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Capitalist Economy in Colonial and Post-Colonial Kenya: A Case of Cotton Growing in Karachuonyo, 1903-1972

Shem Otieno Oricho^{1*}

¹ Maseno University. P. O. Box 333-40105, Maseno, Kenya.

* Author's Email: otienooricho@gmail.com

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This paper examines the capitalist economy in Kenya, which aimed at providing raw materials to the colonial industries in Britain. It was also meant to expand colonial revenue within the colonies of the metropolis and to meet the demand for commodity production in the world market. The study was conducted in Karachuonyo, a constituency in Kenya, and aimed to explore the trend of the capitalist economy within the context of cotton growing in Karachuonyo. The introduction of hut tax and poll tax in Kenya led to the introduction of the cash economy. The study employed purposive sampling and snowball approaches in identifying informants. A qualitative research design was used. The researcher targeted cotton farmers, knowledgeable people, custodians of history, agricultural officers and co-operative officers. The researcher used an interview guide to collect oral data. Other primary and secondary data were collected from the Kenya National Archives. Most secondary data were collected from institutional libraries. Data was analyzed using textual analysis. The findings of the study revealed that cotton growing was introduced in Karachuonyo by the colonial authority in 1903, albeit with a slow take-off in the early years. The colonial authority and chiefs used some force to ground cotton growing. During the Great Depression, 1929-1939, cotton growing increased. The outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 slowed the progress of cotton production as the colonial state, instead, encouraged food production to feed the soldiers. However, in the post-war period, 1945-1963, cotton production again increased. From 1963 when Kenya attained independence up to 1972, cotton growing increased in Karachuonyo, before starting to decline in the years that followed. The key recommendation of the study is that the concerned governments should consider reviving cotton growing and industry.

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INTRODUCTION

Cotton is probably the most important fibre in the global arena and one of the major cash crops grown in the world. In the United Kingdom, cotton growing led to the development of textile industries, which created employment opportunities (Wolff, 1974; Obara, 1979). The British government passed legislation that favoured the growth of cotton to promote woollen fabrics, leading to a huge supply of cotton for textile industries during the Industrial Revolution (Wilde, n.d). The expansion of the textile industry in Britain created an enormous international demand for cotton clothing (Palmer, 1965).

In America, cotton growing was stimulated by the demand for cotton fibre to the Lancashire Mills and the availability of slave labour (Palmer, 1965). In India, cotton production faced price and marketing challenges. European powers then turned to African colonies for cotton production (ECOWAS, 2006). In Egypt, cotton was highly marketable due to its various aesthetic uses. Figures on ancient Egyptian temple walls and mummy cases wore draped garments made of woven cotton cloth. Egyptian cotton is exported to various parts of the world due to its high quality (Mazour & Peoples, 1993).

The Hausa of Nigeria grew cotton which was characterized by competition from other cash crops such as groundnuts which fetched higher prices (Shillington, 2005). Cotton growing also faced price competition against coffee in Uganda (Kiwanuka, 1973). The cotton crop was introduced in Kenya in 1903 by the British. In 1906 the British East Africa Corporation Limited was established to encourage

cotton growing in the British Empire. In 1907, work began by identifying cotton growing areas, distributing seeds, and instructing farmers on planting, weeding and harvesting cotton. Factories were established to gin cotton in Malindi and Kisumu (Nicholls, 2017).

Cotton began to thrive in Kenya in areas near Lake Victoria and it became a valuable cash crop which sustained many families in the region (Nicholls, 2017). The colonial government supported cotton growing in Nyanza to provide raw materials for their textile industries and secure re-export in the international market (Wolff, 1974). In Kenya, cotton was grown majorly in Nyanza; Western, Coast, Central, and Eastern provinces. However, much cotton output for the country was from Nyanza after other cash crops failed the government in the international market (Wolff, 1974).

Cotton growing that had been introduced in Karachuonyo in 1903, in general, showed an increased trend in production. Between the 1940s and 1950s, Karachuonyo was a leading producer of cotton, resulting in the establishment of the first cotton ginnery at Kendu Bay (Odera, 2009). A study by Fearn in Nyanza Province indicates that the tonnage of cotton marketed between 1943 and 1948 rose to 12,667, and by 1953, to 25,539 (Fearn, 1961).

