

REGIONAL DISPARITIES IN ECONOMIC
DEVELOPMENT : THE KENYAN EXPERIENCE

SIMEON ONGOL ODIDI

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"Those who have treated of the sciences have been empirics or dogmatical. The former like ants only heap up and use their store, the latter like spiders spin out their own webs. The bee - a mean between both extracts matter from flowers of the garden and the field but works and fashions it by its own efforts."

- Francis Bacon

While the desire to know is wide, it is seldom strong enough to overcome the more powerful organic need and few indeed possess both the liking and ability to face the arduous difficulties of scientific method. The desire to know is not often strong enough to sustain critical enquiry. People are generally interested in the results and not in the technical methods whereby these results and their truth always is tested and verified. Many readers too, are interested only in the finished product not the raw materials.

Throughout my stay at Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics (GIPE), I have had time to ponder, reflect and subject myself to self examination. As a consequence, I have been able to discover enough to know how little I know. A truly sincere and honest person must learn to recognize his own limitations. He has to be brave enough to see through everything - including himself. He must learn to be articulate more so if he is an alien.

When he finds himself handicapped by the inability to communicate with his peers, it is upon his task to readjust and to withdraw himself to learning by observation, listening, registering and digesting whatever he gathers by way of his sensory reflexes. These in turn help him to modify his social attitudes. Indeed, it is the social attitude of an investigator, rather than his method of analysis, which will either

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distort or enlighten his view of the real world, and may either limit or widen both the explanatory value and predictability of his proposed study.

I think this unique phenomenon is wholly Indian. Indeed, if there is truly any gift that a year's stay in India has given me and which I must carry back with me to cherish throughout my life, that gift is inherent in my discovery of the Gandhian dictum "Simple living, keen observation and clear thinking". Reflection is, no doubt, the beginning of knowledge.

This study began as an attempt to write a critical review of the literature pertaining to the growth centre/growth pole theory and to determine its relevance and irrelevance to the Kenyan development priorities. I must admit how at first I became imbued with enthusiasm and enormous ambition under the illusion that the going would be easy. I was very wrong.

Three months of combined research and writing is too short a time for one to be able to produce work of quality. Only after I began the work did it become apparent to me that in empirical investigation, what the facts are must be determined by inquiry and cannot be otherwise so that foolish opinions and value judgements are always readily eliminated by the power of facts. No matter how much one may want to say, it is virtually impossible to say anything that lacks the support of facts.

Facts too need organization. To gather facts in the course of an investigation without knowing what to do with them is tantamount to accumulating building materials without building a house. Moreover, while a research in itself is a process that requires a skilled technique, no one has been able to know as yet of a way by which to supply at once creative ability to those who lack such techniques. As a consequence, a thesis supervisor must endure the suffering and indignation of perpetually repeating the same ideas over and over again to his

student before the latter is capable of grasping the subject matter. Such suffering became quite acute when time limit prevails and the project big.

I have also been taken aback to discover that in spite of many of my shortcomings I came to find in a man of the calibre of my guide who never hesitates to comfort his student and who has been most willing to always show that the difficulties a research student is apt to face are quite normal experiences. Early in time, he was able to bring to my awareness that none of the precautions of scientific method can prevent a new researcher from being amateurish. Hence no beginner in scientific investigation will know ahead of time what path to follow reaching his goal notwithstanding.

This latter burden must rest with the guide so that when Rabindranath Tagore equates schooling with a factory where everyone is a worker-participant, the paradox of education unpackages itself quite clearly. He says: "What we call school in this country is really a factory and the teachers are part of it." That is, teachers must labour along with their students and often times even more than the latter.

This no doubt, is what has happened between me and my mentor, Professor V.M. Dandekar. My greatest gratitude goes to him for having been able to show concern to my work in spite of his involvement in various academic and professional responsibilities. I must in particular thank him for having been instrumental in helping me narrow my topic from a broader conceptualization of growth pole theory down to the basic topic of "Regional Disparities in Economic Development".

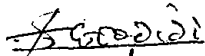
Numerous people have rendered great assistance to me in the course of this endeavour and it is not possible to thank them individually. My obligation to them is great. It is a pleasure, however, to acknowledge the stimulus I have received from Professor N. Rath, the Director, Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, without whom I would have prematurely

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abandoned my tenure way back in February. My thanks go also to Mzee V.N. Inamdar who has very ably assisted me by organizing a great deal of tables and statistical material in accordance with the thesis format. The latter happens to be my typist and his prompt typing has helped me overcome unnecessary delay.

In all, however, the memory of my long time friend Obuya Ogendo is always with me.

Gokhale Institute of
Politics and Economics,
Pune-411 004, India.


Simeon Ongol Odidi

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PREFACE

This is a country study. Our concern is with regional disparities in economic development of Kenya. The study attempts to delineate the trends of regional inequalities among Kenya's eight regions.* This is done by examining the available data since independence. Hence, the study covers a twenty year period (1963-1983). Five variables have been chosen for this analysis. These are land, agriculture, urbanization, industrial production and social services i.e. education and health.

Chapter I is introductory in that it presents a general geographical overview of Kenya. This includes a discussion of the physical features such as climate, vegetation and topography, and how the latter three have influenced the country's demographic distributions.

Chapter II analyses the regions of Kenya i.e. how they were formed, the people inhabiting them, their distribution and densities. The chapter also examines the types of land available in terms of its quality classification and how such lands are distributed regionally.

Land distribution on the basis of tenure is discussed in Chapter III. Three systems of tenure are examined. These

* The terms "regions" and Provinces are used interchangeably throughout the study.

are government lands, freehold lands and trust lands. Our purpose here, is mainly to try to show how these three categories came to evolve and the economic impact these systems of tenure may have had on the lives of the Kenyan people. Chapter III also discusses the process of land reforms in Kenya. This is done at two levels, namely, land registration and land settlement schemes.

In Chapter IV, we extend our discussion of land to include land utilization as a prelude to the pattern of agriculture in Kenya. This is done sequentially by first analysing small farm production. Then, we move to discuss large-farm production before combining small and large-farms together. Thereafter, we juxtapose livestock production on the latter two in order to present a general pattern of the agricultural sector as a whole.

Urbanization is discussed in Chapter V. Our approach in this section is basically normative. We have avoided indulging in unnecessary polemics about the development of urban primacy and instead have only given the data to show that urbanization is accelerating rapidly in Kenya. But by doing so, the idea has been to show the dwindling nature of traditional societies as a result of demographic adjustments caused by rural-urban population drift.

The industrial sector is discussed in Chapter VI where we examine the development policies from the first to the fourth Plans. Our aim in this chapter is basically to reveal

the nature of the Kenya government's industrial location policies. In addition, this is considered necessary as a prelude to explaining the nature of inequality in industrial resource endowments in the country.

The provision of social services is analysed in Chapter VII. This is done in two categories, namely education and health. Education is analysed in relation to primary, secondary, technical and teacher training enrolments, both at the national and regional levels. The section also analyses the break-up of trained and untrained teachers and their countrywide distribution. Health is discussed in relation to the problems of inadequacy of health staff at the national and regional levels, as well as health institutions and hospitals facilities (beds and cots) available in the country.

The last chapter draws conclusions from the foregoing.

CHAPTER I

KENYA : INTRODUCTION

In the centre of Kenya, and in particular towards the northern part of Central Province, lies the country's highest mountain peak. Legend has it that once upon a time, this peak was revered by the local natives who regarded it as the holy abode of their ancestral God. "Kere Nyaga"* as they called it was not only the greatest but an awe-inspiring mountain of light [Brown, 1972, p. 18].

When the European explorers arrived in the middle of the 19th century, may be because of difficulties in pronunciation, they modified the term "Kere Nyaga" to read "Kenya" and from thereon the country became known as "Kenya".

As is the case with all the former European colonies in Africa, Kenya's territorial boundary is the direct outcome of the European scramble for African lands. In the Berlin Conference of 1884-85[@], the major European nations unilaterally converted Africa's land into various appendages of colonial states.

Actual fixation of Kenya's boundary was finalized in

* One district in Central Province actually draws its name from it (i.e. the "Kirinyaga district").

@ For those interested in the early colonial formation in Africa, a good beginning would be Robin Hallet, Africa: Since 1875, The University of Michigan Press, 1974.

the treaty of 1890,* which divided the country's areas between the British and German zones of influence [Colonial Series No. 1, 1926, pp. 6-16]. Therefore, in its present form the country's boundaries do not conform to any specific socio-economic homogeneity.

For instance, it is not unusual to find cases where particular ethnic groups were split during the boundary demarcations. The Kenyan-Tanzania border where the Luos and Masais reside is a case in point.

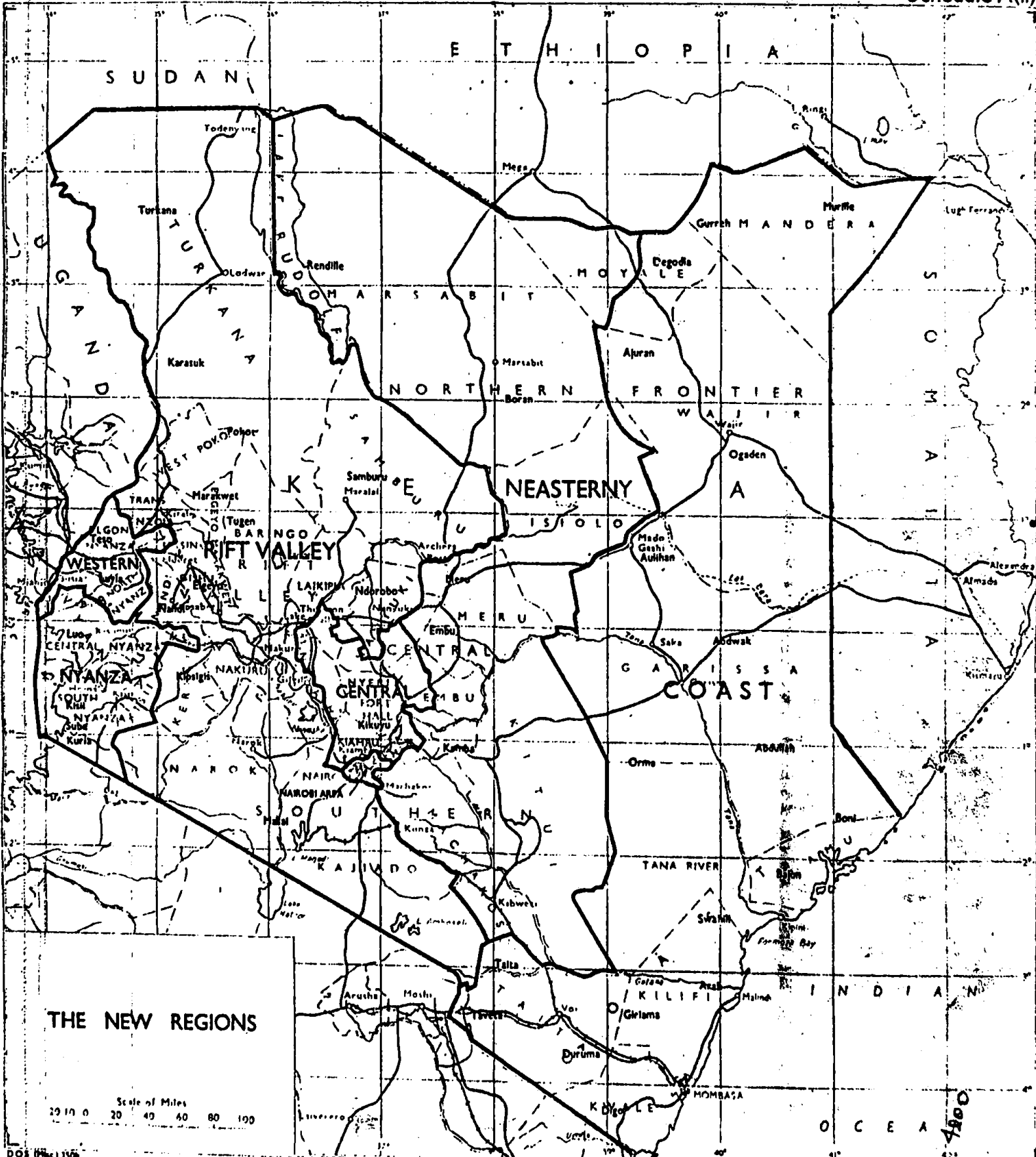
Kenya lies between 32° and 42° longitude East. It is a medium sized country in a surface area of 58,264,600 hectares. This area extends approximately four degrees each side of the equator. It is bordered to the north by Ethiopia and by Sudan to the northwest. Somalia Republic lies on the east while Uganda is to the west. Tanzania and Indian Ocean lie on the south and south-east respectively [please see Map].

Part of Kenya's surface area, about 1,123,000 hectares is under open water. The latter includes parts of Lake Victoria that lie within the country's territorial boundary. It also includes the areas occupied by lakes Turkana,[@] Naivasha, Baringo and a variety of smaller lakes mainly in the Rift Valley.

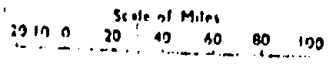
Physical features divide Kenya into three areas. The first is the arid and semi-arid areas that extend from

* Robin Hallet, op.cit., p. 49 and p. 289.

@ Formerly Lake Rudolf.



THE NEW REGIONS



Ethiopian border in the north right down to the south-eastern portion of the country bordering Tanzania. Much of the interior of this arid areas receives less than 254 mm of rainfall annually. The area is almost a desert and is inhabited by nomadic people. Pastoralism constitutes the mainstay in these areas. Moreover, even the outlying grassland plains with annual rainfall of between 254 and 508 mm have only a relatively low stocks carrying capacity of more than four hectares per stock unit.

In contrast with arid and semi-arid zones, the remaining two areas comprise the highland plateau complex, the coastal belt and the lake Victoria regions. The latter two separate the country into the low lands and highland areas. The low lands extend along the coast and from the lake Basin area towards the interior. The highland region located in the centre of the country constitutes a central plateau with an elevation of between four thousand and ten thousand feet above the sea level. This highland region is further broken by the great Rift Valley and a number of mountain peaks. Since the highland region lies athwart the equator and because of its high elevation, it manifests a semi-temperate climate.

The overall countrywide climate is tropical with wet and dry seasons. Rains begin in late March and continue through June. Some parts occasionally experience second wet seasons during November and December. The striking differences in altitude and topographical changes together with climatic variations between the hot coastal lowlands and the

plateau areas make Kenya the most diverse country in East Africa. There is, for example, a fertile belt of tropical vegetation along the coastal border. But as one moves further inland towards the plateau areas, both the climate and vegetation begin to change.

Away from the plateau and upland areas towards the western portion of the country, the land drops slowly into the lake Victoria regions. This area comprises both Nyanza and Western Provinces. Known also as the "Kavirondo Gulf", much of the country's rich and fertile land is concentrated within these areas.

In terms of its ranking by population within Africa, Kenya is the sixth most populous country in sub-Saharan Africa. This follows after Nigeria, Ethiopia, South Africa, Zaire and Tanzania. It ranks tenth in the whole continent and forty-seventh in the world [World Bank Report, 1984, Table 19; see also Kenya: Population and Development, Chapt. 4, Para 2, pp. 1-2].

No census record for the Africans exists prior to 1948. Apart from the widely differing guesses of the early European travellers, the first census estimate of the native population appears to be that of Sir Arthur Harding who in 1897 put it at two-and-a-half million [East African Royal Commission Report 1953-1955, p. 464]. Five years later in 1902, this figure was amended to four million persons [ibid.].

Reportedly, between 1905 and 1920, the African population did suffer from a series of disasters ranging from famine,

outbreaks of communicable diseases such as smallpox to locust attacks on plantations [Norman Leys, 1924, p. 282]. In consequence, the population declined. After 1930s, the African population began to increase again. But estimates were still based on rough calculations.

It was only in the 1948 census, that a much reliable figure of 5,405,966 was given with an overall density of 24 persons per sq.mile. Population in the successive censuses is 8,636,263 in 1962; 10,942,705 in 1969 and 15,327,061 in 1979. This gives a steady annual rate of growth of about 3.4 per cent over a 31 year period. It should be noted however that this apparent near-equality in the rate of growth casts some doubt on the accuracy of the 1948 census. Estimates show a natural increase rate of less than 3 per cent per annum. Moreover, the rate of external migration which manifests itself quite clearly in Table 1.2 below (1962-1969 period) is not large enough to explain the difference between this and the growth rate. According to the World Bank, it may be that an improvement in the accuracy of the census total for 1962 is responsible for the differences during 1948-1962. Hence they assign a growth rate of 2.8 per year at a total population of about 5,800,000 persons arguing further that the latter is more consistent than that of 5,405,966 persons for 1948 [Kenya: Population and Development, 1980, p. 3]. Otherwise, the growth rate of 3.4 per cent per annum during 1962/69/79 is fairly consistent with the independent estimates of birth rates and death rates for the period

and for which we show in Table 1.1 below.

Table 1.1 : Population Growth in Kenya, 1948-1979

Year	Population	Increase in number (Annual)	% Rate of growth per annum	Births	Deaths	Crude birth rate per 1000 popu- lation	Crude death rate per 1000 popu- lation
1948	5,405,966					50	25
1962	8,636,263	231,000	3.4	7,320	1,622	50	20
1969	10,942,705	330,000	3.4	121,872	28,702	50	17
1979	15,327,061	438,400	3.4	306,886	50,029	53	14

Source: Calculations based on data in the Statistical Abstract, 1983, Table 17, p. 17.

The World Bank estimates Kenya's population in 1985 as 19 million people and assigns a rate of growth of about 4.0 per cent per annum. This is both the highest in the world as well as the highest ever recorded for any country. Furthermore, the above report shows a rising trend in the level of fertility together with a remarkable improvement in health services during the last three decades [Ibid., Chapt. 1, Para 8, p.12]. The latter is attested to by the sharp decline in the crude death rate and infant mortality together with a corresponding sharp increase in life expectancy. Hence the combined effect of rising fertility and falling mortality rate have no doubt given rise to the increase in the rate of growth of population as a whole.

Estimates for crude birth and death rates in Kenya since 1948 is given in Table 1.1 above. It will be seen from the Table that the main reason* for the rising rate of population increase is the steep decline in deaths. In 1948, for instance, the crude death rate was 25, infant mortality@ 184 and life expectancy 35 years. By 1969, the crude death rate had dropped to 17 per 1000 population, infant mortality to 119 per 1000 population, while life expectancy rose from 35 years to 49 years [Table 1.1 above]. This improvement in life expectancy appears to have been well above most of the LDCs on average.

According to the 1979 census report, about 96.33 per cent of Kenya's population are Africans. Non-Africans comprise Asians 1.25 per cent, Europeans 0.66 per cent and Arabs 0.25 per cent. In all about 1.2 per cent of total population is classified as non-Kenyans (Table 1.2 below). Table 1.2 also gives a racial break-down of Non-African population in Kenya from 1948 to 1979. It will be noticed that external migration was quite significant during 1962-1969 period. This is illustrated by a negative rate of increase. This decline did not, however, have any direct effect on the country's rate of growth of population as a

* Resulting from the improved health services in the country during the past three decades.

@ Mortality and life expectancy figures are taken from Kenya : Population Development, 1980; and Henin, Roushdi A., An Assessment of Kenya's Family Planning Programme 1975-1979, Florence, Italy, June 1985.

Table 1.2 : Growth of Non-African Population in Kenya,
1948-1979

	1948	1962	1969	1979	Per cent rate of increase		
					1948-1962	1962-1969	1969-1979
Europeans	29,660	55,759	40,593	35,456	87.9	-27.2	-12.6
Asians	97,687	176,613	139,037	46,046	80.7	-21.3	-66.8
Arabs	24,174	34,048	27,886	20,285	40.8	-18.1	-27.2
Total	151,521	266,420	207,516	101,787	75.8	-22.1	-50.9
Per cent of Total Population	2.80	3.80	1.89	0.66			

Source : Calculations Based on Statistical Abstract, 1983,
Table 11, p. 12.

whole. In Table 1.3, we give a general break-down of the principal tribes in Kenya between 1948 and 1979.

African population consists of about 39 tribes and for which the principal ones are given in Table 1.3. These principal tribes represent also tribal clusters most of whom belong to the Bantus, Nilotic, Nilo-Hamitic and the Cushitic language groupings. The Bantu-speaking group are the majority - accounting for 66 per cent of total population. Members in this group comprise Kikuyu,* Kisii, Kamba, Luhya, Meru, Embu and the like.

* These together with the Embu and Meru are also often referred to as the "Agikuyu".

