly the Ol Kalou Salient Complex. Initially when the

together was a hindrance to individual advancement because a Co-operative tended to support even those who were completely lazy. Therefore, individuals who thought they would progress better outside a Co-operative Society did not mind its collapse. The private transporters were such a group of settlers who benefited from the weakness of the Co-operative Societies.

Later the management of the Co-operative Societies, and of the Co-operative movement as a whole, developed other weaknesses. In all the Co-operative Societies in the Division, the settlers complained of misappropriation of funds by committee members. Co-operative Societies like Weru and Wangatabuthi, though initiated by the settlers themselves, still had management problems. Despite misappropriation of funds, there was no severe action taken against the culprits. The poor perfomance of the co-operative societies indicated that they needed government supervision, but such supervision was withdrawn in the 1970s.

In contrast was the Githumbato Farmers' Company Limited. This company was founded by some settlers of the Oljoro-orok Salient Scheme who were settled in the mid-1970s. Unlike the settlers of the 1960s, the Salient Scheme settlers were not encouraged to found a Co-operative Society. After facing problems in marketing their milk, they recognized the need of having a company. Since the members began the company out of their own initiative, they were committed to it. Moreover, the fact that each new committee has a proportion of old members ensured that the committee in Githumbato Farmers' Company was

settlement scheme programme was being initiated, the Ol Kalou Salient was not intended to be purchased. It had been anticipated that European settlers who cultivated there would continue farming. This, however, proved impossible after settlement schemes were established on each side of the salient region. Having been sandwiched between Kikuyu settlement schemes on the Kinangop and Oljoro-orok areas, the White Settlers feared that they could be invaded by landless Kikuyu making the land unproductive.[51] The White Settlers, therefore, wished to have their land purchased. While the White Settlers feared invasion, the Kenya government wondered what would happen if the White Settlers left abruptly. To avoid any unorderly departure or occupation of that land, the Ol Kalou Salient was bought and incorporated in the One Million-Acre Scheme[52] and a new form of Settlement scheme areas initiated.

In 1963, due to the region's unsuitability for subdivision, because of infertile soils, the Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta, announced a special program for the transfer of the Ol Kalou Salient to Africans.[53] The land was divided into nineteen units, each under a Farm Manager on behalf of a Co-operative Society made up of the labour force that existed before the takeover.[54] Therefore, priority in settler selection was given to labourers who had worked on European farms in the Salient.[55] Any remaining plots were given to labourers displaced by settlement schemes elsewhere in Nyandarua district and to skilled craftsmen like carpenters capable of making a valuable contribution to the Co-operative farm.[56]

The members of the Co-operative Society were allocated two acres of their own land for subsistence and were then given work as a member of the Co-operative on unsubdivided land devoted both to livestock and to crops like wheat, oats, and barley.[57] These settlers were supposed to live in a village within the farm and they were not permitted to rear livestock.[58]

The running of the Ol Kalou Salient Complex continued in this form until early 1970s. In the 1970/74 National Development Plan, the government noted that the Ol Kalou project was running at a loss. The government therefore decided to change the management of the project. At the same time, the government was contemplating this change, a group of settlers, who had formed the Subuko Farmers' Co-operative Society, sent a delegation to President Kenyatta seeking to have their land increased. The settlers plea was granted in 1974.[59]

In 1974, the 19 units of the Ol Kalou Salient were re-formed into seven large scale farms,and the subsistence plots of individual settlers were increased to five acres. Settlers were also permitted to keep one dairy cow each.[60] The seven units were to continue to be run by farm managers before the farms were handed over to the Settlers' Co-operative Societies, after which each unit would function as an independent farm with the settlers as the beneficiaries.[61] This management did not materialize because the Co-operative farming became weak as settlers concentrated on their individual plots. The land that was supposed to be cultivated under co-operative become less

productive as it was left only for grazing both by individual settlers and government livestock.[62].

The remaining land of the Ol Kalou salient was unoccupied until 1981 when the second group of settlers were settled. The seven farm units of Ol Kalou Salient were divided into several settlement schemes. The part that fell in Oljoro-orok Division, unit 207, became the Oljoro-orok Salient Scheme.[63]

The 1981-1982 settlement was aimed at pursuing the national objective of alleviating poverty. Therefore, the scheme was designed as high-density and low-cost for the rural poor and especially the landless.[64] The 1981 settlers were not only selected from the local landless people but also from other parts of the country bringing various of ethnic groups into Oljoro-orok Salient Scheme.[65]

3.8 Problems and solutions in the initial stages in Oljoro-orok Salient scheme

Settlers in Oljoro-orok Salient Scheme encountered a combination of problems in the early years of settlement. The problems ranged from night frosts, infertile soils, marshy land, drought, attacks from hippopotamus from lake Ol Bolossat and lack of capital.

The settlers suffered from the high temperatures generated during clear nights on the moorlands of the Aberdare range. The cold air causes night frosts on the lowlands of the scheme. This

discourages the growth of food crops, especially maize.[66]

The Settlers adjusted to the frost problem by spraying their crops with anti-frost chemicals. Use of anti-frost chemicals was, however, possible for those with finances to purchase the chemicals. Therefore, majority of them continued to harvest little food that could not sustain them throughout the year.[67]

After a long period of mechanization by the White Settlers, the Ol Kalou Salient became levelled making the water flow and drainage poor. When the settlers were allocated farms, they had to find ways of draining the water because it was making the crops rot.[68] The settlers dug trenches on their farms directing the water to lake Ol Bollosat. Once the water was directed to the lake, the settlers were then able to put fertilizers and manure to improve the quality of the soils. Settlers who did not have livestock to produce manure borrowed from those who had. However, with time majority of the settlers kept livestock to constantly provide manure.[69]

Another problem suffered by the 1980s settlers was drought. In 1981, the year the settlers settled, there was drought in the District. Famine followed because the settlers had not harvested any crops. In 1982-1983, there was heavy rain. The settlers were unfortunate because they did not have enough seeds to plant and the little they had was destroyed by the rains. At the end of 1983, the settlers harvested little food. In 1984, the whole country was struck by drought making the settlers experience

severe famine.[70]

Food shortage among the 1980s Oljoro-orok Salient settlers was solved in three ways. One, the government gave food relief aid to the new settlers in 1984. Yellow maize flour was donated to the most needy families whom the Assistant Chiefs helped to identify.[71] Second, the settlers worked among the old settlers in exchange for food or for cash payment.[72] Third, the local churches, especially the Catholic Church donated household items like food and toilet soaps to the needy settlers.[73]

Settlers with farms at the fringes of lake Ol Bollosat were constantly attacked by hippopotamus from the lake. The attack was mostly on their food crops. The men would stay in groups at night protecting the crops. Any hippopotamus caught, they killed and consumed it. However, most of the hippopotamus were taken by the game wardens.[74]

Though Oljoro-orok Salient Scheme had problems of drainage, there was no permanent river to provide water for human use. The settlers had to walk long distances in search of water. To lessen the water burden, settlers dug boreholes or constructed or bought storage water tanks. Being on the lowlands of Oljoro-orok Division, the settlers were also supplied with piped water from Kariko and Kangui-Oljoro-orok water projects.[75]

Another problem that faced the settlers was strong winds caused by the absence of wind breakers. During the White

Settlers cultivation, the Ol Kalou Salient had been completely cleared trees to enable easy mechanization. So winds coming from the Aberdare Range and lake Ol Bolîosat was hazardous to food crop farming. To limit the winds, the settlers planted trees changing the environment all together.[76]

Lack of capital was the most severe problem the settlers faced. Majority of the settlers were formerly unemployed and living in villages. With no development loan from the government, getting money to undertake any improvement of their farms. They had to be engaged in casual labour at saw mills or on farms of old settlers.[77]

Through adjustment, therefore, the settlers of Oljoro-orok Salient Scheme became used to the new environment.

3:9 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed how the land settlement schemes in Oljoro-orok Division were implemented. It has shown how two types of settlers were settled, in high and low-density schemes respectively.

Not every settler in the Division was genuinely in need of land. There were settlers who had land elsewhere but they escaped the identification of the government officials who scrutinized who had land or not.

Though the government was actively involved in the settling

of the 1960s settlers, in the provision of loans, and food relief aid, the settlers faced problems initially. The settlers were left on their own to solve their problems, making them adapt and adjust to the new environment. The most striking way of solving the problems was through social welfare groups. The groups were, however, dominant in the high-density schemes. Absence of social welfare groups in the low-density schemes is explained by the fact that the schemes were designed for better off settlers. The majority of the settlers in the low-density schemes were able to solve their problems individually.

The government had not initially wished to settle African small scale farmers on former Ol Kalou Salient. The desire of the White Settlers to leave and then the failure of co-operative farming in the area finally forced the government to subdivide the land. Futhermore, the settlers in Oljoro-orok Salient wanted more land under individual ownership, thus co-operative farming was proving a failure.

The settling of the 1981-82 settlers in Oljoro-orok Salient Scheme aimed mainly at alleviating rural poverty and thus brought various ethnic groups together as settlers were selected from all over the country.

Notes

1. At the time the research was carried out, the second phase of Oljoro-orok Salient Scheme was not complete.

2. Abrams, P.D., Kenya's Land Resettlement Story. How 66,000 African families were settled on 1325 Large Scale European farms (Nairobi: City Printing Works (K) Limited, 1979), p. 29.

3. Ibid., p. 18.

4. Harbeson, J.W., Nation Building in Kenya: The Role of Land Reform (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1973), p. 233.

5. Abrams,. Kenya's Land Resettlement Story, p. 18.

6. For details, see page 30-32.

7. Abrams, Kenya's Land Resettlement Story, p. 40.

8. Interview, Weru Maina, 19.11.90, Wanjiru Thimba, 17.11.90, Oraimutia scheme.

9. Interview, Mithamo Murage, 15.11.90, Oraimutia scheme.

10. Interview, Wanjiku Thimba, 15.11.90, Oraimutia scheme.

11. Carey, The Anatomy of Uhuru, p. 163. Interview, King'ori Wanjuki, 31.10.90, Lesirko Scheme.

12. Kanogo, Squatters and the roots of Mau Mau 1905-1963, p. 11.

13. Interview, George Kairu, 18.12.90, Silibwet scheme; Damaris Waithira, 8.5.91, Oljoro-orok Salient Scheme.

14. 'Komerara', this was the name given to Africans who settled on the farm without White Settlers permission. The name denotes an act of bending to avoid recognition by the settler.

15. Interview, Thiga Muruci, 23.10.90, Lesirko scheme.

16. Kanogo, Squatters and the roots of Mau Mau, p. 12.

17. A village existed in Silibwet scheme of former 'illegal' residents who never got land. These villagers have settled on a settler's farm. Interview, Pharis Watheri, 25.10.90, Lesirko scheme, complained of an illegal settler who had

refused to move from his farm.

18. Interview, Weru Maina, 19.11.90, Oraimutia scheme.

19. Etherington, "Land Resettlement in Kenya; Policy and Practice", p. 34.

20. Abrams, Kenya's Land Resettlement Story, p. 50.

21. Interview, Muthui Kiriogo, 13.11.90, Lesirko Scheme.

22. Interview, Wanjiku Ndung'u, 2.1.91, Nyairoko scheme; Weru Maina, 19.11.90, Oraimutia scheme.

23. Interview, Samuel Muriu, 30.10.90, Lesirko Scheme; Mwangi Ndirangu, 23.11.90, West Oljoro-orok Scheme; Mwangi Wanjare, 13.12.90, Silibwet Scheme.

24. Ibid.

25. Interview, Kiunga Kamathi, 7.1.91, Wambui Waititu, 14.10.90, Lesirko Scheme; George Muiruri, 10.12.90, Silibwet scheme.

26. Interview, George Muiruri, 10.12. 90, Silibwet Scheme.

27. Interview, Njoroge Muthee, 14.10.90, Lesirko Scheme; Gachathi Mung'ere 8.12.90, Silibwet Scheme.

28. Interview, Mwangi Wanjare, 13.12.90, Silibwet scheme.

29. Interview, Harun Makunga, 23.10.90, Lesirko scheme.

30. Interview, Muthui Kiriogo, 13.11.90, Lesirko scheme.

31. Ibid.

32. Abrams, Kenya's Land Resettlement Story, pp. 47-50.

33. Interview, Ndung'u Kiiru and King'ori Wanyuki, 30.10.90, Lesirko scheme.

34. Interview, Pharis Watheri, 25.10.90, Lesirko Scheme.

35. Abrams, Kenya's Land Resettlement Story, pp. 47-50.

36. Interview, Muthui Kiriogo, 13.11.90, Lesirko scheme.

37. Interview, Wanjiku Ndung'u, 2.1.91, Nyairoko scheme; Weru Maina, 19.11.90, Oraimutia scheme.

38. Interview, Ndung'u Kiiru, King'ori Wanjuki, 30.10.90 and Muthui Kiriogo, 13.11.90, Lesirko Scheme.

39. Interview, Wanjiku Ndung'u, 2.1.91, Nyairoko scheme.

40. Annual Report, Ministry of Agriculture, Nyandarua District (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1965), p. 2.

41. Interview, Thiga Muruci, 23.10.90, Lesirko scheme.

42. Interview, Thiga Muruci, 23.10.90, Lesirko scheme; Gachathi Mungere, 8.12.90, Silibwet scheme.

43. Interview, Muthui Kiriogo, 13.11.90, Lesirko scheme.

44. Interview, Gateru Macharia, 22.11.90, Oljoro-orok west scheme.

45. Interview, Ngengi Kungu, 10.12.90, Silibwet scheme.

46. Interview, George Kairu, 14.12.90, Silibwet scheme.

47. Interview, Samuel Rintari, 19.11.90, Oraimutia scheme.

48. Interview, Pharis Watheri, 25.10.90, Lesirko Scheme; George Kairu, 14.12.90, Silibwet Scheme.

49. Interview, Wanjiku Ndung'u, 2.1.91, Nyairoko scheme, Weru Maina, 19.11.90, Oraimutia scheme.

50. Interview, Erastus Gichuhi and Mithamo Murage, 15.11.90, Oraimutia scheme.

51. Harbeson, Nation-Building in Kenya: The Role of Land Reform, p. 245.

52. Ibid., p. 246.

53. Ibid.

54. Abrams, Kenya's Land Resettlement story, p. 51.

55. Ibid.

56. Harbeson, Nation-Building in Kenya: The Role of Land Reform, p. 248.

57. Ibid.

58. Interview, Samuel Marua, 19.12.90, and Gikonyo Muchiri, 22.12.90, Oljoro-orok Salient Scheme.

59. Interview, Samuel Marua, 19.12.90, Oljoro-orok Salient scheme.

60. Abrams, Kenya's Land Resettlement story, p. 36.

61. National Development Plan, 1970/74, (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1974), p. 228.

62. Interview, Ngari Muhia, 19.12.90, John Kamau, 19.12.90, Oljoro-orok Salient scheme.

63. Interview, Samuel Marua, 19.12.90; Irungu Macharia, 20.12.90; Gikonyo Muchiri, 22.12.90, Oljoro-orok Salient Scheme.

64. National Development Plan, 1970/74, p. 272.

65. Interview, Joel Makumi, 20.12.90; Wilson Sang, 21.12.90, Oljoro-orok Salient Scheme.

66. For details, see page 14.

67. Interview, John Kamau, 19.12.90; Josphine Muthoni, 20.12.90; Ezekiah Karanja, 27.12.90, Oljoro-orok Salient Scheme.

68. Interview, Joel Makumi, 20.12.90, Oljoro-orok Salient scheme.

69. Interview, Samuel Marua, 19.12.90,; Josephine Muthoni, 20.12.90, Wilson Sang, 21.12.90, Oljoro-orok Scheme.

70. Interview, Damaris Waithera, 8.5.91, Oljoro-orok Salient scheme.

71. Interview, Josephine Muthoni, Joel Makumi, 20.12.90; Damaris Waithera, 8.5.91, Oljoro-orok Salient Scheme.

72. Interview, Damaris Waithera, 8.5.91; Josephine Muthoni; Joel Makumi, 20.12.90, Oljoro-orok Salient Scheme.

73. Ibid.

74. Interview, John Wanderi and Cyrus Mwirigi, 17.12.90, Oljoro-
orok Salient Scheme.

75. Interview, Irungu Macharia, 20.12.90; Kigathi Gitaru, 19.12.90, Oljoro-orok Salient Scheme.

76. Interview, Ezekiah Karanja, 27.12.90, Oljoro-orok Salient scheme.

77. Interview, Damaris Waithera, 8.5.91; John Wanderi, 17.12.90; Joel Makumi, 20.12.90, Oljoro-orok Salient Scheme.

CHAPTER FOUR

Agricultural Development and Changes in the Settlement Schemes

4.0 Introduction

The transition from colonialism to independence did not substantially alter state policy towards agriculture. The agricultural sector continued to be important in the economy. In its policy to promote economic development, the new government considered the agricultural sector important because it was not only the largest employer but also earned the country foreign exchange.[1] The government also sought to promote agricultural change in the hope that new farming techniques, provision of extension services and credit could be transmitted among a large number of people, thereby involving more Kenyans in economic development as outlined in the Swynnerton Plan of 1955.[2]

In Sessional Paper number 10, 1965 "African Socialism and its Application to Planning"[3] ,the Kenya Government recognized that the land settlement programme was more to the advantage of the outgoing European settlers than to the incoming African settlers, because of the loan burden the Africans had to bear.[4] The Land Settlement schemes were first and foremost meant to calm the political pressure arising out of land shortage particularly among the Kikuyu but also to minimize the economic

disruption and losses that would have occurred if the European Settlers had left abruptly.[5] This makes the land settlement schemes important in the history of Kenyan after independence.