However, cotton growing started declining in Karachuonyo in the mid-1970s, which resulted in the closure of many cotton stores and the two ginneries at Kendu Bay and Homa Bay. Towards the end of 1975, there was scanty production of cotton. According to the South Nyanza District

Annual Report, 1975 (KNA, 1975), the two Cotton Farmers' Co-operative Unions, that is, Victoria and Rachauonyo were underperforming. The report presented the following concerns on Victoria and Rachauonyo respectively:

This union caters for a very large area but production has all along been low which results in heavy losses every year. However, we have mounted a big-campaign to improve the situation. This union is doing well despite few problems. Production in the area is good except farmers need to intensify their efforts to enable the Ginnery owned by two unions to operate at its full capacity (KNA, 1975).

Pest infestation also threatened cotton production since cotton crops required frequent spraying. The Economic Survey of 1975 reports that there was a high cost of pesticides and spraying facilities which reduced cotton production by 7%, and only cotton growers on the irrigation schemes achieved satisfactory production (Republic of Kenya, 1975). The national situation of the high cost of pesticides also affected cotton growing in Karachuonyo.

Statement of the Problem

Commodity exploitation was the fulcrum of the colonial economy in many British colonies including Kenya. Cotton growing has been a subject of verbal discussion in Karachuonyo, even for many years long after its apparent decline in the mid-1970s. The production of cotton underwent dynamism which needs historical documentation. Scholars who have studied Karachuonyo history

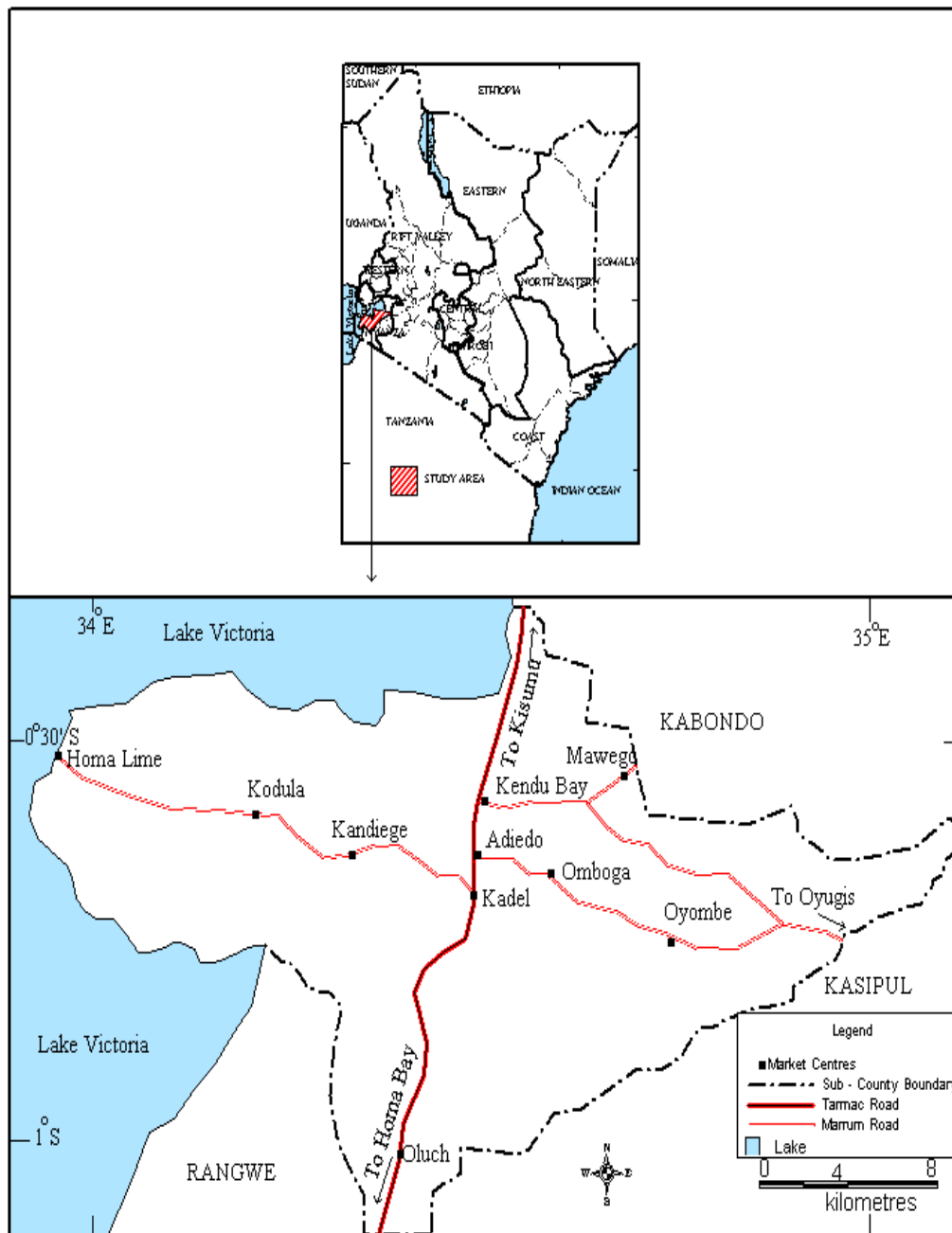
have focused on the general history of its culture, education and general economy. Literature on the incorporation of Karachuonyo into the colonial capitalist economy and cotton growing trends, barely exist. Cotton growing generally witnessed marked progress during the colonial period due to the colonial capitalist exploitative motive. Also, much production of cotton was still realized in the early post-colonial era up to 1972. However, its growth started showing a declining effect after 1972. Therefore, a study to explore cotton growing prior to its decline is paramount, hence the periodization, 1903-1972.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This section covers the study area, research design, target population, sampling technique, data collection instrument, data collection procedures, validity and reliability, and data analysis.