Table 1.3 : Population Growth by Principal Tribal Groups, 1962-1979 (1948 Data*)

	1962	1969 ^{@@}	1979	Per cent Increase	
				1962-1969	1969-1979
Kikuyu	1,642,065	2,201,632	3,202,821	34.07	45.47
Luo	1,148,335	1,521,595	1,955,845	32.50	28.53
Luhya	1,086,409	1,453,302	2,119,708	33.77	45.85
Kamba	933,219	1,197,712	1,725,569	28.34	44.07
Kisii	538,343	701,679	944,087	30.34	34.54
Meru	439,921	554,256	840,504	25.98	51.64
Mijikenda	414,887	520,520	732,830	25.46	40.78
Tugen	109,651	130,249		18.78	69.53
Kipsigis	341,771	471,459	1,652,243 [@]	37.94	
Elgeyo	100,871	110,908		9.95	
Nandi	170,085	261,969		54.02	
(Sub-Total)	722,378	974,585		34.91	
Turkana	181,387	203,177	207,249	12.01	2.00
Masai	154,079	154,906	241,395	0.53	55.83
Embu	95,647	117,969	180,400	23.33	52.92
Taita	83,613	108,684	153,119	29.98	40.88

* Not available.

** With others not mentioned, these constitutes the Kalenjin tribal cluster.

@ Given collectively in 1979 data; Statistical Abstract 1983.

@@ Taken from Census Report 1969.

Source : Statistical Abstract, 1983.

The Nilotic group comprise only one tribe namely the Luos. The Nilo-Hamitic group comprise the Masai, the Samburu, Nandi, Elgeyo, Turkana, Tugen Iteso, Nderobo and Njemps. Together the Masai, Pokot, and Saboot tribes account for 15 per cent of total population. Both Masai and Kalenjin are the dominant tribes within this group and accounts for 12 per cent of total population. The last tribal cluster is the Cushitic language group which comprises the Somalis, Rendille, Gabbra and the like. The latter group account for about 4 per cent of total population.

Kenya's tribes can also be differentiated further on the basis of their economic occupations. The Bantus, Nilotics and the Kalenjin tribal groups have agriculture as their mainstay. These tribes (live) inhabit the areas around Lake Victoria Basin and in some areas in the Highlands and along the Coast. The pastoral Masai inhabit the south-eastern plains while the nomadic Somalis, Rendille and Gabbra roam Kenya's arid North-Eastern Province.

Individual tribes have distinct tribal dialects. However, the country's official language is Kiswahili - a lingua Franca with roots in Asiatic languages. But the use of English dominates.

Kenya claims to be a liberal* capitalist government

* In reality, however, the government is quite conservative in that the press is highly censored and the availability of free literature especially of leftist inclination is severely denounced. Even the works of local Kenya writers that tend to interpret Kenya's post-colonial economic scenario are increasingly discouraged. Some writers have actually been put in detention because (presumably) their work give critical assessment of the true Kenyan social atmosphere.

since it became independent from the British colonial rule on December 12th, 1963. It is a democratic republic based on the British constitutional system. The country has a one-party state and its liberal policy has allowed a small minority of well placed people within the government to amass much wealth. This has led to a widening gap in economic disparities [Karim Essack, 1978, p. 14].

CHAPTER II

REGIONS OF KENYA

2.1 Boundary Creation

Administratively, Kenya is divided into seven provinces with Nairobi being treated as an extra Provincial District. This division dates back to July 1962 when a Regional Boundary Commission was appointed [Kenya: Report of the Regional Boundary Commission, 1962]. The terms of reference of this Commission sought specifically:

"To divide Kenya into six regions and the Nairobi area for the purpose of giving effect to the report of the Constitutional Conference,* 1962 and in particular to Appendix II of that Report (framework of the Kenya Constitution) paying particular attention to:

- (a) The existing boundaries of the provinces and Nairobi extra Provincial district; and
- (b) The wishes of the people in any locality to be included in any particular region or the Nairobi area."

The Commission notes, however, that regional boundary demarcations in Kenya are not sacrosanct. They have in the past been subject to frequent changes. The first of such

* We have been unable to obtain a copy of this report.

Table 2.1 : Population*, Area and Density by Provinces and Districts

Province/District	Population	Land area in Sq.Km.	Density per sq.km.
Kiambu	686,290	2,448	280
Kirinyaga	291,431	1,937	202
Muranga	648,333	2,476	261
Nyanderua	233,302	3,528	66
Nyeri	486,477	3,284	148
<u>CENTRAL PROVINCE</u>	<u>2,345,833</u>	<u>13,173</u>	<u>178</u>
Kilifi	430,986	12,414	34
Kwale	288,363	8,257	34
Lamu	42,299	6,506	6
Mombasa	341,148	210	1,622
Taifu Taveta	147,597	16,959	8
Tana River	92,410	38,694	2
<u>COAST PROVINCE</u>	<u>1,342,794</u>	<u>83,040</u>	<u>16</u>
Embu	263,173	2,714	96
Isiolo	43,478	25,605	1
Kitui	464,283	29,388	15
Machakos	1,022,522	14,178	72
Marsabit	96,216	73,952	1
Meru	830,179	9,922	83
<u>EASTERN PROVINCE</u>	<u>2,714,851</u>	<u>155,759</u>	<u>17</u>
<u>NAIROBI</u>	<u>827,775</u>	<u>684</u>	<u>1,210</u>
Garrissa	128,867	43,931	2
Mandera	105,601	26,470	3
Wajir	139,319	56,501	2
<u>NORTH-EASTERN PROVINCE</u>	<u>373,787</u>	<u>126,902</u>	<u>2</u>
Kisii	869,512	2,196	395
Kisumu	482,327	2,093	230
Siaya	474,516	2,522	188
South Nyanza	817,601	5,714	143
<u>NYANZA PROVINCE</u>	<u>2,643,956</u>	<u>12,526</u>	<u>211</u>

(continued)

Table 2.1 : (continued)

Province/District	Population	Land area in Sq.km.	Density per sq.km.
Baringo	203,792	9,885	20
Elgeyo Markwet	148,868	2,279	65
Kajiado	149,005	19,605	7
Kericho	633,348	3,931	161
Laikipia	134,534	9,718	13
Nakuru	522,709	5,769	90
Nandi	299,319	2,745	109
Narok	210,306	16,115	13
Samburu	76,908	17,521	4
Trans Nzoia	259,503	2,078	124
Turkana	142,702	61,768	2
Uasin Gishu	300,766	3,378	89
West Pokot	158,652	9,090	17
<u>RIFT VALLEY</u>	<u>3,240,402</u>	<u>163,884</u>	<u>19</u>
Bungoma	503,935	3,074	163
Busia	297,841	1,626	183
Kakamega	1,030,887	3,495	295
<u>WESTERN PROVINCE</u>	<u>1,832,667</u>	<u>8,196</u>	<u>223</u>
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>15,327,061</u>	<u>571,416</u>	<u>27</u>

* 1979 Census.

Source : Statistical Abstract 1983.

Table 2.2 : Districts with Different Densities of Population

Density	Central	Coast	Eastern	North-Eastern	Nairobi	Nyanza	Rift Valley	Western
200-400	Kiambu Kivinyaga Muranga					Kisii Kisumu		Kakamega
100-200	Nyeri					Siaya South-Nyanza	Kericho Nandi Trans-Nzoia	Bungoma Busia
50-100	Nyandarua		Embu Machakos Meru				Elgeyo-Markwet Nakuru Uasin Gishu	
10-50		Kilifi Kwale					Laikipia Narok West Pokot	
0-10		Lamu Taita taveta Tana River	Isiolo Marsabit	Garrissa Mandera Wajir			Kajiado Samburu Turkana	

Source : Statistical Abstract, 1983, Table 12, p. 13.

Table 2.3 : Tribal Distributions by Province*

Province	Central	Coast	Eastern	North-Eastern	Nyanza	Rift Valley	Western
	Kikuyu	Mijikinda	Kemba	Somali	Luo	Kalenjin	Luhya
	Nderobo	Bajun	Embu	Gabbara	Kisii	Nandi	Teso
	Njemps	Pokomo	Meru	Degodia	Kuria	Masai	
		Shirazi	Mbere	Gumeh	Basuba	Kikuyu	
		Taita	Samburu	Ajuran		Turkana	
		Taveta	Rendille	Ogaden		Samburu	
		Swahili	Boran	Gurreh			
		Arabs					
		Gala					
		Orma					
		Gosha					
Total	3	11	7	7	4	6	2 [39]

* These data are based on district information prior to 1967. Since then new districts boundaries have since been drawn so that our approximation may conflict with the more recent data.

Source : Statistical Abstract, 1983, Table 13, p. 14.

changes was in 1902. This was later followed by six other such changes, viz. 1909, 1918, 1924, 1929, 1933 and 1953. However, the Commission felt that it would be legitimate to change the boundary of these regions in accordance with the wishes of the people to the extent possible.

The Commission visited all the Provinces* and met with local delegations most of whom shared similar concerns. That is, they wanted the boundary demarcation to be so drawn as to allow them to remain as an integral socio-economic unit. Hence they regarded the Commission as their last hope for realizing that goal. After listening to all shades of opinions, the Commission attempted to incorporate their wishes into the boundary creation as far as possible.

As the report shows, the task before the Commission was not an easy one. Naturally some people's wishes were not fulfilled [Ibid., Chapt. III, Para 22, p.4 and Sect. F, p.14]. Those people who over the years had lived at a common border with others from different socio-cultural backgrounds, had become intermingled so much so that separating one group from the other was not plausible. As a consequence, a good proportion of individual ethnic groups found themselves left on either side of the re-drawn boundaries.

* Except North-Eastern Province. Apparently a decision was taken during the Constitutional Conference 1962, that no change in status of the Province or arrangement for its administration be taken until an independent Commission was appointed to determine its position [Kenya : Report of the Boundary Commission, 1962, Chapt. 1, Para 10, p. 2].

Of the eight Provinces*, namely Central, Coast, Eastern, North-Eastern, Nairobi, Nyanza, Western and Rift Valley, the latter is the largest while the smallest is Nairobi. But the smallest with respect to population is North-Eastern Province which accounts for only 2.4 per cent of the country's population.

Each of these Provinces is traditionally inhabited by distinct tribal groups. These groups are differentiated further on the basis of their prevailing life style. That is, some tribal groups are dependent on agriculture for subsistence, while others survive on pastoralism. Provinces which are predominantly agricultural tend to have higher densities than pastoral regions. Hence there are distinct variations in density both at the regional as well as at the district level. Three Provinces are more densely populated than the rest. These are: Western, 223 persons per sq.km.; Nyanza, 211 persons per sq.km. and Central Province, 178 persons per sq.km.

Of the forty-one districts, two have exceptionally high densities (Table 2.1). These are Mombasa, 1622 persons per sq.km. and Nairobi 1210 persons per sq.km., respectively. The figures for Coast Province are influenced however by the presence of Mombasa town. If Mombasa and Nairobi are left out density per sq.km varies between 395 persons per sq.km for Kisii (Nyanza Province) to less than five persons per sq.km.

* Please refer to Table 2.1 above.

in a number of districts (mainly in North-Eastern Province).

2.2 The Land Classification

Kenya has a total land area of 57,141,600 hectares. This land area manifests a wide range of productive conditions as a result of physical characteristics. There is at the coast, for instance, a comparatively narrow belt with adequate rainfall for tropical agriculture. Further inland semi-desert and desert conditions prevail till the sharply modifying influences of the mountain regions become apparent. The latter is characterized by a higher rainfall, lower temperatures and natural vegetation, incorporating some of the most fertile lands in Kenya.

Because of the variations in physical and topographical characteristics, there is a limit to the amount of land available for arable agriculture. Out of the total land available, only about 56,914,000 hectares can be classified as agricultural land (Table 2.4 below). The latter constitutes approximately 91 per cent of total land area.

Agricultural land in Kenya is categorized further on the basis of land quality, viz. high potential, medium potential and low potential. These categories are defined mainly by the amount of rainfall as under:

<u>Category</u>	<u>Rainfall*</u>
High potential	857.5 mm or more
Medium potential	735 - 857.5 mm
Low potential	612.5 mm or less

(* Statistical Abstract, 1983, Table 73, p. 96. See also, IBRD. The Economic Development of Kenya, John Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1963, Table 1, p. 71.)

Table 2.4 : Classification and Distribution of Agricultural Land (In '000 Hectares)

Province	High Potential	Medium Potential	Low Potential	Total	All Other Land	Total Land Area	Density per sq.km.
Central	909	15	41	965	353	1,318	178
Coast	373	796	5,663	6,832	1,472	8,304	16
Eastern	503	2,189	11,453	14,145	1,431	15,576	17
North-Eastern	-	-	12,690	12,690	-	12,690	3
Nairobi	16	-	38	54	14	68	1,217
Nyanza	1,218	34	-	1,252	-	1,252	211
Rift Valley	3,025	123	12,220	15,368	1,515	16,883	19
Western	741	-	-	741	82	823	223
Total	6,785	3,157	42,105	52,047	4,867	56,914	27
Per cent of Total	11.9	5.5	73.9	91.4	8.5		

Source: Statistical Abstract, 1983, p. 96.

High potential land comprise an area of about 6,785,000 hectares and accounts for 12 per cent of the total land. About 3,157,000 hectares is classified as medium potential land while low potential covers an area of about 42,105,000 hectares. The latter two account for 6 per cent and 74 per cent of arable land respectively. These three categories add up to 52,047,000 hectares and represent 91 per cent of land area classified as agricultural land. The Low Potential land area referred to above receives less than 612 mm of rainfall annually. About

9 per cent of the area under agricultural land is classified as "all other land" the use of which is not made apparent. Hence what is left - high and medium potential inclusive - is only 17 per cent of total agricultural land.

Table 2.5 : Classification of Agricultural Land as Per cent of Total

Province	High	Medium	Low	% Regional Total
Central	68.9	1.1	3.1	73.2
Coast	4.4	9.5	68.1	82.2
Eastern	3.2	14.0	73.5	90.8
North-Eastern	-	-	100.0	100.0
Nairobi	23.5	-	55.8	79.4
Nyanza	97.2	2.7	-	100.0
Rift Valley	17.9	0.7	72.3	91.0
Western	90.0	-	-	90.0
Per cent of Total	11.9	5.5	73.9	91.4

Source : Calculations based on Table 2.4 above.

Therefore, although Kenya is known generally as an agricultural resource based country, the best of its agricultural land is limited. Such lands are restricted to a narrow belt that runs from just south-east of Nairobi to the south-western part of the country. These areas consistently receive annual rainfall of 875.5 mm and above. The remainder of agricultural land falls within the category of low potential lands

and is often referred to as marginal lands. The latter as stated above receives between 612 mm and less of rainfall annually.

Aside from the coastal belt and the lowlands in the lake region, the rest of Kenya's good quality land is located in the higher elevations in the highland regions. The unique characteristic of the latter offers a remarkable variety of topographical and climatic conditions both of which are essential for temperate living. This explains why upon the arrival of European settlers in Kenya they were quick to choose the highland region for their settlement.

In Table 2.4 above, we have given classifications of land in each region and its subsequent agricultural potential while in Table 2.5 comparative figures are given in percentage levels. It will be noticed that the entire land in Western and Nyanza Provinces are of high potential as well as a large portion of land in Central Province (69 per cent). At the other end, the entire land in North-Eastern Province is of low potential. Rift Valley is somewhere in the middle with its land being divided between 18 per cent high potential and 72 per cent low potential. About 68 per cent of land in Coast Province is low potential.

In Table 2.7, we give similar classification of categories of land according to districts. According to this Table, about 9 per cent of total land area is unclassified (5,094,700 hectares). Hence what is left and classified as agricultural land is 52,046,900 hectares with a total share of about 91 per cent of arable land.

Table 2.6 : Population and Density Distribution by Province and Districts on the High and Medium Potential Lands

	Total Population	High and Medium lands in sq.km.	Density in sq.km.
<u>Central Province</u>	2,345,833	9,240	254
Muranga	648,333)		
Kiambu	686,290)	3,910	341
Kirinyaga	291,431	1,080	270
Nyandarua	233,302	2,650	88
Nyeri	486,477	1,600	304
<u>Coast Province</u>	1,342,794	11,690	115
Kihifi	430,986	3,510	123
Kwale	288,363	2,880	100
Lamu	42,299	3,260	13
Mombasa	341,148	210	1,625
Taita Taveta	147,597	520	284
Tana River	92,410	1,310	71
<u>Eastern Province</u>	2,719,851	26,920	101
Embu	263,173	2,520	104
Isiolo	43,478	-	-
Kitui	464,283	12,040	39
Machakos	1,022,522	8,960	114
Marsabit	96,216	40	2,405
Meru	830,179	3,360	247
<u>North-Eastern Province</u>	373,787	-	-
Garrissa	128,867	-	-
Mandera	105,601	-	-
Wajir	139,319	-	-
<u>Nairobi Province</u>	827,775	160	5,174

(continued)

Table 2.6 : (continued)

	Total Population	High and Medium lands in sq.km.	Density in sq.km.
<u>Nyanza Province</u>	2,643,956	12,520	211
Kisumu	482,327)		
Siaya	474,516)	4,610	208
Kisii	869,512	2,200	395
South Nyanza*	817,601	5,710	143
<u>Rift Valley Province</u>	3,240,402	31,480	103
Baringo	203,792	2,500	82
Elgeyo Markwet	148,868	1,040	143
Kajiado	149,005	-	-
Kericho	633,348	-	-
Laikipia	134,534	-	-
Nakuru	522,709	3,300	158
Nandi	299,319	2,340	128
Narok	210,306	9,080	23
Samburu	76,908	1,400	55
Trans Nzoia	259,503	2,080	125
Turkana	142,702	120	1,189
Uasin Gishu	300,766	3,270	92
West Pakot	158,652	1,030	154
<u>Western Province</u>	1,832,663	7,410	247
Bungoma	503,935	2,530	199
Busia	297,841	1,630	183
Kakamega	1,080,887	3,250	317
<u>Total (All Kenya)</u>	<u>15,327,061</u>	<u>99,420</u>	<u>1,542</u>

* Known also as Homa Bay district.

Source : Statistical Abstract 1983, p. 96.

Table 2.7 : Classification of Land by Agricultural Potential

	District and Provincial in sq.km				Total
	Potentials			Unclass- ified land	
	High	Medium	Low		
<u>Central Province</u>	<u>9,090</u>	<u>150</u>	<u>410</u>	<u>3,526</u>	<u>13,176</u>
Muranga)	3,860	50	240	774	4,924
Kiambu)					
Kirinyaga	980	100	-	357	1,437
Nyanderua	2,650	-	50	828	3,528
Nyeri	1,600	-	120	1,564	3,284
<u>Coast Province</u>	<u>3,730</u>	<u>7,960</u>	<u>56,630</u>	<u>14,720</u>	<u>83,040</u>
Kilifi	1,040	2,470	8,510	394	12,414
Kwale	1,260	1,620	5,080	297	8,257
Lamu	70	3,190	3,210	36	6,506
Mombasa	210	-	-	-	210
Taita	420	100	5,900	10,539	16,959
Tana River	730	580	33,930	3,454	38,694
<u>Eastern Province</u>	<u>5,030</u>	<u>21,890</u>	<u>114,530</u>	<u>14,310</u>	<u>155,760</u>
Embu	660	1,860	-	194	2,714
Isiolo	-	-	25,610	-	25,610
Kitui	670	11,370	10,780	5,569	29,389
Machakos	1,250	7,710	4,540	678	14,178
Marsabit	40	-	70,450	3,462	73,952
Meru	2,410	950	3,150	3,412	9,922
<u>Nairobi Province</u>	<u>160</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>380</u>	<u>144</u>	<u>684</u>
<u>North-Eastern Province</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>126,902</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>126,902</u>
Garrissa	-	-	43,930	-	43,930
Mandera	-	-	26,470	-	26,470
Wajir	-	-	56,500	-	56,500

(continued)

Table 2.7 : (continued)

	District and Provincial in sq.km				Total
	Potentials			Unclassi- fied land	
	High	Medium	Low		
<u>Nyanza Province</u>	<u>12,180</u>	<u>340</u>	-	<u>6</u>	<u>12,526</u>
Kisumu)	4,320	290	-	6	4,616
Siaya)	2,200	-	-	-	2,200
* Kisii	5,660	50	-	-	5,810
* South Nyanza					
<u>Rift Valley Province</u>	<u>30,250</u>	<u>1,230</u>	<u>122,200</u>	<u>17,428</u>	<u>171,108</u>
Baringo	1,660	840	7,510	617	10,627
Elgeyo Markwet	1,040	-	920	762	2,722
Kajiado	220	-	17,600	3,143	20,963
Kericho	3,800	-	-	1,090	4,890
Laikipia	1,300	-	7,680	738	9,718
Nakuru	2,910	390	2,310	1,414	7,024
Nandi	2,340	-	-	405	2,745
Narok	9,080	-	7,040	2,393	18,513
Samburu	1,400	-	16,120	3,289	20,809
Trans Nzoia	2,080	-	-	388	2,468
Turkana	120	-	5,937	55,717	61,769
Uasin Gishu	3,270	-	-	514	3,784
West Pokot	1,030	-	3,650	396	5,076
<u>Western Province</u>	<u>7,410</u>	-	-	<u>813</u>	<u>8,223</u>
Bungoma	2,530	-	-	544	3,074
Busia	1,630	-	-	-	1,630
Kakamega	3,250	-	-	270	3,520
<u>Total</u>	<u>67,850</u>	<u>31,570</u>	<u>421,052</u>	<u>50,947</u>	<u>571,416</u>

Source : Statistical Abstract 1983, p. 96.