Since a lot of money was being invested in the schemes, it was important that the new African settlers used the opportunity given to them to progress.[6] To make this possible the settlers were given an initial boost. To help them achieve a high level of agricultural production, the government helped prepare the land by ploughing for the first six months.[7] New production methods were introduced including such techniques as labour intensive cultivation, soil conservation, and the use of improved seeds and fertilizers, which allowed more intensive use of the land and continued replenishment of soil fertility.[8] Moreover, the new settlers were given credit extension services, which were considered essential for the land reform programme.[9] On behalf of the government, the Settlement Fund Trustees advanced the settlers two loans, one for the farm purchase and another for development. The development loan, averaging Ksh. 2000, was to purchase movable assets like livestock and to introduce small permanent improvements like building a cow-shed and paddock.[10] As part of the same development loan, the settlers received short-term credit to be used as working capital. The short-term credit was supposed to be repaid within a period of 18 months.[11] But since the development loan advanced to the settlers was to be repaid on extremely lenient terms over a period of 10 years,[12] it was hoped that settlers would quickly manage to refinance the establishment of subsequent crops, and therefore the Settlement Fund Trustees discontinued the short term credit.[13].

Much of the farming knowledge of the African settlers in the schemes had been gained from their experience as squatters and labourers on the white settler farms. In most cases, therefore, the farming enterprises were influenced by what was previously grown, with each settlement scheme having its major enterprise.[14] In Oljoro-orok division, the main enterprises were pyrethrum, wheat, potato farming, sheep rearing for wool and dairy farming, depending on the farm size, soils and altitude.[15] It was from this knowledge that the Department of Settlement drew up operating budgets for the settlement farms to assist the new settlers enter into the monetary economy through production for export and local market. Over the years, the settlers were unable to maintain the operating budgets because of various factors, both internal and external to them. There were other enterprises not planned for, like maize, horticultural farming, poultry-keeping and apiculture that gained importance over the years despite problems in marketing.[16]

4.1 Livestock

The livestock loaned to the settlers, wool sheep and dairy cattle, were formerly owned by European settlers.[17] On purchasing the farm from the European settlers, the Settlement Fund Trustees purchased all movable assets and immovable investments like houses and stores on the farm.[18] Between the period a farm was purchased from a white settler and settled by an African settler, the Department of Settlement, employing former resident labourers, maintained the farms and the livestock.[19]

Before getting livestock, the new settlers were expected to fulfill certain conditions. Following the advice of the veterinary officers, they were required to build a standard cow-shed to milk the cows from and a crib to feed them, to paddock the farm, to ensure that there was enough pasture and to grow fodder crops. The last condition was not strictly followed because pasture was still sufficient and most of the land had not yet been put under crop cultivation. But in the 1970s, land under pasture became limited, because either there were sons who needed land of their own or the families, now grown larger, were putting more land under food crop cultivation to satisfy family consumption needs.[20] Having limited grass for their animals, the settlers begun growing fodder crops, mostly napier grass, oats and maize stalks, to supplement the pasture.[21]

The process of getting the livestock was very democratic in that luck determined what animal a settler got, thus avoiding misunderstanding between the settlers and officials.[22] The animals were kept together in one paddock, each with a number for identification. On the day appointed for distribution of the livestock, the settlers picked numbers from a container and then took the animals with the corresponding numbers. Only after picking a number and identifying the animal was the settler told the price of the animals since prices were not standardized.[23] Since the number of livestock loaned to a settler depended on the farm budget, settlers in the low-density schemes received more than settlers in the high-density schemes.[24]

Proper animal husbandry in a scheme was initially the responsibility of the Department of Settlement. Field extension officers were appointed to teach the settlers about livestock diseases, the best way of milking, feeding and dipping.[25] The Department would then withdraw these services when the settlers became competent. When the Department withdrew, a Co-operative Society in each scheme took over the responsibility of public cattle and sheep dips, after paying some amount of money to the Department for the dips.[26]

Between 1968-1970, when the Department of Settlement withdrew from Oljoro-orok Division, to the mid-1980s, the Co-operative Societies maintained the public dips well and served the settlers efficiently. But with the weakening of Co-operative Societies in the 1980s,[27] dip wash was not regularly bought, thus making the livestock have irregular dipping and therefore attacks from ticks.[28] This led to the Ministry of Livestock Development taking over maintenance of the dips.[29] Despite the take-over, the running of the dips continued to face difficulties, as government dip attendants colluded with some society committee members and sold dip wash to individuals. Ngunyo Warega, commenting on this problem stated, "We no longer used our dip here in Silibwet Scheme because the attendants sold the dip wash to individuals in far places like Subukia".[30] The dip this informant referred to was overgrown by bush because it was long since it was used. Beginning in the mid-1980s the problem of dip maintenance began to threaten dairy farming, especially among the poor settlers.[31] To protect individual livestock, farmers resorted to spraying

their animals at home. But the experience was hard on the poor farmers because of lack of capital to purchase dip wash for spraying. Their livestock, especially cattle, were attacked by tick-borne diseases, thus reducing their milk production.

Despite the non-maintenance of many public dips, some settlers maintained that Co-operative run dips were helpful if they were regularly maintained. As Mwangi Ndirangu stated, "These public dips were still much better if they were properly managed because spraying at home could be harmful sometimes to the people if the dip wash was not properly stored."[32] Out of the need to co-operate in the purchase of dip wash, some settlers from Oraimutia and Lesirko schemes began using a public dip situated in Oraimutia scheme which was no longer being maintained either by the co-operation or by the government. However, that dip did not continuously function because some settlers would fail to contribute when finances were limited.[33] There were settlers who felt that individual spraying at home was more convenient to the farmer concerned because he would do it at his own desired time.[34] Therefore, such settlers did not regret the collapse of the public dips. The individual dipping system in Oljoro-orok Division made it difficult for the poor farmers who lacked finances to buy dip wash to properly maintain their animals in good health.[35]

Another problem that settlers faced in rearing livestock was the scarcity of veterinary services. In the 1960s and 1970s, these services were given by the government at subsidized

charges. With the withdrawal of the Department of Settlement the service of artificial insemination was supposed to be taken over by the Co-operative Societies.[36] The Co-operative Societies did not manage to keep up this service. Other services such as animal treatment were handed over to the government veterinary officers. In the 1980s, however, getting veterinary services began to be a problem because of the costs involved. Goerge Kairu, a former committee member in Silibwet Co-operative Society, stated, "The farmer had to meet the transport and diagnosing charges of the veterinary officer. After diagnosing the animal, the officer prescribed the medicine which had to be bought by the settler from a chemist. The rearing of livestock began to be too expensive, especially for settlers who totally depended on their farm for a livelihood."[37] Due to lack of finance, some settlers never consulted a veterinary officer or they had forgotten that veterinary officers ever existed. As Gakore Kimathi of West Oljoro-orok stated, "Veterinary officers were strangers in this area, so I diagnosed and administered medicine to my animals".[38] Because the veterinary officer would not visit a settler unless invited and paid for, they went only to those who could pay them. This meant that they visited settlers who had the financial ability to pay them and implement their advice. Settlers who would not engage a Veterinary Officer asked a settler whose animal had been treated by a Veterinary Officer what medicine he bought if he thought his animal was suffering from the same disease. From such knowledge, one would buy the drug from a chemist.[39]

Rearing sheep for wool was important in Oljoro-orok Division, especially in the Oraimutia and Nyairoko schemes, up to the 1970s. This was facilitated by good maintenance of the sheep dips, wool shearing facilities and marketing of the wool by the Co-operative Societies. But as the efficiency of the Co-operative Societies declined[40], it became impossible for the settlers to get payment for their wool promptly. Subsequently, the settlers refused to engage the wool shearers from the Kenya Farmers Association (KFA) who had the contract to do the shearing.[41] Despite this problem settlers continued to rear sheep mostly for consumption and for cash income. Those who continued to rear for wool had to engage local shearers and to arrange for transport of the wool to Nakuru.[42] Due to the work involved in keeping sheep and the fact that they were not so profitable, settlers began to cross breed the exotic breed with indigenous ones. The cross-breeds did not grow a lot of wool.[43]

4.2 Wheat farming

Oraimuta was the only Settlement Scheme in Oljoro-orok Division for which wheat farming was planned. The settlers received short term credit working capital as part of their initial development loan.[44] After the first harvest, the settlers were expected to continue growing wheat without getting more credit. This expectation was, however, not realized because settlers were unable to refinance the establishment of another crop due to the heavy expenses incurred.

To surmount this problem, settlers were given access to

the services of Minimum Financial Return (MFR) arrangements of cereal producers.[45] The MFR was administered by the Agricultural Finance Co-operation (AFC) on behalf of the Ministry of Agriculture through the Oraimutia Co-operative Society. Settlers' applications for loans were prepared and sent to the AFC by the Society. The AFC, using contractors then undertook the cultivation, planting and harvesting of the Wheat, while the Society made arrangements for the supply of fertilizers, seeds and bags for packing and other requirements.[46] The settler's role in wheat farming was minimum because he/she only had to remove weeds and protect the wheat against destruction by animals.

The MFR arrangement, using the Co-operative Society as the agent presented problems. The MFR system proved unprofitable for the small scale wheat grower because he had to hire machinery for the mechanized work necessary to prepare and harvest the crop. He also had to pay eventually for the fertilizers and seeds loaned by the society after the crop was sold.[47] Adding to these problems the grower was handicapped by other factors like adverse weather conditions, lack of experience in cereal production in marginal areas, and the difficulties inherent in applying mechanical cultivation to small farms.[48] After harvest the yields were not sufficient to cover costs, and almost all small scale wheat farmers incurred a loss.

The marketing and payment procedures for wheat in the Oraimutia Scheme further discouraged its growth. While all wheat growers were supposed to sell their produce through the Co-

operative Society, some sold it to private traders to get faster payment, thus avoiding the loan repayment which was regularly deducted by the Co-operative Society.[49] This situation was aggravated by the manner in which AFC, being the rightful buying agent of the government processed the payment. The AFC directly paid to the Oraimuta Co-operative Society. The Society would then pay the settlers according to their sale. But before the payment was remitted to the Society, the AFC ensured that all the MFR debts were deducted irrespective of how individual wheat growers would be paid. What this meant was that farmers whose harvest exceeded the value of debts shown in their accounts could not receive any cash payment until they met the deficits in the accounts of those who had little yields.[50] In cases where the deficit was too high, no farmer received a cash payment. Such a situation demoralized the initiative of successful growers, and caused considerable stress among members, especially when the deficiency on wheat production was covered by the society from the proceeds of other crops. In doing so, one group of farmers was subsidizing another.[51] Wheat farming became unprofitable to the successful growers, forcing them to abandon it.

4.3 Pyrethrum

Pyrethrum growing, the major cash crop enterprise in Oljoro-orok Division, gained in importance during the early years of settlement, though there was low output in the transitional period between 1964 and 1966.[52] Once settled, the settlers were supposed to plant at least two acres of pyrethrum to earn them a cash income.[53] By the end of 1967, the pyrethrum flowers were

being picked and settlers were getting proceeds from their produce.[54]

Pyrethrum farming, having been a cash crop of white settlers, was not new to former resident-labourers. With little guidance from the agricultural instructors, its growth became firmly established in Oljoro-orok Division. As Mwangi Wanjare stated, "Pyrethrum farming was not a new experience for us who had worked on European farms. But as for those who had never cared for or even picked it, they had to be taught by the agricultural instructors or learn from their neighbours."[55] Some of the resident-labourers had gained more experience than just picking. Samuel Rintari, who had been overseer on a white settler farm in the present day Oraimutia scheme had been taken to Njoro for training in pyrethrum farming. There he learnt the spacing of the plants and how to check pyrethrum content in a pyrethrum plant. Rintari, commenting on the type of pyrethrum he had planted, said "I have the best type of pyrethrum with 1.5 pyrethrin content."[56] It was from such experienced persons that knowledge of pyrethrum diffused to other settlers in the Division according to how one showed interest.

The presence of enough labour was an added advantage that enhanced the expansion of pyrethrum growing in the initial stages,[57] since the crop is labour intensive in weeding and picking.[58] Former labourers on European farms, who had not got their own farms and those recently settled but who lacked finance, were a source of labour especially for Nyairoko and

Oraimutia schemes.[59] Moreover, most of the settlers had young families that provided labour. But with the settling of the resident-labourers, either within the Division or outside and the establishment of settlers in the high-density schemes, settlers in the low-density schemes, especially Nyairoko, turned to dairy farming.[60]

Profitable farming is dependent on proper farm management, a ready market, efficient marketing and favourable weather conditions. This balance, however, lacked in pyrethrum farming during the mid 1970s due to external and internal hindrances. The introduction of synthetic insecticides into the world market had a negative impact on the pyrethrum industry because it destroyed much of the market. Despite the great output of the crop, the demand was too low, affecting the price and the payments farmers got. By the end of 1974 they became reluctant to care for the already planted plants leading to low output.[61]

Before the decline in international demand, the marketing inefficiency of the Co-operative Societies was an internal factor that affected pyrethrum production. The failure to receive rightful proceeds from their produce discouraged farmers from growing it. All Co-operative Societies in Oljoro-orok Division were unable to maintain the drying facilities because funds to buy fuel were being misappropriated by the committee members, resulting in the improper and incomplete drying of the pyrethrum flowers, thus reducing the quality and payment received from the Pyrethrum Board of Kenya.[62] This destroyed the incentive of the

farmers. As Mithamo Murage stated, "It was disappointing for a hard working farmer to have his six bags of pyrethrum rot after putting so much labour into it. There was no need to grow the crop if it was not profitable."[63] Those who continued to grow pyrethrum after the mid-1970s, constructed their own driers using firewood as fuel in the rainy seasons or they sun-dried the flowers in the dry seasons.[64]

In addition to the managerial and marketing problems, the pyrethrum industry was hard hit by inadequate rainfall in 1976. This lowered the yields discouraging the farmers further from growing it. Acreage under pyrethrum was reduced and the land was either left fallow or put under food crop cultivation.[65] Due to uneconomic returns between 1976-1977, the growers were advised by the agricultural officers to reduce the acreage of pyrethrum. Some uprooted all of it. This period came to be referred to as "ugwati" (danger) by the settlers in Oljoro-orok Division because of the pyrethrum problems they encountered.[66] The poor returns of pyrethrum had a negative impact on settlers who solely depended on it financially for family needs and the repayment of the farm loan. These settlers got behind in their repayment of the Settlement Fund Trustees loans. They became financially handicapped because they had to rely only on the proceeds from milk as there was no income to substitute for pyrethrum.[67] Settlers who had other sources of income like formal employment and commercial enterprises, such as retail shops, butcheries, public transport vehicles, posho mills and saw mills felt the impact of the pyrethrum problems less. John Mbugua, who had

worked for four White Settlers before the Settlement Schemes were implemented, was one of such settlers who were unaffected by the problems in the pyrethrum industry. At the time of settling, he owned a tractor which he used to plow for other settlers. By the mid-1970s when the pyrethrum industry began experiencing problems, he was operating a posho mill.[68]

After a ten year period of low pyrethrum output, between 1976-1986, the farmers began replanting the crop.[69] This was due to the international pressure against the use of synthetic insecticides, which were recognized as harmful to the environment.[70] But due to drying and marketing problems, the acreage under pyrethrum remained lower compared with the early years of settlement.[71]

4.4 Maize

Though maize was not included in the farm budgets it continued to be grown as a staple food crop, concentrated mostly in the lower highlands of the Lesirko, West Oljoro-orok, and Silibwet settlement schemes.[72] Settlers in the upper highlands who could not grow maize were very frustrated, especially in some parts of Silibwet and Lesirko schemes.[73] They found no help from the agricultural officers who had no solution to the climatic problems of frost and cold weather that faced the settlers. The agricultural officers, unable to deal with climatic difficulties, went to the extent of saying "Shauri Yako" (literally meaning that your concern,' it was up to the settler to find a solution to the problem) to the settlers. Therefore, settlers in those

areas did not get agricultural advice as far as maize growing was concerned.[74]

The climatic hazards did not discourage the settlers from growing maize specifically to meet family food requirements. The traditional maize seeds, "Githigu and Kingi", which were of a low quality though faster maturing, were grown up to the early 1970s.[75]

In the lower highlands the agricultural instructors gave the settlers constant advice on the importance of planting hybrid seeds. By mid-1970s, most settlers were planting hybrid seeds leaving small pieces of land for the traditional maize for consumption before the hybrid maize was ready.[76] Increase in maize production was also enhanced by the use of fertilizers, like double super phosphate, to quicken growth, especially in cold areas. The knowledge and use of anti-frost measures also helped the growth of maize.[77] Maize was, however, mostly grown to meet home consumption needs and was only marketed in small quantities to meet urgent financial needs.

