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Change in the Agikuyu Women's Local Trade on Indigenous Food Crops in Nyeri County from 1902 to 1980

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ABSTRACT

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Keywords:

Change, Agikuyu Women, Trade, Indigenous Food, Nyeri County. The purpose of this paper was to analyze the change in the Agikuyu women's local trade on indigenous food crops in Nyeri County from 1902 to 1980 This study was conducted in three sub-counties: Kieni East, Mathira East, and Nyeri Central. Data was collected from both primary and secondary sources. The research employed a historical research design based on qualitative procedures. The design enabled the researcher to explain, describe and give a historical analysis of the findings. This being a historical study, non-probability sampling procedures were used such as purposive and snowball sampling techniques to gather relevant information. A sample size threshold of 54 respondents was interviewed the main research instruments were the interview guide and focus group discussion. Data for this study was analyzed qualitatively using documentary content analysis, description and narration of the historical events. Data was also corroborated and both context and content analysis were done to ensure reliability and validity of the information. Interpretation was done within the framework of Marxist feminist theory and articulation theory. The study established that the women's local food crops trade system has not been static the colonial capitalist economic practices brought about profound changes in the economic and social fabric in Nyeri County and significantly undermined the women's local trade. This resulted to both positive and negative influence to the dimensions of food security in the study area. It was established that the indigenous food crops that women exchanged in the local markets were well adapted to local conditions, sustainably available and provided essential nutrients necessary for the health and well-being of the community. The findings of this study illustrate the pivotal role of Agikuyu women in local trade systems and its substantial contribution to food security in Nyeri County. The study concludes that the ministry of trade should come up with deliberate measures that will integrate women's local trade into the country's economic policies and practices and also consider the valuable contribution of women local trade in mitigating food shortage and ensuring eradication of extreme poverty and hunger.

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INTRODUCTION

The history of Agikuyu women's trade in indigenous food crops in Nyeri County before 1902 reveals how the women who dominated the trade of food crops helped in constructing the local economies, food systems, and history. At this time, Agikuyu women took an active part in farming and marketing agricultural produce which included sorghum, millet, yams, and sweet potatoes among others. In this study, the research will examine the transformation of the Agikuyu women's trade in indigenous food crops in Nyeri County from 1902 to 1980. This period was marked by significant socio-economic changes brought about by colonial policies and their impact on Agikuyu local trade. This study explores how colonial taxation policies, forced labor, cash crops, squatter system, cash economy and changes in land tenure disrupted traditional gender roles and local trade practices. These disruptions necessitated a reconfiguration of women's involvement in local trade because new crops of trade were introduced accompanied by other colonial strategies. This study analyzed how these shifts affected women's socio-economic status, health and well-being emphasizing the increased workload and stress resulting from the need to balance household responsibilities with trading on indigenous food crops.

Problem Statement:

The Agikuyu women of Nyeri County historically played a central role in the trade of indigenous food crops, contributing significantly to local economies and food security. However, the advent of British colonialism from 1902 onward introduced policies that disrupted traditional trade systems, marginalized women's economic roles, and shifted agricultural focus toward cash crops. These changes severely undermined women's participation in local trade reduced their economic autonomy and contributed to food insecurity in the region. Despite the critical impact of these changes there has been limited research specifically analyzing how colonial policies altered the Agikuyu women's trade in indigenous food crops over time. This study seeks to address this gap by examining the socio-economic consequences of colonial interventions women's trade and their long-term implications for food security and gender dynamics in Nyeri County.

Purpose of the Study

The study analyzed the change of the Agikuyu women's local trade system in indigenous food crops and its effects on food security in Nyeri county from 1902-1980.

Research Questions

What were the changes that occurred in Agikuyu women's local trade on indigenous food crops from 1902 to 1980?

LITERATURE REVIEW:

Socio-economic, cultural, and political factors have influenced the cross-sectional trade of indigenous food crops among women of the Agikuyu ethnic group in Nyeri County in the 20th century. This part aims to review the available literature that focuses on the involvement of women in agricultural trade, the effects of colonialism on the local economy, and alterations in social-gender relations among the Agikuyu tribe. By reviewing these sources, we gain insights into how Agikuyu women navigated their roles as both food producers and traders during a transformative period in Kenya's history.