The following list gives districts where almost the entire land area is of high and/or medium potential and against each district we give the density per sq.km.

List I

<u>District</u>	<u>Province</u>	<u>Density per sq.km.</u>
Kakamega	Western	317
Bungoma	"	199
Busia	"	183
South Nyanza	Nyanza	143
Kisii	"	395
Kisumu)	"	208
Siaya)	"	
Kirinyaga	Central	270
Nyandarua	"	88
Muranga)	"	341
Kiambu)	"	
Nyeri	"	304

Next we give a list of districts where almost the entire land is of low potential and against each its population density.

List II

<u>District</u>	<u>Province</u>	<u>Density Per sq.km.</u>
Garrissa	North-Eastern	29
Mandera	"	40
Wajir	"	25
Isiola	Eastern	17
Marsabit	"	14
Turkana	Rift Valley	24
Kajiado	"	8
Taita	Coast	250

In view of the foregoing, it may be appropriate to relate the population to the high potential and medium

potential lands rather than the total land. This is done in Table 2.6. According to this Table, the country's population and density distributions reflect the pattern of land resource endowments. These endowments are in turn influenced basically by rainfall and soil fertility as has been alluded to above.

The regions which coincide with higher endowments of high potential lands have agriculture as the mainstay. There is a positive correlation between agriculture and population concentrations. Regions which are predominantly agricultural have higher densities. These manifest themselves in three areas. The first is located in the western part of the country around lake Victoria Basin. The other is in the central part of the country extending from Ngong Hills just south of Nairobi and northwards to the Nyambene hills in Meru district. The last is in the eastern part of the country extending from the area west of the Tana River southward to the border with Tanzania. Four Provinces, namely Central, Nyanza, Western and parts of Coast and Rift Valley, are inclusive within these three areas of population concentration. Most of the inhabitants in these areas are basically agriculturalists.

In List I above, the twelve districts with high and medium potential lands are located in three Provinces, viz. Western, Nyanza and Central. The density figures for these districts are quite high - varying between 88 persons per sq.km for Nyandarua to as high as 395 persons per sq.km for Kisii. In contrast to List I, we have also given in List II the total number of districts where almost the entire land is of low

potential. These districts are located in four Provinces, namely Coast, Eastern, North-Eastern and Rift Valley. The density figures here are very low - varying between 8 persons per sq.km for Kajiado (Rift Valley Province) and 40 persons per sq.km for Mandera (North-Eastern Province). Taita District (Coast Province) is an exception however in that with much of its land falling within the low potential category, it still manifests a higher density of 250 persons per sq.km.

Tribal distributions in Kenya follow more closely the pattern of land distributions and the prevailing system of economic practice reminiscent of individual tribes (Table 2.1). Tribes which are dependent on agriculture for subsistence are located in the regions referred to above as agricultural. On the other hand pastoral tribes are found in the arid and semi-arid regions where they roam with their animals in search of good pastures. The latter regions comprise the entire North-Eastern, and parts of Eastern, Coast and Rift Valley Provinces. Together these parts comprise a total land area of 45,149,000 hectares classified as agricultural land. About 36,363,000 hectares (81 per cent) of this total falls in the category of low potential land. The remainder - about 8,786,000 hectares (19 per cent) - is what comprises high and medium potential land. This small part of land is what sustains the entire population in the arid and semi-arid zones.

Against this background, we find it plausible to state that the prevalent variations in population distributions are influenced by differences in land quality that exist between

the regions. Existing population distributions follow these different land patterns. That is, regions and districts having a higher proportion of good quality lands tend on average to have higher densities. Alternatively, regions with low potential lands have very sparse population distributions. It turns out therefore that about 80 per cent of Kenya's population is concentrated mainly on a small piece of land that runs just south of Nairobi westwards to the lake Victoria region and a narrow belt along the Indian Ocean coast.

In consideration of the high densities together with a higher rate of population growth, Kenya cannot be considered a land surplus economy. Population pressure is already evident and is increasingly becoming acute, particularly in four Provinces, namely Central, Western, Nyanza and some parts of Rift Valley. The evidence is manifested further in the apparent wave of internal migration of people from the densely populated high potential land areas into the sparsely populated marginal lands [Campbell, 1981, p.39; see also Kenya: Growth and Structural Change, 1983, Vol.II, p. 351].

But to say this, we are not however to be misconstrued as implying that agricultural production in Kenya may stagnate. Considerable growth is still possible by raising average yields through intensive cultivation. However, this will require a considerable array of other changes in the economy.

Resulting from various demographic adjustments the traditional system of land use in the arid and semi-arid areas

is slowly changing. The new migrants are bringing with them new agricultural practices which they do not only introduce but employ on the marginal lands previously devoted to grazing.

In addition, the distinct tribal compositions are also changing as a result of land purchase and land resettlement schemes. Furthermore, the evolving pattern of rapid urbanization is bringing different ethnic communities into contact with each other with the result that tribal and cultural affinities are slowly giving way to a new pattern of life style.

CHAPTER III

LAND DISTRIBUTION

3.1 Land Tenure

It has been mentioned earlier that Kenya's land area exclusive of the area under open water is 57,141,600 hectares. In the Statistical Abstract* this area is classified by tenure into three categories, viz. government land, freehold land and trust land (Table 3.1). The following discussion gives a general picture of the individual tenure system i.e. how they evolved and the use to which the land therein is subjected to. Our purpose here is to establish a basis by which a general understanding can be established to show the nature of the increase in inequality in the distribution of land in Kenya. This inequality in turn is the main cause for unemployment and under-employment in Kenya [FAO, 1984, p. 44].

3.1.1 The Government Land

The government land should be understood as referring specifically to all the lands which are subject to government control. It excludes the trust land although the latter falls under the Crown Land Ordinance. An attempt is made here to show the historical origins of the colonial land alienation in Kenya at the beginning of the present century. In doing so, we

* Statistical Abstract, 1983, Table 5, pp. 4-5.

Table 3.1 : Distribution of Land according to Tenure (in Hectares)

Province	Government Land	Freehold Land			Trust Lands			Total All Land	
	Area	Small holder schemes	Other	Total	Available for Small Holder Registration	Not yet Registered	Not Available for small holder registration		
Central	5,473	1,968	1,212	3,180	4,155	-	368	4,523	13,176
Coast	53,793	-	324	324	884	25,692	2,920	29,486	83,603
Eastern	25,581	580	21	601	2,744	124,226	6,739	133,709	159,891
North-Eastern	-	-	-	-	-	126,115	787	126,902	126,902
Nairobi	549	-	135	135	-	-	-	-	684
Nyanza	3,949	397	-	397	5,725	5,508	582	11,815	16,161
Rift Valley	27,740	1,255	424	1,679	5,078	115,842	23,231	144,449	173,868
Western	793	816	3	819	5,661	741	347	6,749	8,361
Total	117,878	5,016	2,119	7,135	27,217	398,124	34,965	457,633	582,646
Per cent of Total (all Kenya)	20.2	0.8	0.3	1.2	4.6	68.3	6.0	78.5	

Source : Statistical Abstract 1983.

argue that European colonialists were quite ignorant of the African customary land tenure system when they first arrived. Upon looking at the great expanse of valuable lands, they were quick to presume that such wide areas of unoccupied land was a no man's land and no native group could assert any claim to it.

Resulting from the above assumption, the European colonialists were quick to conclude that the land lay idle and needed not only their extensive settlement but also economic expertise to bring it into production [Buel, 1928, p. 298].

Between 1897 and 1905 the management of Kenya as a colony was done by the foreign office. Thereafter, the control of the colony was transferred from the foreign office to the colonial office. Therefore, effective colonial administration in Kenya may be said to have started only after 1905 [Huxley and Perham, p.5]. Hitherto the land law in practice in Kenya was based on the "British Land Regulation"* of 1897 [Maini, 1967]. But in the course of time, this Regulation was found to be inconsistent with the colonial administration and finally abandoned in 1905.

Prior to that date, some changes had begun to emerge. Chief among these was the East African Order in Council of 1902.

* Claims on colonial lands were built on a distinction between rights based on historical grounds as the natives did and those based on economic needs as the European settlers argued. [Please see Kenya Land Commission, Para 22, p. 7.]

This Order in Council led to the enactment of the Land Ordinance of 1902. The Ordinance first provided for alienation of land on 99 year leases. Later it conferred upon the Commissioner* all the legal rights to alienate all the lands in the country and to preserve part of the land so alienated for persons of European descent.@ Thus the Ordinance made the entire land in Kenya (save the portion preserved for European settlement) the Crown@@ land [IBRD, 1963, p. 65].

The said Ordinance further gave the Commissioner the right to sell land to prospective settlers and to impose the necessary development conditions on the lands so sold. After the basic rudiments of land rules were established for settlement purposes, the colonial government further placed advertisement in both South Africa and United Kingdom. Such advertisements highlighted settlement prospects in Kenya and urged persons of European descent to emigrate there.

Noticing a slow response from the prospective settlers, the administration augmented its invitational policy with large offers of land grant. The average plot being about 640 hectares per settler [Buel, 1928, p. 300]. Indeed, the administration is said to have spent a great deal of money and time between 1903 and 1923 in an effort to lure prospective European settlers into Kenya. In the end, the efforts were

* Initial title of the Governor.

@ Discussed further below under "White Highlands".

@@ Used interchangeably as State or government land.

not without success. A good number of Europeans immigrated into Kenya. It is estimated that by 1961, about 3600 European settlers were registered in Kenya [IBRD, 1963, p.63].

The Crown Land Ordinance of 1902 divided the government land into two classes. It set aside areas for future use by the public such as townships, forests and the like. These were the Crown land proper. Then there was the area occupied by the natives. The land under native occupancy was in essence a Crown land but leased to the natives. This is still the position in Independent Kenya. The government still enjoys the power of eminent domain and has a right to acquire land anywhere in the country for development purposes.

Provisions in the Order in Council of 1902 had failed however to clarify the position of the lands under native occupancy. Neither did it make a distinction as to the difference between public and native lands. That clarification came much later following the enactment of the Crown Land Ordinance of 1915.* The latter gave a final clarification regarding native tenure. It declared that all the lands within the colony exclusive of the areas under European settlement in the Highland region belonged to the Crown. And so by implication the declaration thus automatically included all the native lands. Consequently, the native rights on their ancestral land ceased forthwith and they were subsequently turned into tenants at will of the crown [Report of the Kenya Land Commission, 1933, p. 418].

* This Ordinance created a 999 year lease.

Between 1902 and 1983, many changes have taken place in the government lands in Kenya. These changes have affected areas demarcated as forest reserves, land settlement schemes and the like. The size had never remained uniform. Hence we cannot give a discreet size of the government land in Kenya during the colonial period.

However, according to the Statistical Abstract (cited above), the government land exclusive of the area under open water is 10,680,500 hectares. This accounts for about 19 per cent of total land area. Part of the government land under open water is 1,107,300 hectares. Therefore the total government land is 11,787,000 hectares (Table 3.1).

The government land is divided further into five parts, the details of which, we have given in Table 3.2. The area under parks, open water and townships account for 19 per cent, 9 per cent and 2 per cent, respectively. The remainder, namely forest reserves and alienated and unalienated land together account for 70 per cent.

Table 3.2 : Distribution of Government Lands (in Hectares)

	Area	Per cent of Total
Government and Forest Reserves	1,037,000	9.0
Townships	191,100	2.0
Alienated and Unalienated Lands	7,187,100	61.0
Parks	2,265,300	19.0
Open Water	119,300	9.0
Total	11,787,800	

Source : Statistical Abstract, 1983.

3.1.2 Freehold Lands[@]

Freehold lands include the areas which were previously set aside for exclusive White settlement together with a ten mile strip along the Kenya's coast. The latter refers to the areas of land granted to the Mazrui Arabs* as blocks of land by the Sultan of Zanzibar whose sovereignty extended inland to the Kenyan coast [Report of the Kenya Land Commission, Chap. 16, p. 331].

It has not been possible to give a detailed information with respect to land size under freehold tenure system during the colonial period. The available information relates only to the post-independence period. The distribution of freehold land is given in Table 3.3 below.

Table 3.3 : Distribution of Freehold Land (in Hectares)

	Small holder schemes	Other	Total
Area	501,600	211,900	713,500
Per cent of Total	70.0	30.0	

Source : Statistical Abstract, 1983.

According to this Table, the freehold land covers an area of 713,500 hectares. This accounts for less than 2 per

[@] Legal definitions are to be found in Maini, 1967, p.70 and Meek, 1946, Chapt. 30.

* The exact area of this 10 mile strip is not known to us. The only information available which is based on rough estimation put it at 0.3 million acres [IBRD, 1963, p. 65].

of total land in Kenya. About 211,900 hectares of this land is classified as "other land". The remainder, about 501,600 hectares fall under the "Small holder schemes".

3.1.3 White Highlands

European settlement began on a large scale after 1903. This followed official advertisements abroad by the colonial administration highlighting settlement prospects in Kenya. Initially, because of low response from prospective settlers, the government tried to attract more settlers by offering them free grants of land. The average plot being about 640 hectares. However such offers were short-lived.

It should also be noted that land alienation for use by the Europeans en masse was an affair of the Colonial Administration. The acquisition of individual farms within the White Highland areas was however an open market transaction for which individuals* could venture into. What deserves mention is the low nominal charges levied on land sold to these individuals. The size of land was grossly disproportional to the charges levied [Buel, 1928, p. 300].

For a long time the White Highland area remained undefined inspite of the various estimates of its size given by several individuals [see for example, Forrester, 1962, p.59; Buel, 1928, p. 324; Meek, 1946, p. 89; Oginga Odinga, 1967, p. 22]. Although these estimates were subject to disputes, they were however the only source of reference until the

* The privilege was restricted only to persons of European descent.

appointment of the Kenya Land Commission in April 1962. The Commission was appointed to consider and report upon certain land problems in the colony of Kenya [Report of the Kenya Land Commission, September 1933]. Section Six of the terms of reference permitted the Commission:

"To define the area generally known as the 'highlands' within which persons of European descent are to have a privileged position in accordance with the White Paper of 1923."

The term privileged position refers to the exclusive rights of total monopoly given to the Europeans in acquiring either by transfer or grant the best agricultural lands located in the Highland areas. It also refers to the institutionalization of racial barrier to free access to land ownership [E.A. Royal Commission, 1953-55, p. 59].

"No person other than a European shall be entitled to acquire by grant or transfer agricultural land in such areas or to occupy land therein."

The Kenya Land Commission finally defined the White Highland Boundary as covering a total area* of 4,325,300 hectares [Report of the Kenya Land Commission, Para 1971, p. 491]. Out of this, about 1,023,050 hectares lay under forest reserve. The remainder about 3,302,250 hectares is what became fully devoted to intensive settler agriculture.

* The Commission's original figure was 16,696 sq.miles but was rounded to 16,700 sq.miles. We have thus expressed the latter in hectares.

After the boundary was defined, a further Order in Council and associated legislation excluded Africans and persons of Asiatic descent from owning land within the said boundary. Hitherto, many Africans had lived alongside European settlers and the reservation of the highlands for European settlement had not required the physical removal of Africans.

Preclusion instructions were not made public though. Neither are they mentioned anywhere in the White Paper of 1923 [E.A. Royal Commission, 1953-55, p. 59]. The instructions were only based on administrative convenience and were only exercised under Sections 71 and 73 of the Crown Ordinance of 1915.* Hence from a legal point of view, the preclusion instructions did not constitute a statutory racial bar [Meek, 1946, p. 76].

Throughout the period of its existence, the White Highland area was basically subject to large farm cultivation (12 per cent), ranching (41 per cent) and the remainder (about 20 per cent) was left to lie fallow save the area used by squatters [Ibid., p. 79]. And because of its size relative to the "native reserves", it was also argued that the large holdings in Kenya were by no means a deprivation of the Africans of farming opportunities. Furthermore, although it is generally known that the White Highland area consists of the best agricultural lands in Kenya, the entire area cannot be

* Our reference to these sections is not based on the original source but on secondary citations because we have been unable to get access to the original document.

considered good arable land. About 28 per cent of this area was unsuitable for agriculture especially the areas bordering arid zones. It is such areas which were left to lie fallow.

The squatter issue is a little more complex in that no satisfactory explanation can be given without a brief sojourn into the past. The starting point of our explanation begins therefore with monopoly. That is, the settler economy was organized and regulated under a strict degree of protectionism. There were at time some latitudes. These became more apparent whenever the benefits were directly in favour of European consumers and did not directly threaten them as producers [Leys, 1975, p. 34].

Land ownership is an area where this monopoly manifested itself more openly. That is, after the authorities had alienated large tracts of the best lands in the Highland region they further enacted laws and regulations designed to contain Africans within the areas secluded as reserves for their occupancy. Quality of land within these reserves was not only poor but had low productive capacity and was barely sufficient to provide for subsistence requirements.

Unable to meet the rising costs of managing their large farms, the European settlers connived further with the colonial administration and introduced regulations which made it compulsory for the able bodied Africans to work on European farms for a period of 180 days in a year. The notorious resident labour regulation of 1918 is a case in point [E.A. Royal Commission, 1953-55, Chapt. 15, Sect. 50, p. 163; Oginga

Odinga, 1967, p. 23; and Colin Leys, 1975, p. 34].

It is not possible to give precise estimate of the number of people who were affected by these regulations. Rough estimates put the figure of those who worked in European farm as resident labourers at 150,000 persons. This is inclusive of those categorized as squatters and tenant farmers alike [E.A. Royal Commission, pp. 47 and 49]. In fact the colonial authorities were so overwhelmed with the idea of cheap labour that the Governor General, in the Legislative Council on 21st October 1919 was quick to declare, [Buel, 1928, p. 333]

"The whiteman must be paramount for the good of the country and for his own welfare he [the native] must be brought out to work."

Further to the above, European settlers managed also to convince the colonial administration to place further restrictions upon the Africans from growing specified crops.*

It has been argued elsewhere that this was a correct step without which European farmers success could have perished [Weeks, 1975, p. 87]. Weeks argues further that the African peasant farmer has in general a lower labour cost, personal consumption demand yet he uses more labour intensive techniques. Therefore, it was quite possible for him to produce and sell his products at lower prices. So if he was allowed to compete freely with the European settler, his production was certainly going to undercut that of the settler in the product market.

* Mainly tea, coffee and Pyrethrum.

This was going to offer him an alternative source of cash income with the additional consequence that wages in European farms, ranches and plantations were likely to go up. Therefore to prevent these from happening, the Africans had to be prohibited from growing coffee and other cash crops upon which the European economy depended.

Against this general background, it should be noted that the rudiments of economic disparities quite apparent in Kenya today began during the colonial period. That is, through a system of the control of the power of the State coercion, they (settlers) were able to enjoy a special protection without which they could have not survived.

3.1.4 Native Reserves

The last category of land tenure is the "native reserves" known variously as "trust land", "non-scheduled" areas or "communal lands" and hereafter to be referred to simply as the "native reserves". This land category covers an area of about 45,763,300 hectares. It accounts for about 78 per cent of total land area in Kenya [refer to Table 3.1].

The area under "Native Reserves" is divided into two parts. The first part which covers an area of about 3,496,500 hectares and accounting for about 8 per cent of total area is classified as "not available for small holder cultivation". No reasons are given. The other part comprising a total area of 42,534,100 hectares is specified as "available for small holder cultivation". This latter portion is further divided into two parts, viz. (a) the area already registered and (b)

the area still yet to be registered.

The registered part comprises a total area of about 2,721,700 hectares, while the area still to be registered consists of about 39,812,400 hectares. Hence of the total land available for small holder registration, only about 6 per cent has so far been registered.

Incidentally, we may note that when the whole trust land area is added together, the total comes to 46,030,600 hectares. This figure does not tally with the official data [Statistical Abstract, 1983, Table 5, p. 5]. Moreover, when all the land tenure categories are added together, the total comes to 58,531,900 hectares leaving about 267,300 hectares of land unaccounted for (Table 3.4).

When a total of nine "native reserves" was set up in 1926, no one knew their actual sizes. Neither was the total number of natives resident in them known. It was only in April 1932 following the appointment of Kenya Land Commission that the actual area of the "native reserves" was made official.

The terms of reference of the Kenya Land Commission respecting the native land problems in the colony set out among others* to

- "(1) Consider the needs of the native population present and prospective, with respect to land whether to be held on tribal or on individual tenure; and

* We have found it unnecessary to list all the seven tasks referred to in the text.