The Study Area

Karachuonyo is a Constituency in Homa Bay County, Kenya (in the former Nyanza Province, South Kavirondo District (SKD), and later, South Nyanza District), and predominantly inhabited by the Luo community. Luoland lies across the Equator between $\frac{1}{2}^0$ North to 3^0 South. The Luo community live around the Kavirondo Gulf, and Karachuonyo is situated south of the Gulf (Ogot, 1967). Detailed information on Karachuonyo is illustrated by the map in Fig.1.

Figure 1: Map of Karachuonyo in relation to Kenya

Source: *Geographical Information Systems (GIS) Laboratory, Moi University, 2018.*

Research Design and Target Population

A qualitative Research Design approach was used. The researcher interviewed the informants who gave responses in their own voices without restrictions. The study targeted the people in the cotton growing area of Karachuonyo such as cotton farmers, elderly men and women, knowledgeable

people, custodians of history, agricultural officers, and former and current co-operative officers.

Sampling Technique

This study used purposive sampling techniques and snowball sampling in selecting informants. In this approach, the already identified informants

identified other potential informants. Those interviewed were generated from the target population.

Data Collection Instrument

The researcher employed an Interview guide with questions framed according to the objectives to guide the study. These questions helped the researcher to remain focused during the oral interview process. The guiding questions also enabled the informant to respond to questions with ease and unrestricted.

Data Collection and Procedures

Data was obtained from the Kenya National Archives (KNA) in Nairobi, institutional libraries and from the field. The study employed purposive sampling and snowball approaches in identifying informants, who were interviewed until a point of saturation was reached (a point when most of the informants continued repeating what the earlier informants had said). Informants were drawn from the following 11 locations of Karachuonyo: five from Kanyipir, four from Wangchieng, three from Kanam A, three from South Kanyaluo, one from West Kanyaluo, two from Kakdhimu West, one from Kanam B, one from Kokwanyo West, two from Kakdhimu East, one from Kokoth Kateng, and three from Koyugi, which constituted 26 participants.

Validity and Reliability

A pilot study was conducted in the neighbouring East Kagan location in the Rangwe sub-county which is adjacent to the study area. Adjustments were made as recommended, conflicting information was harmonized by consulting experts. To establish reliability, the data collection instrument was applied twice at an interval of three weeks and results were compared; the margin error was found to be small, which guaranteed reliability. Oral data were also compared with Archival sources and were found to be reliable.

