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Keywords: land, swynnerton plan, gender, nandi, Kenya.

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Prisca Tanui Too

Abstract- The 2010 Constitution of Kenya put in place clauses that support gender equality in land ownership and control but this has not led to women enjoying secure and equal rights to land. Women are the majority in the agricultural sector but their role is confined to provision of labour on land owned by a male member of the family. This paper adopts a historical perspective to trace the origin of this problem. It explore show the Swynnerton Plan of 1954 collaborated with patriarchy to close out women from owning and controlling land and how this influenced gender relations in agricultural production in Kenya and Nandi District in particular. The paper is an outcome of oral data collected in the field, archival material from Kenya National Archives and secondary data, mostly books and journals on the subject from various libraries. The main argument is that political, economic, social and ideological factors interacted in a complex manner and influenced men and women ownership of land. Gender relations are essentially perceived as inequitable power relations and in the Nandi society; women had less power than men. Consequently, they were unable to own or control land and most of the agricultural resources and proceeds from the farm. Their labour also ended up being controlled by men to produce agricultural products.

Keywords: *land, swynnerton plan, gender, nandi, kenya.*

I. Introduction

This paper examines the changes in women access to land and its impact on production in the period between 1954 and 1963. After World War II, the colonial administration faced serious economic and political problems in the African reserves. Land in the African reserves was exhausted due to overpopulation and over-cultivation without allowing for sufficient fallow or deploying fertility enhancing technologies. In other areas, there was destruction of vegetative cover due to overstocking. African reserves were on the brink of massive social and economic crisis that threatened the foundations of the colony's political economy (Berman, 1990:274).All this contributed to the stagnation of agriculture in African areas. In response, the colonial government established various development programmes in an attempt to arrest the problem.

In 1946, the Worthington Plan was established. In this Plan, it was argued that the problem facing Africa reserves was not overpopulation but mismanagement of soil. Under this Plan, African Land Development (ALDEV) was enacted. ALDEV endeavoured to limit the number of livestock kept and land producing cash crops in the reserves. Only subsistence crop surpluses were to be sold and traditional forms of land tenure and economic cooperation were to be preserved. Money was directed towards soil conserving projects such as terracing, strip-cropping, manuring, systematic culling and destruction of unwanted animals in overstocked areas. However, farming in accordance with what was viewed as good soil conservation practice did not solve the problem of soil conservation and the demand by African nationalists for the return of alienated land.

In 1951, attention was shifted to land tenure in African reserves. Governor Sir Philip Mitchell formed the East African Royal Commission, 1953-1955, to examine the state of the economy in African areas. The Commission was expected to make recommendations on ways to deal with the pressing and acute problems faced in African reserves, to preserve land or achieve yields above subsistence (Harberson, 1973:28) The Commission argued that indigenous tenure was a source of constraint to increased investment and agricultural output. It proposed the transformation of indigenous land tenure through individualization and registration (Kibwana, 1990:236, Ndege, 2000:107).

The Swynnerton Plan of 1954 detailed the implementation of this policy. It was stated that the main goal of the Swynnerton Plan was the intensification of agriculture in African areas. However, this plan was aimed at defeating the African demands for the return of "stolen land" in the white highlands. The socio-economic hardships experienced by Africans in the reserves had gotten worse. This state of affair led to African protest movements such as *Dini ya msambwa* in Western Kenya and the Mau Mau movement in Central Province. *Dini ya msambwa* was started in early 1940s and it combined traditional religious and political aspirations and served as a fundamental vehicle of agrarian protest. The movement recruited membership from the Luhya, Gusii, Pokot, Nandi and Karamojong. It was centred at Malakisi in Elgon but spread to Trans-Nzoia and Uasin-Gishu where squatters worked on settler farms (Aseka, 1989:366-367). The *mswambwa* movement was declared illegal in 1948 and thereafter

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members were arrested and charged with being members of an illegal society. The Mau Mau rebellion demanded the restoration of alienated land but this was ignored by the colonial state. Mau Mau movement led to a state of anarchy, to which the Governor Sir Everlyn Barring reacted by declaring a State of Emergency in October 1952.