Table 3.4 : Distribution of Trust Land (in Hectares)

	Areas under Forest and Government Reserves	Area under Townships	Area under Alienated Lands	Area under Parks	Area available for registration		Total Trust Land
					Registered	Not yet Registered	
Area	1,682,000	139,800	1,391,500	283,200	2,721,760	39,812,400	46,030,600
Per cent of total area	3.6	0.3	3.0	0.6	5.9	86.4	

Source : Statistical Abstract, 1983.

Table 3.5 : Summary of Land Distribution by Tenure (in Hectares)

	Government land	Freehold Land	Trust Land (Total)	Total Land Area	Area under Water	Total Area of Land and Water
Area	11,787,800	713,500	46,030,600	57,408,900	1,123,000	58,531,900
Per cent of Total Area	20.0	1.0	79.0	98.0	2.0	

Source : Statistical Abstract, 1983.

- (2) To consider the desirability and practicability of setting aside further areas of land for the present or future occupancy of
- (a) communities, bodies or individual natives of recognized tribes, and
 - (b) detribalized* natives, that is, natives who belong to no tribe or who have severed connexion with the tribe to which they once belonged.
- (5) To consider the nature and extent of the rights held by natives under section 86 of the Crown Lands Ordinance (Chapter 140 of the revised edition) and whether better means could be adopted for dealing with such rights in respect of :
- (a) land already alienated, and
 - (b) land alienated in the future."

We stated earlier that the Order in Council of 1902 and the subsequent enactment of Crown Land Ordinance of 1902 did not clarify the position of the lands under native occupancy. That came much later. Indeed, the Crown Lands Ordinance of 1902 did not even clarify as to the difference between public and native lands. Both remained unclarified until the report of the Kenya Land Commission was made public in September 1933.

Regarding the legal position of the tenure governing the native reserves, the report states [Report of the Kenya Land Commission, 1933, Chapt. IV, Para 1635, p. 418]:

* That is, in European thinking - civilised.

"Legal position of native land tenure in the reserves laid down in Barth Judgement of 1921 and reported in E.A. Law Reports, Vol. IX, 1921, pp. 102-105 states that native reserves belong to the Crown and that the legal position of the native is that he is only a tenant at will of the Crown."

In considering the needs of the native population, as stated in Para (1) of the terms of reference, the Commission was also expected to define the extent of the "native reserves". The latter was finally defined as comprising a total area of 12,470,591 hectares or approximately 22 per cent of the whole land area in the country. About 2,587,000 people (86 per cent of total population) was estimated to be inhabitants in the reserves thus giving an average density* of about 21 persons per 100 hectares [Ibid., Para 1375, p.350].

Although the overall countrywide density was placed at 5 persons per 100 hectares, variations did prevail. Certain areas exhibited higher densities while others showed very low densities. In Kikuyu area, for example, the average density was 109 persons per 100 hectares. On the other hand the average density in Masai areas was 1 person per 100 hectares. Nyanza Province exhibited 66 persons per 100 hectares.

Economic conditions also varied from one reserve to the other. While soil deterioration was a common problem among all the reserves, some reserves suffered more than others.

* Original figures were given in sq.miles. We have expressed these in hectares.

Moreover, the pattern of land ownership in all the nine reserves was based on communal ownership. That is, all the rights resided not on individuals but the entire community. However, it should be noted that while collective ownership by the community, clan or extended family is a common feature of African customary land tenure, differences do prevail among the various communities.

This is why when the colonial administration decided in 1926 to set up the nine native reserves, they left it incumbent upon individual communities to establish a kind of tenure consistent with their customary practice. The expectation here was that while the tenure of each reserve should be built on the basis of the native custom prevailing therein, the administration was expected to progressively guide individual natives in the direction of private tenure. Such a direction was to proceed first through the groups and family towards the individual holding [Report of the Kenya Land Commission, 1933, Para 1650, p. 420].

Progress in the direction of private tenure in the native reserves later received a new impetus when in 1940s Governor Mitchel, during the Governors' annual conference, delivered a paper* on "the ensuing agrarian problems in Kenya". This was a positive beginning in the direction of agrarian reform hence a change in tenancy relations. Later the E.A. Royal Commission of 1953-55 (echoed) advocated changes along

* Cited in Oginga Odinga, "Not Yet Uhuru", Heinemann, 1967, p. 105.

the lines suggested earlier by Governor Mitchel.

Aside from the above, progress towards private tenure in the native reserves had begun to emerge privately. The efforts by William Lyne Watt, an agricultural officer, stand as a classic example [Enlow, 1961, p.1]. Watt argued strongly that the key to the success of agricultural development within the reserves depended on a sound system of tenure. That is whatever might have been the joint ownership of land suitable for agriculture, registered title, he argued was essential to the development of agricultural land.

Watt was unable to accomplish much in his efforts. But he did try to draw the attention of the colonial administration to the fact that it was impossible to improve and raise agricultural productivity within the African reserves unless the problem of land security was solved first. His recommendations called forth a change in policy direction and an abandonment of traditional system. The latter was to be substituted by modern proprietary rights in which land title deeds would be issued to individual plot holders [Ibid.].

Another step in the direction of individual land ownership came with the announcement of the Swynnerton Plan of 1954.* This plan envisaged an organized approach to land settlement with full recognition of proper land use principles and the necessity to establish economic farm units. The objectives of

* R.J.M. Swynnerton. A Plan to Intensify the Development of African Agriculture in Kenya. Government Printers, Nairobi, 1954.

the Swynnerton Plan and policy framework is discussed later in this study under the land registration* programme.

3.2 Land Registration

The starting point of discussion of "land registration" in Kenya is the Swynnerton Plan of 17th May 1954 [Swynnerton, 1954].[@] The framework of this Plan was based on schemes prepared by the District and Provincial Teams and by the headquarters of the various departments concerned. The Kenya government while recognizing the existence of variations of detail and in seeing the need for improvements asked the Assistant Director of Agriculture, Mr. R. J. M. Swynnerton, through the Minister^{@@} for Agriculture to draw up a plan based on the various schemes referred to above as the general framework within which the development of African agriculture was to proceed. Once complete, the plan was to be submitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies who had the final authority to approve the necessary expenditure charges for the project.

The objective of the plan was to accelerate agricultural development of the native land units by creating employment prospects and to raise the agricultural productivity and the human stock carrying capacity of the land [Ibid., Para 1, p.ii].

* Regarding the views of the Kenya Land Commission, 1933, with respect to land registration, please see Paras 1654, 1655, 1662 and 1665 of the same Report.

@ Please see note in page 50 above.

@@ Sir F. Cavendish-Bentinck.

Hence on the basis of the various schemes prepared by District and Provincial Teams and the departments concerned, Mr. Swynnerton was thus expected to formulate a comprehensive five year plan for the African Land Development the implementation of which was to be effected through the concerned departments of the government [Ibid.].

It should be noted, however, that the Swynnerton Plan was not in general an agricultural policy document for the whole country. It was intended as a land reform programme for the 'Native Reserves', where there was a need to consolidate various fragments of land into single holding units and to register the latter in the names of prospective owners before issuing title deeds. The objective of the latter was to provide security of tenure to the registered owners. It, therefore, excluded the land occupied by the settlers who already enjoyed the proprietary rights of tenure in the White Highlands. The European settlers had an independent but corresponding report to the Swynnerton Plan known as "the Report of the Inquiry into the General Economy of Farming in the Highlands in 1953". Sometimes the Report is referred to generally as the Troup Report [Leys, p. 29].

Full scale land consolidation and registration first began in Kiambu District of Central Province in 1956. The process spread out slowly into the surrounding districts within the Province. By 1960, the whole Kikuyu country* (i.e. Central

* This conflicts with the available data. By 1981, only about 416,400 hectares was registered in Central Province. But the area classified as agricultural land and subject to land registration in Central Province is 1,318,000 hectares. [Statistical Abstract, 1983, Table 4, p. 3.]

Province) had been registered [Leys, 1975, p. 69]. Between 1959 and 1960, the programme had already spread into Meru and Embu districts in Eastern Province and Nandi and Baringo districts in Rift Valley Province.

For many years, some tribes such as the Kikuyu did recognize individual rights to land and outright sale existed though no formal registered title of ownership prevailed. Differences also existed within individual tribes. Some tribes recognized a form of outright family or individual ownership of land in some areas. In other districts, tribal members claimed common tribal ownership of agricultural land.

Although the Kenya Land Commission had advocated a reform towards individual land ownership, the "Native Land Trust Ordinance" formed several years later to administer the native reserves failed to make a provision for individual title to agricultural lands. The "Native Land Trust Ordinance" made it possible, however, for a negotiable title to be obtained in the form of registered lease in respect of land set aside for non-agricultural purposes.

Prior to the Swynnerton Plan, no African had security of land tenure or negotiable title to his agricultural holding. None had any acceptable collateral to offer against the necessary loans for the development of the holdings. Moreover, the African rights to the land they occupied were constantly under legal challenges in court. All these obstacles were finally eliminated by the introduction of the "Native Tenure Rules of 1956" and the "Land Registration (Special Areas) Ordinance of 1959". [Maini, 1967].

Along with the above, the Kenya Land Order in Council (1959) came to open the way to African land development. Consolidation of the land fragments together with issuing of registered titles to land ownership continued. The colonial administration even began to urge Africans to grow certain cash crops which hitherto had remained a European preserve. By June 30, 1962, the records showed that [IBRD, 1963, p.67]:*

Total area enclosed	956,000 hectares
Total number of holdings enclosed	292,000
Total area registered for title	432,400 hectares
Total number of holdings registered	186,000

However, by 1970, land registration programme was reviewed and a target of nine million set. This review injected a fresh impetus into the programme so that thereafter it began to proceed at an annual rate of 500,000 hectares [Leys, 1975, p. 69 and Kenya: Growth and Structural Change, 1983, p. 321]. But by 1978, only about 5.5 million hectares had been registered to date [FAO, 1984, p. 72]. This figure fell short of the target of nine million. Official expectation was that this target would cover not only all of the agricultural lands but also part of the marginal lands bordering the semi-arid areas. However, only about 6,222,800 hectares of

* They have made no clarification as to whether these data refer only to Central and Eastern Provinces or for Kenya as a whole. However, by 1965, the programme was in progress in all the Provinces in Kenya.

land throughout the country had been fully registered and title deeds issued to the owners (Tables 3.6 and 3.7 below).

The total registered area of 6,222,800 hectares shown in the two Tables below represents only 11 per cent of the total land classified as agricultural land. It also accounts for less than one per cent of the former native reserves (12,470,591 hectares).

It was stated earlier that the area classified as trust land comprises a total area of 45,763,300 hectares. This area is divided further into two categories. The first is known as temporary reserves. Unfortunately "temporary" has not been explained. The area classified as not being available for small holder registration and which consists of 3,496,500 hectares is in this category.

Table 3.6 : Total Land Registration as at 1981*
(000 hectares)

Province	Area registered	Total Arable Land	Per cent of registered area to the provincial total
Central	416,400	1,318,000	31.5
Coast	336,900	8,304,000	4.0
Eastern	434,000	15,776,000	2.7
Nyanza	752,400	1,252,000	60.0
Rift Valley	3,576,200	16,883,000	21.1
Western	706,900	823,000	85.8
Total	6,222,800	56,914,000	10.9

* Refers only to agricultural land.

Source : Statistical Abstract, 1983, Table 4, p. 3.

Table 3.7 : Registration of Land by Provinces, 1956-1981*
(000 Hectares)

Province	1956-71	1975	1981	Total Agricultural Land
Central	408,500	4,200	416,400	1,318,000
Coast	15,500	12,200	336,900	8,304,000
Eastern	230,000	49,200	434,000	15,776,000
North-Eastern	-	-	-	12,690,000
Nairobi	-	-	-	68,000
Nyanza	318,900	61,900	752,400	1,252,000
Rift Valley	875,200	361,300	-	16,883,000
Western	477,600	8,000	706,900	823,000
Total	2,307,700	496,800	6,222,800	56,914,000
Per cent of Total	4.0	0.8	10.9	

* Refers only to agricultural land.

Source : Statistical Abstract, 1983.

The other category classified as native leasehold area is specified as being available for small holder registration. This area consists of 42,534,100 hectares. The latter is divided further into two, viz. registered and not yet registered. The former covers an area of about 2,721,700 hectares and accounts for about 6 per cent of the area available for small holder registration. The area not yet registered consists of 39,812,400 hectares and accounts for

about 94 per cent of total trust land available for registration.

On the basis of the Tables 3.6 and 3.7, it will be noticed that only a small proportion of arable land has been registered (i.e. 11 per cent). The rest of the land remains yet to be registered. In addition, it should be noted that a discrepancy exists on the figures given as total registered area. We showed earlier that part of the native reserve classified as available for small holder registration and which has actually been registered is 2,721,700 hectares [Statistical Abstract, 1983, p. 5]. This figure does not tally with the data given in Table 4 of the same Statistical Abstract as 6,222,800 hectares.

When the Swynnerton Plan was first launched, the government was of the opinion that it would create a community of progressive farmers within the reserves. In addition, the government felt also that, that was a necessary step in the direction of creating a politically stable rural commune [Swynnerton Plan, 1954, p. 8].

"In the long term, the greatest gain from the participation of the African community in running his own agricultural industries will be a politically contented and stable community."

Furthermore, it was hoped that once the registration process is complete, it would be subsequently followed by the provision of credit and extension services and the removal of restrictions on the part of natives from growing certain crops [Ibid., p. 10].

"Former government policy will be reversed and able energetic or rich Africans will be able to acquire more land and bad or poor farmers less, creating a landed and landless class. This is a normal step in the evolution of a country."

In many respects, the plan was hailed as cornerstone in the development of African agriculture. This is so because of many of the new methods of land usage and control which the plan introduced. The latter made more productive the lands on which the natives were already overcrowded.

However, the Swynnerton Plan has also been criticised especially with regard to the manner of its implementation. Some people even allege that it brought more misery and injustice than it had initially set out to eliminate.

The Plan was launched at the height of the Mau Mau revolt and at a time the emergency orders were at their peak. The government decided to use the emergency period to force land consolidation in the reserves. In particular, the government used land allocation process in order to entice landless Africans to their side.

That is, with one and the same reallocation of land holdings the government was able to lure to its side a good share of natives to work as home-guards and collaborators. This scheme worked in favour of the colonial authorities. It can also be viewed as a process by which potential collaborators became brain-washed so that a father would turn against son or a brother would be enlisted to betray a brother. In

the end, the authorities were able to wreak vengeance on those who failed to cooperate by forcefully putting them away in detention as Mau-Mau sympathisers [Oginga Odinga, 1967, p. 125].

We have been unable to reach any official estimates of the total number of people physically uprooted from their lands and put into detention camps during the emergency period. Hence we cannot give accurate figures of the total number of people whose lands were confiscated by the government while they were away in detention and reallocated to the collaborators. According to Odinga, "the government killed over 11,000 Africans and confined 90,000 in detention camps [Odinga, p. 124]. It is quite probable therefore that well over 10,000 persons might have lost their lands in this way.

3.3 Land Settlement Schemes

This scheme is a continuation of the original African Settlement Board which was set up as part of Kenya's ten year Development Plan 1946-55 [Kenya : Report of the Development Committee, two vols., 1946, p. 2].* The original purpose was to organize settlement schemes in the Native Reserves with the objective being largely a relief measure. The intention was to provide fresh fields for those natives whose lands had

* This goes back to Secretariat Circular letter No. 44 of 29th April 1944. This letter stressed the fundamental principles upon which all subsequent plans were to be based. It also called for the provincial and departmental plans to be so framed with due regard to the proposals and suggestions submitted by various heads of departments. See also Section III, p. 4 regarding principles underlying provincial development priorities.

either been alienated by the government or the land which they occupied had deteriorated seriously because of various reasons. Chief among the latter was soil erosion. The other was population pressure.

During the intervening years, various boards successively replaced the original African Settlement Board. But the objective was never faulted with. In fact its scope was expanded enormously as it gradually came to incorporate movement of people in order to relieve intense pressure in the overpopulated reserves. In this respect, the board came to provide a means of livelihood for landless people and to provide opportunities for progressive African cultivators. It is estimated that between 1945 and 1958, about 17,000 families were already settled through this scheme [IBRD, 1963, p.77].

For the purpose of this study, our discussion covers only the government land programme launched in January 1961. Being an extension of the original African Settlement Board, the purpose of this latter scheme was to resettle landless Africans on the lands formerly occupied by the Europeans within the White Highland area. This followed the government's decision to buy land from the departing Europeans and to subsequently make the same available to landless natives.

It was stated earlier that not all the areas in the White Highland consists of high potential lands. Some parts within the White Highlands particularly the areas bordering the semi-arid zones are quite inappropriate for extensive agriculture. When the government made a proposal to buy

lands from the departing European farmers, the majority of the settlers who came forward were those whose farms were located in the outskirts of the White Highland. The farms they offered for sale were really not suitable for crop cultivation.

Moreover, because of the high operational costs of farm management, a number of these settlers were bogged down with serious economic problems and were quite disillusioned and did not know what to do with their land assets. These were the people who quickly rushed forward to take advantage of the government offer to dispose of their lands. No sooner had the African been settled on these lands than they began to experience cultivation difficulties. The Ol'Kalau Salient and the Kinangop Schemes provide the necessary examples [Leo, 1978, p. 625; Odinga, 1967, p. 259 and Farm Economic Survey, No. 27, p. 7].

The funds* for this scheme was made available to the Kenya government by the British government and two other international agencies. The latter comprised the Commonwealth Development Corporation and the World Bank [Leys, 1975, p.74; Odinga, 1967, p. 258]. Different authors give different figures. Leys, for example, states that it totalled about seven-and-a-half million sterling Pounds [Leys, p. 74]. On the other hand, Odinga merely says that the Kenya government

* Various authors refer to it interchangeably as loan, grant and aid. It has not been possible for us, however, to verify the nature of these funds neither is the exact figures known.

received more than sixty million sterling pounds [Odinga, 1967, Note 1, p. 258].

According to Odinga, money given in cash exceeded thirty-six million Pounds, whilst loans and services were valued at twenty-three million Pounds. Over twelve million was to be spent on land settlement while another ten million was to assist the Kenya Civil Service in recruiting technical experts from overseas. The remainder was divided between eight-and-a-half million sterling Pounds for various development projects and a further ten million for military assistance. The total comes to about ninety-nine-and-a-half million sterling Pounds [Odinga, p. 258].

When all the details of the fund were finalized, an area totalling about 180,000 acres was purchased from the former European mixed farm land to set up a "Yeoman^{*} type farming" for a limited number of carefully selected Africans [Farm Economic Survey, No. 27, p. 1].

Yeoman type farms are of little larger sizes than most farms within the low density schemes. They were meant to accommodate the more experienced farmers. This was because of the assumption that if productivity was to be increased above the levels of the pre-settlement period, then it was prudent policy to allocate plots only to those people who were capable of using land productively [Leo, 1978, p. 619]. The majority of settlers accommodated in this scheme were selected with such view in mind.

* Known also as the "low density" schemes.

The farms in this scheme were designed to yield net income, (less loan charges and repayments,) of about 250 or more pounds per annum. In addition, a further 6,000 peasant farmers were to be settled on farms designed to yield net incomes of about 100 pounds per annum. Later this scheme proved unworkable financially and was abandoned after having accommodated about 12,000 individuals.

Leys states further that when the results of the changes in the political climate necessitated a revision of the scheme, the prevailing demand had greatly outgrown the available land. The government quickly recognized this and immediately came up with a more ambitious proposal in the form of a "Million Acre Scheme".* By the end of 1962, about three schemes were in operation. These are the low density, high density and the medium (gap) or intermediate farms [see also Farm Economic Survey No.28, p.1; Leo, 1978, p. 619; Etherington, 1963, p. 24].

The third project under the high density scheme comprised an additional area of about 400,000 hectares and was designed to accommodate 33,000 individuals.® The significance of this third project is that it was the first ever attempt by the government to introduce commercial farming in the settlement schemes. The targeted income (after repayment of

* Known also as the "High density" scheme.

® This figure conflicts with those given by Christopher Leo as 35,000 settlers [Leo, 1978, p. 622]. Our own figures are given in Table 3.8 below.

other charges) for settlers in this group was set variously at 25, 40 and 70 pounds per annum [Leys, 1975, p. 74; Farm Economic Survey No. 28, 1971]. In spite of the low targeted income levels for this group of farmers and from the point of view of total farm size together with the numbers involved, this latter group was by far the most important [Etherington, 1963, p. 224].