The Agikuyu people, before had a vibrant agricultural-based economy where women had a significant part to play. From Muriuki's (1974) perspective, it is evident that the Agikuyu women were more involved in the farming exercise and were the sole farmers of the food crops that included, maize, beans, sweet potatoes, and millet. Although trading was part of the agricultural input to the Agikuyu they had specific responsibilities that were rooted in their culture and norms. According to Leakey (1952), those women were involved not only in farming but also in the organization of the household's excess production for sales within the markets to feed their families and the entire population. All these foregone traditional practices paved the way for engaging in agricultural trade even during the colonial period.

According to Berman (1990) and Kitching (1980), colonial policies put in place to foster export crops like coffee and tea subjugated indigenous food crops and altered advancing gender orders in commerce. The other areas that impacted the local economies negatively included; the introduction of taxation and forced labor for example the squatter system intensified the problem. According to Berman (1990), such policies

impacted this group due to the replacement of men into wage employment and leaving women at home to engage in subsistence farming and other domestic chores. This change of relations of labor translated into the alteration of gender division of labor and trade where the women were expected to respond to new colonial demands and at the same time engage in indigenous food crop trade.

The colonial activities focusing on cash crops as an essential source of export also affected the local agricultural and a shift was observed to the sale of few food crops that were produced locally. Waller (1977) and Kanogo (1987) elaborate on how the growth of coffee and tea led to food shortage as the land used for growing food crops was shifted to that of commercial crops. Nevertheless, Agikuyu women persisted in the trade of indigenous food crops although it became even more difficult to do so. They were faced with an ever-changing economic environment where cash crops were given priority and markets and resources that were scarce were hard to come by. Waller says that due to the process of monetarization of the economy, the women had to change their tactics in trading to survive and provide their families with food and other necessities. This led to changes in the structures of trading markets and networks.

Land tenure transformations triggered by colonial state intervention also influenced women farmers' and traders' activities. Indeed, following Kenyatta (1938) and Stichter (1982) among others, the process of the alienation of land for European settlers and the creation of legally recognized individual property rights undermined collective land management practices that had prevailed and allowed women to clear land for commercial crop production. According to the colonial land tenure program, men were given formal rights over land, thus demising the women's control or access to productive resources such as land for agriculture. Consequently, this also impacted their capability in the production of food as well as in trade because as mentioned earlier, land was the major factor of production for food. As a result of all these vices, some of the women were able to retain

small parcels of land to grow crops for their use and also engage in barter trade of local produce.

Nonetheless, several challenges arising from the colonial policies were evident, however, Agikuyu women managed to exercise a lot of agency as far as their involvement in the trade of indigenous food crops was concerned. Robertson (1997) examined different strategies that were employed by women to change their way of life and fit into the colonial economy by disrupting the chain of commerce and using social capital to support their commerce in agriculture. These therefore, continued to engage in local markets for the sustenance of their households as well as their communities by supplying key food crops when the economy shifted towards the production of cash crops.

During the 1960s and immediately after Kenya's independence in 1963, there were changes in economic policies with mixed impacts on women's trade in indigenous food crops. Kanogo (1987), and Mutongi (2007) depicted it as postcolonial land reforms and other economic policies aimed at redressing some of the anomalies of colonialism but the ordeal of the Agikuyu woman was far from over. Although the political reforms of the land aimed to give back communal rights in the ownership and production of land, the principle of colonialism persisted in its denial of women's resources as well as markets. Women never relented in participating in the trade in agricultural products their roles in local food systems continued to define the economy of Nyeri County.

METHODOLOGY:

Location of the Study

The study was conducted in Nyeri County, in Central Kenya and it is bordered to the north by Laikipia, to the northeast by Meru, to the east by Kirinyaga, to the south by Muranga, and the west by Nyandarua districts. Currently, it has six electoral constituencies, all of them in the Nyeri County. It is found in the central highlands making it endowed with fertile crop-producing soils, a higher annual rainfall, and moderate

temperatures. It also boasts of Mount Kenya and Aberdare National Parks which is a plus to the tourism industry Moreover the region is endowed with other factors that give a booster to tourism.: Mount Kenya is the biggest mountain in East Africa and the second biggest mountain in Africa. The current headquarters of the county is Nyeri Central which is by all standards the largest town in the entire county. The immediate neighbors to the Agikuyu at the time they occupied the area of study, included the Athi and Gumba communities. The Agikuyu were mixed farmers and hence required land for farming and thus negotiated with Athi and Gumba who were hunters and gathers.