Data Analysis Methods

Data was transcribed and textual analysis was employed due to the qualitative nature of the data. The information from the informants (texts) was presented and interpreted in the light of existing literature to establish consistencies and contradictions. The interpreted information was brought within a historical context.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This section presents the results of the findings of the study and discussion. While reporting data from the field by an oral informant (O.I.), the researcher used the same numerical value of the informant as it appears in the reference section. For instance, O.I, 3, 2018 alludes that the Oral Informant number 3 (Benard Ogutu) was interviewed in 2018. The approach is meant to elucidate clarity and consistency in readership.

Introduction of Cotton Growing in Karachuonyo, 1903-1929

The introduction of cotton growing in Karachuonyo had its roots in the demand that existed in the world market. With the railway line reaching Kisumu in 1901, much of the interior land was open to colonial capitalist exploitation. Nyanza and more particularly, Karachuonyo were consequently colonized in 1903 (Fearn, 1961). Since the hut tax had been introduced in 1901 and the poll tax, the following year, the colonial administration saw the need to introduce a cash economy in Kenya. This led to the introduction of cotton growing in Karachuonyo. However, up to 1930, cotton had not been effectively established as a cash crop in Nyanza, particularly, Karachuonyo (Onduru, 2009; Buttermann, 1977). Even after cotton was introduced, it was not recognized as an agricultural export from South Kavirondo District (SKD), as shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Agricultural Exports from SKD, 1920 & 1923. Principal items by quantity and value

Commodity	1920		1923	
	Quantity (Tons)	Value (Kshs.)	Quantity (Tons)	Value (Kshs.)
Elusine	19.9	5, 436	92.3	7, 973
Maize	21.7	2, 974	806.3	62, 225
Sesame	260.0	157, 880	963.4	362, 496
Sorghum	11.1	2, 082	0.3	19
Beans	4.2	794	24.7	2, 608
Groundnuts	47.4	29, 264	778.8	241, 540
Onions	0.03	24	8.6	4, 286

Source: SKD Annual Report, 1923 p.25 (Cited in Kitching, *Class and Economic Change...*, p.41).

From Table 1 above, sesame is seen taking the lead, followed by groundnuts. During this period, cotton did not feature at all as a principal cash crop in Karachuonyo which was part of South Kavirondo. Low cotton production during this period necessitated the colonial government to enhance the cotton-growing campaign.

The earliest British agrarian policy was the introduction of cotton as a cash crop in Kenya and Nyanza's Karachuonyo in particular. (Fearn, 1961). To achieve this, an agricultural instructor, D.N Sprangar was sent to South Kavirondo in 1924 to enhance the campaign on cotton growing (KNA, 1924-1932). During the First World War, there was a labour shortage for cotton in Karachuonyo due to massive social change that took place in Kenya between 1903 and 1923. Many male Africans reported that migrant wage-earning employment jumped from 5,000 to 120,000 (Stichter, 1982). Such migration adversely affected cotton production in Karachuonyo, but the colonial administration used force to enhance cotton growing (Fearn, 1961). The colonial administrators used chiefs and headmen to inspect every home if all they could find was any packet of cotton seed left unplanted (O.I, 10, 2017).

Role of Chiefs in Promoting Cotton Growing

Pioneer chiefs who were installed by the colonial administration promoted cotton growing in Karachuonyo. Immediately after the colonization of Karachuonyo, Provincial Administrative structures were constituted, and Orinda was installed as the

first chief of the larger Karachuonyo. Chiefs such as Orinda, Nyandega, Dola Marula, Okoth Ougo, Paulo Mboya and Zephania Malit played a role in the cotton introduction and development (O.I, 25, 2018). Chief Orinda identified over 50 acres of land in the Kajiei area for cotton and initiated a farm which was attached to his name and called it Orinda's farm (*Samba Orinda*) (O.I, 25, 2018).

Initially, *Samba Orinda* was started to help the natives grow crops and obtain money for tax. The pain of tax obligation made a man called, Ojijo Oteko, famously known as *Piny Owacho* (Voice of the people) defiantly differ from colonial administrators who mercilessly took excess animals for tax (O.I, 15, 2018). Chief Orinda used his power to coerce people into growing cotton (O.I, 2, 2018). Much of cotton growing thrived in Karachuonyo in the 1930s during the chieftaincy of Paulo Mboya (O.I, 25, 2018), through whom cotton seeds were sent to be distributed to the farmers (KNA, 1944).