The government felt that land reforms in Kikuyu in particular and Kenya in general would erode local support for Mau Mau. It established ways in which agricultural development in African areas could create a class of landowners. The class would comprise politically contented rural citizens who could have strong interest in upholding the existing status quo. Swyennerton observed that:"...energetic or rich Africans will be able to acquire more land and the bad or poor farmers less, creating a landed and landless class. This is a normal step in the evolution of a country."(Swynnerton, 1954:10)

Through the Plan, the colonial government initiated a process of agricultural change in African areas, which aimed at creating a class of conservative collaborators. Apart from individualization of land tenure there was commercialization of agriculture and the shift from subsistence to cash crops, intensification of production due to the use of high yielding seeds, fertilizers and technological innovations. Credit and extension services were also made available to the progressive farmers.

This study was mainly concerned with three issues, namely changes in land tenure, gender access to land and agricultural production. Access to land influences access to all other agricultural resources that affect production, this paper traces the origin of women's insecure land rights in Kenya and Nandi District in particular. The main focus of paper is to determine the place of changing gender relations in agricultural production in Nandi District between 1945 and 1963.

This paper was based on both primary and secondary sources. It relied on qualitative methods of data collection, specifically archival research, oral interviews and the review of related literature. The archival information used included official reports of the colonial period. Oral information was also heavily depended upon. A question guideline with open-ended questions was used in collecting data. Requisite information in books, journals, seminar papers, District Annual Reports, magazines, newspapers as well as theses and dissertations was harnessed from various research libraries.

II. Changes in Gender Access to Land in Nandi 1954-1963

The major provision of the Swynnerton Plan was the allotment and titling of individual plots of land in areas of high agricultural potential. This included the whole of Central Province, Embu, Meru, the whole of Nyanza Province, Kericho, Nandi, Elgeyo West Pokot and Taita Hills (Zwanenberg and King, 1975:150). Individual land enclosure in Nandi started in 1940s and by the 1950s the exercise had spread to all the Nandi reserve. This move caused so many land disputes in the reserve. Three-quarters of the total number of land cases up to the end of the first half of 1952 were disputes over boundaries of plots whose size and limits were rapidly being fixed for the first time (Snell, 1954: 113). Many such disputes were settled informally by the *Kokwet* (village)elders. However, the number of cases heard by the African courts increased from the second half of 1951. Many Nandi families were closed out in the allocation of land in the reserve. The majority of those who were affected were former squatters who had been forced back to the reserve in the 1940s.Land allotment and titling was first undertaken in the region neighbouring Uasin Gishu District, particularly in Ndalat, Mutwot and Cheptil between 1954 and 1958.

This part of the district is not of a high agricultural potential compared to Kapsabet, Aldai and Kapgangani where tea, coffee and sugar is grown. However, land allotment and titling was accelerated in this region due to the squatters' problem in the neighbouring Uasin Gishu.

By the 1950s there was acute shortage of land in Nandi reserve. The reserve could not absorb the excess squatters stock from Uasin Gishu. The reserve was already exhibiting signs of soil erosion (DC/NDI/5/1, KNA:1955-1956). Many of the former squatters had difficulty in finding land within the reserve. On 15th January 1956, the District committee closed Nandi border to stop the return of squatters and their cattle from the White Highlands to the reserve (DC/NDI/5/3: 1954-1957). In 1956 there were around 60,000 Nandi men who owned no land in the reserve (PC/NKU/3/2/16:1956-1961).The situation reflected a seriousortage of land for the Nandi in the reserve.

The then African Legislative Council representative for this region, Mr. Daniel Arap Moi, also voiced land shortage in Nandi in November 1957. He requested the Secretary of State for the return of the unoccupied portions of Tinderet, which consisted of a large part of the alienated land of the Nandi community (BV/3/24, KNA: 1954-1957). However, the request was not honoured. The chairman of the Agricultural Settlement Board in charge of the settlers argued that white settlers in Tindiret had been settled recently and that there was only one farm which was underdeveloped.