4.5 Potatoes

Potato farming was planned for all the schemes but grown mostly in high altitude areas. The first potato seeds and fertilizers were loaned to the settlers.[78] Despite the quick acceptance of potato farming by the settlers, its production in the early years was hindered by frost and blight. But with knowledge gained from the agricultural officers and agricultural

shows, from around 1974 the settlers began using anti-frost and anti-blight measures to increase potato production.[79] Not all the settlers who used the modern scientific farming methods gained knowledge from the agricultural officers or agricultural shows. Gachathi Mung'ere, who was the first settler in Silibwet scheme to use herbicides and insecticides, gained his knowledge from a farmer in Molo. After seeing that Gachathi had obtained a good harvest, other settlers were encouraged to do what he had done. From around 1978, settlers in the Silibwet scheme started growing potatoes in large quantities.[80] Problems in marketing potatoes was a great hindrance to the settlers' advancement. This was more so with the settlers living in the more interior parts of the schemes.[81]

4.6 Horticulture

The Division has suitable climatic conditions for horticultural crops, especially cabbages, peas and temperate fruits. Up to early the 1970s cabbages were widely grown for commercial purposes.[82] The growth had been encouraged by the Naivasha Panafprod factory that offered a ready market. However, because the factory monopolized the market, it began offering lower prices for the cabbages. Due to this discouragement the settlers turned to individual private traders who were also a disappointment. The report of the Mission on Land Settlement in Kenya, of 1966, recognized the contribution that horticultural crops would make to the settlement economy in suitable areas if there was proper marketing.[83] Because of these marketing problems, from the 1970s few settlers grew cabbages for

marketing.[84]

4.7 Marketing in the schemes

4.7a Historical Origins of Modern Agricultural Co-operative societies in Kenya

A co-operative is "an association of persons who voluntarily come together to achieve common economic goals through a democratically controlled organization with equitable contribution to capital and equitable sharing in risks and benefits occurring from the business of the organization".[85] The modern form of co-operatives began in the colonial period among the European settlers to help them in the processing and marketing of their agricultural products. The beginning of the Co-operative movement in Kenya was therefore related to white settler agriculture.[86] The first co-operative society was Lumbwa Co-operative Society founded in 1908.[87] Despite the formation of Co-operative Societies, they were not formally recognized by the government until 1931 when the Co-operatives Ordinance was enacted. In 1932, they were registered under the Co-operative Societies Registration (Amendment) Ordinance.[88]

The 1932 Co-operative Ordinance excluded the Africans from the movement. In its policy to preserve and protect the white settler economy, the colonial government discouraged the movement among the Africans for fear that the supply of African labour to European farms would be interfered with. The fear was that Africans could pool their meagre resources and therefore surmount the problems that drove them to European farms for employment.[89]

Despite this discouragement Africans began forming Co-operative Societies from the 1930s for marketing their produce.[90] The earliest of these societies were the Kisii Coffee Growers' Association, the Kenya African Traders and Farmers Association and the Taita Taveta Vegetable Co-operative. But the societies were not given official recognition until 1945.

After 1945, the colonial government's policy towards African participation in the co-operative movement altered. Whereas the Great Depression of the 1930s distabilized the white settler economy due to the drastic fluctuation of prices of agricultural products, the African peasants managed to withstand the depression.[91] This made the government recognize the importance of African peasant producers. To increase African production, the government began to encourage their participation in the co-operative movement.

The African producers and their representatives, like Senior chief Koinange and Eliud Mathu, were demanding African recognition in the co-operative movement. Moreover, after the Second World War, returning service men, who had saved up their salaries and were now returning to African settled areas, sought to invest in viable business ventures. The co-operative movement represented the most organized method to invest their resources.[92]

In 1945, a Co-operative Societies Ordinance was enacted,

repealing the 1932 Co-operative Societies (Amendment) Ordinance and consequently legalizing the formation and registration of African co-operative societies. Subsequently, a Department of Co-operatives concerned with the development of the movement was formed.[93]

The political and economic situation between 1950 and 1960 gave impetus to the co-operative movement. The Mau Mau War from 1952 and the declaration of the State of Emergency provided a fertile ground for the movement to expand. The detention and jailing of government opposers facilitated the implementation of the Swynnerton Plan's recommendation of land consolidation and registration and the growth of cash crops. Cash crop growing necessitated the formation of centralized marketing channels.[94] The expansion of the movement in Mau Mau affected areas of Central Province was tremendous. During 1954 in the emergency areas, mainly Nyeri and Kiambu districts, twenty new Co-operative Societies were registered. The growth of the movement in the country was shown by the total number of registered societies which rose from 160 in 1952 to 400 in 1958.[95] The increase in the number of Co-operative Societies may also be viewed as a response to the 1950 to 1960 price boom in the world market.[96]

Despite expansion in the co-operative movement in colonial Kenya, knowledge of the movement did not reach Africans outside the African areas, especially those employed by European settlers in the Kenya Highlands, until the settlement schemes were implemented.[97] The absence of co-operative societies can be

attributed to at least three causes. First, the resident-labourers had no farms officially recognized as theirs, apart from the small plots given by European employers. Secondly, on these plots they only grew subsistence crops, meaning that they had no surplus agricultural produce to sell that needed centralized marketing.[98] Thirdly, the white settlers did not encourage any undertaking that could jeopardize their constant supply of labour. The concept of co-operative society was first heard of in the Oljoro-orok Division in 1963 with the settlement of the Nyairoko scheme.[99]

4.7b The Formation and the Role of the Agricultural Co-operative Societies in Oljoro-orok Division.

The independent government was encouraged to continue the co-operative movement because of success demonstrated in countries like Norway and Denmark. Small scale farmers in these countries were able to benefit from the economies of scale offered by the societies.[100] The co-operative movement was the best option for a country like Kenya which was to add thousands of small-scale farmers to the already existing once residing in the former African reserves.The 1966-70 Development Plan recognized co-operatives as an important instrument in rural development policy in that they could maximize the income of Kenya's small-scale farmers by performing essential functions of processing and distributing on a much larger and more efficient scale than was possible for individual farmers. By pooling their resources, the farmers would help raise their standards of living.[101]

According to the Mission on Land Settlement in Kenya of 1966, one of the basic features of the original plan was the formation of a co-operative society for each settlement scheme. Therefore, on signing the necessary Letter of Allotment[102], each head of family was required to join a Marketing Co-operative Society at the payment of a membership fee of K.Sh 20.[103] This was necessary to provide proper and efficient marketing among the inexperienced small-scale farmers. The 1960s African settlers in Oljoro-orok Division formed Co-operative Societies that acquired the names of their settlement schemes. These were Lesirko, Silibwet, Nyairoko, Oraimutia and West Oljoro-orok Co-operative Societies. Other Co-operative Societies were Weru and Wangatabuthi formed in the 1960s and 1970s by settlers in Oljoro-orok Salient scheme.

The settlers were supposed to repay the land and development loans through their Co-operative Societies. After marketing their produce through the society, the loan could be deducted easily from the settler's proceeds. This was a convenient method of making them repay the loan with ease.[104] The Co-operative Societies took the role of maintaining and operating the water supply system, providing the artificial insemination services, maintaining and operating cattle dips, and clear the access roads within the scheme through self-help.[105] By working through a Co-operative Society, the settlers would have to point out their views.[106]

Since most of the settlers in Oljoro-orok Division,

especially those of the high-density schemes, had no knowledge of the co-operative movement, they had to be instructed before electing the society committee members. The settlers were taught by the settlement officers and the extension staff officers about the need to have a co-operative society. As Mwangi Wanjare explained, "We did not know what a Co-operative society was all about, especially the former resident-labourers. The co-operative told us that we needed 'ushirika' (cooperation) to enable us to advance."[107] After being told the need for a co-operative society, they proceeded to form society committees. These societies were therefore formed through government insistence due to the needs attached to them but not as a result of needs felt by the settlers themselves.[108] Therefore, settlers commitment to the societies was questionable from the beginning because they had not initiated the idea of the Co-operative Society.

According to the informants, the first elections for the committee members had no problem because they had never had other organizations from which they would judge the efficiency of a member. So in the first elections members were elected with the hope that they could accomplish perfect work.[109] In the high-density schemes, where most of the former resident-labourers were settled, elections were done according to areas within the scheme set off by geographical features, for instance a ridge or a river. Settlers from each area held a meeting to propose persons whom they thought could represent them. The proposed persons were then asked to leave the meeting after which other members

(PBK). The societies were therefore not responsible for marketing any other produce.

The societies were required to collect milk from the farmers at specific depots and transport it to the Kenya Co-operative Creameries (KCC) at Nyahururu. As for pyrethrum and wool, the settlers were required to take them to the Society's centre where they were weighed and dried and then packed for transport to Nakuru. The co-operative societies were preferred because, unlike the middlemen who are sometimes limited by the location of the farms, they could ensure that settlers in the remotest parts of the schemes sold their produce since the society was supposed to provide transport service and therefore make settlers ultimately participate in development.[116]

Up to the mid-1970s, the co-operative societies marketed the produce efficiently.[117] Efficiency began to deteriorate after the mid-1970s. The deterioration, however, varied from one co-operative society to another. But the causes of weakening were similar. First, there was a lot of inefficiency and abuse in the use of society property. For instance, society vehicles were used by the committee members to carry personal property like building materials. In such instances, the vehicles used more fuel than was required to have used. The mismanagement of the societies' property affected the running of the scheme, especially in marketing milk. This was because irregular fueling of the vehicles meant that the milk was collected late during the day making it go bad in most cases for staying in the sun for

discussed their abilities. The outspoken persons as far as public welfare was concerned were the most eligible candidates.[110] Then the area representative was elected by a show of hands. On an appointed day, all the members of the Society met, each area with its own representative. From among the area representatives who were always in all the nine schemes, the office bearers were elected by representatives themselves.[111] In the low-density schemes, election was done through secret ballot. Since a majority of these settlers came from the African settled areas, they had some knowledge of the co-operative movement.[112]

In the early years, the government supervised the running of the societies' activities. The committee members were answerable to the assistant field co-operative officer, who checked their work, especially the use of the society funds. He had to know how much money the committee members used as commission or any other society withdrawals.[113] In 1979, the assistant field Co-operative officers were removed from the field, bringing drastic negative effects on the perfomances of societies.[114] With no supervisors to check the use of funds, accountability among the committee members was reduced and a lot of funds were misappropriated thus weakening the societies.[115]

4.8 Co-operative societies as marketing agents.

Ojoro-orok Division had milk, pyrethrum and wool as the only produce required to be marketed through a Co-operative Society. The Co-operative Society acted on behalf of the Kenya Co-operative Creameries (KCC) and the Pyrethrum Board of Kenya

long. In other cases the milk was not collected and the settlers had to take it back home. The result was that the settlers would not register an income for that particular day. Secondly, the committee members put the Co-operative Society into financial difficulties by taking too much loan in the form of farm inputs like seeds and fertilizers from the Agriculture Finance Corporation without the consent of the members. The Oraimutia Co-operative Society Scheme was the worst hit by this problem. Mithamo Murage, explaining the problem, stated, "Those Committee Members took loans which members had not approved. The members got to know of such loans after the repayment was deducted from their proceeds. The most depressing thing was that the members had to repay loans they had not received."[118] Samuel Rintari, one of the first committee members of the Oraimutia Co-operative Society, explained the sad experiences the members had undergone. He said that the first two committees had worked faithfully for the members. However, subsequent committees had misappropriated society funds discouraging the members to remain in the Co-operative Society. Rintari stated, "It is not surprising that the Oraimutia Co-operative Society is dead and we have no intention of reviving it."[119]

Marketing problems also existed in pyrethrum and wool industries. Because of the poor management in the Co-operative Societies, pyrethrum flowers and wool would not be delivered regularly to Nakuru.[120] The failure of the Co-operative Society to fulfil the members expectations destroyed their commitment to the co-operative movement.This weakened the willingness of people

to work to together.[121] The members began to question the necessity of societies for their advancement. Mutitu Kimondo stated, "Though the Co-operative Society had a noble cause at the beginning, it was no longer living up to the expectation of the members."[122]

The inefficiency of the 1960s Co-operative Societies in Ijoro-orok Division affected loan repayments. Settlers who solely depended on farm produce for an income received it irregularly making it impossible to repay the loan on time.[123] According to the informants, the government authorized the Kenya Co-operative Creameries to give individual settlers milk contracts to sell their milk directly to the factory. The issuing of individual contracts was, however, not announced publicly. In the initial stages only those who were well informed were able to get the contracts.[124] Contracts for supplying pyrethrum were also extended to individual farmers by the Pyrethrum Board of Kenya. In issuing the pyrethrum contract, the agricultural officer had to value the farm under pyrethrum and recommend the farmer for a contract. The standard minimum acreage was three acres before a contract was given. Once a settler received an individual marketing contract of either milk or pyrethrum, the savings account was transferred from the Co-operative Society to a personal account in a savings bank of the settler's choice. Under this arrangement, the settler repaid his/her loan directly to the Department of Land Settlement.[125]

Individual contracts created another problem for the

settlers: transportation. Individual settlers had to find ways of transporting their produce to the factories. To deliver milk to the K.C.C., a few individuals who had vehicles began transporting for settlers who gave them transport contracts. The settlers had to buy their own cans because initially they had used the Co-operative Society cans. Because of their efficiency, the individual transporters charged more than the Co-operative societies did.[126]

Despite the emergence of private transporters in milk, the Co-operative Societies did not completely stop doing the marketing. There were, however, changes in the procedure of marketing compared to how it was initially required to be. From the mid-1970s, there were two kinds of settlers, those with contracts and those without. Some settlers who had marketing contracts continued to use the Co-operative Society vehicles to transport their milk. For instance, all settlers of Nyairoko Co-operative Society had marketing contracts but continued to use the society lorry to transport the milk to Nyahururu.[127] Lesirko and West Oljoro-orok Co-operative Societies had some settlers using the Co-operative society vehicles while others used private transporters.[128]

The Oraimutia Co-operative Society had all its members using private transporters. The Co-operative Society was the worst hit by mismanagement such that in 1984 it was completely dissolved. The society offices were turned into a primary school.[129]

Silibwet Co-operative Society was the single society in the Division that had no private transporters. According to George Kairu, settlers with individual contracts continued to use the society lorry because they wanted to help those who did not have contracts by fuelling the lorry.[130] This study, however, concluded that there were other reasons that made the settlers use the Co-operative Society lorry. The location of Silibwet Scheme from the Gilgil-Nyahururu road dictated the means of transport. Silibwet Scheme is located far in the interior and has poor roads; this discouraged individual transporters undertaking the venture, especially during the rainy seasons. A private transporter in the scheme would charge more than transporters in other schemes. Therefore, using the Co-operative Society lorry was more economical for the settlers in Silibwet Scheme.

With the replanting of pyrethrum in the mid-1980s, a new phenomenon arose in its marketing. For the first time in the history of land settlement schemes in Oljoro-orok Division, individuals took up the business of buying pyrethrum flowers from growers and them sold it at the Nakuru factory.[131] This kind of marketing was disadvantageous to the small scale pyrethrum growers. First, they sold the pyrethrum to the middlemen at a lower price than that of the factory. Secondly, the pyrethrum bonus from the various growers became the middleman's, who might not even have grown any pyrethrum of his/her own.[132] However, some settlers continued to sell directly to the Pyrethrum Board of Kenya either by individually transporting the flowers to the

factory or taking it to depots erected by the Board in various parts of the Division like Oljoro-orok market, and Kangui shopping centre, for collecting the pyrethrum. Despite this, settlers who had little pyrethrum found it convenient to sell to middlemen because they paid promptly.[133] The government's initial expectation, that the co-operatives societies in the settlement schemes would protect the inexperienced small scale holders from exploitation by traders, was not realized. The failure of the co-operative societies let traders operate in the schemes.

4.9 Marketing in Oljoro-orok Salient scheme

The marketing arrangements in Oljoro-orok Salient Scheme differed from other Schemes within the Division. Unlike the settlers of the 1960s in Oljoro-orok Division, the settlers of the 1970s and 1980s were not advised to form a Marketing Co-operative Society.[134] This study could only deduce why the government did not advise the settlers on the marketing issue. First, the Oljoro-orok Salient Scheme settlers were not advanced development loan in the form of livestock or farm inputs that needed an organized way of repaying it. Secondly, the demarcation of the land had discouraged the growing of wheat and barley that were previously grown. Therefore, there was no definite cash crop planned for Salient Scheme that required a channel for marketing. So, while the settlers of the 1960s had pyrethrum as a cash crop, the Salient settlers did not. Thirdly, the scheme was implemented at a time when the government policy was to reduce expenses in the settlement of new lands. Thus the government did not keep settlement officers in the field who

would have helped the settlers as was done in the 1960s Settlement Schemes.[135] Fourthly, the performance of the 1960s Co-operative Societies was not encouraging enough to lead the government to be involved in initiating new Co-operative Societies.