Table 3.8 : The State of the Settlement Schemes in Kenya from 1961 to Mid-1969

Type of Scheme	Number of Schemes	Estimated Final Area in hectares	Total Number of Plots Settled	Estimated Number of Final Plots	Number Still to be Settled
Low Density	35	71,403.6	4,979	4,983	4
High Density	82	321,770.4	28,026	28,506	480
High Density Not Established	2	3,162.4	-	110	110
Others	20	87,090.0	-	428	428
Total	139	483,426.6	33,005	34,027	1,022

Source : Farm Economic Survey Report, No. 27, p. 2.

In the Table 3.8 we give the state of settlement scheme between 1961 and 1969. It will be noticed that there were three main types of schemes viz. low density, high density and others.* In addition, the Table shows also total number

* Though not officially stated, we presume that these may refer to state farms.

of high density schemes which were planned but not established. Within each scheme, there are also various types of sub-schemes. By the middle of 1969, there was a total of 139 schemes of which 35 were low density, 82 high density and 20 classified as others (Table 3.8 above). The estimated number of final plots for settlement was 34,027. But the number actually settled was 33,005, leaving about 1,022 plots still to be settled. The average size of each plot was not given.

However, the final combined estimated area for all the schemes is 483426.6 hectares. So by taking the average, we find that an individual plot would have had an average size of about 14.2 hectares by the end of 1969.

After 1970, a new type of settlement scheme was introduced.* This latter scheme was quite different from the earlier ones, in that settlers in this scheme could not get the land free. Their farms consisted of state supervised collective systems with 0.8 or 1.2 hectares allocated to each family for private cultivation [Leys, 1975, p. 84]. The scheme covered about 60,000 hectares. It comprised also several sub-schemes (Table 3.9 below).

The first among these various sub-schemes was the settlement scheme on the State lands. This was designed to accommodate 4,000 so-called squatter families in an area consisting of about 40,000 hectares. The average farm unit

* The post-1970 schemes differ from the earlier ones in that the new settlers would not be given their land free even though the Kenya government got a free grant from the British government to buy it with.

Table 3.9 : State of Settlement Schemes After 1971

Type of Scheme	No. of Schemes	Estimated Final Area in hectares	Total No. of Plots Settled	Estimated No. of Final Plots	Number Still to be Settled
Low Density	35	176,305.2	4,973	4,983	4
High Density	82	130,317.2	28,026	28,506	480
High Density not established	2	1,280.8	N.A.	110	110
State land settlement scheme	20	35,271.6	N.A.	428	428
Ol'Kalau Salient	164	22,400	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Shirika		116,800	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Haraka	N.A.	42,000	N.A.	14,000	N.A.
Others	20	870,902.4	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Total	323	611,464.8	32,999	48,027	1,022

N.A. = Not available.

Source : The first three schemes are taken from Farm Economic Survey, No. 27, 1971, p. 2. The rest are from the Development Plan 1974-1978, pp. 229-231.

here was about 10 hectares [Development Plan 1974-78, p.230]. Next is the Ol'Kalau Salient composed of 164 farms within an area of about 48,000 hectares of land. The Ol'Kalau Salient was originally planned to be operational by 1964. But it was never started until after 1971. It was originally planned to settle about 2,000 families on an area consisting of 56,000 hectares and with an average farm unit of about 28 hectares per family. The scheme falls under the gap farm alluded to earlier.

The third scheme introduced soon after 1971 is the Harambee Scheme. It was a single scheme of about 6,800 hectares designed to accommodate about 450 families on farm plots with annual target income of between 40 pounds and 70 pounds. This income level fell somewhere between the low and high density schemes [Development Plan 1974-78, p. 207].

Fourth is the Shirika Scheme. Set up in 1971, it was designed to be operated in two phases. The first phase was meant to allow each family unit to be allocated sufficient size of land on condition that the land so allocated would be subject to partition. One part of the plot was to be used by the family unit for subsistence food production while the other portion was to be devoted as a unit to collective cultivation.

The first phase of Shirika Scheme was intended to accommodate 5,300 families on a plot of 53,000 hectares at a cost of K£ 3.1 million. The latter phase containing about 139,000 hectares was intended to accommodate about 14,000 families at a cost of K£ 7 to K£ 8 million.

The last post-1971 scheme is the "Haraka" Settlement scheme known also as the "Squatter Settlement" (Table 3.9). This scheme was designed originally to settle 33,000 additional families on the 80,000 hectares of land. But only about 14,000 people were actually settled on it, in an area of about 105,000 hectares [Development Plan 1974-78, p. 230; Leys, 1975, p. 75]. No income target was set for this group neither were they provided with any significant loan funds,

technical assistance or extension services.

Leys states further than land used for squatter settlement was compulsorily acquired by the government from the mismanaged and abandoned farms [Leys, Note 39, p. 75].

The position of the settlement schemes after 1971 is shown in Table 3.9. It will be noticed that there were a total of 323 schemes in operation during that period. Ol'Kallu Salient alone had 164 farm units. Incidentally, the total number of plots settled remained the same from the previous period. But the estimated number of final plots did increase from 34,027 in 1969 to 48,027 in 1971. In addition, estimated final acreage increased from 483,426.4 hectares in 1969 to 611,464.8 hectares in 1971.

The figure 611,464.8 hectares accounts for 36 per cent of the total land in the former White Highland area estimated at 4,325,300 hectares. But with a total population of 48,027 settlers, the scheme no doubt carries more than its proper share of the total population, given the quality of the land involved.

In Table 3.10 below, we give details of regional distribution of Settlement Schemes between 1964 and 1968. Three regions, namely Coast, Nairobi and North-Eastern Provinces, are excluded. Central Province has the highest share of the total plot allotments in the country. It accounts for about 67 per cent while Nyanza Province accounts for only 3 per cent.

Table 3.10 : Regional Distribution of Settlement Schemes,
1964-65 to 1967-68

Provinces	Western	Rift Valley	Central	Nyanza	Total
High Density Low Altitude	3,407	-	-	-	3,407
High Density High Altitude	-	-	12,389	-	12,389
Low Density High Altitude	-	537	1,116	-	1,653
Low Density Low Altitude	-	333	38	-	371
High Density with Plantation Crops	1,258	747	1,651	771	4,427
Low Density with Plantation Crops	-	443	-	-	443
Yeoman Farm	-	35	-	-	35
Total	4,665	2,085	15,194	741	22,725
Per cent of Total	20.52	9.17	66.86	3.26	

Source : Farm Economic Survey Report No.27, 1971, pp.108-110.

In summary, and on the basis of the foregoing analysis, it should be noted that the land settlement schemes discussed above are distinguished by their differing income targets and population density. We have also given the total area covered by land settlement schemes between 1961 and 1971 as 611,464.8 hectares. This is inclusive of low and high density schemes.

CHAPTER IV

AGRICULTURE

4.1 Small Farms*

Small farms are by definition farms in the size range of between 0.2 hectare to 12 hectares although there are some farms which fall outside this range. Some farms are of relatively larger sizes than 12 hectares yet still much smaller to be classified in the category of large farms. These intermediate type farms are known also as the gap farms. They number about 40,000 in all and cover an area of about 1,000,000 hectares. This gives an average farm unit of about 25 hectares. Most of the gap farms are located in Muranga and Kirinyaga districts of Central Province and in Siaya district of Nyanza Province [Crawford and Theebeck, 1978, pp. 111-132 quoted in Kenya : Growth and Structural Change, Note 1, pp. 331 and 363].

However, irrespective of how the farms are defined, the small farms are much smaller and indeed they are getting smaller still under the pressure of rapid population growth. The latter has resulted in the current prevalent wave of sub-divisions[@] taking place in most farming areas in Kenya.

* Small farm and small holding are interchangeable terms.

@ Further reading on the subject of Sub-division may be found in Kenya: Growth and Structural Change, 1983, Paras 122, 123 and 124, pp. 384-385.

This is done illegally and the official land policy is committed to discouraging its occurrence.

Small farms comprise all the areas of arable farming in Kenya and constitute the dominant mode of production in terms of land area. Therefore, from the point of view of Kenya's agriculture as a whole, it is the most vital economic activity. This is so because the greater majority of Kenya's population is dependent on it for subsistence [IRS, 1976/79, p. 142].

Arable land in Kenya consists of 52,047,000 hectares* (refer to Table 2.4 above). This is inclusive of high, medium and low potential lands only. This area includes also, the former White Highlands. The latter has traditionally been devoted to large farm activity. Before Independence, the White Highland consisted of about 4,325,300 hectares and accounted for about 10 per cent of total arable land. However, the area has been drastically reduced in sizes as a result of land transfer.

The total area transferred to date as at the end of 1971 is 611,464.8 hectares (see Table 3.9). If the latter is subtracted from the White Highland area, the residual[@] is 3,713,835.2 hectares. If this residual is further deducted from the total agricultural land (56,914,000 hectares), what

* Exclusive of the area classified as "Other land".

@ Represents the area still under large farms in the White Highlands.

remains is 49,250,362 hectares accounting for about 87 per cent of arable land. This represents the total land area under small farm and subsistence activity. Hence as has already been stated above, small farm practice occupies the largest part of Kenya's agricultural economy. In addition, the latter shows that Kenya's agriculture is composed primarily of small farm activities.

The evolution of small farm activity is not a recent phenomenon. It forms part of the country's colonial history. At the beginning of European settlement in Kenya, during the early part of this century, the colonial administration in collaboration with the European settlers, divided the country's agricultural economy into two parts viz. Europeans and Africans* (hence modern and traditional). The former through the use of colonial power constructed an economy for their almost exclusive benefit. They further created rules and regulations prohibiting Africans from being equal participants in the economy. Africans were thus restricted within their reserves where they practised traditional methods of agriculture.

Thus from the early part of European settlement in Kenya, the country's economy became characterized by a

* The term "Africans" need not necessarily carry racial connotation. In our use of it, it should be understood as referring to the pre-colonial socio-economic formations. Moreover, it should not imply a static society but a society in which the major mode of production was subsistence agriculture. [Please see Weeks, 1975, p. 88.]

regulated and controlled economy. Far from operating in an open, competitive frontier economy where riches are to be seized by the bold and adventuresome, settlers entered a political economy in which through the control of the State coercion, they were protected, nurtured and fostered [Weeks, 1975, p. 87].

Professor Weeks argues further that the African traditional sector, with all its enervating institutions was left to lag behind and gradually began to wither because its dynamism was no match to the westernized modern sector where the engine for economic growth came to be centred. In addition, it should be noted, that the growth of the westernized European sector was not a natural phenomenon, but the consequence of a political power concentrated within the sector. It is this same power structure that came to impoverish and economically deprive the African traditional sector of its dynamism for growth.

However, new changes of modern techniques as a result of the use of African labour in European farms gradually infiltrated into African agriculture. By the middle of 1930s modern practices of agricultural farming began to evolve slowly in the native reserves - first on experimental basis and later as a general practice.

Modern small farm practice thus started first in Kiambu District of Central Province as a result of the initiative of a local agricultural officer* stationed in the district. The

* William Lyne Watt; already referred to in the text.

latter came to introduce modern methods of farm practice in small farms as an experimental exercise. Then the practice began to spread slowly into the surrounding districts first in Meru and Embu Districts of Eastern Province and later into Bukura in Western Province. By 1934, small farm activity was already in practice in various parts of Kenya. It is these same practices which the Swynnerton Plan came to adopt.

When first launched in 1954, the main target of the Swynnerton Plan was the small farmer [Swynnerton, 1954, esp. points 1, 2, 7, and 8, p. 8]. It sought to reorientate agricultural research extension and marketing services to benefit the small farmer in the native reserves and to help assist the said farmer in the restructuring of the tenancy relations in land ownership. Above all, however, the official expectation was that the Swynnerton Plan would lead to better land utilization within the native reserves.

Prior to Independence, the whole of native reserves comprised 12,470,591 hectares. We are not told how much of this land was under crop cultivation and how much was under actual occupied acreages. Even today the uncertainty still prevails.

The residual arable land of 49,250,362 hectares (exclusive of the White Highland*) represents the area under

* Already indicated above to be representative of the areas under large scale farming practices.

Table 4.1 : Small Farm Crop Areas by Province in Hectares, 1978/79

	Central	Coast	Eastern	Nairobi	Nyanza	Rift Valley	Western	Total	As per cent of regional total
Plantation Crops	70,900	4,900	26,800	-	7,700	10,100	3,700	124,100	6.3
Temporary Industrial Crops	6,400	9,100	9,300	-	53,900	5,600	25,300	109,600	5.5
Fruit Crops	15,100	10,600	16,000	-	21,200	2,000	17,000	81,900	4.1
Cereal Crops	105,900	176,800	142,300	-	351,400	198,500	157,700	1,132,600	57.6
Root Crops	17,000	31,700	13,700	-	67,500	4,000	28,400	162,300	8.2
Total	215,300	233,100	208,100	-	531,300	245,500	232,100	1,965,400	
Per cent of Total	11%	12%	11%	-	27%	12%	12%		

Source : Integrated Rural Survey 1976/79; and Statistical Abstract 1982, Table 103, p. 123.

small farm practice. However, the figures given for the area under small farm activity as at the end of 1971 is only 1,965,400 hectares (see Table 4.1). The latter accounts for only about 4 per cent of the above residual.

If the area under native reserves (12,470,591 hectares) is deducted from the above residual, the remainder is 36,779,771 hectares constituting part of the small farm area unaccounted for. We suspect therefore that the figures given for the small farms represent only the commercial farmers officially registered by the government but excludes the areas under peasant subsistence production. It is possible also that the government too might have set aside some portions of the small farm area for stock, seed breeding and beef experimentation such as the one at Lanet in Nakuru District. Otherwise the area given as representative of small farm is far too small.*

Table 4.1 gives also small farm crop cultivated areas and its subsequent distribution by regions. It will be noticed that, of the five various crops cultivated, the cereal crop is quite common in nearly all the Provinces. It accounts for about 58 per cent of the total land area under small farm cultivation. At the regional level, Nyanza Province has a higher share of cereal cultivation. It accounts

* Moreover, even if we add together small and large farm crop area, the area (about 2,122,369 hectares) is still much less than the actual area classified as arable land in Kenya.

Table 4.2 : Land Utilization by Provinces,* 1979 (Large and Small Farms Combined)
(in Hectares)

	Central	Coast	Eastern	Nairobi	Nyanza	Rift Valley	Western	Total
Plantation Crops	106,241	37,853	36,917	2,340	8,812	56,596	3,700	252,459
Temporary Industrial Crops	6,568	13,958	9,454	6	69,230	19,844	32,369	151,429
Fruit Crops	21,328	11,742	16,020	44	21,209	2,449	17,000	89,792
Cereal Crops	112,730	176,917	151,765	17	351,837	346,859	157,714	1,297,839
Root Crops	61,035	33,428	41,837	2,737	69,219	230,777	28,417	467,450
Total	307,902	273,898	119,393	5,144	520,307	656,525	239,200	2,122,369
Per cent of Total	15%	13%	7%	0.2%	25%	31%	11%	

* Excludes North-Eastern Province.

Source : Statistical Abstract 1982 and 1983.

for about 66 per cent of small farm area in Nyanza. Eastern Province has about 68 per cent while Coast has 76 per cent. Central, Rift Valley and Western Provinces account for 49 per cent, 81 per cent and 68 per cent of cereal cultivation respectively.

Plantation crops (e.g. coffee, tea, sisal, etc.) are concentrated mainly in Central, Eastern and Rift Valley Provinces, all of which together account for 87 per cent (see Table 4.2). Temporary industrial crops (e.g. sugarcane, cotton, pyrethrum, etc.) are grown mainly in Nyanza and Western Provinces. The two account for a little more than 72 per cent of the total. Fruit crop cultivation appears uniform in all the Provinces except Rift Valley which accounts for about 2 per cent of the country's total.

Aside from the plantation and industrial crops, both Nyanza and Western Provinces are quite rich in food crops with a total share of close to 40 per cent of the national total.

4.2 Large Farms

The large farms sector as discussed here refers to those farms which used to be included in the "White Highland" areas, less those which have since been transferred for subdivision into land settlement schemes. The average farm unit in the large farm areas is about 700 hectares although there are some that fall outside this range especially in the large tea estates [The Kenya Weekly Review : Farming Review, July 1985, pp. 3-7].

Large farms are divided further into two categories. The first consists of those farms which comprise the large ranches, and plantations such as tea, coffee and sisal. The second consists mainly of mixed farm types located in areas suitable for both arable and cattle farming. The sizes of the latter are much smaller than the large plantation estates [IRS, 1976/79, p. 140].

Plantation farms in Kenya are still under the ownership of multinational corporations such as the Del monte, Brooke Bond Leibeg and the like [Essack, 1978]. Mixed farm types was once the main source of wealth for most of the European settlers. After 1960s following the legal end of the White Highland Policy, many Africans began to acquire land there. By the end of 1970, about 308,000 hectares of large farm area was under African ownership [Leys, 1975, p. 89].

Large farms are concentrated mainly in the Rift Valley Province. As already stated above, large farms represent the residual of the former White Highlands. However, this residual does not tally with the official figure (of 2,738,924 hectares) given. [Statistical Abstract, 1983, Table 85(d), p.111; see also IRS, 1976/79, Table 14.1, p. 142.] There is about 57,714 hectares of land in the area under large farm land still unaccounted for.

Mixed farming alone accounts for about 39 per cent of the total large farm area. Much of this is located in three

Table 4.3 : Large Farms Crop Areas by Province in Hectares, 1979

	Central	Coast	Eastern	Nairobi	Nyanza	Rift Valley	Western	Total
Plantation Crops	35,341	32,453	10,117	2,340	1,112	46,496	-	219,359
Temporary Industrial Crops	168	4,858	154	6	15,330	14,244	7,069	34,760
Fruit Crops	6,228	1,142	20	44	9	449	-	7,892
Cereal Crops	6,830	117	9,466	17	437	148,359	14	165,240
Root Crops	44,035	7,728	28,137	2,737	1,719	226,777	17	311,150
Total	92,602	46,798	47,894	3,144	18,607	436,325	7,100	652,470
Per cent of Total	14%	7%	7%	0.4%	3%	67%	1%	

Source : Statistical Abstract 1983, Table 85(b), pp. 106-107.

districts within Rift Valley namely Nakuru, Uasin Gishu and Trans Nzoia. According to the IRS 1976/79 (p. 140), the important production combinations in these areas are generally cattle/maize, cattle/wheat or all together i.e. cattle/wheat/maize. As already alluded to above, the land transfer programme has progressed faster in the mixed farm sector than in the plantations and ranches.

The principal crops in the large farm areas are given in Table 4.3. These include coffee, tea, sisal, and sugarcane. All together they account for about 39 per cent of the total area under large farm crop cultivation. Coffee is grown mainly in Kiambu and Muranga districts while tea is predominantly in Kericho and Nandi districts. Sugarcane is grown in Kisumu, Nandi and Kitale while sisal is grown in the dry parts of Taita, Nakuru and Machakos districts.

Ranching accounts for about 22 per cent of mixed farm land, and is concentrated mainly in Laikipia, Machakos and Nyandarua districts. According to the IRS 1976/79, these three districts alone accounted for over 75 per cent of the total ranch areas in 1976.

The large farm sector has been substantially reduced since independence by settlement schemes and unofficial subdivision. However, in spite of those settlement schemes and unofficial sub-divisions, large mixed farms and plantations still play a prominent role in the areas devoted to arable agriculture in Kenya.

Reduction of the large farm area was in line with the Kenyanization of the country's economic objectives in which the government encourages persons of Kenyan citizenship to acquire land. But the process has not been smooth.* In addition, the Kenyanization process has been accompanied by an increasing incidence of illegal sub-division of large farms into smaller holdings [Kenya: Growth and Structural Change, 1983, p. 338]. The government continues, however, to encourage individuals, groups of individuals and cooperatives not to sub-divide land and to continue to operate them as single holdings [IRS 1976/79, p. 140].

In the Table 4.3, we have given the total area of large farms under crop cultivation. It will be noticed that root crop cultivation accounts for about 48 per cent while plantation crop 34 per cent. Cereal crop, fruit and temporary industrial crops account for 25 per cent, 1 per cent and 5 per cent respectively.

In terms of regional distributions, both Nyanza and Western Provinces account for less than 1 per cent of plantation crops. The entire Western part of the country is not popular with plantation crops. Large farms are primarily in Rift Valley (67 per cent) and Central Province (14 per cent).

* See, for example, Oginga Odinga's "Not Yet Uhuru", 1967, p. 261, in which the author argues that the benefits of land transfer have gone more to persons of European descent than native Africans. See also Colin Leys, 1975, p. 85, especially Note 63.

4.3 Livestock

About four-fifths of Kenya's land lies in the arid and semi-arid areas. These are also known as the marginal lands supporting about 25 per cent of the country's population and about 50 per cent of livestock in the country and because of desert conditions these marginal lands are devoted solely to pastoral activities.