Trends of Cotton Growing During the Depression, 1929-1939

The Great Depression was a turning point for the economic production of peasant commodities in Kenya. The number of Africans employed in the colony also fell from 160,000 in 1929 to 132,000 in 1932, and wages cut, as Africans sought for alternative source of income. They actively resorted to expanding the production of commodity crops such as cotton, which earned the colonial government much revenue (Berman, 1990; Ndege, 1992). In 1934, the colonial government

campaigns for cotton and coffee production, which were in demand in the international market (Fearn, 1961).

Despite improved cotton production in Karachuonyo, prices were still low (Onduru, 2009). However, due to government campaigns between 1930 and 1935, cotton prices increased (Kitching, 1980). From 1933, the acreage under cotton considerably increased in Kanyada, Karachuonyo and Kochia (KNA, 1933-1939). By 1934, cotton showed a remarkable increase in production, as thus reported:

The year 1934 showed a remarkable increase in cotton production and cotton is now one of the established crops: indeed, it is now the main cash crop in the Luo country. A great help was given to production by the establishment of cotton ginnery at Kendu by Messrs. Small & Co., which was officially opened by the Provincial Commissioner on 15th November. Cotton is grown in the following locations, Karachuonyo, Kanyada, Kochia, Gem, an area of approximately 5,500 acres being planted (KNA, 1933-1939).

The first cotton ginnery was established in Kendu Bay in 1934 by Small & Company Limited. As

confirmed by the letter written by the then District Commissioner, stating in part that the permission to establish Cotton ginnery at Kendu Bay had been granted to Small & Company Limited (KNA, 1934-1946). A letter written by the Department of Agriculture, South Kavirondo to Small & Company Limited, in 1938 states:

I should be grateful if you would continue to assist the development on cotton industry in your area by contributing for another year to the wages of special cotton entrepreneurs. The sum necessary over and above the services given by the department and by the Local Native Council is Shs. 1480 calculated on the basis of nine inspectors for twelve months with their uniforms (KNA, 1937-1946).

The South Kavirondo District (SKD) Annual Report, 1933-1939 (KNA, 1933-1939) shows that between 1936 and 1937, the quantity of exported cotton was extremely above all other cash crops such as maize, beans, gram, groundnuts and simsim. Producer prices for cotton were generally better than other crops. Between 1932 and 1939 there was a rapid expansion of cotton growing in South Nyanza at large, and Karachuonyo, in particular (Hillocks, 2013). This is shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Producer Prices of Selected Crops 1934-1938 in K£ per ton, SKD

YEAR	Cotton	Maize	Beans	Groundnuts	Sesame	Millet
1934	11.2	1.17	5.6	6.93	7.15	3.47
1935	8.46	2.2	9.5	10.1	10.1	3.92
1936	11.2	2.48	3.28	10.8	11.34	3.6
1937	8.96	3.57	4.37	7.8	10.44	4.6
1938	10.38	2.2	4.75	5.5	9.09	4.49
TOTAL	50.2	11.62	27.5	41.13	48.12	20.08

Source: SKD Annual Report, 1930-1940 (in Kitching, *Class and Economic Change...*, p.82)

From Table 2 above, producer prices of cotton are generally better than other crops comparatively, indicating that, cotton growing expanded in Karachuonyo, with sesame closely competing with it.

Cotton Growing During Second World War, 1939-1945

Cotton growing experienced drawbacks, although before the outbreak of the war, cotton was one of the

leading cash crops in Kenya (Njeru, 1987). During the war, cotton production declined; the British encouraged food crop production for the war effort. Many Luo people from Karachuonyo were conscripted into the war leading to a labour shortage in cotton farms, and changes in gender roles (Dupre, 1968; KNA, 1946). Many farmers withdrew from growing cotton and less of their land was put under cotton amid declined prices (Kitching, 1980).

Labour shortage, the drought of 1943, and the absence of males due to conscription into the war challenged cotton production. The European agricultural officers also joined the war to provide services, and this negatively affected cotton production (KNA, 1943; KNA, 1946). Both labour for cotton and conscription into the military needed able-bodied men (KNA, 1930-1940; O.I, 24, 2018). So, the war affected cotton production in Karachuonyo. According to the South Kavirondo Annual Report of 1944 (KNA, 1944), the following concern is reported:

Cotton is being grown in in a great many places where it should not be grown; on light granite soils, steep slopes, etc., since it must by law be kept excessively clean, erosion is very difficult to prevent; there is not very much really suitable soil and two ginneries are excessive... (KNA, 1944).