Since the settlers were left on their own, organization for marketing their produce depended on their own initiative. Settlers began forming marketing organizations. There were three marketing organizations in Oljoro-orok Salient Scheme: Githumbato Farmers Company limited founded in 1977, Wangatabuthi Co-operative Society founded in the late 1970s and Weru Co-operative Society founded in 1987. Wangatabuthi Society was founded by some settlers who settled in Oljoro-orok Salient in 1974. Like the 1960s Co-operative Societies, Wangatabuthi was weakened by mismanagement to such an extent that by the mid-1980s it was dormant.[136] Githumbato Farmers' Company was an exceptional channel of marketing in Oljoro-orok Division. Like Wangatabuthi, Githumbato began among a group of the 1974 settlers. After keeping cattle, they faced the problem of a cattle-dip. To solve the problem, 215 settlers came together and founded a Cattle Dip Association.[137] By 1979, their cows were mature enough to produce milk but they had no way of marketing the milk to the K.C.C.. To surmount this problem, the 215 members resolved to form a Producer Marketing Company for marketing their milk. To have a good financial foundation, the settlers agreed among themselves, that for one to became a full member of the company he/she had to pay Ksh. 250 for each of the 16 shares they were to have.[138]

Githumbato began with a higher financial base compared with the Co-operative Societies.

Before buying their own vehicles, the Githumbato Farmers' Company Limited gave the Ol Kalou Salient Co-operative Society a transport contract for four months. This contract was terminated after their milk cans were stolen. For the next one and half months, the contract was given to John Mbugua who was a private transporter for some settlers in Lesirko Scheme.[139] After a period of about six months, the Githumbato Farmers' Company managed to buy their own small lorry. During the 1980s, the milk production increased necessitating the buying of a tractor and a lorry.[140] The tractor was necessary to get milk from the interior parts of Salient Scheme which has poor roads, especially in rainy seasons. Due to its efficient management, the Company attracted other settlers, especially among those who settled in the 1980s, and some from Lesirko Scheme which borders Salient Scheme. The company did not keep other settlers from joining it provided they paid for their shares. Moreover, the company was given transport contracts by settlers who did not wish to join as full-members. The number of settlers using the company had boosted it so much that by the late 1980s the company had bought two lorries, two tractors and still retained the first small-lorry.[141] The growth of the Githumbato Farmers Company had the effect of weakening the other marketing societies, especially Lesirko, Weru and Wangatabuthi.

Apart from being a Producer Marketing Company, the

Githumbato Company was involved in other activities, especially buying commercial land to build houses for rent. It bought land and built houses in Nyahururu town, at Kasuku rural market where it has its offices and in Naivasha town. According to the Chairman, the members have yet to receive their dividends. However, the company advanced loans to its members especially for school fees.[142]

One factor that made Githumbato Company strong was a clause in the Company's Constitution which stated that elections were to be held yearly. In each election, six of the old Committee Members were replaced meaning that in each new Committee, there were always three members of the previous committee who provided experience for the new members, and answered to any query that would be raised by the new members. So, unlike in the Co-operative Societies where all Committee members were replaced, in the Company, a sense of accountability was instilled into the Committee Members.[143] The Chairman explained why the Githumbato Company was not called a Co-operative Society. He said that the 1960s Co-operative Societies in the Division were a failure making the new settlers dislike the concept of Co-operative Society. Moreover, by registering their association as a company, it was not under the Commissioner of Co-operatives in the country and was therefore independent to undertake any activity even importing and exporting without any obstruction.[144] Commenting on the company, the Nyandarua District Co-operative Officer, Joseph Mwangi, said that he had heard about Githumbato Farmers Company but did not know how it operated. From the list

of the Co-operative Societies in the District, Githumbato was not registered meaning it was not like the Co-operative Societies began by the government.[145]

Weru Co-operative Society was begun by the 1981-82 settlers. To transport their milk, the settlers hired a tractor. The society functioned for only four months before it collapsed. According to the society members, it collapsed because of mismanagement among the committee members.[146] Despite the mismanagement other factors contributed to the collapse of the Weru Co-perative Society. First, unlike the 1960s and 1970s settlers who settled at the same time, the 1980s settlers came individually. Moreover, the 1980s settlers were disadvantaged because by the time they were settling they did not have a marketing commodity such as milk like the old settlers. Therefore, it was difficult to bring the few settlers who managed to buy cows immediately after settling. Secondly, the 1980s settlers found the Githumbato Company well established and offering great competition to the already existing Co-operative Societies. It is no wonder that the settlers preferred to have their milk transported by Githumbato Farmers Company Limited.

4.10 Private traders in marketing

Since the establishment of the settlement schemes in Oljoro-orok Division, settlers have marketed potatoes and horticultural crops, especially cabbages, through private traders coming from outside the Division. Due to the perishable nature of these crops, the Co-operative Societies would not market them because

of the heavy administration costs involved. Moreover, their production and demand being subject to the local market where prices are constantly fluctuating, the Co-operatives Societies could not efficiently do their marketing.[147]

Up to around 1969, the Naivasha Panafprod factory had provided a ready market for the settlers' vegetables in the whole District. But because of overproduction, the factory sometimes offered lower prices than were offered in the fresh market, and this discouraged the settlers from selling their produce there.[148] The settlers turned to the private traders.

The uncertainties of market opportunities left the settlers not knowing how much to produce and when. John Karaya stated, "Although most of the Division was suitable for horticultural crops, the growers were disadvantaged in a number of ways. First, the bags that the private traders put potatoes in were filled beyond the brim meaning that it was more than one bag. Moreover, in the sale of cabbages, the trader bought all cabbages at the same price "irrespective of size". Stressing this argument Karaya stated, "These traders buy our cabbages at a throw away price of even eighty cents per one and yet when they go to sell to consumers in towns like Nairobi they sell according to sizes. The grower ends up being the loser though he has put in a lot of effort".[149] Third, the farmers lacked knowledge of market opportunities. Karaya argued that the agricultural officer was not only supposed to educate the grower on proper crop husbandry but also on market opportunities.[150] This

suggestion had been put forward by the Report of the Mission on Land Settlement of 1966, which stated that the settlers needed to be enlightened on identifying market opportunities and knowing how to take advantage of such opportunities as they arose.[151]

Though the private traders did a job that the Co-operative Societies could not, they took advantage of their superior knowledge of market conditions and in some circumstances got huge profits. Apart from knowing the market conditions, they seemed more united when dealing with growers by putting a price range within which they operated. The growers did not have a channel through which they could act as united force to determine the prices of their produce.[152] Because of the poor prices and the uncertain market, settlers who did not want to risk their capital and labour grew potatoes and cabbages only for consumption within the family. Some settlers, however, accepted risks in farming as the only way to progress. Muthui Kiriogo, who was well known as a cabbage farmer, stated, "If we all shy away from taking risks, then we will remain poor. There are people who have farms like mine yet they come to buy cabbages from me."[153] The market problem for horticultural crops made the settlers reluctant to venture into the industry that would make a quick income within the year.

4.11 Conclusion

This chapter has examined development and changes in the field of agriculture in Oljoro-orok Division. The settlers responded to the changing circumstances differently.

Though the African land settlement schemes were meant to calm the political problems in the country, they were also meant to minimize the economic losses that would have occurred if the European settlers had left abruptly. To ensure that the African settlers continued with farming, the 1960s settlers in Oljoro-orok Division were advanced development loans in terms of farm inputs like seeds and fertilizers.

Operating budgets for the schemes were drawn up to help the settlers reach a maximum income from their farms. Various internal and external circumstances determined whether the settlers managed to meet the operating budgets. Settlers stopped growing crops like wheat that were uneconomical as years passed. Moreover, the decline in world market for pyrethrum in the mid-1970s made the settlers stop growing pyrethrum. Therefore, the operating budgets within the Division were more theory than practice from the 1970s.

In the field of crop husbandry, the settlers were able to learn from the agricultural extension officers and their fellow settlers, especially in the early years of settlement. Settlers who had settled in the Division for the first time learnt how to grow and pick pyrethrum from those who had worked on white settlers farms. Though maize was not planned for the Division, the settlers learnt to grow hybrid seeds to replace the traditional breeds of lower quality. The settlers also learnt the importance of using fertilizers to quicken the growth of maize, especially in the frost-ridden areas. Despite the

acceptance of modern scientific farming techniques, the climatic conditions and soil infertility at the fringes of Lake Ol bollosat discouraged the growth of crops. Settlers in this area did not harvest enough and were thus forced to procure more food to supplement what they harvested.

Potato farming gained importance in Oljoro-orok Division as settlers adopted the use of pesticides. The farming did well in the upper highlands of all the schemes apart from Oljoro-orok Salient. Growing of potatoes was influenced by settlers who first planted. After using pesticides and fungicides, the produce of their crop impressed other settlers. Potato farming became an important source of income to settlers on the upper highlands.

Changes took place in the field of animal husbandry. In the early years of settlement, the settlers were taught by the field veterinary officers how to feed, milk and regularly dip their animals. Since the beginning of the settlement schemes up to the early 1980s, the settlers found it easy to rear livestock because they were being subsidized by the government, especially in treatment. Moreover, they had continually used a Co-operative Society dip where they paid little to buy the dip wash. From the early 1980s, livestock rearing became difficult because the government was not subsidizing the settlers in animal treatment. Communal dipping in the Co-operative Societies had also began being irregular. In response to the dipping problem, the settlers began spraying their cattle at home. Those who had finance to procure the services of a veterinary officer did so

while those who did not were desperate to the extent of using traditional medicine like egg and herbs to treat the animals.

The Co-operative Society was an important factor for the land settlement schemes. The Co-operative Societies were government initiated to fulfil certain needs. So, when the 1960s settlers of Oljoro-orok Division moved onto their new farms, they were required to join a Co-operative Society. It was not the wish of the African settlers in the Division to form Co-operative Societies. Most of them never understood what the co-operative movement was all about until the co-operative officers advised them. The point to be noted is that the settlers were advised on the need to have a Co-operative Society after they were already in one. Moreover, they were not given an alternative since the law required all settlers to join a Co-operative Society.

Therefore, from the very beginning, not all the settlers in the 1960s schemes gave full support to the Co-operative Society. Exploitation of the co-operative movement in the schemes was first shown by the committee members from mid-1970s. There was much misappropriation of society funds. This was a period when the Co-operative Societies were beginning to be more established in that they had managed to buy their own vehicles and tractors. Misappropriation of funds meant that the Societies could not give efficient services to their members, thus negatively affecting the members commitment to the society.

Another factor that affected the performance of the Co-operative Society was the withdrawal of government field supervision. The government had thought that the societies were completely established. However, the misappropriation of Co-operative Societies funds and mishandling of property not only indicated that government supervision was still needed but also severe punishment of those implicated in the offenses was required.

Another factor that interfered with the performance of the Co-operative Societies within the Division was the issuing of individual marketing contracts to settlers. By authorizing individuals to do their marketing directly to the statutory Marketing Boards like the Kenya Co-operative Creameries (K.C.C.) and the Pyrethrum Board of Kenya (P.B.K.), the government had indirectly weakened the Co-operative Societies. Since the Co-operative Societies in Oljoro-orok Division were specifically meant for marketing milk and pyrethrum any interference on these commodities whether from local or international was bound to affect the Co-operative Societies.

The 1960s Co-operative Societies can be contrasted with the Githumbato Farmers Company Limited. This marketing company was begun out of settlers initiative. The company followed its own laid down regulations unlike the societies that followed the Co-operative Societies regulations. The Githumbato Farmers Company Limited was well managed contrasted with the Co-operative Societies. Despite the fact that Weru and Wangatabuthi Co-

›perative Societies in Oljoro-orok Salient Scheme were initiated ›y the settlers, they did not do well like Githumbato but they faced similar problems like the 1960s Co-operative Societies. These Societies followed the Co-operative Society regulations unlike Githumbato that formulated its regulations. What seem to be indicated in this arguement is that the Co-operative movement itself had problems. The efficiency of Githumbato Farmers' Company Limited supports this fact.

The Horticultural industry was not well established in the Division because of the marketing problem. The settlers were not motivated to engage totally in the industry because the demand and price constantly fluctuated. Those who tried were discouraged by unscrupulous private traders who made exorbitant profits to the disadvantage of the settlers.

Though the Division had faced many changes there were equally many challenges that the settlers met as they tried to adjust and adapt to the changing circumstances.

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115. Interview, Njoroge Muthee, Kagema Mbagathi, 14.10.90, Lesirko Scheme.

116. Arkadie, Report of the Mission on Land Settlement in Kenya, p. 129.

117. Interview, Mwangi Ndirangu, 23.11.90, West Oljoro-orok Scheme; Wanjiku Ndung'u, 2.1.91, Nyairoko Schemes.

118. Interview, Mithamo Murage, 15.11.90, Oraimutia Scheme.

119. Interview, Samuel Rintari, 19.11.90, Oraimutia Scheme.

120. Interview, Weru Maina, 19.11.90, Oraimutia Scheme.

121. Odingo, The Kenya Highlands: Land Use and Agricultural Development, p. 211.

122. Interview, Mutitu Kimondo, 26. 11.90, West Oljoro-orok Scheme.

123. Interview, Samuel Rintari, 19.11.90, Oraimutia Scheme; Muthui Kiriongo, 13.11.90, Lesirko Scheme.

124 Ibid'.

125. Interview, Mithamo Murage, 15.11.90; Weru Maina, 19.11.90, Oraimutia Scheme.

126. Interview, Mary Chepto, 27.11.90, West Oljoro-orok Scheme.

127. Interview, Peterson Mahwa, 2.1.91, Nyairoko Scheme.

128. Interview, Paul Macharia, 28.11.90, West Oljoro-orok Scheme; King'ori Wanjuki, 31.10.90, Lesirko Scheme.

129. Interview, Weru Maina, 19.11.90, Oraimutia Scheme.

130. Interview, George Kairu, 14.12.90, Silibwet Scheme.

131. Interview, Erastus Gichuhi, 15.11.90, Oraimutia Scheme; Mwangi Ndirangu, 23.11.90, West Oljoro-orok Scheme.

132. Interview, Weru Maina, 19.11.90, Oraimutia Scheme.

133. Interview, Ngunyo Warega, 11.12.90, Silibwet Scheme.

134. Interview, Samuel Marua, 19.12.90, Oljoro-orok Salient Scheme.

135. Interview, John Mbugua, 14.10.90, Lesirko Scheme.

136. Interview, Ngari Muhia, 19.12.90, Oljoro-orok Salient Scheme.

137. Interview, Gikonyo Muchiri, 22. 12.90, Oljoro-orok Salient Scheme.

138. Interview, Macharia Irungu, 20.12.90, Oljoro-orok Salient Scheme.

139. Interview, Macharia Irungu, 20.12.90, and Samuel Marua, 19.12.90, Oljoro-orok Salient Scheme.

.40. Interview, John Kamau, 19.12.90, Oljoro-orok Salient Scheme.

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42. Interview, Josephine Muthoni, 19.12.90 and Samuel Marua,19.12.90, Oljoro-orok Salient Scheme.

13. Interview, Gikonyo Muchiri, 22.12.90; Kimani Mwangi, 13.12.90; Oljoro-orok Salient Scheme.

144. Interview, Chairman, Githumbato Farmers Company Limited, 7.5.91, Oljoro-orok Salient Scheme.

145. Interview, Joseph Mwangi, Nyandarua District Co-operative Officer, 7.5.91.

146. Interview, Josephine Muthoni and Joel Makumi, 19.12.90, Oljoro-orok Salient Scheme.

147. Arkadie, Report of the Mission on Land Settlement in Kenya, p. 125.

148. Ibid., p. 118.

149. Interview, John Karaya, 26.11.90, 26.11.90, West Oljoro-orok Scheme.

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CHAPTER FIVE

Socio-Economic Impact of the Settlement Schemes

5.0 Introduction

The implementation of the land settlement schemes in Oljoro-orok Division transformed the social and economic outlook and character of the area from what it was in the Colonial period. To develop, the new communities needed social and economic services. Part one of this Chapter examines the changes which took place in the Division in the provision of basic services such formal education, transport, health and water, and the changes those services brought , and how the settlers influenced those changes, either as individuals or in groups to bring about community development. The second part looks at the factors that led to social differentiation among the settlers.