As was noted earlier, people have been migrating from the densely populated areas to the marginal lands. The new migrants have introduced farming methods into the lands and as a consequence pastoral activities are gradually changing [Collier, 1980, p.5]. According to Collier, there has been an increasing differentiation of pastoral tribes during the recent years.as a result of these migrations from the agricultural areas. He classifies pastoral tribes into different categories viz. pastoralists and pure pastoralists. In-between the two categories are found migrant farmers who number about 200,000. The pastoralists and pure pastoralists comprise about 75,000 and 725,000 people respectively. The latter group has not yet been affected by the new changes (Table 4.4 below).

Table 4.4 : State of Pastoral Activities in Kenya, 1974

	Pure Pastoralists	Pastoralists- cum-farmers	Migrant farmers	Total
Number	725,000	75,000	200,000	1,000,000
Per cent of total	73%	8%	20%	100%

Source : Collier, 1980, Table 1, p. 2.

Table 4.5 : Livestock Distribution by Province, 1971* ('000 Heads)

	Agricultural areas				Pastoral areas		Total Cattle	Total Sheep and Goats
	Small Farms		Large Farms		Cattle	Sheep and Goats		
	Cattle	Sheep and Goats	Cattle	Sheep and Goats				
Central	384.4	537.1	96.0	64.1	-	-	480.4	601.2
Coast	78.7	219.1	6.7	0.1	-	-	85.4	219.2
Eastern	886.6	1707.1	65.7	50.9	546.0	378.6	1498.3	2136.6
Nairobi	12.0	2.7	-	-	-	-	12.0	2.7
North-Eastern	-	-	-	-	435.0	222.0	435.0	222.0
Nyanza	1008.6	802.1	1.9	-	-	-	1010.5	802.1
Rift Valley	808.8	1680.3	438.3	95.3	-	-	1247.1	1775.6
Western	678.4	-	0.8	-	-	-	679.2	177.3
Total	3845.5	4945.7	609.4	210.4	981.0	600.6	5447.9	5936.7

* Inclusive of Pastoral Areas.

Source : Statistical Abstract, 1974, Table 92(c).

In the Table 4.5, we give the distribution of livestock in three areas - small farms, large farms and pastoral lands. The first two fall under the category of agricultural areas. It will be noticed that small farm activity accounts for the highest share of livestock in the country - about 79 per cent. Both large farms and pastoral areas account for 7 per cent and 14 per cent respectively. In Table 4.6 we give the livestock census by regions. The Table shows that Eastern, North-Eastern and Rift Valley Provinces have higher cattle heads per 100 population. We further express these figures separately in terms of cattle on the one hand and sheep and goats on the other. In this respect, Rift Valley Province appears to have a higher proportion of livestock figures per 100 population.

Table 4.6 : Estimated Livestock Census by Provinces, 1971
(in '000 heads)

Province	Cattle	Sheep and Goats	Cattle per 100 population	Sheep and Goats per 100 population
Central	480.4	601.2	20.47	25.62
Coast	85.4	219.2	6.35	16.32
Eastern	1498.3	2136.6	55.09	78.55
North-Eastern	435.0	222.0	116.37	59.39
Nairobi	12.0	2.7	1.44	0.32
Nyanza	1010.5	802.1	38.21	30.33
Rift Valley	1247.1	1775.6	38.48	54.79
Western	679.2	177.3	37.06	9.67
Total	5447.9	5936.7	31.96	38.73

Source : Statistical Abstract, 1974.

In general it is important to note that Kenya faces a difficult situation regarding future livestock programmes. This is because of the prevalence of enormous populations of wild animals. Moreover, Kenya is reputed to have a potential for tourism which, in turn, is dependent on the wild animals. At the same time, the country has also a potential in livestock production. Hence to a large extent, livestock production is definitely competitive with the game reserves that are essential to tourist trade.

We think, therefore, that the government is faced with a paradox in that while it attaches greater significance to the tourist industry, it must also set aside a large area of land for grazing wild and domestic animals. Here again, there is the danger of animal diseases spreading from the undomesticated to domesticated animals because the country's veterinary services have been unable to effectively bring under its control all of the wild game.

In fact, the management of grazing lands is a major problem facing the country's livestock population. About 45 per cent of the country's land is classified as grazing land. This excludes the desert areas. Much of this grazing land has been overstocked and the vegetation in these areas have almost disappeared. This is in addition to soil erosion which by itself is an independent problem.

Moreover, certain tribal customs operate against the principles of good animal husbandry. Many African tribes in

Kenya consider cattle as an investment proposition. To them cattle constitute savings and therefore the number of animals one owns is quite important. This does not take into account the state of health of the animals. The large numbers of cattle naturally contribute to soil erosion hence it has become necessary to control the range land of Kenya. But how this can be effectively done is not as yet known.

4.4 Small versus Large Farms

In Tables 4.7 and 4.8 (below), we give the value of gross marketed production between 1978 and 1982. The figures in Table 4.7 refer only to small and large farms while Table 4.8 gives a combined data for agriculture and livestock respectively. These two Tables should be studied in conjunction with Tables 4.5 and 4.6 in the previous section.

The rising importance of small farms* in the total marketed output is made quite apparent. For example, in 1978, small farm gross marketed production accounted for 55 per cent and in 1982 the per cent share was 52 per cent.

The vital contribution by the small farms to total marketed agricultural output is illustrated further by the estimated share of small holder cultivation in the total marketed output. @

* As used in the text, small farms should be understood as incorporating both monetary and subsistence agriculture.

@ Economic Survey, 1979; and Ghai et al, 1983, p. 32. Please note also that the given percentages are in averages for the indicated periods.

Table 4.7 : Gross Marketed Production from Large and Small Farms, 1978-1982* (K£ million)

	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982
Large farms	147.2	148.2	168.8	178.6	216.7
Small farms	178.6	165.2	184.5	208.3	232.2
Total	325.8	313.4	353.3	386.9	448.9
Per cent share of small farms	54.8	52.7	52.2	53.8	51.7

* Information not available by regions.

Source : Statistical Abstract, 1983, Table 74(c), p. 99.

Table 4.8 : Agriculture and Livestock Gross Marketed Production 1978 and 1982* (K£ '000)

	1978	1982	Per cent Increase 1982/78	Per cent gross marketed production	
				1978	1982
Plantation Crops	200,199	203,827	1.8	61.43	51.50
Temporary Industrial Crops	29,439	45,977	56.1	9.03	11.61
Fruit Crops	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Cereal Crops	27,477	52,816	92.2	8.43	13.34
Root Crops	6,640	10,034	51.1	2.03	2.53
Livestock	62,102	83,107	33.82	19.05	20.99
Total	325,857	395,761	21.45	100.00	100.00

* Information not available by regions.

N.A. = Not available.

Source : Statistical Abstract, 1982 and 1983.

<u>Period</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1954-59	29.2
1960-64	37.7
1965-69	48.3
1970-74	51.6
1975-78	53.3

Ghai et al, assert that the above figures may understate the full contribution of small holders for various reasons. They state that the figures exclude subsistence production and that some of the areas classified as large farms have since been sub-divided and are cultivated on a small holder basis [Ghai et al, 1983, p. 32].

In stating that small farms play a positive role in the country's agriculture, we are not to be understood as putting a case for extensive sub-division of the large farms. The latter are still very important especially in the plantation crops [Kenya: Growth and Structural Change, 1983, p.337]. Large farms accounted for 61 per cent in 1978, and 52 per cent in 1982 respective (Table 4.8). It was noted earlier in our study that Kenya is not a land surplus country. Therefore small farms would naturally be preferred to large farms. Moreover, gross output is evidently higher in small farms suggestive of the fact that they also have higher yields (Table 4.7).

However, physical land area and scale of production are two different things. There is no reason for one to expect the economic characteristic of a five acre rain-fed

plot growing one crop per year with traditional technology to be same as those of a five acre irrigated vegetable farms near an urban market. The size of the two farms may be the same but the scale of production by any measure is quite different.

Moreover, it is plausible to state that differences in land quality may account for the apparent superior performance of small holdings. As early as 1972, the Kenya National Farmers Union (KNFU) was heard echoing its scepticism about the value of marketed output originating from some regions. For example, in Kiambu and Nyandarua districts with a higher proportion of high potential lands given over to intensive vegetable production for the Nairobi market, the value of marketed output from there would not be comparable to other districts located away from major urban centres such as Nairobi [Kenya : Growth and Structural Change, 1983, p. 367].

While the small farm sector dominates Kenya's rural agriculture, it would be erroneous to presume that the whole of Kenya's rural agriculture predominantly consists of small farms. A greater proportion of the country's rural economy consists also of subsistence production and non-farm sector. The latter also makes a positive contribution to the rural economy [Norcliff, Glen and Tom Pinfold, 1981; see also Kenya Development Plan, 1979-1983, esp. Table 2.1].*

* This explains why in Note * above, p.87, we argued that small farms incorporated both monetary and subsistence agriculture.

Although the data in Tables 4.7 and 4.8 do not differentiate between monetary and subsistence agriculture, the given gross domestic product (GDP) for the two periods inherently includes both monetary and subsistence production. Due to lack of the necessary data, however, it has not been possible for us to provide estimates for agricultural employment in the farm sector. But according to Ghai et al, the share of agriculture is almost two-thirds with rural non-farm sector accounting for up to 17 per cent of the national total [Ghai et al, 1983, p. 33].

CHAPTER V

URBANIZATION

Urbanization in Kenya can be said to have begun with the beginning of European settlement. Until then, there were no towns. What existed in the form of towns were located along the coast as ports of call for the Arab and Indian traders and European sea fairers bound for the Far East. These included centres such as Lamu, Malindi and the like.

Away from the coast, and further inland, the majority of the country's population lived in rural areas and practised a more settled traditional living. European settlement came to give rise to the setting up of colonial outposts. The latter were later converted into administrative centres. Most of these centres were established along the main transport routes especially at the coast, central highlands and in the western regions of Kenya. Present-day towns evolved from these administrative centres. This is why the pattern of urban settlement in Kenya stretches on a straight line away from Mombasa across the country to Busia with very few towns being located away from the Uganda Railway line.

In our analysis, urban centres should be understood as those centres with 2,000 and above population. Our starting point of analysis is 1948. This is the year when the first*

* Earlier estimates were based on guesswork.

ever official census was conducted. During this period, there were 17 towns with an aggregate population of 269,859 (Table 5.1 below). This urban population accounted for only five per cent of the total population. Moreover, this population was largely concentrated in Nairobi and Mombasa, both accounting for about 75 per cent of the total urban population.

Table 5.1 : Urban* Population for Selected towns, 1949-1979

Town	1948	1962	1969 †	1979	Rate of Growth 1948-1979
Nairobi	118,976	266,974	509,286	827,775	6.45
Mombasa	84,746	179,575	247,073	341,148	4.59
Kisumu	10,899	23,526	32,431	152,643	8.89
Nakuru	17,625	38,181	47,151	92,851	5.50
Machakos	2,028	4,353	6,312	84,320	12.77
Meru	**	3,308	4,475	70,439	19.71@
Eldoret	8,193	19,605	18,196	50,503	6.04
Thika	4,435	13,952	18,387	41,324	7.46
Nyeri	2,705	7,857	10,004	35,753	8.68
Kakamega	4,978	3,939	6,244	32,025	6.18
Kisii	2,426	4,530	6,080	29,661	8.41
Kericho	3,218	7,692	10,144	29,603	7.42
Kitale	6,338	9,432	11,573	28,327	4.94
Malindi	3,292	5,818	10,757	23,275	6.51
Total Urban	269,859	588,742	938,113	1,839,647	6.38
Per cent of total population	4.9	6.8	8.5	12.0	
Total (Kenya)	5,405,966	8,636,263	10,942,705	15,327,061	3.41

* Refers to towns with population greater than 2,000.

** Population less than 2,000.

Source : † Census Reports, 1969, p. 17, the rest from Obudho, 'Between Farm and City', 1982.

@ Based on 1962-1979 period.

In Table 5.1 we have given the urban population for the years 1948 to 1979 for selected urban centres with populations exceeding 20,000 persons (1979 census). The proportion of urban population for 1979 was 12.0 per cent. This proportion, like that in 1948, was still disproportionately concentrated in Nairobi and Mombasa (i.e. 63.5 per cent). Each of the latter two accounted for 44.9 per cent and 18.5 per cent respectively. From 1962 to 1979 the rate of increase of urban population was quite rapid. This was as a result of the removal of racial restrictions placed on the Africans by the colonial administration. In addition, the number of towns did not only double from 17 in 1948 to 34 in 1962 but expanded significantly to 48 in 1969 and 90 in 1979 [Obudho, 1982, p. 34].* The rise in the number of towns appears to have been highest in the secondary[@] towns. It should be noted, however, that some parts of the urban population might include rural population. This, according to the 1969 census report, may possibly include areas such as Isiolo, Lokitaung, Maralal, Galole and Wamba townships. The reported population for these towns includes the adjacent villages or the surrounding rural areas [Census Report, 1969, p. 15].

By 1979, urban population had already exceeded its 1948 level. The greatest increase seems to have occurred in

* Our figures refer only to selected towns and not all urban centres as is done by Obudho.

@ Includes towns with population range of between 20,000 and 99,999 persons.

Kisumu which registered about 371 per cent rate of increase between 1969 and 1979. In addition, Kericho, Eldoret and Nyeri did also manifest higher rates of increase. In general, however, the small and medium urban centres seem to have grown faster than Nairobi and Mombasa. For example, the trend in the rate of population expansion for Nairobi has been on the rise since 1948 from about 2 per cent to 5 per cent in 1979. However, the rate of increase for Nairobi as a whole appears to be increasing at a decreasing rate.

Table 5.2 : Distribution of Selected Towns by Population and Size Groups, 1948-1979*

Size Group	1948	1962	1969	1979
Over 100,000	118,976 (1)@	446,549 (2)	756,359 (2)	1,321,566 (3)
20,000 to 99,000	84,746 (1)	61,707 (4)	79,582 (2)	581,081 (11)
10,000 to 19,000	28,524 (2)	33,557 (2)	79,061 (6)	-
5,000 to 9,999	14,531 (2)	30,799 (4)	18,636 (3)	-
2,000 to 4,999	23,082 (7)	16,130 (4)	4,475 (1)	-
Total Urban	269,859 (13)	588,742 (16)	938,113 (13)	1,839,647 (14)
Total (Kenya)	5,405,966	8,636,263	10,942,705	15,327,061
Per cent of urban to total population	4.99	6.81	8.57	12.00

* These data are taken from R.A. Obudho, 'Between Farm and City', 1982, Table 3, p. 35. However, while Obudho's figures are rounded up, ours give the exact figures.

@ Numbers in brackets refer to number of towns.

In Table 5.3, we give the provincial distribution of urban population. Aside from Nairobi, which is 100 per cent urbanized, the other Provinces with higher degree of urbanization are Nyanza 21 per cent, and Coast 30 per cent. The figures for Coast Province are, however, largely influenced by Mombasa town which accounts for about 49 per cent of provincial population. Central, Eastern and Western Provinces manifest a very low degree of urbanization.

Table 5.3 : Urban Population Distribution by Province, 1969

Province	Total Population	Urban Population	Per cent of Urban Population
Central	1,675,647	45,855	2.73
Coast	697,009	283,652	30.04
Eastern	1,907,301	37,965	1.99
Nairobi	509,286	509,286	100.00
North-Eastern	245,757	N.A.	-
Nyanza	2,122,045	43,829	20.65
Rift Valley	2,210,289	148,576	6.72
Western	1,328,298	10,645	0.80
Total	10,695,632*	1,079,808	

N.A. = Not available.

* Does not tally with data in the Population Census Report, 1969, Table 2.2, p. 13.

Judging by the available data, it appears that more urbanization is not only necessary but inevitable in Kenya whether planned or otherwise. This is because of the prevailing nature of the country's economic set up. Moreover, urbanization, seems to be the only assured way and a clearly demonstrated instrument for reducing fertility rates in the country. Successful rural development strategies may be more than population boosters. And every additional increase in population giving an extra mouth which nibbles away every gain from rural investment and improvement. This in turn may require a planned urbanization hence giving rise to the need for industrial growth centres. The advantage of the latter is that it will offer an alternative destination to the primate city (Nairobi) for rural-urban population drift.*

* This discussion is carried further by M.P. Todero, "A Model of Labour Migration and Urban Unemployment in LDCs", American Economic Review, Vol. 44, 1969, pp. 138-148. See also, "How Big Is Too Big", in Urban Edge, Vol. 8, No. 9, November 1984, p. 2.

CHAPTER VI

INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

The starting point of discussion regarding industrial policy in Kenya begins with the Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965. We have, however, been unable to obtain a copy of this document so that our reference to it will be based on secondary citations. The country's economic policies radiate from this document in that it proposes a strategy which combines a mixed economy and that of a communal self-help efforts. The latter is popularly known as "Harambee" - meaning "let's pull together". Successful performance of Kenya's economy in the past is attributed to this policy document [Ghai, Godfrey and Lisk, 1979, p. 7].

The average annual rate of growth of GDP between 1964 and 1977, for example, was 5.8 per cent for the economy as a whole [Ibid., p. 7]. This was undoubtedly the best performance obtained anywhere in Africa within the same period. However, variations did prevail ranging between 7.8 per cent in 1968 to an all time low of about 1 per cent in 1975 [Ibid.].

6.1 First Development Plan

The first development plan covering a seven-year period (1964-1970) was prepared in haste in the period immediately after Independence and was issued in a more detailed form as the revised 5 year Development Plan 1966-1970. On

Industrial location policy, the Plan stated that [Development Plan 1964-1970, p. 235]:

"The government policy towards investment is, therefore basically positive and not restrictive, characterized by encouragement and support where needed in order to secure a maximum rate of economic growth and the structure and location of industry which will benefit the country the most."

On the subject of regional balance of development the document proposed that (p. 46):

"Investment funds ought to be invested in areas where they are likely to yield the highest returns in net output."

At the same time, it states that "the needs of the less developed areas must be given special consideration in terms of expenditure of public development funds" [Ibid.].

However, although the government policy was non-restrictive, it had not hitherto spelt out quite clearly its industrial dispersal strategies.* Of course various pronouncements on industrial location were made and at times even implemented but such policy instruments could not add up to a comprehensive locational policy. The first indication of industrial dispersal policy came in a speech by the then President Jomo Kenyatta on the occasion marking the "Madaraka Day"[@] in June 1967 [Norcliffe, Glen and Tom Pinfold, 1981, p.82].

* In the absence of a comprehensive locational policy for industry locational decisions have often been made on ad hoc basis.

@ The 1st of June (every year) is celebrated in Kenya to mark the day when the British Government granted to Kenya permission to have self internal rule.

In that speech, the President talked about assisting the lesser developed regions. This statement of intent was subsequently translated into action/ⁱⁿthree important ways and more so along the same principles stipulated in Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965.

The first was the creation of the "Department of Town Planning"* within the Ministry of Land and Settlement. The terms of reference of this department included selecting areas of growth of the main urban centres and the designation of industrial growth points in selected urban centres [Richardson, 1978, p. 141].

The second development, with significant locational policy influence, was the creation of industrial estates. These estates were initially planned to be built consecutively; first in Nairobi and then in the other centres, namely, Eldoret and Nakuru in the Rift Valley, Kisumu in Nyanza and Mombasa in Coast Provinces. Because Nairobi already had a higher number of industrial establishments, any additional location was bound to have an effect on the degree of concentration in Nairobi [see Leys, 1975, p. 164].

Of greater significance to the industrial dispersal policies was the decision to re-direct 50 per cent of the Graduated Personal Tax (GPT) out of Nairobi and Mombasa to the lagging regions [Norcliffe and Pinfold, 1981, p. 82].

* Known also as the "Department of Physical Planning".

Because Nairobi and Mombasa already had a higher concentration of wealth, such a transfer implied a substantial amount of redistribution to the low income regions. However, this GPT transfer arrangement did not last long because of strong opposition by the Mombasa and Nairobi residents. The arrangement was thus subsequently dropped altogether in 1970.

6.2 Second Development Plan

The second development plan (1970-1974) gave greater attention to industrial dispersion than in the previous plan. It was also during this period that actual industrial dispersal policy was actively pursued [Development Plan 1970-74, p. 2].

"The key strategy of this plan is to direct an increasing share of the total resources available to the nation towards the rural area."

The government introduced various policy instruments with direct effect on industrial location.* An important element of this was the selection of seven major growth centres besides Nairobi and Mombasa [Richardson, 1978, p.141]. The other important policy development was the introduction of the Special Rural Development Programme (SRDP[@]). This

* Appropriate source for further reading on this subject would be found in Enyina Chuta and S.V.Sethuraman (eds.), "Rural Small Scale Industrialization and Employment in Africa and Asia: A Review of Programmes and Policies". ILO:Geneva, 1984.

@ Further details respecting Economic Aspects of the SRDP can be found in Leonard Joy "Report on the Content and Nature of the Evaluation of the Economic Aspects of Kenya's SRDP". Mimeograph, IDS, University of Sussex, January 1971.