From the above, it is clear that individual land enclosure and population growth had caused land shortages in Nandi. The Colonial state was not willing to provide further room for expansion. The state was instead interested in implementing the Swynnerton Plan provisions in the northern part of Nandi reserve neighbouring Uasin Gishu, so as to forestall the squatter

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neighbouring Uasin Gishu, so as to forestall the squatter stock problem. The demarcation of boundaries in Ndalat and Mutwot took place between 1954 and 1955; the survey of the boundary began in 1956 (AN/42/29, KNA: 1954-1955). Ndalat and Mutwot in the northern part of Nandi became the first areas were registration of land titles was completed in 1958.

Oral sources indicate that the Nandi did not enthusiastically accept Land registration, a situation that generated the character of politics in the society. In Kosirai, they equated the land titles to marriage certificates issued in Christian marriages and called the exercise "marrying land." They feared that once land was registered, it would be alienated by the colonial government resistance to land registration, which was the core of this politics, was also encountered in parts of Cheptil in Nandi District. This was because registration of land was made to go hand in hand with skeletal planning for soil conservation, especially cut-off drains. The people were not willing to meet the expenses of constructing the cut-off drains.

However, by 1960 they had accepted land registration after a lot of persuasion (PC/NKU/2/16/32, KNA: 1959-1960). By 1962, land registration in Nandi had become popular; areas where land was not yet registered were requesting to have their land registered. The then Nandi member of the Legislative Council Jean M. Seroney had taken interest in the land registration programme. His support was partially responsible for the change of attitude among the Nandi. The other factor was the need to use land titles to access credit. In 1962, most of the progressive farmers in Nandi were struggling to buy land in the former While Highlands (AN/40/37, KNA, 1962-1963). By September 1962, forty-two Nandi people had bought farms in Uasin Gishu. The source of the finances to purchase land was bank loans. Thus, those in the northern part of the reserve whose land was registered early were able to use their land title deeds as collaterals. Most of them moved to Uasin Gishu and Trans Nzoia in the former White Highlands. The Nandi who were able to take large loans acquired large farms. Others formed groups and bought land which they sub-divided. Women were left out because most of them had no land titles to be used as collateral.

Individual holdings were determined by committees of indigenous male elders, appointed in accordance with Native Lands Registration Ordinance of 1959. As such they were seldom able to give advice that would lead to the strengthening of access rights to land by women. Holdings were either enclosed with wattle trees or sisal, which most of it had already been enclosed in the 1940s and early 1950s. The area was then surveyed and maps of registration areas made. Finally certificates of rights were issued. In pre colonial Nandi, there was no traditional individual male ownership of land, but now land was subdivided and allotted to adult males and in some cases female household heads with minor sons. Prior to this exercise, the Nandi did not enclose parcels of land in different areas, thus there was no need for consolidation, a problem that arose in other parts of Kenya. Native land rules passed in 1956 enabled private holdings of land to be registered in the names of male heads of household. The rules marked the beginning of a new phase, which was to continue into the postcolonial era. Parcels of land allocated were not less than ten acres and in many cases averaged twenty acres (PC/NKU/2/16:1960-1961). In 1961, during a meeting of District Commissioners from Rift Valley, a resolution was passed that a minimum economic acreage in Nandi to be as follows: all land of high potential which was suitable for growing of coffee, tea or pyrethrum was to be ten acres, land of average rainfall to be twenty acres and land suitable for ranches to be seventy five acres. However oral sources indicate that individuals who had already enclosed large tracts of land were permitted to register their land, which in many cases was larger than average holding

Clearly, women in Nandi did not participate in the process of division, adjudication and registration of land from the beginning. There was no woman in the Local Native Council, Land Committee or Land Board during this period. In pre-colonial Nandi, elders were in charge of the allocation of cultivated and grazing land. The cultivated land was allocated to each married woman. However, the Swynnerton Plan allocated land titles to men and not women. It did not take into consideration the significance of women's former usufruct rights in land. Women in Nandi did not benefit from the processes of land registration and titling. Berry, notes that peoples' ability to exercise claims to land is closely linked to membership in social network and participation in both formal and informal processes (Berry, 1989:104). Land transfer to an almost exclusive male individual tenure system was an imposition by the colonial policy, but it was institutionalized within a short period due to the patriarchal arrangements in Nandi. Women in Nandi were not allowed to participate in deliberations which affected the community; this was mainly the domain of elders. Introduction of cash crops and scarcity of land made it to acquire value, which could be equated to cattle and men owned anything of high value in the Nandi society. Women who were the main actors in crop production in the pre colonial period could no longer enjoy usufruct rights to land. Each woman, as already indicated, was allocated a portion of land to cultivate by the village elders at marriage. The registration of land on male names closed women out and could now access land through the owners, that is, husbands, fathers or brothers. Since women have been the main actors in agricultural production (from pre-colonial period)lack of access to land became a barrier to their full participation in agricultural production as demonstrated below.