5.1 Formal education

Before 1963, formal education among Africans residing in the European settled areas of present-day Oljoro-orok Division was rare. Unlike the African areas where missionaries had taken the initiative to educate Africans, neither the colonial government nor the Missions undertook an education programme for the resident labourers in European settled areas. The idea of education for Africans was also not welcomed by the White Settlers. Having neither government nor private support, labourers who had received some elementary education from the mission schools in the reserves are the ones who started formal

education in European settled areas. In the settled areas education could not expand because of the social and economic circumstances in which it had to operate.[1] The paramount reason of Africans being in the European settled areas was to provide labour for the White Settlers; therefore, African education was subjected to the labour demands of the employers. The labour needs of settlers, especially the picking of pyrethrum in which child labour was used, always took priority. Education and other activities were secondary. The atmosphere was, therefore, not conducive to learning because there was no encouragement.[2]

Despite the White Settlers' objections, their attitude began to change in the Oljoro-orok area in 1944. One pyrethrum grower, named T.O. Rose, realized that the presence of a school was an inducement to labourers. The change of attitude could have been influenced by other White Settlers in other parts of the District (Laikipia) who had managed to entice African labourers by opening schools on their farms.[3] In 1944, classes were started at his farm where some elementary education was taught. The school functioned until 1952 when it was closed down because of the disturbances of the State of Emergency.When it reopened after 1960, it acquired the name Ngatha Primary School.[4]

In 1946, a settler nicknamed 'Ngobit'[5] asked labourers to bring their wives and children who were big enough to weed and pick pyrethrum from the reserves. On bringing their families, three labourers, Samuel Rintari, who was an overseer, Stanley Mbaichu and Paul Njuguna, approached 'Ngobit' seeking permission

to start a school. To ensure that the labour force remained on his farm, 'Ngobit' agreed to have a school started on two conditions. First, school activities were not to interfere with the provision of labour either on the farm or in the kitchen whenever child labour was needed. Therefore, school time was always in the evenings, when people retired from the farms, and on Saturday afternoons. Secondly, according to Rintari, the labourers were to be taught Christian principles because 'Ngobit', thought that labourers would be made obedient to him. The school was named ' Ngobit' Primary School and was changed to Madaraka Primary School after Kenya acquired internal self-government. On Sundays, there were two church services, one for Anglicans and the other for Catholics, using the same room.[6]

There were two other schools in the area before 1963. Gichaka School, which was initially for the children of White settlers, was opened to Africans in 1953. This was after the settlers' children were transferred to Laikipia School because of the Mau Mau disturbances.[7] After independence, the name of the school was changed to Uhuru Primary School. There was also Ol bolossat Nursery school begun by the colonial government to cater for children of government forest workers. Because of the small number of children at the forest camp, the school did not expand before the implementation of the settlement schemes.[8] With the settling down of more people the Nursery school became Chamuka Primary School.

Before 1963, therefore, there were few education

opportunities for children of the resident labourers in Oljoro-orok. Some labourers left their school-going children with relatives in the African reserves. But most of the labourers found it hard to take children who had grown up 'in the White Settlers farms back to the reserves for education. This was especially so for those who had cut off their ties with relatives in the reserves or had begun families in European settled Areas.[9] As a result most children did not receive formal education before the settlement schemes were begun.

Independence in 1963 gave promise of access to education which was previously enjoyed by only a few Africans. With the independent government facing a severe shortage of skilled manpower to assume the responsibilities held by expatriates, more students were enrolled in schools to prepare them for employment.[10] The prospects of being employed in the formal modern sector, either in government or in the private sector, strengthened the appreciation of the value of education for individual advancement.[11]

The new African settlers in Oljoro-orok Division took the opportunity to have their children receive education which was previously denied to them. With the help of government education officers, the African settlers held meetings to deliberate on how to start primary schools. Through the spirit of self-help, the settlers were required to put up buildings and then the government employed teachers and gave school equipment. Initially the settlers constructed simple mud-walled and grass thatched

structures to hold classes. As settlers became more settled in the late 1960s and early 1970s, they demolished the temporary buildings to give way to semi-permanent or permanent ones.[12]

Though the new African settlers were building schools, one fact remained conspicuous. All schools built after 1963 were concentrated in the high-density schemes. Two reasons can explain this fact. First, settlers in the low-density schemes came to Oljoro-orok after the implementation of the schemes, meaning that their school-going children were already in schools where they had previously lived. A settler would not transfer his/her children from a school without knowing whether there were facilities where he was going. Therefore, there was no urgency of starting new schools bearing in mind that the population was still low. Secondly, the settlers of the high-density schemes, in which a significant proportion were former resident-labourers, already had some of their school going children living with them when the schemes were started. Thus, there was an immediate need to build schools to cater for the residential labour population that so far had been denied the right to receive education.

The population increase in the Division due to the establishment of the Oljoro-orok Salient Scheme in 1981-82 had a similar effect as the 1960s schemes had on education. To accommodate the increased population of pupils, primary schools were built through the spirit of self-help in the scheme.[13] The new primary schools were first built on a temporary basis before permanent buildings were put up.

Apart from primary schools, secondary schools were built from the early 1970s. The primary and secondary schools began on a self-help basis before the government gave any assistance in the form of teaching staff.

5.2 Transport

Transportation in colonial Kenya was an instrument of economic, administrative and political policy in that communication networks, especially road and railway, were developed either to allow for effective access and occupation or to tap the economic resources of an area.[14] For instance, the Uganda Railway was built to permit the effective occupation of the interior of the East Africa Protectorate. To tap the economic resources in the rich ranching and dairying area of the Laikipia Plateau, the Solai-Nyahururu (then Thomson Falls) railway line was built, helping to raise the cattle population from 20,000 to 36,000.[15] Economic development, therefore, followed closely the transport network of either trunk roads or the railway.

By the time of independence, the transport system had not aided rural development because the policy makers had no consideration for the African rural population. When the land settlement schemes were implemented, the only rural roads in existence were those formerly used by the White Settlers. The Settlement Fund Trustees, took on the responsibility of preparing access roads to the plots to enable the new African settlers to communicate easily to the main roads. After preparing the

access roads, the Settlement Fund Trustees, withdrew their service. The responsibility for maintenance of the main roads within the schemes was handed over to the local County Council, while the access roads to individual settler homes were taken over by the Co-operative Society to be maintained through self-help.[16] But due to financial shortages, the county councils were unable to maintain the roads.[17] On the other hand, the weakness of the Co-operative Societies from the mid-1970s negatively affected the road maintenance because the settlers would not be coordinated. Some roads, especially those deep into the interior, become overgrown by bushes[18].

Access roads were fewer in the low-densityschemes, Nyairoko and Oraimutia, because the farm plots were few and larger making the distance to the main roads greater. Oraimutia scheme, situated to the North-east and Nyairoko situated to the North-West, of the Dundori-Nyahururu road, were poorly connected to the Gilgil-Nyahururu road. This made it difficult for farmers to transport farm produce to the markets and even to get access to basic service areas like shopping centres.[19] The whole of the Silibwet scheme and the interior parts of the West Oljoro-orok scheme were poorly connected to the Gilgil-Nyahururu road, which is the major national trunk road of the Division. This was especially so in the rainy season.[20]

An exception was the Oljoro-orok Salient scheme which was well-served with access roads, allowing easy transport of produce from the farms and the movement of people. Settlers in the

Salient scheme, who were settled on the fringes of lake Ol bollosat were, however, at a disadvantage because the roads became impassable in rainy seasons. At such times, the settlers turned to the donkey-cart as an alternative.[21]

In 1974, the government, through the Ministry of Works, initiated a major rural road building programme intended to provide all-weather access roads throughout the country. The project was responding to the concepts of employment creation and rural development that were embodied in the 1974/78 development plan. The programme was intended to improve secondary and access roads in the rural areas, especially those of high agricultural potential. Under this programme, major rural access roads were developed within Oljoro-orok Division. The programme was advantageous to the local population because it used local manpower instead of using machines. After renovating a road a few individuals were employed to permanently maintain it. A person was given a wheelbarrow and other working tools.[22]

Under the Rural Access Road Programme, the rural communities at the grass-roots level were involved in the identification of the roads to be constructed. Assistant chiefs and the chiefs identified the roads within their locations and then forwarded their proposals to the councillors for recommendation. The final word rested with the councillors who were leaders in the Rural Access Road Programme Board.[23] The programme benefited settlers who were settled next to the major roads within the scheme, especially when it came to transporting

farm produce.[24]

5.3 Health

Modern medical facilities for Africans residing in European settled Areas were limited in the colonial period. While the Government and the Missionaries made some effort, though inadequate, to provide medical services in African areas, the same was not done for Africans in European settled areas. Labourers in private employment in European settled areas did not get proper medical attention. The colonial government expected the White Settlers to provide medicine and medical attention to their labourers for "in them lay the survival and success of the employer."[25] Informants who were resident- labourers explained that before a sick labourer was attended to by a White settler, he first had to have traditional medicine administered to him. Only when a labourer was regarded as 'very sick', meaning that he could not work on the farm, was the White settler alerted. In such cases, the farm overseer was given a First Aid Kit to administer to the sick person.[26] The resident-labourers went to a government hospital only when it was near enough to the White Settler's farm for them to be able to walk to the hospital.[27]

Recognizing the problem of taking health facilities to African settled areas, in 1946 the government adopted a development Committee Report which recommended the health centre as the basic unit for providing health services especially in the rural areas.[28] In 1946, the residents of Oljoro-orok area were being served by a small native hospital at Nyahururu, which was

inadequately supplied even with the most essential facilities. It had neither maternity unit nor an ambulance and was manned by only one Asian doctor, Lowi.[29] The only other modern medical facility was at Ol bollosat forest which was specifically for government forest workers.[30]

These medical facilities were not only inadequate but also inaccessible to most people. The health facilities were physically far removed from the people, which made it difficult to obtain health care.[31] The inaccessibility and unavailability of modern health care meant that many people did not receive modern medical attention.

Independent Kenya inherited an uneven distribution of health facilities from the Colonial government. To remove the imbalance between rural and urban health services, in 1964 the government decided to start more rural health centres. This was meant to bring health services closer to the people.[32] To make the health services accessible, the government not only brought them physically close but also, in 1965, removed the user fees for out-patient which had been there since the 1950s.[33] This made it possible for more people to receive health attention. More personnel were recruited for training in the medical profession. This was facilitated by the opening of an undergraduate Medical School at the University of Nairobi, the provision of a postgraduate Medical Centre at Kenyatta National Hospital and a School of Pharmacy. Moreover, supporting staff like nurses, medical technicians and health centre officers were increased.[34]

With the implementation of the settlement schemes, in Oljoro-orok Division, more health facilities were urgently needed to care for the increased population. In the initial stages, the Department of Settlement, in conjunction with the Ministry of Health, improvised medical facilities by using mobile clinics to give medical attention to the settlers. The mobile clinics were situated at strategic points at Madaraka, Kasuku and Mboimani local centres and gave services once or twice a week.[35]

To improve medical facilities, in Oljoro-orok from the late 1960s rural health centres were constructed on a self-help basis. The first self-help health center, Mwangi and Maina, which had been the residence of a former White Settler, was opened in 1969. The residence had been purchased by the Settlement Fund Trustees and was later sold to the settlers at a subsidized price of Ksh. 900.[36] Mwangi and Maina health centre was not sufficient for all the settlers and therefore, there was need to build others. In the 1970s Ngano dispensary was built by the settlers themselves. In the 1980s Igwamiti and Gathanji dispensaries were built by settlers on a self-help basis to care for the increased population in the Division. The settlers contributed financially and did the construction. After completion the settlers expected the government to maintain the dispensaries in terms of provisions and staff. However, due to the shortage of provisions that began hitting the Ministry of Health in the 1980s, most of the time the health centres were not giving service to the patients.[37]

The new Oljoro-orok Salient Scheme settled in the 1980s was poorly served with health services because settlers had either to go to Mwangi and Maina or to Nyahururu Hospital. Since the area was sparsely settled, there had been no urgency of building a dispensary. But with the increased population beginning in 1981-82, there was need to take health facilities closer to the people. However, the decision took long before it materialized because it was not until 1987 that a dispensary was begun at Kasuku local centre. Another dispensary was proposed by the Oljoro-orok Catholic Parish.[38] As this study was undertaken, the proposed health centre had not yet been built.

Though the settlers had tried to build health centres in Oljoro-orok Division, there was no enough supply of equipments. Therefore, the few facilities in the health centres were insufficient for the big population in the Division. Thus, the increase in health centres did not ensure that the majority of the rural population had access to modern health facilities in government centres where costs are subsidized.[39] Lack of medicine, not only in the health centers and dispensaries but also in the district hospitals at Nyahururu and Ol Kalou, made the settlers turn to private practitioners. These private practitioners trained in modern medical techniques were not settlers. They had come specifically to practice medicine in the Division.[40]

.4 Water

In the colonial period piped water in present-day Oljoro-

orok Division was only available on the White Settler farms.[41] The only water points open for African use were dams dug by the White Settlers and three small rivers, Ngare-naro, Chamuka and Simba, which are seasonal. The Settlement Fund Trustees did not provide piped water in the settlement schemes. According to the Report of the Mission on Land Settlement in Kenya[42], the Co-operative Societies were intended to undertake the provision of certain communal services such as piped water. The Co-operative Society was supposed to take out loans from the government for installing water facilities and then take on the responsibility of maintaining and operating the water supply system. None of the Co-operative Societies in Oljoro-orok Division, however, managed to install a water supply system until the late 1970s when Lesirko Co-operative Society began the Kariko Water Project. The water reservoir for this project was a former European settler borehole. The Co-operative Society renovated the borehole and installed the water pump. Through self-help the settlers dug up pipe trenches and laid down the pipes.[43] George Kairu and Mithamo Murage, former committee members of Silibwet and Oraimutia Co-operative Societies respectively, gave similar reasons why the societies did not manage to install piped water, "The settlers were overburdened with so many responsibilities that needed finances in the early years of settlement. To lessen the financial burden on settlers, we postponed taking loans to install piped water."[44] The settlers continued fetching water from the rivers or dug boreholes on their farms. The postponement of installing piped water was to the disadvantage of settlers because the Co-operative Societies disintegrated before

installation was done."

Due to the demarcation of land into individual plots, most settlers were physically removed from the water points. As Gachathi Mung'ere explained, "When the farms were demarcated, most of us found ourselves far from the watering points, and to go to the river or dam one had to take a long route because you could not trespass on peoples' farms. So, the alternative we had was to dig boreholes or buy iron-sheet water tanks."[45] Water stored in tanks was adequate for domestic use, but live-stock continued to be taken to the watering points over long distances. Some settlers were not lucky to have water storage tanks because they could not afford to buy them or their boreholes produced hard water which was not suitable for consumption unless treated. As Wambui Waititu explained, "We dug three boreholes on our farm but none had good water for use. We therefore continued fetching water from the river."[46] Settlers who got former White Settlers' residences were lucky to have already dug boreholes that had clean water, though the European Settlers were few compared to the African settlers.[47]

The 1970-74 Development Plan noted that water supply was a problem in the Settlement Schemes country-wide.[48] In particular, many farmers had to walk their dairy stock over a long distance to water everyday. Therefore, piped water projects were needed to curb the problem of shortage of water. The Oraimutia Settlement Scheme was among the 23 settlement schemes in the country that were earmarked for water development.[49] After the

government renovated an underground spring in Oraimutia Scheme, it installed the pump and pipes before handing over the maintenance and operation of the Oraimutia water supply project to the Oraimuta Co-operative Society. The water supply system functioned from 1973 to 1983. As the Oraimutia Co-operative Society grew financially and managerially weak, it became difficult to buy diesel fuel regularly to run the water pump. By 1982, the water supply had begun to become irregular, and in 1984 it completely disappeared with the collapse of the Oraimutia Co-operative Society.[50] Asked whether the settlers had any intention of reviving the project, Erastus Gichuhi, whose farm is next to the water spring, said it was difficult to re-install because the water pump was stolen. Moreover, some farmers had removed their pipes for sale after seeing they were serving no use. Thereafter, the settlers reverted to water storage tanks and boreholes to satisfy their needs.[51]

Kariko Self-help Water Project in Lesirko settlement scheme began with a contribution of Ksh. 500 from each member. The government boosted the settlers by giving financial assistance of Ksh. 10,000 and technical advice to renovate the borehole.[52] Because the pump was not powerful enough, the supply of water only reached on the lowlands of the scheme. Thus, not all members of Lesirko scheme benefited from the project though they had contributed.[53] In the mid-1980s, the Kariko Water Project began to serve the new settlers of the Oljoro-orok Salient scheme who were settled on the same line with the water reservoir.[54]

Ngano and Igwamiti Self-help Water Projects were begun in Oljoro-orok West and Silibwet settlement schemes respectively. The Ngano Water Project has yet to function because it was not finished by the time this study was done. The settlers complained that the project might never supply water unless the settlers contributed more money because there was none in the society bank. Mwangi Ndirangu stated, "We contributed towards the installation of this project but we do not know how the money was used by the Co-operative."[55] In the Silibwet scheme the water pump was stolen before the water pipes were installed, and thus the project never got off the ground.[56]

In the 1980s the Ministry of Water Development began a gigantic water project in Oljoro-orok Division, the Kangui-Oljoro-orok Water Development Project. The water reservoir is a large dam situated in the Oramutia scheme. Hydraulic pressure was used to pump the water. Before the water is supplied to the settlers, it is stored in large tanks situated near Kangui shopping centre on a piece of land the Ministry bought from a settler. The high terrain of Oraimutia, Nyairoko and some parts of the Lesirko schemes, though near the supply station, did not receive water because hydraulic pressure would not reach those areas. Only the lower parts of Lesirko and Oljoro-orok Salient received piped water from this project.[57]

Despite the installation of the Kangui water project, most of the Division continued to suffer from shortage of water because a powerful machine was yet to be installed to pump water

even to the raised lands. To surmount this problem building of concrete storage water tanks, which would last for a long period, became a major undertaking, especially among Women's Groups from the mid-1980s.[58]

5.5 Community development

At independence, the new Government recognized that it needed to encourage mass participation to bring about community development.[59] According to the National Development Plan of 1964-70, local people were to decide what means they were to use to improve their community. The government aimed at encouraging and assisting the community concerned in acquiring the knowledge and skills necessary to carry out their responsibilities through voluntary self-help organization. Self-help schemes were meant to encourage people to improve themselves and their communities, and thus raise the general level of living and therefore help the government achieve its goal of national development.