Research Design

The historical research method that comprised of qualitative approach was used in this study to analyze change in the Agikuyu women's local trade in indigenous food crops from 1902 to 1980 in Nyeri County. This study design was useful and it helped the researcher to obtain data by contacting key informants to come up with the best summarized, interpreted, and clarified indepth analysis of the subject. This design was mainly based on the primary and secondary data collection methods and played a major role in achieving the chronologizing objective. The study employed a historical research design which entails the gathering of data and evidence regarding events that have occurred in the past to establish facts that support or deny the assumptions that are held Creswell (2008).

Target Population

The total population for the entire Nyeri County is 759,164 according to the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS) 2019 while the sample for the study was from three sub-counties; Kieni East, Mathira East, and Nyeri County Central. The informants were selected from elderly people, that is, from a population of 55 years and above from the three sub-counties. The targeted persons included political and religious authority, Farmers, traders, former administrators i.e., the colonial chiefs and headsmen. This group of the

population was very important since they were bearing the most relevant information to the study.

Sampling Procedures

The study targeted three sub-counties from Nyeri county including Mathira East sub-county, Kieni East sub-county, and Nyeri Central sub-county. The three sub-counties have been sampled purposively because Mathira East had the largest open-air market in East and Central Africa which had been in existence since the colonial period and most of the items of trade were local food stuffs as they are to date. Kieni East being a semi-arid area, had an early experience of common food insecurity since the colonial times; women had to engage in local trade on indigenous foods for their families while Nyeri Central was the main colonial administrative area, and to date, it's centre of administration and business for Nyeri County. The study adopted both purposive and non-probability sampling techniques where purposive sampling and snowballing or chain techniques were used to identify the respondents.

Sample Size

When conducting historical research that is within a time frame of far past years like the proposed study, what matters most is the quality and reliability of the information given by the respondents. Hence, the respondents were sampled mainly due to their knowledge of the research topic. Given this, Kathuri and Pals (1993) state that the minimum thresholds of 100 cases in major subgroups and 54 cases in minor subgroups are appropriate sample sizes. Given that the total population of Nyeri County is 759,164 people and the specific population of the sampled area of the study is 339,239 (KNBS, 2019), the study area represents the minor group of Nyeri County. Therefore, the threshold of 54 respondents was used for this study.

Research Instruments

• Interview Guide

All interviews were done in the Gikuyu language which is understood by the people in the catchment area and languages informants are most comfortable to use. Vicarious participation was not strictly followed since the researcher was not restricted to following the interview schedule. All the sampled population comprised of individuals aged fifty-five years and above and the interview involved questions which were of the open-ended type. It also helped the researcher gain deeper and richer data information which might have been difficult if the researcher had to rely on closeended questions. The following questions helped the researcher to gain greater depth of the answers and encouraged informants' feelings in the course of the conversation. Where the respondents were not available to give oral information especially information about the pre-colonial women's trade on indigenous food crops activities, their response was corroborated with secondary sources.

Data Collection Procedures

The data for this study was collected as per the objectives from different sources of history and was categorized as Primary or secondary data.

Primary Data

The primary data was obtained from oral interviews that involved the respondents as well as the archival records. The primary source was mainly and to a great extent gathered from the Kenya National Archives and Nyeri County Archives. These main documents that were considered included Local Native Councils colonial government publications, confidential reports on trades, correspondence on trades, housing, education; intelligence reports; the native affairs report; trade report; letters; handing over reports and diaries. Secondly, an interview schedule was developed, and in this process, the study item was orally presented to the informants. The interviewees were asked and interviewed again to get more augmented information. Structured interviews conducted with the respondents and before the interview, they were asked similar questions to enhance comparability of responses. Interviews were done with the informants and other observations were done in notes and even taped on voice recorders. Data collection was done

when personnel reached the point where the informants gave the same response to the same question (Saturation point).

Secondary Data

Secondary data which were written documents formed the next data type and these included; books, seminar papers, journals, theses, dissertations, and periodicals which were obtained from the National Library and various university libraries in Kenya. These libraries contained vital secondary data for this study in form of the written materials. Secondary data was also employed to enhance the primary sources because there was some level of gaps that could not be sufficiently met by the primary sources.