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III. Crop Production

The colonial economic policies aimed at intensifying production predictably led to rapid economic growth, in African areas, between 1954 and 1963. There was an increase in the value of small holder produce from £5.1 to £11.6 million between 1954 and 1963 (Ndege, 2000:107). Nandi District was not an exception. However, the economic growth in this period generally consisted of growing commercialization of agricultural products and a shift from subsistence to cash crops. Intensification of crop production occurred mainly due to the use of high yielding seeds, fertilizers, pesticides and technological innovations. There were several new crops introduced to Nandi farmers during this period. Old crops such as maize were also encouraged. A large number of women were left out in this process since this was done on land owned by men. Their contribution was limited to offering labour in male dominated farms.

Maize had become the staple food for the Nandi by this time. Most of what was produced was consumed by the people. However, the good growing conditions meant that there was surplus for sale either at Kenya Farmers Association (KFA) or the Nyanza Provincial Marketing Board (NPMB). Maize surplus production kept on going up from 1955 to 1960. The increase in these years was mainly due to the increase in acreage and use of manure. Maize was both subsistence and a cash crop; production for the market gradually became the domain of men. Women were expected to offer their labour in male control farms in return they would be allocated maize for subsistence. The increase in maize production meant an increase in labour requirements to weed and harvest the produce. This increased women's workload in the farm

Crops introduced in Nandi district during this period include coffee; pyrethrum, sugarcane and tea.It is evident that the colonial policies during this period were aimed at encouraging development of cash crop production in African areas at all costs and it led to the increase of cash crop production in Nandi. Male farmers were targeted to produce the cash crops introduced in this region. However, engagement in wage labour did not hinder men from engaging in commodity/cash crop production. As owners of land, they did this by commanding female labour and controlling the proceeds from the cash crops. Thus the amount of labour expected from women drastically went up but they were not in control over land and the proceeds from the farm. The same trend was established in livestock production.

IV. Livestock Keeping

The Nandi received the introduction of grade cattle with a lot of enthusiasm. Most of the Nandi who had worked in the white highlands for European settlers readily adopted the new breeds. The Nandi were allowed to import grade cattle from the white highlands from 1956.By December milk supplies were outstripping demand and District veterinary officer advocated for ghee production. Poultry keeping for women's clubs were also introduced. Women were taught how to keep exotic poultry. Informants narrated how they visited European farms in Uasin Gishu, turbo area where large scale poultry were kept. By 1962, the demand for good breeding poultry could not be met. However, the prices of eggs fluctuated throughout the year.This discouraged Nandi women so that most of them abandoned commercial poultry keeping. This is the only agricultural production that targeted women. It was enthusiastically embraced by women but lack of market for eggs affected it. Poultry keeping was not regarded as a high income venture thus left to women to undertake.

From the foregoing it can be deduced that agricultural production in Nandi was intensified through addition of cultivated fields in crops such as maize, introduction of several cash crops, extension services, technology and credit. Commodity production was a male domain, while women were relegated to food production and what was regarded as low income activities such as poultry keeping. Women were denied the opportunity to command cash income. The colonial state and patriarchal nature of Nandi society played a major role in gendering agricultural production.

V. Agricultural Technology

Agricultural technology included tools, skills and processes which facilitated production in terms of reducing human energy expenditure, labour time, improve spatial mobility and alleviated material uncertainty (Stamp, 1989:49). A combination of technologies can enhance agricultural productivity of all farmers. However, colonial policy on adoption of new technology affected women and men differently because of the division of labour between them in the household and in agricultural production.