The settlers in Oljoro-orok Division were quick to form self-help groups immediately they settled.[60] These groups, unlike the Co-operative Societies, were voluntarily formed by a few individuals who desired to meet common needs. Initially the groups did not engage in monetary activities, but as years passed they became commercially oriented. The earliest groups were mostly founded in the high-density schemes.

The groups were founded among the youth and women. "When we settled, there were several youth groups that helped in breaking

the land, especially where a tractor could not manage because of tree stumps, weeding and harvesting. The groups were formed by persons from the same locality."[61] Because the groups were informal, their survival depended on the presence and commitment of the members. The youth groups functioned up to the mid-1970s. As Wambui Waititu explained, "By this time, most of our youth were grown ups and had begun going to boarding school or even for employment in towns. So, irregular attendance, a decline in numbers and decrease of members made those groups weak."[62] Gachathi Mung'ere, explaining further, stated, "Primary school drop-outs began engaging in informal employment at saw-mills or on the farms. Therefore, self-help groups among the youth disintegrated as the activities of young people became more commercialized."[63]

Beginning in the early 1970s, self-help groups among women increased in number. These groups were initiated by women themselves because of their needs. As Maria Muchiri argued, "As women we decided to work in groups in order to help one another because we knew 'unity is strength'. There were very few women who did not join at least one women's group."[64] The earliest activity among the women's groups were farm chores, especially planting and weeding. Explaining how they functioned, Maria stated, "We had a kind of a timetable which we followed. We, however, did not work communally the whole week because we had to spare time for individual undertakings."[65] Joining a self-help group was voluntary. As Damaris Komo explained, "The idea usually came from one or two women, who would then request their

friends to join them. These early groups were always informal in that they did not register with the government."[66]

In the mid-1970s, the activities of the women's groups changed. According to Damaris Komo, they wanted to venture into another area. Some of the old groups began dealing with iron-sheets, thus acquiring the name Mabati Women's groups which became dominant in the Division in the whole of the late 1970s. These groups like 'Gwitheria' and 'Nyakinyua' Mabati Women's Groups aimed at helping their members to build iron-sheet roofed houses after demolishing the first houses built immediately after settling.[67] Damaris Komo, explaining what motivated the women to invest in iron-sheets said, "We used to say that we were helping one another to remove caterpillars from our house roofs. Therefore, no woman wished to be left isolated with a grass thatched house."[68] Buying of home utensils, like cups, plates, spoons, and cooking-pots was another activity which went hand in hand with building houses. Damaris Komo, explaining further, said "The women felt that it was their responsibility to transform their living standards from what it was during the Mzungu's (whiteman's) time."[69] When the groups began dealing with finances, the members had to pay a membership fee which was usually Ksh. 20 and a monthly contribution ranging from Ksh. 50-100, depending on the project the group was to undertake.[70]

The need to uplift the well-being of the local residents and to create a cohesive society was also demonstrated by women's groups that were formed in Oljoro-orok Salient scheme in the

early 1980s. Apart from the buying of iron-sheets and home utensils, some groups, like Witeithie Nguteithie, bought bedding for their members. They also practiced something more of a lottery. Each member could contribute a certain amount of money in addition to the monthly contribution. Then they would draw lots and whoever was lucky got the money. The next time, those who had already won did not participate. This ensured that each member had a chance to win. A member was free to use this money as she wished.[71] Women who had gone through the transformation from labourers on White Settlers farms to plot holders expressed the fact that there was a change in the general level of life. Maria Muchiri explained, "Today we are far better off than when we lived with the Mzungu (Whiteman). I no longer live in the grass-thatched house I had and moreover, I associate with other women which helps me to improve my life."[72]

Being new in Oljoro-orok Division, the 1980s settlers in Oljoro-orok Salient used group spirit to bring cohesion among themselves. As in the other schemes, women took the lead in bringing the people together. The Chairlady of "Njuno" Women's Group, Wanjiru Njenga, explained "Having been new in this area, we felt as women we had the responsibility of knowing each other and especially our neighbours. This was for two reasons. One, as the Kikuyu saying goes, "There is no person who is self-sufficient", we thought we needed to help one another to establish our homes. Moreover, we settled in Oljoro-orok in 1981-1982 at a time of drought, making us come closer to each other as we struggled to get food."[73] After a group of women

came together, they deliberated on what were their priorities. The Chairlady of "Witeithie Ngutèithie" Women's Group, Damaris Waithira, explained, "In our group, we found that most of our members did not have proper accommodation. We therefore decided to buy a mattress and two blankets for each member."[74] Buying of house utensils was another project they undertook in the initial stages. Waithira, explaining further, said, "We also faced a problem of shortage of water. Though the Kariko Water Project begun supplying water to this scheme in the mid-1980s, the water reached a small percentage of the people. Besides digging boreholes, we thought that if we built iron-sheet roofed houses, we would manage to collect and preserve rain water. We, therefore, undertook a project of buying iron sheets for the members."[75] The need to store water in strong and durable tanks made the women built concrete water tanks.[76]

In the 1980s, most of the groups were inclined to more commercial activities. The groups that were registered with the Department of Social Services had commercial activities, ranging from small-scale businesses to sheep rearing, poultry keeping, bee-keeping, horticultural agriculture, butchery, shops and beer halls.[77] For the first time in the history of the settlement schemes in Oljoro-orok Division, men's groups were founded, mostly dealing with sheep rearing and bee-keeping.[78]

It was in income generating projects that the Government and Non-Governmental Organizations gave support. For instance, the Nyairoko Matangi Women's Group that dealt with buying water

tanks, farming and animal husbandry, received a donation of Ksh. 5,000 from the Kenya Women Group Bureau.[79] In December, 1990, the Njuno Women" Group was helped by the local government to organize a fund-raising that raised Ksh. 10,000 to build water tanks.[80] Many other groups were helped to meet their desired goals. It can be seen from the above discussion, that the social welfare groups helped the settlers not only to improve their that standards of living but also to bring cohesion among themselves.

5.6 Social differentiation

Although the settlers began almost on an equal social level, differentiation occurred among them over the years. However, most settlers found themselves favoured by some factors on the one hand, while on the other hand they were disadvantaged. The factors contributing to differentiation were transport availability, exposure to and acceptability of modern technology in crop and animal husbandry, access to capital, engagement in formal employment and commercial business, the role of marketing agents, involvement in social welfare groups and climatic conditions.

Availability of efficient means of transport in the Division differed from the one section of a scheme to another. Poor means of transport not only hindered in the transportation of farm produce but also affected people going for social services, like shopping centres. Settlers living near the major Gilgil-Nyahururu trunk road or near the major roads within the schemes had an advantage over those in the interior. These settlers

easily marketed their farm produce, especially perishable potatoes and cabbages, while settlers in the interior could not. Traders first bought from those near the main road before moving into the interior, where the perishable nature of the produce forced desperate farmers to sell produce at lower prices in fear of losing everything. The fact that the traders somehow controlled prices put the farmers in worse condition.[81] Farmers near the main road also had an advantage in marketing milk, especially in rainy seasons. Milk collecting tractors and other vehicles did not venture into the interior areas such as Kirima-Ngai (parts of Lesirko) and the fringes of lake Ol Bollosat. The affected settlers were forced to carry milk to the main road if they were to sell it, thus wasting a lot of time that could have been economically utilized.[82]

The exposure to and acceptability of modern technology in crop and animal husbandry caused differentiation. Some settlers ignored the extension field officers and did not bother to seek their advice. The extension officer visited settlers who showed an interest in their advice. One such settler was Waruingi Njuguna, who took a great interest in the advice of the extension officers. The knowledge he gained from the extension officers enabled him to grow tomatoes, though an expensive and risky undertaking because of the amount of anti-frost and anti-blight chemical inputs. The growth of tomatoes had made him a successful and distinguished farmer in the Lesirko settlement schemes.[85]

Some settlers with well-managed farms went to the Farmers' Training Centers (FTCs), formerly at Oljoro-orok. Asked how they managed to go to the FTC, Waruingi explained, "It was the work of the Co-operative Society Committee to select farmers who they thought could benefit. Then they forwarded their names to the field extension officer. In most cases, the officer recommended farmers who were hard working and who showed an interest in his advice."[84] In the FTCs, various agricultural techniques, for example, proper farm maintanance, good animal husbandry, regular dipping, prevention of frequent animal diseases like trypanosomiasis and use of biochemicals, were taught. Waruingi Njuguna was given three trophies at the FTCs for his excellent production and farm management on his farm. Another settler, Stanley Mbaichu, was given a wheel-barrow for tending his cedar fence well. Waruingi, however, lamented that the last time there was a seminar was in 1983, and that the transfer of the FTC from Oljoro-orok to Njabini was a disadvantage to Oljoro-orok farmers, because it was now physically far removed from them. The settlers found it expensive to go to Njabini because of the transport and accommodation charges.[85]

Though modern farming methods were appreciated, some farmers were hindered from using them due to capital problems. Some settlers argued that it was useless to listen to the advice of an extension field officer because they had no money to implement the instructions. Their only source of information on farming techniques was from farmers who attended seminars or had access to farming literature. While crops of those who attended

seminars were growing, the settlers who were unable to attend seminars learnt from such farms. Others listened to the officers from a demonstration farm and waited to have the capital to implement the instructions. Learning farming knowledge without putting it into practice became a waste in the long run because the settlers forgot what they had learnt.[86]

Members of the Co-operative Societies were required to receive a loan from the Co-operative Produce Credit Scheme (CPCS). However, with the drifting away of settlers from the Co-operative Societies in Oljoro-orok Division, they became disqualified from the Co-operative Produce Credit Scheme (CPCS). The Co-operative Societies would not take this loan because only a few of the members were marketing their produce through the Societies. Thus, an individual settler had to find ways of acquiring a loan from a commercial bank or from the Agriculture Finance Co-operation (AFC) knowing how he/she would repay the loan. Most settlers feared taking a loan in case they were unable to repay and then have their farms auctioned.[87] Members of the Githumbato Farmers' Company would, however, take a loan from their company and repay through their produce.[88]

Some settlers did not have to rely on their farm income only because they were either in formal employment or in commercial business. There were settlers who settled while still working with the government. Others took up employment after settling. For instance, Peterson Mahwa stated, "I was a primary school teacher at Tumaini before settling in Oljoro-orok."[89] Most of

those who took employment after settling were children of the settlers. Settlers with another source of income were not only able to improve their standards of living but also improve their farms.[90] In the shopping centres in Oljoro-orok Division, some settlers began business like retail shops, butcheries, bar, hotels, green-grocers, that gave them extra income in addition to that of their farms.

Differences in climatic condition in Oljoro-orok Division played a role in creating differentiation. Settlers of Oljoro-orok Salient Scheme, especially those living at the fringes of lake Ol Bollosat, suffered from severe frost that hindered the growth of crops, mostly maize. These settlers always had to supplement their food by buying. This in effect meant that these settlers had little income from their farms.[91]

Personal initiative determined how a settler reacted to factors that hindered his/her advancement.[92] Some settlers were keen to implement new farming techniques especially in potato farming. Others took the initiative of growing crops like tomatoes that were highly risky because of the inputs. With the weakening of the Co-operative Societies, some settlers found other means of transporting milk to the K.C.C.. Therefore the changing circumstances in the settlement schemes in Oljoro-orok Division made the settlers adapt.

Not all settlers made progress. There were those who literally refused to work on their farms. After acquiring the

land, it become a kind of security. This problem, linked with drinking, was particularly prevalent among the men. For instance, in the course of the field work, I found out that there were some settlers in Lesirko, West Oljoro-orok and Silibwet who were bent on drinking **chang'aa** (adistilled alchoholic drink). Such men spent a whole day drinking without doing any work. A wife of a settler in Silibwet complained that drinking of chang'aa by her husband had not only destroyed his health but also the management of the farm. She would not make any major improvement without finance and the husband's consent.

Another way settlers demonstrated personal initiative was by joining social welfare groups. The groups not only helped the settler to improve the standard of living but also were a channel of receiving new ideas. The groups acted as good forums for the field extension officers, like agriculturalists and Community Development Officers, to disseminate their advice.[93]

5.7 Conclusion

Formal education in Oljoro-orok Division did not prosper during the colonial period because it was subject to the labour needs of the European settlers. With the establishment of the settlement schemes, primary schools were built through the spirit of self-help. The schools were built to cater for the growing population within the Division. Population increment in the Oljoro-orok Salient scheme also necessitated the building of schools within that scheme.

Transportation means and access within the Division were adequate only along the major roads. Settlers in the interior were disadvantaged especially in the rainy seasons. Since the late 1970s, however, the Rural Access Road Programme has brought improvement to secondary roads within the Division.

The spirit of self-improvement was demonstrated in the building of health centres. The settlers built the health centres hoping that the government would provide the necessary provisions. However, from the 1980s, the health centres were not functioning because of lack of provisions especially in terms of equipment. Lack of enough provisions in the government-aided hospitals and health centres made the settlers turn to private practitioners.

Water supply has remained a constant problem in the Division. Only settlers who were in the lowlands of Oljoro-orok Salient and Lesirko schemes had regular water supply from the Oljoro-orok-Kangui water project and the Lesirko water project. Other water projects like Gathanji, Ngano and Oraimutia were not functioning because of the theft of the water equipment, especially water pumps. Water shortage made the settlers improvise by digging boreholes and building or buying storage water tanks. Building of concrete storage water tanks was predominant among the various Women's Groups. They built the tanks through the spirit of self-help.

In conclusion, few settlers who were advantaged in all the

factors that posed challenge to the improvement of the settlers. While one might have an advantage on the one hand, he/she might face a disadvantage on the other. The way an individual reacted to the changing circumstances surrounding him seems to have been a key factor determining whether one would remain at the same level or would advance. Despite the need of self-initiative, there were some factors that were beyond the control of the settler, such as climate, lack of transport or lack of a market for produce.

Notes

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2. Ibid., p. 81; Interview, Muthui Kiriogo, 13.11.90, Lesirko Scheme.

3. Kanogo, Squatters and the Roots of Mau Mau 1905-1963, p. 82.

4. Interview, Muthui Kiriogo, 13.11.90, Lesirko Scheme.

5. The real name of the settler is unknown.

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7. Interview, Erastus Gichuhi, 15.11.90, Oraimutia Scheme.

8. Interview, Kariuki Murage, 22.11.90, West Oljoro-orok Scheme.

9. Interview, Wambui Waititu, 14.10.90, Lesirko Scheme.

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19. Interview, Erastus Gichuhi, 15.11.90, Oraimutia Scheme; Wanjiku Ndung'u, 2.1.91, Nyairoko Scheme.

20. Interview, George Muiruri, 10.12.90, Silibwet Schemes; Mwangi Ndirangu, 23.11.90, West Oljoro-orok.

21. Interview, Joel Makumi, 20.12.90, Oljoro-orok Salient Scheme.

22. Interview, Gachathi Mung'ere, 8.12.90, Silibwet Scheme.

23. De Veen, J.J., The Rural Access Roads Programme: Appropriate Technology in Kenya (Geneva: International Labour Office, 1980), p. 3.

24. Interview, Mwangi Ndirangu, 23.11.90, West Oljoro-orok Scheme.

25. Mburu, F.M., "Socio-Political Imperatives in the History of Health Development in Kenya", (University of Nairobi; Institute for Development Studies, discussion paper No. 374, Nov. 1980), p. 3.

26. Interview, Samuel Rintari, 19.11.90, Oramutia Scheme.

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31. Sindiga, "Health and Diseases", p. 138.