Data Analysis and Interpretation

Interview material gathered orally from Agikuyu informants was recorded digitally and transcribed from Agikuyu to English. To facilitate the process of categorization of the oral information gathered, it was considered necessary to look for similarities and differences in the data to group the next (sub) themes by the objectives of the study and the historical period under consideration. Like the secondary data, similar information was treated to textual criticism to determine their accuracy. It entails description, narration, comparisons, and critical evaluation of the findings from the themes and sub-themes. Before concluding, a relationship between the themes was looked for. First, all the material gathered was subjected to exploratory reading. This afforded a way of handling the first research question revolving around the study, whether it still stands the way it was going by the data already collected. The data collected was examined at two levels; that is the descriptive and thematic levels because it was qualitative and critically appraised, checked, and confirmed by using checklists where appropriate. The data collected was analyzed and interpreted according to the historical method. This method is a rigorous study of history to explain the present through reliance on data on events that are beyond one's control.

Ethical Considerations:

The researcher got research permission from Chuka University, the National Commission for Science Technology and Innovation, the Ministry of Education State Department for Early Learning Basic Education, and the County. Commissioner Nyeri of authorization helped the researcher in conducting research work in this study in Nyeri and other relevant institutions. The researcher asked all the interviewed informants for their verbal consent since most of them were willing participants in the interviews. The informants were informed of the purpose of the research that was being done in a bid to ensure that there were no fears as a result of the exercise. Information they availed was accorded the privacy that it required and their rights regarding the same were also upheld. None of the sampled informants who did not wish to speak about any information given were coerced or even deceived into doing so.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Colonial Invasion of Nyeri County

The colonial invasion of Nyeri County began in the late 19th century with the British establishing their presence in Kenya. The arrival of colonialists in Nyeri can be traced back to the early 1890s when British explorers and missionaries ventured into the region followed by colonial administrators (Mburia Wairimu, O.I., 2024).

In 1902 the British formalized their control over the area, integrating it into the British East Africa Protectorate. This invasion was marked by the establishment of administrative posts, the introduction of new governance structures, and the imposition of colonial policies and taxes. This led to significant changes in the traditional way of life for the Agikuyu people, especially the women involved in the indigenous food crop trade (Ndirangu, 2009).

The colonial period in Kenya brought about significant changes that profoundly impacted the Agikuyu women's local trade system and food

security in Nyeri County. The introduction of policies such as taxation, forced labor, land alienation, urbanization, monetization, cash crops, the squatter system, the kipande system, and land subdivision disrupted traditional trade networks (Ndirangu, 2009).

Agatha (2010) states that these changes placed immense pressure on Agikuyu women who struggled to maintain their roles in local trade, leading to increased food insecurity. This study aims to examine the specific ways in which colonial policies affected women's trading activities. It highlights the change and adaptability of Agikuyu women in the face of profound challenges. Understanding these historical impacts is crucial for informing contemporary policies and interventions aimed at improving food security and supporting sustainable trade practices in the region.

Colonial Taxation on local trade in Nyeri

Taxation policies imposed by the colonial government were one of the first significant disruptions to the Agikuyu women's trade system. The introduction of hut and poll taxes forced households to generate cash income, compelling women to engage more in market-oriented activities (Dorine Wangui, O.I., 2024). This shift not only altered traditional trade practices but also placed immense pressure on women's trade in indigenous food crops with the need to earn money often leading to reduced food security. The need to pay taxes diverted time and resources away from barter trade and focus on food crops. The women were compelled to grow cash crops instead of indigenous food crops and to seek wage labor, further straining their ability to maintain food security.

According to Burton (2008), the imposition of taxes by the colonial government was a primary tool for exerting control over the indigenous population and extracting economic resources from the colony. The hut and poll taxes introduced by the British in the early 20th century had farreaching consequences for the Agikuyu women, particularly for women involved in local trade and

food production. These taxes were designed to integrate the indigenous economy into the colonial capitalist system by forcing Africans to earn money, thereby facilitating their entry into the cash economy (Swain et al., 2003).