Application of manure on cultivated farms introduced in the 1940s was still emphasized during this period. By 1955 all agricultural staff in the district were expected to operate their own night *boma*s as an example to the rest of the community. The African District Council had passed a by-law making the use of night *boma*s compulsory during the dry weather. This was an effort to make manuring popular among the Nandi.(AN/42/30, KNA:1955-1956) By 1956, many night *boma*s had been constructed for dry weather use. Every cattle owner in the district was expected to have a night *boma* by the end of that year. Soil degradation in Nandi had led to low yields from the farm, thus the campaign to manure them so as to raise production. The manure could be transported to the cultivated farm by women. From 1952, there were preparations to introduce fertilizers in African peasant farming.

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African Explosive and Chemical industries supplied the fertilizers. Demonstrations on the use of fertilizer were carried out solely in maize production. Fertilizer inputs were distributed free to progressive farmers in order to encourage the community to adopt the fertilizers. In 1956 a considerable amount of artificial fertilizer, 400 bags, was in use on maize farms at Kosirai-Cheptarit area in the North. The results were satisfactory the yields were quite high (AN/42/21, KNA: 1956-1957). Artificial fertilizer was purchased and was available to farmers who could afford to buy. Progressive male farmers who produced cash crops were capable of purchasing the fertilizer. Women on the other hand did not have access to capital and thus could not afford fertilizer. From the foregoing it is evident that the introduction of fertilizers targeted cash crops, which were controlled by men. Food crops such as vegetables, millet, sorghum to name but a few, were ignored because they were not marketable, they were meant for local consumption and it was mainly the domain of women.

Artificial Insemination technology was introduced to Nandi during this period. By 1959, Artificial Insemination (AI) was still being debated on. The debate on the logistic of how to introduce AI in Nandi started in 1957(AN/42/33: 1960-1961). AI scheme was finally started in Kabiyet in Northern Nandi in 1960 but its success was quite limited. From February 1962, a mobile insemination team travelled daily through parts of the northern division, administering insemination where they were required (DC/KAPT/1/7/13, KNA: 1949-1967). However, there were technical difficulties encountered in this scheme which included farmers missing the cows' heat period thus keeping the cows 'unpregnant' for months. Farmers at times could detect a cow on heat but they were forced to wait upto 24 hours before the opportunity for AI service reached them, which could be too late.

In 1962 Artificial Insemination Department succeeded in training 600 women in a one day course at Baraton on ghee making, hygiene milk production, calf rearing and taking blood slides. AI officers targeted women because women did the bulk of the work on cattle keeping. However, due to lack of financial support AI scheme in north Nandi was discontinued at the end of 1963 (ibid). Apart from AI, the campaign to introduce grade cattle in Nandi was also undertaken by the Nandi farmers. By October 1956, farmers like Nathan Tarus and Paul Boit had taken the role of subsidiary stud breeders to the reserve (AN/42/88, KNA:1954-1957). Bull camps were also set up at Sarora and Kaimosi. The introduction of grade cattle in Nandi reserve made cattle dipping compulsory by 1962;this led to the construction of many dips in Nandi. At the beginning of 1963 there were 34 cattle dips but during the year a further twelve cattle dips were constructed and put in use. The introduction of grade cattle in Nandi also increased women's workload. Most of the men who engaged in keeping of grade cattle were those who engaged in wage labour, and commodity production. The new breeds needed a lot of care that is milking, dipping and feeding. Women carried out these tasks, though they had no control over the income gotten from cattle produce.

The use of tractors in Nandi started during this period. In 1958, the District Commissioner Nandi P.H. Brown reported that five farmers in Aldai had taken a loan and jointly purchased a tractor and its associated implements. Due to poor maintenance and management, the tractor kept breaking down. One of the members was also suspected to have embezzled funds acquired through contract ploughing in other farms. The tractor was sold and used to repay creditors. This was not a wise investment in the first place, Aldai in South Nandi has a rugged terrain and using a tractor to plough is not conducive.