Table 6.1 : Investment Allowance Proposed in the Fourth Plan, 1979-1983

	Investment greater than K. sh.100,000 per job	Investment less than K.sh.100,000 per job
1. Urban areas other than Nairobi and Mombasa with population greater than 30,000	5 %	10 %
2. Semi urban areas with population greater than 10,000 and less than 30,000	10 %	15 %
Rural towns with population less than 10,000	15 %	20 %

Source : Westcott and Norcliffe, 1981, p. 86.

programme focuses on industrial decentralization through the physical planning and in particular the designation of regional growth centres. In addition, the SRDP is designed to promote small scale rural industries. Moreover, it is through the SRDP that a shift in emphasis made from the largest towns to the smaller ones. In all however the main objective of the SRDP is to create labour intensive small scale industrial enterprises through the use of local raw materials.

Besides the SRDP, other small scale projects were also introduced [Norcliffe, Freeman and Miles, 1984]. These include the rural industrial development programme (RIDP), industrial estate programme (IEP), and the industrial credit development corporations (ICDC). ICDC is a small loan scheme designed to provide investment funds to the small scale rural industries

[Development Plan 1970-1974, p. 318]. Indeed, the role which ICDC* plays is analogous to that of an investment company. It grants funds to Africans and in so doing enables many rural entrepreneurs to acquire shares in industrial concerns particularly those that require local participation.

In order to prepare the ground for better fund utilization, the government introduced the industrial training and extension services (ITES). Its task is to provide extension services to the rural entrepreneurs and to encourage greater African participation in the management of industrial enterprises. In addition, ITES is given the task to identify skill differentiation between the participating personnel and to classify same as industrial technicians or skilled workers.

The purpose of skill differentiation is to assist in the rendering of extension services such as in the selection of personnel attending various training schemes offered at the village polytechnics and/or at the Kenya Polytechnic. Thus the primary role of ITES is to expose a greater number of rural industrial entrepreneurs to the various training programmes.

The Second Plan period, therefore, offered various alternative policy instruments designed to not only decentralize industry but also to decentralize future urban growth through the designation of new industrial growth centres

* Please see also Colin Leys, 1975, p. 145, regarding the guiding philosophy of ICDC as espoused by a Cabinet minister.

[Richardson, 1978, pp. 133-152]. However, although all the above instruments were not obligatory, it was during the Second Plan period that rural industrialization received much attention than before. However, it should be noted further that all the above policy instruments were merely indicative of industrial dispersal strategy. But there was no actual effort to directly restrict the growth of Mombasa and Nairobi. The latter continued to attract more industries for various reasons.*

The latest data on industrial development available is for the census of industrial production for 1972. In the following, we provide pairs of Tables, below giving the pattern of regional dispersion of Industry. In Table 6.2 we give the number of establishments of the three sectors, namely Mining and Quarrying, Manufacturing, and Building and Construction.

The dominance of Nairobi is quite apparent. This is established by the fact that out of 2280 industrial establishments shown in Table 6.2, a little more than a half of these (51 per cent) were in Nairobi. The other 16 per cent was in Coast Province. However, the figures for the Coast are influenced by Mombasa. Hence Coast and Nairobi together have

* Perhaps because both enjoy the status of being Kenya's consumer markets, have an established ancillary industries that provide vital supportive linkages for large industries. They also have a well established transportation network and generally attract the best cream of Kenya's qualified personnel.

a total share of 67 per cent of the total number of industrial establishments.

The Table shows also that manufacturing was one of the most dynamic sectors in the Kenyan economy in that it accounted for about 74 per cent of total industrial establishments in Kenya in 1972. In Table 6.3 we show the value of output while comparative figures in percentages are given in Table 6.4. Here too, manufacturing manifests higher figures for the persons engaged i.e. about 88 per cent. Mombasa alone accounts for 66 per cent of this with Nairobi having only about 20 per cent. Out of 140,421 persons engaged, about 73,997 were in Nairobi. The latter accounted for 53 per cent of total employment. These are in turn expressed in comparative figures as percentage in Table 6.6. Total wage bill originating from the three sectors is given in Table 6.7. Table 6.8 gives the per capita wage bill for persons engaged.

Given that Nairobi and Mombasa* have acquired a position of dominance among Kenya's industrial growth centres, the question that one is likely to ask is: "Is a revision in policy strategy possible?" Of course, the growth of large cities in the LDCs usually (often) lead to many policy questions not only about how to keep up with rising demands for services but also about city growth itself. Can that growth be stopped at some manageable level and future growth channeled to other less congested areas of the country?

* Appears in the Coast figures.

Table 6.2 : Census of Industrial Production, 1972
(No. of Establishments)

Province	Mining and Quarrying	Manufac- turing	Building and Con- struction	Total
Central	7	125	36	168
Coast*	8	290	67	365
Eastern and North-Eastern	9	56	8	73
Nairobi	23	815	323	1,161
Nyanza	7	105	34	146
Rift Valley	27	256	39	322
Western	1	38	6	45
Total	82	1,685	513	2,280

* The Coast figures may be influenced by the presence of Mombasa.

Source : Statistical Abstract 1983, Table 97, p. 123.

Table 6.3 : Census of Industrial Production, 1972
(Value of Output in K£ '000)

Province	Mining and Quarrying	Manufac- turing	Building and Con- struction	Total
Central	45.5	7587.9	516.4	8149.8
Coast	314.1	14516.2	1288.4	16118.7
Eastern and North-Eastern	97.9	2407.0	442.5	2947.4
Nairobi	424.5	43943.3	11157.1	55524.9
Nyanza	70.6	2686.6	270.9	3028.1
Rift Valley	1264.1	8776.9	860.9	10901.9
Western	5.2	262.6	68.5	336.3
Total	22219.9	80180.5	14604.7	117005.1

Source : Statistical Abstract 1983, Table 97, p. 123.

Table 6.4 : Census of Industrial Production, 1972*
(Per cent sectoral share in value of output)

Province	Mining and Quarrying	Manufacturing	Building and Construction	Value of output per person
Central	0.5	93.1	6.3	0.34
Coast	1.9	90.0	7.9	1.20
Eastern and North-Eastern	3.3	81.6	15.0	0.10
Nairobi	0.7	79.1	20.0	6.70
Nyanza	2.3	88.7	8.9	0.11
Rift Valley	11.5	80.5	7.8	0.33
Western	1.5	78.0	20.3	0.01
Total	18.9	68.5	12.4	0.76

* Calculated from Table

Source : Statistical Abstract 1983.

Table 6.5 : Census of Industrial Production, 1972
(Persons Engaged)

Province	Mining and Quarrying	Manufacturing	Building and Construction	Total
Central	124	13,772	2,070	15,966
Coast	514	17,128	2,897	20,539
Eastern and North-Eastern	241	2,275	2,026	4,542
Nairobi	1,137	52,949	19,911	73,997
Nyanza	263	5,543	462	6,268
Rift Valley	1,658	13,911	2,183	17,752
Western	7	836	514	1,357
Total	3,944	106,414	30,063	140,421

Source : Statistical Abstract 1983.

Table 6.6 : Census of Industrial Production, 1972*
(Sectoral Share in Persons Engaged)

Province	Mining and Quarrying	Manufac- turing	Building and Con- struction
Central	0.7	86.2	12.9
Coast	0.2	83.3	14.1
Eastern and North-Eastern	5.3	50.0	44.6
Nairobi	1.5	71.5	26.9
Nyanza	4.1	88.4	7.3
Rift Valley	9.3	78.3	12.2
Western	0.5	61.6	37.8
Total	2.80	75.7	21.4

* Calculated from Table 6.5 above.

Source : Statistical Abstract 1983, Table 97, p. 123.

Table 6.7 : Census of Industrial Production, 1972*
(Wage Bill in K£ '000)

Province	Mining and Quarrying	Manufac- turing	Building and Con- struction	Total
Central	37.4	3354.8	333.8	3726.0
Coast	242.3	6072.2	856.7	7171.2
Eastern and North-Eastern	73.1	1071.1	985.9	2130.1
Nairobi	253.8	22932.2	7722.0	30908.0
Nyanza	51.4	1649.5	160.2	1861.1
Rift Valley	587.5	3337.5	578.5	4503.5
Western	2.7	101.8	50.8	155.3
Total	1248.2	38519.1	10687.9	50455.2

* Calculated from Table 6.5 above.

Source : Statistical Abstract 1983, Table 97, p. 123.

Table 6.8 : Census of Industrial Production, 1972
(Wage Bill Per Person Engaged)

Province	Mining and Quarrying	Manufac- turing	Building and Con- struction	Persons engaged as a per cent of total population engaged
Central	301.6	243.5	161.2	0.95
Coast	471.4	35.4	295.7	2.17
Eastern and North-Eastern	303.3	470.8	486.6	0.21
Nairobi	223.2	433.0	387.8	14.53
Nyanza	195.4	297.5	346.7	0.29
Rift Valley	354.3	239.9	271.8	0.80
Western	385.7	121.7	98.8	0.10
Total	316.4	147.8	355.5	1.28

Confronted with large city size, in Nairobi and Mombasa, the Kenya government is slowly rising up to the realization and beginning to seek to implement spatial industrial dispersal policies designed to change the distribution of industries in Kenya. But while the goal appears clear, little is however known about their effectiveness in curtailling industrial and population congestion and their overall impact on the country's economic welfare.

6.3 Third Development Plan

Although the Third Plan (1974-1978) does not depart much from the previous Plans, it puts a stronger emphasis on rural development. The dispersal of more employment opportunities to the lagging regions is stressed more strongly [Development Plan 1974-78, p. iv and p. 109].

The Plan advances several proposals with regard to rural development of which the main one is the creation of District Development Planning Unit (DDPU). The DDPU is an organizational body which attempts to coordinate the activities of SRDP, RIDP, the small business schemes and the small industrial loans scheme.

However, while the Plan mentions the decentralization of urban growth to the designated growth areas, it does not point towards the direct discouragement of growth from the two main growth areas, namely Nairobi and Mombasa. The latter two were left to grow in the same pattern as in the previous Plan period.

A comparison of the local authority development expenditure in the previous two Plan periods shows how both Nairobi and Mombasa are unevenly favoured. In Housing, for example, Nairobi alone accounts for 51 per cent of infrastructural investment (please see Table 6.9). Furthermore, in water and sewerage, Nairobi still accounts for over 34 per cent of total urban provision. When water and sewerage, road and housing are all added together, Nairobi still leads with

Table 6.9 : Public Infrastructure Investment in the Main Urban Areas, 1974-1978 (K£ million)

Towns	Housing units		Trunk water	Trunk sewerage	Roads		Total
	Below K£1200	Above K£1200			Trunk	Other	
Nairobi	14300	4020	10800	3540	2720	4350	39730
Mombasa	4750	1340	16477	2000	1620	600	26787
Nakuru	750	210	2080	200	200	70	3510
Kisumu	1600	450	660	1240	800	180	4930
Thika	650	180	20	120	-	80	1050
Eldoret	600	-170	100	100	150	80	1200
Kitale	250	70	210	170	-	30	730
Nyeri	350	100	70	240	-	90	850
Kakamega	250	70	10	100	-	30	460
Embu	200	60	50	30	-	60	400
Meru	4000	1130	3460	1000	3020	210	12820
Total	27950	7870	33987	8790	8510	5880	92987

Source : Development Plan 1974-1978, p. 123.

a total share of about 50 per cent. This is quite unjustified in view of the fact that only about 5 per cent of Kenya's population live there.

To a certain extent, the third development Plan was influenced by the "ILO Mission Report, 1972". The Mission blamed the government with respect to the widening gap in income and employment opportunities [ILO, 1972, pp. 73-81].

Nevertheless, it marked the beginning of a new phase in which industrial dispersion came to be pursued vigorously [Norcliffe, Freeman and Miles, 1984, p. 17]. Several recommendations were put forward by the Mission suggesting ways of how to remedy the apparent disparities. Later the government adopted the ILO Mission proposals and modified the relative importance of its policy strategy. However, the basic principles from the previous Plans were left intact.

"Following this, the major objective and strategy of the Third Plan are discussed. These are divided into number of items out of which employment and income distribution are taken at first because of their importance. But no significance should be read into the order of the remaining topics."
[Development Plan 1974-78, p. 1.]

6.4 Fourth Development Plan

The Fourth Plan (1979-1983) follows logically from the Third Plan. Regional development with increased focus on rural industrialization is greatly emphasized. In fact rural non-farm sector is specifically identified as constituting the basis of rural economic growth. Industrial location and dispersion also figure quite prominently and is even defined as one of the three main platforms of Kenya's industrial development [Development Plan 1979-1983, p. 339].

"Industrial dispersion is one of the leading objectives of our industrial development. Our success in achieving this goal will make it possible for the benefits of industrial growth to be geographically distributed as

widely as possible and for different regions of the country to develop harmoniously."

Regarding the generation of rural employment, the Plan envisages only one-fifth of the annual increase in the labour force is to be absorbed by the modern sector.

The remainder of the labour force was earmarked for absorption by the rural non-farm informal sector. The latter, by itself, was expected to make a greater contribution. The success of the non-farm informal sector is in turn dependent on the given incentives from the government. That is the success of this sector is contingent upon the priorities accorded to it by the government in terms of development outlays [Development Plan 1979-1983, pp. 14-15].

In pursuance of industrial dispersion policies, the Plan is backed by actual budgetary allocations in order to accelerate the activities of the scheme that are engaged in rural industrial programmes such as the following:

Kenya Industrial Estate Programme (KIEP). This scheme is designed to promote small scale rural industrial development outside of Nairobi and Mombasa [1979-1983 Plan, p.345]. Next is the Informal Sector Development Programme (ISDP) whose function is the evaluation of regional industrial activities. This programme is attached to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. Its function is to oversee the training programmes for the Ministry [Ibid., p. 350]. Third is the Investment Credit Allowance (ICA) which is a scheme designed to attract

industries to locate outside of Nairobi. The amount of allowance varies in proportion depending upon the type of investment involved. Table 6.1 gives the necessary illustration.

The three programmes discussed above display an awareness on the part of the government regarding the importance of regional industrialization.

Table 6.10 : Wage Employment by Province, 1974-1982

	1974	1982	Percentage share	
			1974	1982
Nairobi	226,959	291,327	59	53
Central	21,227	40,404	6	7
Coast	73,365	106,548	19	19
Eastern	10,308	20,020	3	4
Nyanza	14,919	23,567	4	4
Rift Valley	36,683	63,058	9	11
Western	2,830	8,210	0.7	1.0
Total	386,291	553,162	100	100

Source : Statistical Abstract 1983.

The results are seen, though in a small way, from the data on wage employment in 1974 and 1982 (Table 6.10). It shows a small decline from 59 per cent to 53 per cent as Nairobi's share. Further data on industrial development after the census of industrial production of 1972 are not yet available. Therefore, it is not possible to discuss fully the results of this new policy on industrial dispersal.

CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL SERVICES

7.1 Education

In 1974, the Kenya government abolished fees for the first four years of primary education. This decision envisaged a number of policy alternatives. While it sought to relieve the parents from paying school fees, the decision in fact merely rearranged the responsibility between the government and parents regarding the maintenance of primary schools. Until then, the maintenance of schools was under the jurisdiction of the government. Thenceforth, that responsibility was shifted to the parents and the government was left with the task of meeting the teachers' salaries.

The maintenance of schools became more of a burden on the parents whose resources are inadequate. As a result, many parents have become quite disillusioned with the decision. They argue that things were much better during the pre-1974 period. Because the stated objective of the government is universal primary education, such disillusionment contradicts the stated objectives of the government.

In Table 7.1, we give the types of schools in Kenya and their rate of expansion between 1965 and 1982. These are Primary, Secondary, Teacher Training and Technical Secondary Schools. Expansion has been most significant in both primary

Table 7.1 : Schools by Type, 1965-1982

	1965	1969	1975	1979	1982
Primary	5,078	6,111	8,161	9,622	11,497
Secondary	336	694	1,160	1,721	2,131
Teacher Training	33	27	18	20	21
Technical Schools	8	10	10	16	18
Total	5,455	6,842	9,349	11,379	13,667

Source : Statistical Abstract, 1974 and 1983.

and secondary schools. For instance, the number of primary schools increased from 5,078 in 1965 to 11,497 in 1982 (about 126 per cent) while secondary schools rose from 336 in 1965 to 2,131 in 1982 (about 534 per cent). However, teacher training institutions have lagged behind. This aggravates the teaching load for the few teachers that are available. In 1965, there were 33 teacher training colleges. But by 1982, this figure had dropped to 21 (accounting for about 57 per cent decline). No explanation is given. However, we are inclined to think that some expansion on the existing institutions may have been done resulting in reduction of the number of the existing colleges but a rise in the number of student teacher enrolments and thus raising the level of student intake. Technical education though accounting for a very small share in total number of schools has risen from 8 in 1962 to 18 in 1982 - about a rise of 125 per cent over a 17-year period.

Pupil enrolment is given in Table 7.2. There is a significant increase in enrolment between 1965 and 1982 (about 336 per cent). Primary and secondary school enrolment in 1965 was 95.2 per cent and 4.5 per cent respectively. By 1982, the share was 90 per cent and 9 per cent respectively. These details show that technical and teacher education have been lagging behind. During 1965 and 1982, enrolment could hardly account for more than one per cent.

Teacher education is given in Table 7.3. The rate of increase of trained teachers in primary and secondary education is rather high but quite low in technical, and teacher education. However, the teacher-student ratio is quite high in the teacher training colleges. That is, for every 1,000 pupils there are 63 teachers. It is important to note however, that the proportion of untrained teachers is higher in secondary education than in primary education. And the Teacher Training Colleges have no untrained teachers.

Primary and secondary school enrolment and their subsequent distribution is given in Tables 7.4 and 7.5 respectively. The rate of increase of primary education between 1978 and 1982 is about 38 per cent. Rapid increase is more evident in the Rift Valley, North-Eastern, Nyanza and Coast Provinces. Although North-Eastern Province appears quite behind, with only 0.34 per cent of its population enrolled, it manifests quite a higher rate of increase. This is also apparent in secondary education as Table 7.5 illustrates.

Table 7.2 : Pupils Enrolled, 1965-1982

	1965	1969	1975	1979	1982
Primary Schools	1,014,719	1,282,297	2,881,155	3,698,246	4,184,602
Secondary Schools	47,976	115,246	226,835	376,782	438,424
Teacher Training	5,355	7,194	9,154	9,906	11,405
Technical Schools	1,247	2,344	5,468	7,607	9,199
Total	1,065,467	1,407,081	3,122,612	4,092,541	4,643,630

Source : Statistical Abstract, 1974 and 1983.

Table 7.3 : Teachers in Service, 1978 and 1982

	1978	1982	Rate of increase 1982/ 1978	1982 No. per 1000 student population
Primary Schools:				
Trained	63,912	80,664	26.21	19.27
Untrained	28,134	34,430	22.37	8.22
Secondary Schools:				
Trained	7,399	8,277	11.86	18.87
Untrained	6,887	8,571	24.45	19.54
Teacher Training Colleges:				
Trained	683	720	5.41	63.13
Technical Secondary School:				
Trained	329	343	4.25	37.28
Untrained	51	192	276.47	20.87
Total	107,395	133,197	24.02	28.68

Source : Statistical Abstract, 1983.

Table 7.4 : Primary School Enrolment by Province, 1978 and 1982

Province	1978	1982	Per cent increase 1982 over 1978	1982 enrolment as per cent
Central	616,064	715,236	16.09	17.35
Coast	170,664	254,888	49.35	6.18
Eastern	601,851	768,958	27.76	18.66
North-Eastern	9,487	14,097	48.59	0.34
Nairobi	91,540	105,549	15.30	2.56
Nyanza	518,346	814,010	57.03	19.75
Rift Valley	571,667	859,425	50.33	20.85
Western	415,275	587,982	41.58	14.27
Total	2,494,894	4,120,145	37.57	26.88

Source : Statistical Abstract, 1983.

Table 7.5 : Secondary School Enrolment by Province (in '000)

Province	1979	1982	Per cent increase 1982 over 1979	1982 No. per 1000 population
Central	94,600	98,800	4.43	42.1
Coast	20,700	29,200	41.06	21.7
Eastern	67,900	70,100	3.24	25.7
North-Eastern	1,000	1,400	40.00	3.7
Nairobi	30,000	34,400	14.66	41.5
Nyanza	65,800	83,000	26.13	31.3
Rift Valley	53,400	64,300	20.41	19.8
Western	51,000	58,800	11.37	30.9
Total	384,400	438,424	14.04	28.6

Source : Statistical Abstract, 1983.

Hence with a higher rate of increase, it is probable that positive efforts are taking place in North-Eastern Province. The province will be able to catch up in due course.