32. National Development Plan, 1964-70, p. 108.

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37. Interview, Gachathi Mung'ere, 8.12.90, Silibwet Scheme; Mwangi Ndirangu, 23.11.90, West Oljoro-orok Scheme.

38. Interview, Samuel Marua, 19.12.90, Oljoro-orok Salient Scheme.

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40. Interview, George Kairu, 14.12.90, Silibwet Schemes; Wambui Waititu, 14.10.90, Lesirko Scheme.

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43. Interview, Kagema Mbagathi and Njoroge Muthee, 14.10.90, Lesirko Scheme.

44. Interview, George Kairu, 14.12.90, Silibwet Scheme; Mithamo Murage, 15.11.90, Oraimutia Scheme.

45. Interview, Gachathi Mung'ere, 8.12.90, Silibwet Scheme.

46. Interview, Wambui Waititu, 14.10.90, Lesirko Scheme.

47. Interview, John Mbugua, 14.10.90, Lesirko Scheme.

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50. Interview, Weru Maina, 19.11.90, Oraimutia Scheme.

51. Interview, Erastus Gachuhi, 15.11.90, Oraimutia Scheme.

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54. Interview, Josephine Muthoni and Joel Makumi, 20.12.90, Oljoro-orok Salient Scheme.

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57. Interview, Erastus Gichuhi, 15.11.90, Oraimutia Scheme; Wambui Waititu, 14.10.90, Lesirko Scheme.

58. Interview, Damaris Komo, 6.5.91, Lesirko Scheme, Wanjiru Njenga, 8.5.91, Oljoro-orok Salient Scheme.

59. National Development Plan, 1964/70, p. 113.

60. For details, see pp. 50-51.

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62. Interview, Wambui Waititu, 14.10.90, Lesirko Scheme.

63. Interview, Gachathi Mung'ere, 8.12.90, Silibwet Scheme.

64. Interview, Maria Muchiri, 19.11.90, West Oljoro-orok Scheme.

65. Ibid.

66. Interview, Damaris Komo, 6.5.91, Lesirko Scheme.

67. Ibid.

68. Ibid.

69. Ibid.

70. Interview, Wambui Waititu, 14.10.90, Lesirko Scheme.

71. Interview, Wambui Waititu, 14.10.90, Lesirko Scheme; Mary Chepto, 27.11.90, West Oljoro-orok Scheme, Wanjiru Njenga; Damaris Waithira, 8.5.91, Oljoro-orok Salient Scheme.

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81. For details, see pp. 97-98.

82. Interview, John Kamau, 19.12.90, Oljoro-orok Salient Scheme.

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84. Interview, Waruingi Njuguna, 26.10.90, Lesirko Scheme.

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86. Interview, Mary Chepto, 27.11.90, West Oljoro-orok Scheme; Njoroge Muthee, 14.10.90, Lesirko Scheme.

87. Interview, Kagema Mbagathi, 14.10.90, Lesirko Scheme; George Muiruri, 10.12.90, Silibwet Scheme.

88. Interview, Samuel Marua and John Kamau, 19.12.90, Oljoro-orok Salient Scheme.

89. Interview, Peterson Mahwa, 2.1.91, Nyairoko Scheme.

90. Interview, Muthui Kiriogo, 13.11.90, Lesirko Scheme, Wanjiku Ndung'u, 2.1.91, Nyairoko Scheme, Erastus Gichuhi, 15.13.90, Oraimutia Scheme.

91. Interview, Joel Makumi and Josphine Muthoni, 20.12.90, Oljoro-orok Salient Scheme.

92. Personal field observation.

93. Interview, Wanjiru Njenga, 8.5.91, Oljoro-orok Salient Scheme.

CHAPTER SIX

Summary and Conclusions

6.0 The beginning of the schemes

The government was heavily involved in the implementation of the Oljoro-orok Settlement Schemes which began in the 1960s. Using the Department of Settlement, the government purchased, prepared and subdivided the land before it was allocated the settlers. Settlers for both low and high density schemes were carefully chosen, with landlessness as the major criterion. Despite the stipulation, the government officials did not manage to identify all new settlers who had land elsewhere. Furthermore, some settlers who had land in the reserves decided to sell it with the prospect of getting large tracts of land in the settlement scheme. At the end of the whole exercise, some settlers who were not genuinely landless acquired land, especially in the low density schemes.

The settlers of the Oljoro-orok Settlement Scheme were advanced various types of loans to start them off. They were given a land purchase loan, which was repayable after a period of thirty years, a non-productive development loan for housing and fencing, and a productive development loan to purchase seeds, fertilizers, small tools, and livestock, and to meet cultivation costs. So, all settlers started off with a heavy loan burden. The loan was necessary, however, if they were to get a good beginning and have a chance to make any progress and repay the loan.

Unlike the settlers of the Oljoro-orok Schemes of the 1960s, settlers in the Oljoro-orok Salient Scheme, who settled in the early 1970s and early 1980s, did not get much government attention or help. They received a land purchase loan, but did not receive development loans. This followed the government policy of reducing the expenses of land transfer and settling. Moreover, the government was no longer getting loans or grants from donors for land transfer as it had in the 1960s. Therefore, these settlers did not have much loan obligation apart from paying the land purchase loan.

6.1 Agricultural development

Whichever scheme settlers settled, they all faced problems of one sort or another. What differed was who faced which problem and the solution applied. Though the government intervened by giving food relief in 1963 and 1984, and also provided agricultural extension services, the settlers were largely left on their own to solve their problems.

The settlers were faced with some external problems they were not able to solve. Apart from the external factors that affected the settlers, there were internal factors that only an individual settler could control. For example, it was the responsibility of a settler to put enough labour into his/her farm work. The study found out that some settlers, especially men, wasted their time in beer or chang'aa drinking instead of working on their farms.

Various agricultural changes took place in Oljoro-orok Division, as settlers tried to adapt to the environment and the various changing circumstances. Apart from the fringes of lake Ol bolossat, the rest of the Division was suitable for mixed farming with some variation in the type of crops grown because of ecological differences.

On starting the farms, the 1960s settlers were helped by field agricultural extension officers who disseminated agricultural knowledge. For instance, maize though climatically unsuited for the Division, continued to be grown as a staple food crop. Before the mid-1970s, most settlers continued to grow the traditional maize seeds of 'Githigu' and 'Kingi', which were of low quality. But with the instructions and advice of the field agricultural officers, a majority of the settlers adopted hybrid maize seeds. Another change in maize growing came with the use of fertilizers, especially double super phosphate, in the upper highlands of the Division. Despite some improvement, settlers in the poorly drained areas of the Oljoro-orok Salient Scheme continued to get poor maize and had to supplement their harvest by buying food.

In potato farming the settlers also adopted new scientific techniques. Initially, the settlers were advanced loans in the form of fertilizer and potato seeds by the Settlement Board. But after the first years, the settlers continued to grow their potatoes without any biochemicals. From the late 1970s, settlers in the upper highlands, especially of Silibwet, Lesirko,

Oraimutia, and Nyairoko Schemes, began using anti-frost and anti-blight chemicals, after being instructed by the agricultural instructors. One important characteristic of the settlers was that they adopted a farming technique after seeing the results. For instance, the potato produce got by Gachathi Mung'ere in the Silibwet Scheme after he had used herbicides and fungicides in 1978 changed the attitude of the settlers in the Scheme.[1] More settlers began using biochemicals to grow potatoes for sale despite the poor market.

In the early years of settlement, agricultural field officers used to visit individual settlers on their farms. But as years passed, the officers' visits became fewer and they began to rely more on demonstration field days to disseminate agricultural knowledge to the farmers. The demonstration days were less expensive in terms of manpower and consumed less time. Therefore, a settler had to seek out the advice of the agricultural officer instead of the officer going to look for the settler. This explains why the agricultural officers began concentrating on settlers who showed interest and implemented their advice. However, the implementation of the agricultural officers advice could only be done by settlers who had the capital to purchase the necessary items needed. The agricultural officers attention to farmers who showed interest in their advice was demonstrated by the way they recommended settlers to go for farming training at the Farmers Training Centre (FTC), formerly at Oljoro-orok.

6.2 Farm operating budgets

At the time of settling, each settler was given an operating budget for his farm. The operating budgets prepared by the government for each scheme were aimed at getting a certain income for a given quantity and quality of land and produce. For the low-density schemes the settlers were expected to achieve an annual net income of one hundred pounds, while high density schemes were expected to get between twenty-five and forty pounds after repaying the loans. The success or failure of the farm budgets depended on whether the settlers could achieve their budgeted income.

To meet their budgeted income, the settlers were expected to plant the crops that were planned for their farms. The study found out that the operating budgets were more of a theory than practice. This was for four reasons. First, the settlers did not continue growing the crops the farms were planned for, because of internal and external reasons. For instance, settlers in the Oraimutia scheme stopped growing wheat because it was uneconomical on their small scale farms, and they lacked experience in wheat farming. In the case of pyrethrum, which accounted for most of the income of the settlers in Oljoro-orok Division, settlers stopped growing it in the 1970s when prices dropped on the world market. In the 1980s, when settlers began replanting pyrethrum, they planted less acreage.

Another factor that explains why budgeted incomes were often

not achieved was the fluctuation in demand for produce. This was especially so in the case of pyrethrum. Being dependent on the world market, the pyrethrum industry in Oljoro-orok suffered during the 1970s with the introduction of synthetic insecticides in the market. A third factor that affected the budgeted incomes was overproduction of crops. For instance, overproduction of cabbages in the early years of settlement oversaturated the market. Because of the high output, the prices were lowered. It was impossible for settlers to predict price fluctuations that resulted from variations in supply and demand of such items as potatoes and pyrethrum.

6.3 The co-operative societies

The Co-operative Societies did not live up to their expected role of helping the small scale farmers benefit from economies of scale. The first failure of the Co-operative Societies was their inability to fulfil their most essential role: the marketing of milk and pyrethrum. Inefficiency in the marketing system had several consequences. In the case of milk, private transporters took advantage of the weakened Co-operative Societies and began transporting milk for some settlers. These private transporters became the determinants of transport charges rather than the settlers. So, transport charges previously used by the Co-operative Societies to run society affairs were given to the private transporters. Futhermore, the failure of the Co-operative Societies to do pyrethrum marketing forced settlers to seek marketing licences from the Pyrethrum Board of Kenya (PBK). Those who failed to acquire the licences sold their pyrethum

flowers to those who had licences. The results were just the same as with milk: charges that the Co-operative Societies would have received from the growers went to individual settlers, thereby denying the societies an income.

The failure of the Co-operative Societies to do the marketing of settlers' produce disqualified the settlers from the Co-operative Produce Credit Scheme (C.P.C.S). The C.P.C.S was meant for members of a Co-operative Society who did their marketing through a Co-operative Society. As settlers began marketing milk and pyrethrum, the only two produce that could be marketed through the Co-operative Society individually, they were disqualified from receiving the C.P.C.S. loans, thus making it impossible for the settlers to have loans to improve their farms unless from another source. The fear that one would be unable to repay a commercial loan on time made many settlers shy away from taking one.[2]

The weakness of the Co-operative Societies affected other services the societies were required to give to the settlers. Because of the lack of funds, the Co-operative Societies were unable to maintain and operate cattle and sheep dips and provide artificial insermination services. The settlers had to find their own means of dipping their cattle and having them inseminated. Poor management of the Co-operative Societies negatively affected the provision of piped water in the schemes, especially in Silibwet, Oraimutia and West Oljoro-orok. The only areas of the Division that received piped water were the lowlands

of the Division of Lesirko and Oljoro-orok Salient schemes which were served by Kangui-Oljoro-orok and Kariko water projects. Lack of piped water made the settlers improvise other means. The challenge was particularly taken up by women's groups that began buying iron sheets or building concrete storage water tanks.

The establishment of the land settlement schemes in Oljoro-orok Division opened up the area, as road systems were laid down within the schemes. Over the years, however, access roads leading to individual settlers' homes, which should have been maintained by the Co-operative Societies, became overgrown with bush. The only roads that were maintained were those taken over by the Rural Access Road Programme in 1974. Settlers settled deep in the interior, especially those of the Silibwet and West Oljoro-orok Schemes, were disadvantaged for being far from the main Gilgil-Nyahururu road.

The weakness of the Co-operative Societies in Oljoro-orok Division can be attributed initially to the way they were formed. The 1960s Co-operative Societies were initiated by the government. The fact that the societies were formed under government initiative contradicted the definition given by the Ministry of Co-operatives of what a Co-operative Society is.[3] The settlers did not voluntarily come together for a common need, as the definition says, but they were brought together by the government because of the role the government wished the societies to fulfil. In essence, not all settlers became committed to the Co-operative Society, as they felt that working

more accountable to the members than the committees in the Co-operative Societies where committees were annually renewed.

Compared with the Co-operative Societies, the Githumbato Farmers' Company Limited was an outstanding agent of marketing in the Division. The members of this company were not only able to market their produce easily but they also got economies of scale. The company also prospered enough to give advances to members for school fees.

Another important aspect of the Githumbato company was that it started on a sound financial basis. The contribution of the members were always in the company account to meet any urgent needs. Furthermore, the company was autonomous in that being registered as a company, it was not under the Ministry of Co-operatives. This gave the members the right to carry out all sorts of income generating activities that benefited themselves without administrative obstruction or red tape.

6.4 Settler initiatives

Settlers took the initiative to improve their standard of living, particularly in formal education, health and social welfare groups. Before the establishment of the Settlement Schemes in Oljoro-orok there were only four schools, T.O. Rose, 'Ngobit', Gichaka and Chamuka. Education in the area was subjected to the labour needs of the White Settlers, and the opportunities for education were limited. With the establishment of the Schemes, settlers especially of the high-density Schemes

began building primary, and later secondary, schools to accommodate their children. One aspect about education that came out in the study was that there were more schools in the high-density schemes than in the low-density shemes. This was due to population differences in the schemes. The high-density schemes had more plot holders, hence more school-going pupils than the low-density schemes.

The settlers were also keen on building health centres and dispensaries, hoping that the government would take over the running of the institutions. In the 1980s, however, the health institutions were not well equipped, as the Ministry of Health faced financial difficulties. As a result, many settlers did not recive modern medical attention from the health centres. This forced the settlers to seek medical attention from private practitioners who were practising in the Division.

An important aspect within the Division was the role played by the social welfare groups in the improvement of the community. The groups, begun in the early years of the schemes, were mostly found among the women. Over the years, the groups' activities changed as members experienced new needs. Initially the groups were concerned with pooling their labour to do manual work like clearing the farms, planting and harvesting. Later on, in the mid-1970s, they began pooling finances to build iron-sheet houses in an effort to transform their houses from the grass-thatched ones they had to build immediately they got the farms. Beginning from the early 1980s, the groups ventured into income-generating

projects like bee-keeping, poultry, retail shops, butcheries. Moreover, most of the groups began building concrete storage water tanks that could help them not to waste too much time fetching water from rivers, and therefore, have more time to engage in economic ventures. The social welfare groups were strong and of great importance to their members. This was because the groups were formed by individuals who had the same needs and had voluntarily come together.

6.5 Social differentiation

Finally, the study showed that over time settlers in Oljoro-orok Division changed in terms of ideas and standard of living. Due to varying circumstances and the different adjustments and adaptations that the settlers themselves made, they advanced differently and differentiation occurred. Though there were some factors that settlers could not control, how an individual settler reacted to a situation also mattered.

As the settlers tried to advance, they were confronted by various factors that hindered or favoured their progress. There were basically two types of factors: those that were out of the settlers' control, and those over which the settlers had some influence. Settlers did not have control, for example, over the availability of transport within the schemes. In this regard, settlers in the interior of the schemes were disadvantaged, especially in rainy seasons. For these settlers, marketing of farm produce was a problem. To sell their produce, the settlers had to walk long distances to take milk and pyrethrum to the

collecting depots.

Settlers were also not in control of the marketing arrangements in the schemes. This was especially so for the early settlement schemes. It was important for the settlers to be able to market milk and pyrethrum efficiently to ensure good returns. In this regard, the inefficiency of the Co-operative Societies negatively affected the settlers' performance. They were not able to sell their produce as required in the budgets, which disrupted their income. Indeed, the very collapse of the Co-operative Societies was a negative external factor beyond the control of the individual settlers.

The settlers reacted to the weakness of the Co-operative Societies differently. Some settlers took advantage of the situation and began transporting milk for other settlers at a higher charge than the societies. Among the wider community, individual settlers started acquiring marketing contracts. So, while the weakness of the Co-operative Societies benefited those settlers with initiative or opportunities, others, especially settlers with little milk that was uneconomical to sell individually, suffered.

All the settlers were exposed to modern agricultural technology through the field extension staff. However, the acceptability of the extension officers' advice depended on an individual settler. It was the responsibility of the settler to seek advice either from agricultural or veterinary officers.

Settlers who were not interested in the advice of the extension officers ignored their presence. Settlers who took the advice of the field extension officers seriously tended to put more into their farms in terms of labour and capital and consequently progressed more rapidly than those who did not.