By 1960 contract ploughing by white settlers in North Nandi had started. For example, on 24th January 1960, P.T. Visser applied to the District Commissioner Nandi to be allowed to engage in contract ploughing for the Nandi. On 27th January 1960, Gideon Tirop wrote to the District Commissioner urging him to allow Mr. P.T. Steen Kamp's tractor to plough in Nandi. To all these requests, the District Commissioner wrote back giving his consent. By 1963, quite a number of farmers in northern division of Nandi District had bought tractors and a few basic implements for use both in their own farms and in doing contract work for others(economic survey, 1963-1964:16). Tractor use was mainly a male domain, the colonial policy targeted male farmers in the introduction of tractors. The use of tractors in Nandi led to dramatic expansion of the acreage of land cultivated. In the White Highlands where most Nandi worked, the use of the plough was the domain of men. Thus women in Nandi reserve were left out but their work load greatly increased.

Most of the above technologies introduced in Nandi were male oriented. The male control of cash incomes made them the sole decision makers on the adoption and utilization of introduced agricultural technology. Consequently, women were marginalized from the means of increasing their productivity. Technological progress in agriculture did not target the work carried out by women. The social and economic constraints that shaped women's agricultural and domestic responsibilities in the pre-colonial era were intensified by the introduction of new technologies. For example, the use of tractors increased poor women's workload in weeding, transporting and harvesting. For women whose husbands were well-off, the introduction of new technology reduced their workload but such technologies closed them out of agricultural production.

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VI. Extension Services

The Swynnerton Plan aimed at intensifying agricultural production in African areas proposed increase in agricultural and veterinary advisory services to follow land consolidation and registration. Agricultural extension is an educational process with the aim of taking information and technology to farmers and teaching them how to use them to improve their productivity. Extension service also specifies the needs of the farmers and tries to solve them. Extension services link the farmer with the outside world – the scientist, the creditor and the consumer. Colonial agricultural policy geared the extension services towards the few 'progressive' male farmers, who were entrusted with the production of cash crops and other agricultural commodities for the market. However, women clubs proposed by the East African Royal Commission were established during this period. East Africa Royal Commission stated that:

It is just as important to obtain the confidence and co-operation of women in the villages as that of men. Women indeed play a major part in cultivation and all the efforts to teach the men the benefits of better farming may be frustrated if women are not converted too. This is an aspect of extension work which presents peculiar difficulties, due partly to the backwardness of women's education and partly to the inferior status of women in many tribes *...much can be done through women's institutes and clubs, which at present often tend to neglect agriculture* ...In devising new farming methods it must be remembered that unless the method is properly explained to them, women cannot be expected to understand the necessity for change, which often give them more work to do and bring little profit (East African Royal Commission, 1954:377).

It can be deduced from the above that the colonial authorities recognized the important role women played in agriculture but they felt that they were unable to adopt new changes. Thus all efforts of agricultural extension services were geared towards men. Women institutes were established in African reserves from 1946. They were run by European ladies who were interested in African social welfare and who could volunteer a few hours of their spare time. The main objective of the institutes or clubs was to promote better living conditions of African women and to raise their standards. They were seen as main avenues of improving subsistence farming and peoples eating habits. The clubs would encourage better land use, the growing and cooking of nutritious foods and improvement and diversification of livestock. *Maendeleo ya wanawake* as the Club was known mainly taught things like hygiene, child welfare, knitting embroidery, baking, poultry keeping and vegetable growing.

Women were also trained on ghee making, calf rearing and how to keep milk clean. The first women course on the above was held in 1954 at Baraton. Three women attended the course but it needed a lot of persuasion to get them attend it. They insisted on carrying their smallest children with them; "it was a common sight to see very senior veterinary assistants with a small baby clutched in their arms, playing the part of *Ayah* so that "mother" could do her practical"(AN/42/30, KNA: 1955-1956). From its inception, women's attendance of such courses was constrained by their lack of time and mobility resulting from cultural norms, their domestic responsibilities and their workloads.