Considering the above, it is clear that there was still a lack of proper planning on the soil type suitable for cotton, which was registering poor yield. Even the Kendu Bay and Homa Bay ginneries were underutilized as poor yields in cotton were reported around the lakeshore of Karachuonyo and in the areas of Kanyaluo location (KNA, 1944).

The South Kavirondo Agricultural Safari Report (KNA, 1946) indicates that cotton growing decreased during the war period as most cotton seeds were still lying uncollected from stores in

Karachuonyo whereas food crops were doing well. The colonial authorities encouraged food production due to the famine that had gripped Karachuonyo. The evidence of famine is presented in the same report that established the presence of 100 bags of relief maize that were yet to be collected from the ginneries stores (KNA, 1946; O.I, 11, 2018).

Cotton Growing in Post-War Period, 1945-1963

The post-war period, more popularly known as the Second Colonial Occupation witnessed the aggressive interest of the metropolitan capitalists to place commodity production under colonial state control (Ndege, 2009). After the end of the war in 1945, exports were encouraged for post-war reconstruction in Britain, which stimulated the production of export crops, among them, cotton. The British settlers who were war veterans were awarded large tracts of land and had to exploit the rural for agriculture. Between 1947 and 1948, cotton production rapidly expanded. According to the Nyanza Province Annual Report of 1942-1954 (KNA, 1942-1954), among the quantities of produce marketed, cotton outdid all other crops, with an estimated 33,000 acreage put under cotton. Farming methods were improved, and cotton prices increased, leading to the expansion of cotton production after 1945 (Fearn, 1961). This is shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Price Paid per lb to Cotton Grower in Nyanza -Seasonal Changes (in Cts)

Quality	1948-1949	1949-1950	1950-1951	1951-1952	1952-1953	1953-1954
"A"	29	32	44	49	49	50
"B"	10	11	15	17	17	17

Source: H. Fearn. "Cotton Production in Nyanza Province of Kenya Colony, 1908-1954", p. 132.

From Table 3, Fearn points out that prices of both grades of cotton, "A" which is high quality and "B" which is low quality increased in Nyanza. This translates into an increase in price in Karachuonyo.

Factors that Facilitated Cotton Growing

It has been hitherto discussed that some level of force was used to introduce cotton growing in Karachuonyo. This notwithstanding, it is important

to note that force alone could not suffice. The expanded cotton growing in Karachuonyo was a result of certain factors, as discussed hereunder.

Improved Cotton Prices

Cotton prices improved, which was a great turning point for crop production. Zwannenbergh and King (1975) assert that, between 1945 and 1954, world

prices of East Africa's export commodities continued to rise. The bulk value of cotton export had already doubled from 3.7 million pounds to 7.0 million pounds. The bulk prices of cotton continued to rise steadily. This general increase in price also positively affected cotton prices in Karachuonyo (KNA, 1945).

Intensification of Cotton Growing

Since the end of the Second World War, there has been a rapid expansion of cotton production and utilization of man-made fibres (Fowler, 1966). This post-war situation saw a greater increase of cotton production in Karachuonyo which was a major producer of cotton in Kenya. Between 1949 and 1953, there was a great expansion in cotton growing in Nyanza. Although the government's attempts to persuade the African peasant to grow cotton conflicted with the preference to grow food crops, much improvement in cotton production was realized (Fearn, 1961; O.I, 16, 2018). This was perhaps due to the intensification of growing cotton in Karachuonyo which was characterized by considerable force (Tiyambe, 1989; Onduru, 2009; O.I, 12, 2018).

Response of the Colonial State

Kitching (1980) asserts that in 1963, the Department of Agriculture once again began an intensive campaign to expand cotton production in Kenya. This saw the realization of expanded cotton production in a number of districts in Kenya including Karachuonyo. The Department of Agriculture also launched intensive campaigns to expand cotton production in areas such as Kitui, Machakos and Embu districts. These efforts led to rapid expansion of cotton production, as acreage put under cotton rose from 4, 000 acres in 1963 and over 25,000 acres by 1965. The government also provided loans and pest-control mechanisms (Kitching, 1980).