The price and demand for produce on the world and local markets was out of the settlers' control. For example, in the 1970s the decline in the world demand for pyrethrum, a major cash crop of the Division, adversely affected many settlers. Similarly, fluctuation in local demand for such products as cabbages and potatoes created problems for many settlers.

The study on social differentiation showed that the settlers reacted differently to the factors that confronted them. Though the settlers had no control over the price of cabbages and potatoes, there were settlers who were not completely discouraged. Settlers on the upper highlands of the division continued to grow these crops, especially potatoes, to supplement other farm produce. The aspect of taking risk in farming some commodities like potatoes, cabbages, and tomatoes was important in the schemes.

Another important aspect was the character of a settler. Was a settler hard working or lazy? The study noted that some settlers were completely lazy. This was demonstrated by their lack of commitment to farm activities. Such settlers had land only as a security.

The establishment of social welfare groups was an initiative of individual settlers aiming at uplifting their living standards. It was through self-help groups that the majority of the settlers managed to have either a borehole or a water storage tank. In this way, the settlers were able to get adequate water which was a major problem in the Division.

6.6 Conclusions

The study reached a number of general conclusions. First the study concluded that the Settlement Schemes in Oljoro-orok Division did not function or develop as the government had envisaged. Firstly, the original operational budgets of the settlers ended up being more theory than practice. The planners of the settlement schemes had intended the settlers to grow specific crops and keep dairy cattle in the hope of raising a targeted income. But in practice the settlers were influenced by unpredictable external and internal factors, and the settlers were not able to meet their targeted incomes all the time.

Secondly, the failure of the Co-operative Societies to carry out their roles effectively caused the schemes as originally conceived to fail. The factors that contributed to the weakening of the societies were diverse. Of initial importance was their method of formation. The early Co-operative Societies were government initiated. By requiring the settlers to join a Co-operative Society immediately after acquiring a farm plot, the government was making this a law without consulting the settlers. The study concluded that since the government initiated the Co-

operative movement in Oljoro-orok land settlement schemes, it had the responsibility of safeguarding it at all costs. By failing to act, the government indirectly weakened the Co-operative movement. If the government had dealt severely and immediately with culprits who misappropriated society funds as soon as such a trend began, it might have been checked, or at least discouraged.

Another way the government indirectly contributed to the disintegration of the Co-operative Societies was by allowing individual settlers to market their milk and pyrethrum directly to the marketing boards. As more settlers opted to market their produce directly, the number of members in the societies grew smaller, thus financially weakening them. Therefore, the economies of scale the government had hoped would benefit the settlers were not practical. Once the Co-operative Societies declined as marketing agents, they could not carry out other roles like maintaining cattle dips, providing piped water and artificial insemination.

The study concluded that the initiative of individual settlers played a significant role in transforming and developing the Division. Despite financial difficulties, the settlers responded positively to new farming techniques. In facing the challenges created by the weakening of the Co-operative Societies, the settlers found other means of meeting their needs such as transport and individual cattle spraying.

The settlers' initiative was also demonstrated in the building of schools, health centres, digging of boreholes and other activities carried out by social welfare groups. What in essence the settlers were doing was to improve their new home areas making them more habitable, as they sought to raise their standard of living.

The study confirmed that grassroots initiatives were extremely important to the success of community development in all spheres. The performance of the Githumbato Farmers' Company Limited demonstrated that such initiative could have a more positive impact than structures imposed from above. The role of the government in community development projects would have been one of promotion and support, and not direct administration.

The key role of women in rural development was well illustrated. Their social welfare groups made a uniquely important contribution to the development of Land Settlement Schemes in Oljoro-orok Division, confirming further the importance of grassroots initiatives.

This general study cannot claim to have exhausted the subject of Land Settlement Schemes. There are various specific areas for possible future research.

One such area is in the field of commerce. When the schemes began, there were few if any commercial enterprises. At present, there are shopping centres and diverse commercial activities,

both in the formal and informal sectors. It would be of interest to study the origins and development of these centres and activities and how they provide employment opportunities to the Oljoro-orok residents.

Scholars interested in gender issues could study the role of women in the settlement schemes. This study should include the part played by women in agricultural Co-operatives Societies and social welfare groups.

Another area of research could be a comparative study between agricultural Co-operative Societies in the Land Settlement Schemes and those in former African settled areas.

The issue of land ownership is an important aspect to the development of the land settlement schemes. In this regard, a possible area of research is to find out whether there has been any change in land ownership from what it was originally and whether there is absentee landlordism, and how the changing pattern of land ownership has effected the development of the settlement schemes.

Bearing in mind that Nyandarua District has been performing well in National Examinations, especially in the K.C.P.E., it is important to study the formal educational system and its effects on the settlement schemes as well as the development of Harambee and technical education, including opportunities in the informal sector.

Notes

1. For details, see p. 78-79.
2. Interview, Mary Chepto, 27.12.90, West Oljoro-orok Scheme.
3. For details, see p. 88-90.

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ORAL INFORMANTS

SILIBWET SCHEME

		DATE
1.	Kairu George	13.12.90
2.	Kamau Joseph	8.12.90
3	Kamau Samuel	13.12.90
4.	Kungu Ngengi	13.12.90
5.	Muiruri George	10.12.90
6.	Mung'ere Gachathi	8.12.90
7.	Mureria Mwangi	11.12.90
8.	Warega Ngunyo	11.12.90

LESIRKO SCHEME

1.	Kianjeru	1.11.90
2.	Kiriogo Muthui	13.11.90
3.	Komo Damaris	8.5.91
4.	Maina Kairu	7.1.91
5.	Mbagathi Kagema	14.10.90
6.	Mbugua John	14.10.90
7.	Mukung'a Harun	23.10.90
8.	Muriu Samuel	30.10.90
9.	Muruci Thiga	14.10.90
10.	Mwangi Waitathua	26.10.90
11.	Ndung'u Joseph	31.10.90
12.	Njuguna Waruingi	26.10.90
13.	Wambui Waititu	14.10.90
14.	Wamucang'ara Gitau	8.11.90
15.	Watheri Pharis	25.10.90
16.	Wanjuki King'ori	31.10.90

WEST OLJORO-OROK

1.	Chepto Mary	27.12.90
2.	Gaikia Gaita	10.11.90
3.	Gakore Kimathi	10.11.90
4.	Gateru Macharia	22.11.90
5.	Kahiro Francis Muriithi	23.11.90
6.	Kairu Jackson	10.11.90
7.	Kamotho Joseph Mwangi	12.11.90
8.	Kimondo Elijah Mutitu	26.11.90
9.	Macharia Paul	28.11.90
10.	Muchiri Maria Wanjiku	19.11.90
11.	Murage George Kariuki	22.11.90
12.	Muriuki Raphael	27.12.90
13.	Muthoni Eunice	19.11.90
14.	Mwangi Karaya	26.11.90
15.	Nderitu Thirikwa	11.11.90
16.	Ndirangu Joshua Mwangi	23.11,90
17.	Ng'ang'a Njuguna	22.11.90
18.	Nyagura Jane	22.11.90
19.	Nyamweya Phoebe	30.11.90
20.	Wahito Maria	19.11.90
21.	Wambui Kanyeki	24.11.90
22.	Wamutitu Jathan	25.11.90

23.	Wanderi Dishon	13.11.90

NYAIROKO SCHEME

1.	Karara Gathatwa	2.1.91
2.	Mbugua Kabucho	2.1.913.
3.	Muhwa Kamweru	2.1.91
4.	Wanjiku Ndung'u	2.1.91

ORAIMUTIA SCHEME

1.	Gachuhi Erastus	15.11.90
2.	Irungu Macharia	19.11.90
3.	Mithamo Murage	15.11.90
4.	Rintari Samuel	19.11.90
5.	Wanjiru Thimba	17.11.90
6.	Weru Maina	19.11.90

OLJORO-OROK SALIENT

1.	Chege Warris	21.12.90
2.	Gicheru Samuel	19.12.90
3.	Gichuki Gideon	20.12.90
4.	Gitaru Joseph Kigari	17.12.90
5.	Gitonga James Mahugu	13.12.90
6.	Kagumo Francis	15.12.90
7.	Kamau John	19.12.90
8.	Karanja Ezekiah	27.12.90
9.	King'ori Muruga	14.12.90
10.	Macharia Irungu	20.12.90
11.	Makumi Joel	21.12.90
12.	Marua Samuel	19.12.90
13.	Mbugua Aloise Muiruri	16.12.90
14.	Muchiri David Gikonyo	22.12.90
15.	Muhia Geofrey Ngari	19.12.90
16.	Mukuha Patrick Maina	19.12.90
17.	Muthoni Josephine	20.12.90
18.	Mwangi Karanja	22.12.90
19.	Mwangi Moses Kimani	13.12.90
20.	Mwirigi Cyrus	17.12.90
21.	Ngugi David Mutuota	19.12.90
22.	Ngugi Kariuki	21.12.90
23.	Ngugi Simon	15.12.90
24.	Sang Wilson	21.12.90
25.	Waithira Damaris	8.5.91
26.	Wanderi John	17.12.90
27.	Wangui Kinyua	15.12.90
28.	Wanjiku David Nguyo	18.12.90
29.	Wanjiru Njenga	8.5.90

MAPS

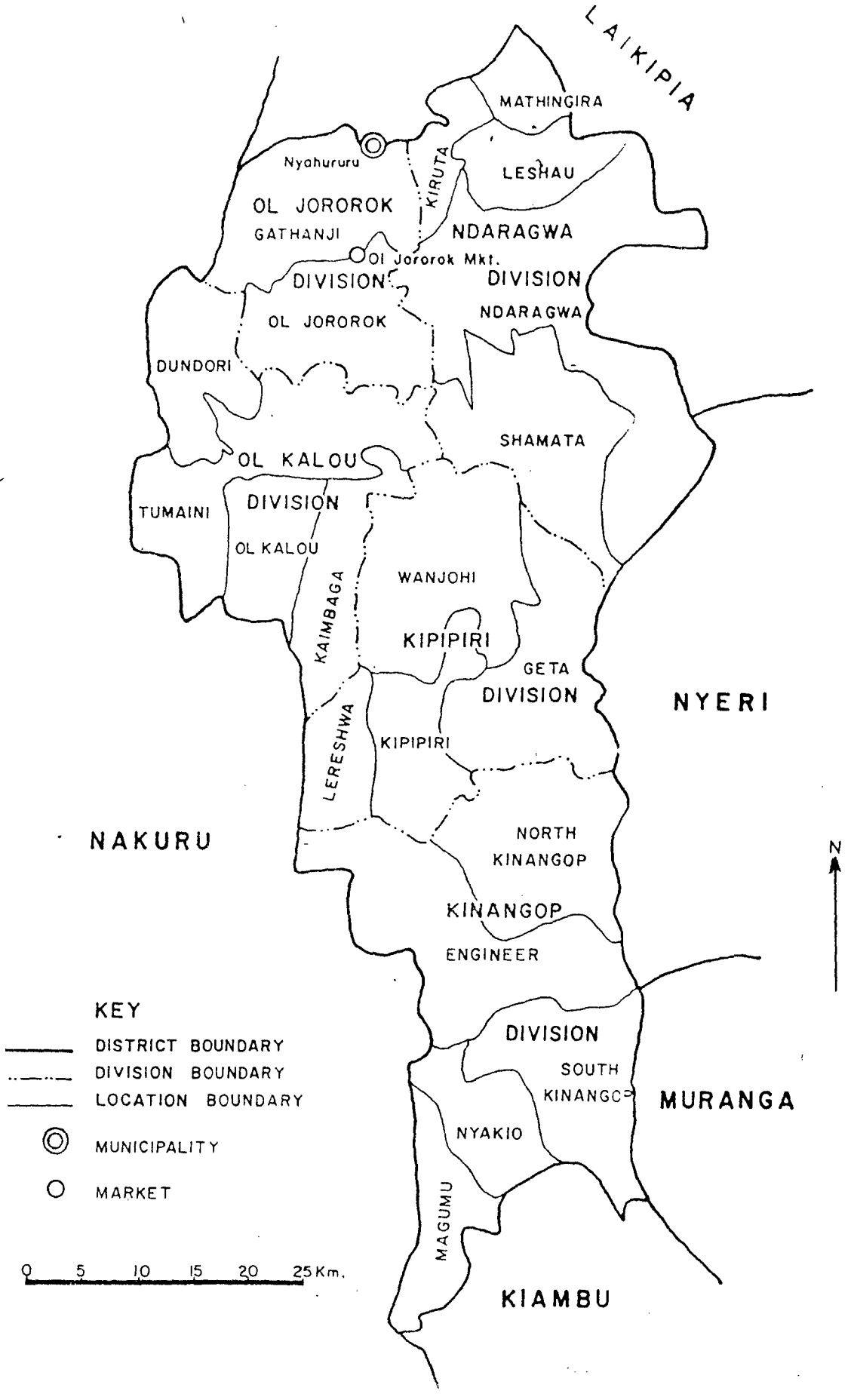

Figure 1 Nyandarua District administrative divisions.
Source: Development Plan 1989-1993

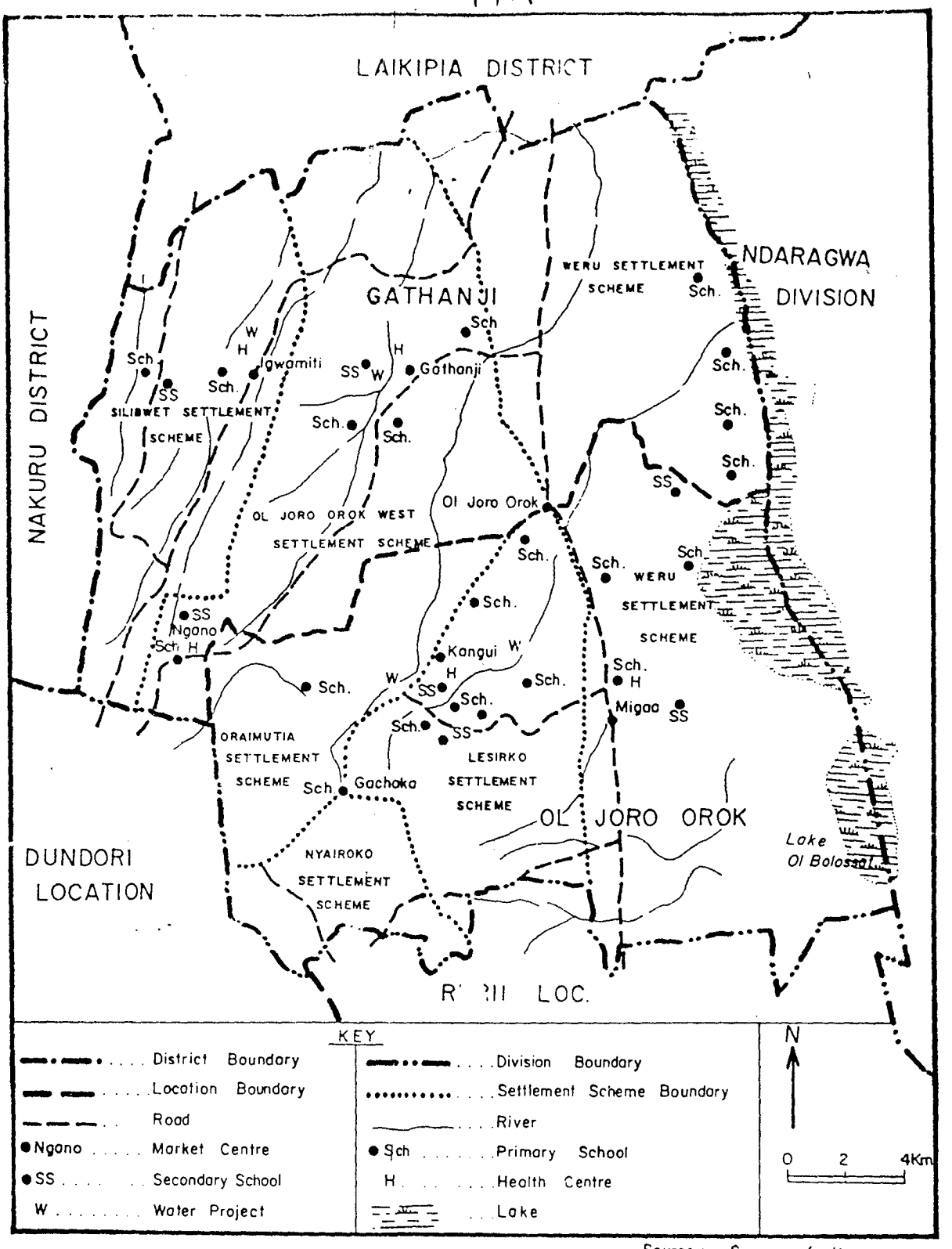

Fig. 2 : OL JORO OROK DIVISION.

Source : Survey of Kenya.

NB: Weru Settlement Scheme was initially known as Ol Joro Orok Salient Scheme