From 1958, extension work targeting men was carried out through the medium of field days. Respondents pointed out that during the field days, the agricultural department staff performed demonstrations. Among the techniques taught were tea planting, keeping of grade cattle, preparing fodder for the cattle, coffee growing, soil conservation methods, manuring, the use of fertilizer, wheat growing, how to use and repay loans among many other techniques. Field days extension work was also carried into the women sphere with talks and demonstration of vegetable growing, childcare, diet, combating diseases among others. Men and women were not mixed during field days yet; women carried much of the work on cash crop production and dairy cattle production. Such teachings were directed to men. During this period, extension work was also carried out using visits to advanced farms. Small groups of farmers were taken to European farms largely with the objective of inspecting and buying stock and grass management. Extension services in Nandi were also carried out by establishing, farm assessment scheme. The District Commissioner, in co-operation with all departments, worked out the scheme. In this scheme, farms in the District were inspected and awarded points on soil conservation, use of manure, condition of cattle and grazing, housing among others. Prizes were awarded to the winner in each chief's area and competition among the progressive farmers was encouraged on these occasions. Those who were poor did not participate in the competition.

Demonstration plots were also undertaken in Nandi to teach the farmers how to establish and maintain them. For example, in 1955, all the agricultural staffs in the district were operating their own night *boma*s as an example to the rest of the community. In order for agricultural staff to provide seedlings for new crops they also established tree nurseries. In Nandi, a large tea nursery was established in 1958. Crop demonstrations were also carried out in the District.

Adult agricultural courses were offered at Baraton and Kaimosi Agricultural Centre from 1960. In 1960, the Nandi were reluctant to turn up for their allocation of courses at Kaimosi agricultural training centre. The Nandi were offered 4 courses in a year lasting for one to three weeks. In 1960, one had to be

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cancelled due to lack of support. For the other three courses only 43 people turned out to fill 75 vacancies. By then the Nandi had not realized the importance of such a course to their agricultural activities. By 1962, there was no shortage of farmers to fill courses, but the duration was shortened. In most cases one day or two-day courses replaced the one-week course on a variety of subjects.

In 1963, Home Economics was introduced in Nandi. This was aimed at training women understand the varieties and cultivation practices that produce food crops in the home gardens and solve nutritional problems. Two ladies qualified to teach Home Economics were stationed at Kaimosi Farmers Training Centre. They organized courses for women at Kaimosi and Baraton. However, they taught home economics courses while men who attended adult farmer's courses were taught advanced agricultural courses.

Agricultural training in Nandi was also carried out during chief *barazas* (meetings). In the presence of any agricultural campaign in the district, the agricultural officers could attend the *baraza* or pass the information to the chief so as to reach all the people. *Barazas* purposely meant for agricultural teaching of the people were also held. Nandi women were culturally not allowed to attend male *baraza*. Thus they could not access the agricultural knowledge disseminated in such forums.

From the foregoing it is evident that from its inception extension services for increased agricultural production was not meant for women. Female farmers who went for training concentrated on home economics. The extension services offered to the Nandi concentrated on the tasks and activities more relevant to men. Women were also limited by their lack of time and access to land and other resources such as technology and credit. The extension services did not achieve the intended goal because women who were the actual workers in the farms were not targeted.

VII. Agricultural Credit

Credit is the most significant input in agricultural production. Agricultural credit in Kenya started in 1931, with the establishment of the Land and Agricultural Bank. The bank provided credit for farm improvement and also settled existing settler debts in commercial banks. African farmers were excluded from this operation (Maxon, 1992:256). After World War II the colonial government undertook a series of interventions intended to support nascent African capitalist farmers. The government gave African farmers small loans to purchase implements and inputs and technical advice (Lovett, 1889:38). During this period African Land Development (ALDEV) controlled most of the loans given to African farmers. ALDEV was established in 1946 and it operated under the Ministry of Agriculture. Its main objective was to inject into African areas funds and staff to carry out soil conservation in African areas.

From 1946 to 1954, the number and amount of loans issued by ALDEV to Africans was minimal. In 1954, funds were provided by the British government aimed at the intensification of agriculture in African areas. The money amounted £5 million (pounds) and the issuing of loans to Africans was to be administered by ALDEV (East African Royal Commission, 1953, p. 45). Enclosure of land, soil conservation, manuring, improved livestock keeping and good farming were some of the requirements which had to be met by an individual in order to obtain a loan from ALDEV. Apart from issuing loans to individuals, ALDEV also gave loans to African District Councils, irrigation schemes and individual water supplies.