7.2 Health

The situation of Health Programme in Kenya is not encouraging. This is illustrated by the data in Table 7.6. For every 100,000 population, there are only 143 doctors. The situation is even more gloomy regarding the various levels of health profession. There is a shortage of pharmacists in the country. That is, for every 100,000 population, there is only 0.56 number of pharmacists. The seriousness of shortage of medical personnel reveals itself further in medical doctors, dentists, pharmaceutical technologists and clinical officers.

Table 7.6 : Registered Medical Personnel, 1979 and 1982

	1979	1982	Rate of increase 1982/1979	1982 No. per 100,000 popula- tion
Doctors	1,541	2,151	39.5	14.03
Dentists	141	239	69.5	1.55
Pharmacists	33	86	160.6	0.56
Pharmaceutical technologists	272	359	31.9	2.34
Registered Nurses	6,542	7,675	17.3	50.07
Enrolled Nurses	8,317	9,518	14.4	62.09
Clinical Officers	1,534	1,821	18.70	11.88
Total	18,380	21,849	18.87	142.55

In Table 7.7, we give the distribution of medical doctors and their differentiation as to whether citizen or non-citizen. It will be noticed that out of 299 doctors in the country in 1969, more than half were non-citizens. The latter accounted for 52 per cent of the total. Of these, about 147, accounting for 49 per cent, were concentrated in Nairobi alone.

Table 7.7 : Number of Medical Doctors by Locality, 1969

	Government Medical Doctors			1969* Population	Popula- tion per Medical Doctor
	Kenyan	Non- Kenyan	Total		
Nairobi	95	52	147	509,286	3,465
Mombasa, Nakuru, Kisumu	15	31	46	326,655	7,101
Nairobi, Nakuru, Kisumu and Mombasa combined	110	83	193	835,941	4,331
Others	46	60	106	10,106,764	95,347
Total (Whole Country)	156	143	299	10,942,705	36,598
Per cent of total	52.0	48.0	100.0		

* Table 11 of 1983 Statistical Abstract.

Source : ILO, 1972, p. 215; and Statistical Abstract, 1983.

This disparity manifests itself further between urban and rural areas. The former accounted for about 65 per cent of all medical doctors in Kenya in 1969. Only 44 per cent of

of medical doctors were in rural areas. During that period, the urban population was 938,113 with a total share of 8.5 per cent. Thus, over 90 per cent of Kenya's population is being served by only 106 doctors thus giving 0.96 doctors per every 100,000 population.

Table 7.8 gives the number of Health Institutions in Kenya together with the total number of hospital beds and cots. The Table also shows how these are distributed between the main regions of Kenya. We have grouped these institutions in three categories. These are hospitals, health centres and dispensaries.

No explanation is given as to what constitutes a hospital or the minimum number of beds each hospital is supposed to have. In addition, it has not been possible for us to know the minimum number of doctors each hospital or a health centre is supposed to have.

However, a quick glance at Table 7.8 will show at once the regions which are lagging behind in health institutions. These are Eastern, Western and Nyanza Provinces. In Eastern Province, there is 0.51 health institution per 100,000 population. The figures for Western and Nyanza Provinces are 5.07 and 8.28 health institutions per 100,000 population respectively.

It has not been possible to provide data on the number of private health institutions in Kenya. On general knowledge, however, one can argue that mal-distribution also exists in

Table 7.8 : Health Institutions and Hospital Beds and Cots by Province, 1981

Province	Hospitals	Health Centres	Health Centres and Dispensaries	Total	No. per 100,000 Population	Hospital Beds and Cots	
						No. of Beds and Cots	No. per 100,000 population
Central	45	38	180	263	11.21	4,351	179
Coast	24	22	133	179	13.33	2,930	211
Eastern	3	3	18	14	0.51	354	91
North-Eastern*	27	27	193	247	66.08	3,827	136
Nairobi	17	8	62	87	10.51	6,253	720
Nyanza	38	39	142	219	8.28	2,937	109
Rift Valley	52	86	363	502	15.49	4,987	147
Western	15	39	39	93	5.07	2,469	130
Total	221	262	1,130	1,613	10.52	28,108	177

* Although it has not been possible for us to verify these figures, we think that the figures for Eastern Province may have been mistakenly substituted for North-Eastern Province. They are far too low.

Source : Statistical Abstract, 1983.

this category of health services. That is, a large private sector which is both well equipped and staffed is concentrated only in the urban centres. Private practice has not as yet penetrated into the rural areas. But even if it did, the

high cost of private health services in itself is prohibitive and so makes private health services out of reach of the majority of Kenyans.

Regional disparities in health services are aggravated further by difference between urban and rural areas. Large urban centres such as Nairobi and Mombasa have the capacity to subsidize the cost of health services. In 1971, Nairobi City Council, for example, was able to have 48 additional doctors more than what the government was able to offer [ILO, 1972, p. 215].

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

It was stated in the Preface that this is a country study and the subject of our analysis is regional disparities in economic development. We have so far examined on the basis of available data the nature, extent and causes of such disparities in Kenya. While our subject matter is economic, it is also embedded with political questions. The central question is whether the Kenyan government has any effective policies on regional development. It seems that no clearly defined policy exists. In the face of much of its policy rhetoric, the government of Kenya has been quite unresponsive to the problems of resource redistribution in certain regions within the country since Independence. As a result, the gap in economic disparities between the regions has been widening. In drawing this conclusion, we have tried to see the Kenyan redistributive problem more in terms of the structure of the means of production and less in terms of the national product.

In some instances, the government itself can be said to have contributed (consciously or otherwise) to the prevalence of regional disparities. The reason is the existence of vested regional interests at the centre of power. Apparently, this is not unusual. Studies conducted elsewhere

show that given the style of third world politics, there always prevails a political power struggle between the centre and the regional power policy [Bassand, 1981, pp. 241-250]. The Kenyan regional growth pattern seems to have been fashioned along the same framework [Mueller, 1984].

The Kenyan authorities under the umbrella of centralized leadership and with a peculiar political interest, has in the past never had trouble imposing and even legitimizing the deprivation of certain regions [Ibid.]. Indeed, areas of the country where opposition to this central ruling elite is strongest is constantly threatened with reduced levels of public spending while favouring loyal regions [Essack, 1978; and Mueller, 1984].

This is an important point in that it illustrates further the sad but true reality that in Kenya political power at the centre and its relations with the regional power structure are matters that are determined through political bargain. In defense of its position, the Kenya government has often justified its centralized sectoral approach to planning citing the cumulative benefits associated with that approach. As a result, decentralization policies have often been thought out merely as appeasement to regional political demands.

Evidence from most former colonial nations in Africa shows that governments are disillusioned with decentralization policies. Kenya is, therefore, no exception. This

lack of interest in the use of concept of "regions" is, for example, the result of an in-built suspicion among many regimes which hold that decentralized growth strategies do indirectly promote political disintegration [Taylor, 1981]. This should come as no surprise since it is also a common problem outside Africa.

Albert Hirschman has argued at length that the manner in which economic policy affects the rates of growth of different parts of a country is through the regional allocation of public investments. He recognizes the importance of political decisions. He further distinguishes three principal patterns of resource allocation, viz. (1) concentration on growing areas, (2) wider dispersal of resources over all the regions, and attempts to (3) promote the development of backward areas. Incidentally, Hirschman does not provide the methodology by which the latter could be achieved.

But given the nature of political demands and the need to appease of the regional feelings, all governments desire and need support from all the regions in the country. As a consequence, small investment projects (funds) are often scattered over a wide area of national territory. But by doing so, projects are scattered far and wide without being completed. Their interests being only of short-run nature, namely to gain political support from the regions [Albert Hirschman, 1957, pp. 551-570].

The evidence from Kenya attests to Hirschman's argument.

The molasses plant in Kisumu, Nyanza Province, and the fish breeding and processing plant at lake Turkana are cases in point.*

However, just as decentralization policies are treated with much distaste, and African countries equally feel much less at home with the concept of a "region". In Kenya, the latter has recently been replaced by two concepts, namely "rural development" and "district planning" [Taylor, 1981, p. 328].

Whilst focusing on regional disparities, we have, however, not been unaware with the wider problems of economic growth in Kenya. But economic growth is not sufficient unless it is attended by a decline in inequality, unemployment and poverty. It is possible that in the midst of more growth, inequality and unemployment can also increase. Apparently, this is what has happened in Kenya [ILO, 1972; House and Tillick, 1983; and Chenery et al, 1974, esp. Table 1.1, p.8].

As would be expected, the government is quick in refuting this, and argues further, that it is very difficult to identify disparity, neither can the latter be region specific [Development Plan 1979-1983, p. 21]. Furthermore, the government asserts in addition that since Independence, the majority of Kenyan people are well fed, clothed and to a

* During a recent visit to Kenya, the author made an effort to reach the Kisumu plant. The construction is at a standstill and no one knows when work would resume. Meanwhile lizards and squirrel have found a secure abode.

certain degree well housed [Ibid. See also Development Plan 1974-1978, pp. 1 and 2].

There is also a position that the emphasis placed on disparities by Kenyan critics has been overdone [Hazlewood, 1978, p. 86]. In this view, attention ought to be focused not on how the degree of inequality has changed over time, but how the incomes of the poor regions are changing in absolute way [Ibid., p. 86]. For instance, it is quite possible that some of the (poor) regions have become less poor so that the increase in inequality as such need not be deplored [Ibid., p. 81].*

Others only show concern with Kenya's rate of population growth. According to the latter, the real problem facing Kenya is the frightening rate of population growth conservatively estimated in 1985 to be above 4.0 per cent [World Development Report, 1984, esp. Table 19].

Whatever the merits of these views, we think that economic policies in Kenya are regionally biased. Consequently, the often cited impressive growth between 1964-1970 period [Development Plan 1970-1974, p. 20] has remained confined within a very small segment of Kenya. A large section of the population has never been touched by the prospects of that growth.

* This means that if some regions become less poor and a few others become richer, the consequent greater inequality is not damaging. The present author does not agree to this thesis.

The government too is not unaware of this. By its own admission, it states that much of the talked about progress in the past has remained confined to a small number of individuals. These include larger farmers, people in business, politicians, top civil servants and some members belonging to certain professions [Development Plan 1970-1974, p. 2; see also Chenery, 1974, Table 1.1, p.8 cited above]. Yet at the same time the government has often tried to distant itself from shouldering the responsibility. In defending its position the government often states that any apparent disparity in the country is not of its making but draws its roots in the colonial past. Time is needed before effective eradication can take place [Development Plan 1974-78, pp. 1 and 2].

It is with this pattern of reasoning that we have chosen land as the first indicator in our analysis. This is so because the historical pattern of wealth accumulation in Kenya has been mainly the result of the previous access to land ownership.* Most scholars familiar with Kenya's development often times argue that to think of Kenya is to think of inequalities [Essack, op.cit.].

This process dates back to the colonial period and was inherited wholesale by the nationalist regime. Of course, some lukewarm effort was made by the new regime to redress

* Dandekar and Rath in their study, Poverty in India, have also argued along the same lines. Please see, Dandekar, V.M. and N. Rath, Poverty in India, Indian School of Political Economy Publication, 1971, p. 58.

the existing inequality. But such efforts as alluded to above remained confined to policy rhetorics. There remains to-date, much air of unreality in the stated goals [Taylor, 1981, p. 328]. Indeed, very little has been done or even being done to eradicate the apparent disparities. The experience with land settlement programme is a case in point [Goldham, Simon, 1984, pp. 59-71].

We began our analysis of land by arguing that much of inaccessibility to land as a resource is imposed by nature. We have supported this argument by providing the necessary empirical data. In doing so we have been able to demonstrate that only a small part of Kenya's land surface can be considered good arable land. This represents only 17 per cent of total land area. The remainder is classified as low potential land and therefore unsuitable for cultivation. Moreover, of the available arable land, not all is evenly spread out. It occurs only in certain areas thus aggravating regional inequalities in resource endowments between the regions even farther.

For the purpose of our investigation, we have looked at the disparities more in terms of human factors than natural conditions. In particular, we have examined how this arable land is distributed in the country. In addition, we have tried to show that the country's population distribution reflects the general influence of the varying geographical and topographical conditions. That is, while the overall density of the country is low (27 persons per sq.km), there

exists a strong positive correlation between population densities and the quality of land. Regions with higher proportion of high potential lands have on average much higher densities.

In these regions, skewness in income distribution is quite obvious. It manifests itself more apparently in land distribution and ownership. This in turn accentuates the problem further in the differential endowments of good quality land.

In the colonial period, access to good quality land was a matter of racial privilege. Europeans, through the support of colonial land policy, were favoured and so they got free access to good lands [FAO, 1984, p. 26]. But just as land ownership in the colonial period was associated with racial privileges, access to good quality land during the post-colonial era is also linked to social and political connections. This is why the land issue in Kenya often ignites the most powerful emotions especially among those that do not have it [FAO, 1984, p. 44; see also House and Tillick, 1983, p. 47].

In recognizing the inherent potential for political eruptions, the government has often come up with various curative measures for land reform. We have discussed this in two versions viz. land registration and land settlement. In both cases, we have argued that although the impacts may have been impressive, the intended results cannot be said to have been wholly accomplished.

For example, the registration programme (which we discussed under the Swynnerton Plan) was intended to intensify African agricultural development. Indeed as a land policy, it was no doubt a landmark exercise that was expected to lead to greater improvements in agrarian performance. Instead, the reform ended up creating a distinct class of landed gentry within the rural peasantry. Today, landlordism has become a common phenomenon among the Kenyan peasantry.

As for the land settlement schemes in Kenya, we showed that the initial policy of land settlement was to provide land to the landless and small peasants. This was done in two forms. The first was where an existing large private farm belonging to European settler farmers was bought by the government for the sole purpose to resettle landless natives. The other is where the existing government land was brought under cultivation and peasant families settled on them. The former thus represented a change not only in the form of management from being private to collective or cooperative but also, the pattern of production. The latter was intended to benefit squatters.

Land settlement is used in most countries to reclaim new land, reduce population pressure and to provide land and employment opportunities. In Kenya, land reform measures have been intended primarily to break up traditional rights of land into private property with freehold titles. The main argument has been that proprietary rights (i.e. title deeds) do contribute to the break-down of tribal exclusiveness

over land, leads to the development of a variable land market besides leading to the intensive operations in agriculture. The arguments advanced in the Swynnerton Plan attest to the above arguments. But while the objective was to lessen the degree of landlessness in Kenya, the evidence shows that the latter has deteriorated even further.

In discussing the industrial production in Kenya, we made reference to the Sessional Paper No.10 of 1965 because Kenya's industrial locational policy radiates from it. However, we may also add that the document advocated a policy of Kenyanization. The latter is a process by which persons of Kenyan origin were expected to replace expatriates in jobs held by aliens. Besides, Kenyanization is also a national goal that tries to ensure that all Kenyans participate in various aspects of economic life in the country, not just as employees, but as top managers and entrepreneurs as well.

But once the process was established, it did not last long before it came to institutionalize favouritism and nepotism in the domain of economic prospects. Access to various aspects of economic opportunities in Kenya depend more on brotherhood and family connections and less and less on merit. Individual success depends largely on whom one knows and how much one is prepared to dish out. This common practice goes back to Kenyatta's popular dictum, i.e. *Mkono Matupu Hailambwi*, meaning unless there is syrup in one's fingertips, one cannot leak one's nail ("no reward without

service"). However, while the President may not have had bribery in his mind, people in positions of influence misconstrued his statement and have ever since misapplied it.

The section on urbanization is in a way an extension of our discussion of population in Chapter I. But while Chapter I looks at population in relation to the country as a whole, the latter section is limited to the aspect of population growth within Kenya's urban centres. Our objective here has been to provide a general groundwork for explaining the influences which the country's industrialization has had on the demographic adjustments. This has been necessary in order to understand the distribution of population in relation to employment prospects.

We have argued by giving the necessary data that Kenya has experienced rapid urbanization over the last three decades. Yet in doing so, we have avoided engaging in unnecessary polemics as to whether Nairobi, Kenya's primate city, is reaching any unmanageable proportion [Richardson, 1980, p.98]. Instead, we have attempted to demonstrate that Kenya's rapid rate of urbanization has been the result of biased policies that emphasizes industrial growth at the expense of agriculture [Todaro, M.P., 1969, and Todaro, M.P., 1981, esp. p.ix].

In fact the pattern of urbanization growth in Kenya can be said to be the direct outgrowth of a colonial philosophy and a failed strategy of development that has historically placed emphasis on the promotion of the modern sector acti-

vities. To understand this, one needs only to read Kenya's "Magna Carta" (the Sessional Paper No.10 of 1965) where it is argued at length that the engine for rapid economic growth is inherent in the modern sector activities. This is why development planning in Kenya has always stressed industrial and urban growth with very minimal emphasis on rural agriculture and its development.

Following Independence, the new nationalist government came to inherit an economy suffering from extreme structural dualism. There existed on the one hand a relatively highly developed modern sector economy dominated by settlers and on the other hand a low productivity peasant agriculture. The latter provided a source of livelihood for the majority of Kenya's population.

The new government opted for a form of development that emphasized the promotion and development of the modern sector. Decisions were subsequently taken to increase indigenous participation in the monetary economy and ownership and control of productive assets through the process of Kenyanization. The latter was about the only respect in which the aims of post-Independence strategy differed from those of the colonial period [Ghai, Godfrey and Lisk, 1979, Chapt.1].

Otherwise, the post-Independence approach to Kenya's economic development reflected the belief that rapid economic progress could only come about through the pursuit of development strategy peculiar to the colonial strategies [Sessional

Paper No.10 of 1965]. Consequently, policies for development increasingly became biased towards the promotion of agricultural development. And since the modern sector presupposes industrial development, and hence city life, it was inevitable that cities had to begin to attract rural population. The result is observable in the current wave of rural-urban population drift.

Lately, however, it has become apparent to the government that its previous emphasis on industrial urban growth has not been entirely without fault. As a result, the government has been trying to overcome some of the problems through the introduction of regional development policies that are more evenly balanced between the needs of the cities and the requirements of the countryside. Various policy instruments that were introduced during the third and fourth plan periods were thus intended to disperse industries. The latter was thus expected to lead to population readjustment and to curtail the emergence of rural-urban population drift [Chuta and Sethuraman, 1984, p. 1].

In our discussion of Industrial Production, no effort has been made to differentiate between large scale, rural and small scale industries. This has been so because of lack of relevant data. In addition, it has not been possible to provide a comparative analysis of industrial establishments between the major urban centres in Kenya. Furthermore we

have also been unable to differentiate* the pattern of industrial production in Kenya on the basis of foreign versus domestic establishments.

However, attempt has been made to distinguish industrial establishments in Kenya on the basis of those industries that focus on rural raw materials utilization and those that are urban based. This is done through the evaluation of rural industrialization policies such as the RIDP alluded to in the text.

At the regional levels, we have given a comparison between Kenya's regions in relation to the number of industrial establishments available in each region. This has been done against the general background of infrastructure resource allocation and industrial employment prospects. Our data for this analysis have been based on "Census for Industrial Production 1972". This is the only data that has been available to us. Hence it has not been possible to examine later progress.

However, judging by these data, it is apparent that Nairobi is indeed the main industrial growth centre. This is affirmed by the level of industrial output, number of industrial establishments and the total industrial employment.

* ILO Employment Mission to Kenya estimated that there was about 57 per cent of manufacturing sector output in Kenya (of foreign origin) in 1972. See ILO, 1972, p. 184; see also Leys, 1975, p. 16.

Moreover, the distribution of enumerated wage employment by size of establishments shows a heavy preponderance of employment in Nairobi and Coast Provinces.

Our discussion of social services has been divided into two separate parts namely education and health. As regards the former, we first give a general overview of education system in Kenya as a whole by giving the types of schools available in Kenya. This is shown in Table 7.1. Next we showed the situation regarding student enrolment in all types of schooling system in the country. This was followed by the data giving the breakdown of teacher population available in the country.

It has not been possible to evaluate the pattern of examination and selection process.* Moreover, our study has focused primarily on formal education and has left unattended the non-formal education and training. Although the latter are equally vital, we could not do so because of lack of the relevant material. Lack of data is also responsible for our not discussing illiteracy issues in Kenya.

The analysis of health services has been brief in that we limited it to registered personnel, distribution of medical doctors and health institutions.

We have argued that there is a maldistribution of medical facilities. A large well-equipped and efficient

* A good source for a critical review of this may be found in ILO, 1972, pp. 22-23.

private sector is concentrated in urban centres. However, the uneven distribution is not confined to the private sector only. We have provided data showing that an enormous imbalance between the main towns in Kenya and the rest of the country prevails (Table 7.7). The latter Table in addition to Table 7.8 shows the prevalence of understaffing of the basic health services at all levels.

This is a preliminary exercise and it is hoped that further analysis with more in-depth and updated data will throw light on the nature and process of the regional disparities in Kenya.

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