Forced labor and its impact on the trade of indigenous food crops:

The forced labor system profoundly disrupted the traditional trade networks that were essential for the exchange and distribution of indigenous food crops among the Agikuyu women. Agikuyu women who had long played a central role in maintaining these trade systems unprecedented challenges due to the colonial demands on their families and communities (KNA/DC/NY/3/1; 1912-1922). As men were conscripted into forced labor for infrastructure projects and European settler farms, women were left with the overwhelming responsibility of managing both household and other increased domestic duties. This shift in labor dynamics severely hindered their ability to participate actively in local markets and maintain the trade networks that were vital for food security and economic stability. The absence of key family members particularly those who provided physical labor and support further compounded the strain on women making it increasingly difficult to uphold their roles in the local trade system (Goheen, 1996).

Ndegeah (2015) observes that the increased workload on women, as a result of forced labor, meant that they had less time and energy to dedicate to trade activities. Traditionally, women not only cultivated and harvested crops but also engaged in the barter and sale of surplus produce, thereby ensuring a steady flow of food resources within the community. However, the demands of forced labor diverted their focus and resources away from these essential trade activities. The need to balance trade duties, household responsibilities, and the pressures of providing for family members and engagement in forced labor left little room for women to participate in market exchanges (Obiero, 2010). This disruption led to a significant decline in the availability and

distribution of food crops as the intricate network of trade routes and relationships that facilitated the flow of goods was undermined. The breakdown of these networks not only affected the immediate access to food but also weakened the economic resilience of the community as women struggled to sustain their traditional roles in the face of colonial exploitation (KNA/DC/MUR/1/4; 1920-1930).

Cash Crops on Agikuyu Women's Local Trade and Food Security:

The promotion of cash crops such as coffee and tea by the colonial administration had significant implications for food security. Women, who were primarily responsible for food crop cultivation, especially the indigenous food crops were on the receiving end when more land was allocated to cash crops. The prioritization of cash crops over food crops for trade reduced the exchange of these indigenous food crops and increased the community's vulnerability to market fluctuations, further compromising food security. According to Ochieng and Maxon, (1992), the colonial government's focus on cash crop exchange was intended to generate revenue and integrate Kenya into the global economy. However, Bernstein (1977) defines that this focus came at the expense of local food systems. Women were pressured to grow cash crops to meet economic demands, which often meant that less land and labor were available for indigenous food crops hence reducing trade items in the local market. This shift reduced the diversity and quantity of food available for local consumption and trade, exacerbating food insecurity (Jayne Chamberlin & Headey, 2014).

This shift was encouraged through various policies including the allocation of land specifically for cash crop farming, the provision of seeds and technical support, and the establishment of marketing boards to facilitate the sale of these crops. For Agikuyu women who had traditionally been engaged in the local trade of indigenous food crops, this marked a profound transformation. Bernstein (1977) argues that the emphasis on cash crops redirected labor and

resources away from food production compelling women to adapt to new farm practices and market dynamics. While some women managed to gain economic opportunities through involvement in the cash crop economy, this shift also imposed new challenges such as increased labor demands, dependency on volatile global markets, and the erosion of traditional trade systems that had sustained their communities for generations. One of the respondents affirmed the dependence that came about.

We were encouraged to grow coffee and tea instead of the traditional food crops that we consumed and traded. This shift made us dependent on the market for our food, which was often expensive and unreliable compared to the local indigenous food that we were used to. (Njeru Mbogo O.I., 2024)

Squatter System and Kipande System on Agikuyu Women's Local Trade

The squatter system and kipande system introduced by the colonial authorities controlled the movement and labor of the indigenous population. These systems disrupted traditional trade networks. Women, in particular, faced increased burdens as they navigated these restrictive systems. The squatter system often meant that families lived and worked on settler farms with limited access to their land while the kipande system restricted men's mobility, placing additional pressures on women to manage local trade. Fitzhenry (1979) states that the squatter system forced many Agikuyu families to become laborers on European-owned farms with limited rights and access to their land. This arrangement disrupted traditional farming practices and reduced the ability of women to maintain the production of indigenous food crops for trade. According to Musalia (2010), the kipande system which required men to carry identification passes and restricted their movement further constrained the labor available for traditional trade, increasing the burdens on women to sustain household food security and engage in local trade.