The first loan issued to an individual, under the Swynnerton Plan in Nandi was given in 1955, to Henry Kichwen and company to purchase a tractor (AN/42/30, KNA: 1955-1956). However, members of South Nandi Tractor Company were unable to repay back the loan. Members of South Nandi Tractor Company were all men. Before repaying the above loan one member, Henry Kichwen took another personal loan. In order to recover this loan, his property was auctioned including cattle, car, bicycle and other farm implements and credited to his loan account. He was also to submit half of his monthly salary as a teacher. This action acted as a lesson in the whole district, the Nandi developed a positive attitude towards loan repayment.

I t was not until 1961 that a small number of women borrowed loans. In a list of 63 farmers who applied for loans, and were approved, were three women; Tabarno Kobot Kirwa, Aweti Kobot Keter and Tabkurgoi. These women were probably widows who got land because they had junior sons. They could use their land titles as collateral following land registration. These were the first and the only women who acquired agricultural loans during this period. Loan repayment in Nandi by 1962 was still a problem but thewomen who took loans in Nandi repaid their loans on time compared to men.

The colonial policy which favoured men's participation in commodity production closed out a large number of women from accessing credit to develop their agricultural activities during this period. Before 1962, when land title deeds were not required, cultural barriers barred them from acquiring the loan. Even though women carried out all the agricultural activities, culture forced them to request the husband to ask for an agricultural loan in their own name. All the money, in some cases could not be ploughed back to agricultural activities leading to problems in repayment. The loan was mainly directed or aimed at the progressive male farmers. As indicated in the colonial report in 1963, that loans were mainly issued to the areas of high potential

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for soil conservation and to individual African farmers for general development.

VIII. Conclusion

From the above it can be deduced that the implementation of the Swynnerton Plan, aimed at intensifying Africa agriculture shaped both men and women ownership and control over land and other agricultural to resources. However, although identical processes patterned men and women's daily lives, they were affected by them in very different ways. In order to contextualise, analyse and affirm the validity of women's experiences of those processes this disparity must be acknowledged.

The state action, economic and ideological aspects interacted to determine gender relations of production in Nandi. The state transferred land was to an almost exclusive male, individualized tenure system which left no provision concerning how women's access rights were to be defined. This limit generally operated to require that woman remained in a viable relationship with men in order to enjoy access to agricultural land and other forms of movable wealth. Ownership of land was a way in which rights of a woman to property was most rigidly and minutely regulated.

The state also directed its efforts to promoting agricultural commodities at men's sources of power and authority and as beneficiaries of state effort to alter African land usage and tenure. Resources such as technology, credit and extension services were directed to them. Men controlled women's labour and the income accrued from selling the produce from the farms. That is, women were left in the reserve to work on farms owned by men. Due to the ownership of land, men had absolute control over the labour of women and the produce gotten from the farms. As such, women lacked control of their own labour and the proceeds accrued from selling agricultural commodities. This created a situation whereby men gained the right over major surplus most women generated in the farm. Women as agents of change reacted to their subordination and marginalization in various ways. Some continued to plant millet in their gardens, which they used for brewing beer. The beer was used either to acquire labour or sold for an income. Others took off to urban areas where they were employed as house helps, engaged in prostitution and beer brewing – a process which started in 1930s. By 1950s the number of Nandi women deserting their marriage was quite high; this is indicated by the high number of Nandi men asking for permission or "passes" in order to search for their wives.

While marriage provided a Nandi woman with access to agricultural land, it also placed her labour and that of her children formally under the control of her husband and landowner. It was mainly women's labour and activities that maintained and reproduced the household. Women took care of children, aged parents and worked in the farms. Men collaborated with the colonial state in limiting women movement to urban areas. To the colonial state, women's labour in rural areas was instrumental in establishing the migrant labour system and the parameters for conditions under which social reproduction of labour force occurred. Women subsidized capitalist production and underpined those social relations on which the state based its rule. Men were paid low wages and taxed, the entire surplus generated by their labour was appropriated by the settlers and the state. The types of agricultural commodities and their prices were controlled by the colonial state. As such, the economic condition of men could not change much.

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