Economic Importance of Cotton

Cotton had economic value that attracted the people of Karachuonyo to grow it. An informant confirmed that income from cotton sales would be used to buy corrugated iron sheets to build houses, buy animals for rearing, and pay school fees for their children. The rusted corrugated iron sheet houses that are now seen in the study area were built using cotton money (O.I, 26, 2018; O.I, 13, 2018).

Cash Payment

Payment that was done in cash promoted cotton growing. During the time when cotton was being paid in cash, there was great enthusiasm for growing the crop, and this enhanced cotton production (O.I, 13, 2018; O.I, 9, 2018). Therefore, the economic value that was attached to cotton and readiness to pay cash facilitated the expanded growth of the crop. The colonial government came up with cash payments upon delivery to cotton farmers.

Trends of Cotton Growing in Post-colonial Period, 1964-1972

Cotton production in Kenya and Karachuonyo witnessed marked trends in the post-colonial period up to the mid-1970s when its production started to decline. Analysis of these trends in cotton growing during the post-colonial period is necessary.

Government Intervention

The government intensified campaigns to promote cotton growing in the early years of independence in Karachuonyo to embrace cotton growing (O.I, 20, 2018; O.I, 14, 2018). The economic value of cotton continued to be the pushing power in the promotion of cotton growing in Karachuonyo. A letter written by Paul B. Orege, then the Cotton Development Officer in 1964, on behalf of the Cotton Lint & Seed Marketing Board, South Nyanza, indicates that cotton growers had started picking cotton in the Eastern Division of Karachuonyo: In West Karachuonyo location, 20 growers had started picking cotton; in East Karachuonyo, 33 growers.

Cotton production that was thriving in Karachuonyo during this period was attributed to the tireless campaign by G.D.M Baily, then the South Nyanza Agricultural Officer (KNA, 1963-1965).

Free Cotton Seed

Cotton seeds were distributed for free to cotton growers in Karachuonyo as the campaign to encourage cotton growing intensified. Bales of cotton ginned considerably increased, for the season 1963/1964. This is confirmed by the report indicating that Kendu Bay ginned 416 bales of high-grade quality cotton (AR) and 18 bales of low-grade quality cotton (BR), Homa Bay produced 475 bales of AR and 141 bales of BR grade, totalling 891 bales of AR grade and 156 bales of BR grade (KNA, 1963-1965). From this report, it can be argued that cotton produced within Karachuonyo was of higher quality. This is also indicated by the reduced number of BR grade bales, which is only 18 compared to Homa Bay, which recorded 141 bales of BR grade. Free distribution of cotton seeds to the farmers by the government led to increased cotton production in Karachuonyo (O.I, 1, 2018; O.I, 18, 2018).

Cotton Ginneries, Stores and Cash Payment

Cotton ginneries and stores were established to augment cotton production in Nyanza in places like

Kadel, Adiedo, Omboga and Kandiego to enhance the storage of seed cotton (KNA, 1965-1978; O.I, 22, 2018; O.I, 8, 2018). Much cotton crop was grown throughout the country with the help of the Cotton Lint Seed & Marketing Board (Ojany & Ogendo, 1987). An initiative by Small & Company to buy cotton in cash payment considerably enhanced cotton growing in Karachuonyo. This is in line with the findings of Nyambara in Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), that cash payment for cotton encouraged production (O.I, 22, 2018; O.I, 19, 2018; Nyambara, 2000).

Loan Provision and Improved Cotton Yield

During the year 1969, Agricultural Finance Corporation issued about K£ 550,000 in medium and long-term loans. Almost half of this figure (K£ 288,000) went to small-holders within the credit project financed by the International Development Association which had planned to lend K£2.12 million for over six years, beginning from 1967 to 1972 (Republic of Kenya, 1970). This move by the Agricultural Finance Corporation improved the output of cotton growing in the country and more particularly, in Karachuonyo. The cotton production trend in Kenya reflected improved yield in Karachuonyo. Economic Survey of 1970 reports that cotton production during 1969 increased, and output rose to 13% over 1968, as shown in Table 4.