Munene Nyambura (O.I., 2024) notes that the squatter system created a cycle of dependency and exploitation, as Agikuyu families became reliant on European-owned farms for both housing and employment. The limited land allocated to them for cultivation forced many families to prioritize cash crop farming over traditional food crops, further disrupting local trading systems. Women who traditionally played a crucial role in local trade found their ability to engage in these activities severely restricted (Ochieng & Maxon, 1992). Instead of cultivating indigenous food crops for local consumption and trade, they were compelled to focus on cash crops demanded by European settlers leading to food insecurity within the community.

Cash Economy and Vulnerability of Women Local Trade

The transition to a cash-based economy increased Agikuyu women's vulnerability to exploitative labor practices and economic exploitation. As monetization took hold many women found themselves working in environments lacking labor regulations and protections. Domestic workers, farm laborers, and informal traders faced precarious working conditions characterized by long hours, low wages, and a lack of social security. These conditions subjected Agikuyu women to significant economic hardship and social marginalization (Maina, 1994). The absence of legal recourse or formal support systems meant that women had limited means to challenge unfair treatment or improve their working conditions making them particularly susceptible to exploitation by employers who capitalized on their economic desperation.

Karen Karimi (O.I., 2024) explains that monetization of the economy reinforced existing gender inequalities further entrenching women's economic vulnerability. Agikuyu women's labor, both in formal and informal sectors was systematically undervalued reflecting deep-seated gender biases within the colonial and capitalist frameworks. The prioritization of the exchange of cash crops and colonial enterprises over the local trade of indigenous food crops marginalized

women's contributions to the local economy relegating them to roles that were often exploitative and poorly compensated. This economic marginalization had far-reaching social implications as women's diminished economic power translated into reduced influence within their households and communities.

Land Subdivision on Agikuyu Women's Local Trade:

Land subdivision during the colonial period in Nyeri County had far-reaching consequences for the Agikuyu women, particularly in terms of land ownership and socioeconomic dynamics. KNA/LD/NY/2 (1970-1980) reports that the shift from communal land tenure to individual ownership introduced by colonial policies like the Crown Lands Ordinance of 1902 and subsequent land registration initiatives fundamentally altered the traditional relationships between the Agikuyu people and their land (Shanguhyia, 2024). Previously held under customary tenure systems, the land was now demarcated into individual plots, subject to registration and ownership by individuals, often men, recognized under colonial law. This transition had significant implications for Agikuyu women who traditionally played central roles in local trade. With the subdivision of land, women's access to and control over trading resources became increasingly restricted as land ownership rights were typically granted to male heads of household.

CONCLUSION:

The colonial invasion in Nyeri County severely affected the social and economic lives of the Agikuyu people and this fate was much hard on women engaged in indigenous food crops commerce. Through the imposition of colonial taxation policies forced labor, and the encouragement of the production of cash crops such as coffee and tea at the expense of food crops, the colonial authorities disrupted the trade relations and food security mechanisms which could formerly be credited to Agikuyu women. These colonial interferences not only displaced labor and capital for the indigenous food crop

cultivation but also came with a new form of economics which included the need to have cash income for purposes such as paying taxes as well as engaging in cash economy. Therefore, owing to those changes women were compelled to participate in wage employment and commercial production of cash crops which negatively impacted their capacity to sustain the sale of food crops in the local markets. Worse the squatter and kipande systems continued the limitation of women's movement and reclaim of land hence their ability to support local trade.

The turning wheel towards the cash economy aggravated the problems that existed in terms of gender equality in the society and the increasing number of women was exploited for cheap labor and absolute economic vulnerable position. The colonial land subdivision policies provided the concessions of land ownership to individual males only disrupting women's customary rights to the land and limiting them from practicing agriculture and local commerce. In general, the colonial period signified a qualitative shift in the Agikuyu women's trading systems as practiced before the onset of colonization hence exposing the women to increased risks of food scarcity as well as economic oppression. These historical features are still reflected in today's issues of food security and sustainable trade relations in Nyeri County the effects of colonialism cannot be ignored while designing policies that will support women and improve local trading systems in the territory.

Recommendation

The study recommends that the relevance of trade in indigenous food crops should be integrated into the modern exchange pattern. This could go a long way towards realization of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) on maintaining food security, Kenya's Vision 2030 and Constitution of Kenya 2010 that guarantee every person right to be free from hunger, and to have adequate food of acceptable quality in the modern society.

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