Table 4: Trends in Cotton Production in Kenya, 1965-1969

Year	'000 Metric Tonnes
1965	12.4
1966	14.4
1967	12.7
1968	14.7
1969	16.6

Source: Economic Survey of 1970

Table 4 above shows a series of cotton production for five consecutive years (Republic of Kenya, 1970). There was a steady improvement in cotton production between 1967 and 1969. This might have been occasioned by the concern of advancing

credit to smallholders. Since cotton was mainly grown by small-scale farmers.

Between 1965 and 1969, there was a marked improvement in cotton growing due to the role played by the marketing sector. The Economic

Survey of 1970, asserts that there was an increase in marketed cotton of 7% in 1969 (Republic of Kenya, 1970). This is shown in Table 5.

Table 5: Gross Marketed Production of Cotton 1965-1969 in K£ '000 in Kenya

Year	K£ '000
1965	641
1966	681
1967	603
1968	700
1969	805

Source: Economic Survey, 1970, p.54

In view of Table 5 above, observation is made that the level of marketed cotton realized a steady increase between 1965 and 1969. This means that the marketing strategies that were put in place were attractive to cotton farmers. As much as the table depicts national improvement, it represents increased production of cotton in Karachuonyo, which was also a major producer of the crop.

Price Challenges

There was a trend in the price of cotton between 1965 and 1969 that needs closer consideration. It remains paradoxically unclear that between the same period, 1965 and 1969, trends in cotton production in metric tonnes were on the increase (Table 7); trends in gross marketed production of cotton in K£ '000 were also on the increase (Table 8) yet the average gross of cotton price to farmers in Shs/100kgs inversely decreased. This contradiction is shown in Table 6.

Table 6: Average Gross of Seed Cotton Price to Farmers, 1965-1969 in Khs/100kgs in Kenya

Year	Shs/100kgs
1965	104
1966	95
1967	95
1968	98
1969	97

Source: Economic Survey, 1970, p. 55.

In Table 6 above, the trend in the market price of seed cotton reveals that there were marketing problems and unstable pricing policy for cotton. The more cotton production, the less the producer price was, to the farmer. The buyers were taking advantage of the cotton farmer who appeared stranded with his produce. Such an unstable pricing policy was also prevalent in Karachuonyo whose cotton production also contributed to the national production (O.I, 5, 2017).

Increased Planted Acreage

In 1970, there was a great improvement in the Agricultural sector as most crops doubled in both acreage and yields. This tremendous achievement was due to combined intensive campaigns carried out by the Agricultural officers, the administration and the politicians who worked hand-in-hand during the campaign dubbed, “plant more cotton for hard cash.” Again, cultivation of cotton in the Lake Region (which included Karachuonyo) increased a hundred-fold, beating the previous year by a hundred percent. Following this considerable

improvement, 2,801 cartons of DDT 2 were advanced to 2,026 cotton farmers as loans which were to be recovered from the sale of 1970/71 cotton (KNA, 1970; O.I, 17, 2018).

The Economic Survey of 1971 established that 1970 was a good year for agriculture in terms of

marketing. The value of marketed production increased by 12%. Table 7 presents the findings of the survey (Republic of Kenya, 1970). Again, considering the table 7, there was good progress in the production of cotton between 1968 and 1970. This was also reflected in Karachuonyo which was then a major producer of cotton in Kenya.

Table 7: Gross Marketed Production of Seed Cotton in Kenya, 1965-1970

Year	K£ '000
1965	641
1966	681
1967	603
1968	700
1969	805
1970	835

Source: The Economic Survey of 1971.

From Table 7 above, statistics show that gross marketing of seed cotton was generally increasing. It is also noted from the table that, between 1967 and 1970, there was a steady increase in cotton production in the country. This indicates that there was also an increase in the production of the crop in Karachuonyo.

Cotton Marketing and Increased Tonnage

Between 1971 and 1972, there was a steady upward trend in cotton production, as shown in Table 8. This could be a result of the efforts by the government to implement her development plans.

Table 8: Gross Marketed Production of Cotton, 1967-1972 in Kenya

Year	K£ '000
1967	603
1968	700
1969	834
1970	695
1971	878
1972	980

Source: Economic Survey of 1973.

From Table 8 above, there was improved gross marketed production of cotton (KNA, 1972). Since Karachuonyo was a major producer of cotton in the country, the survey report implies that there was improved marketing of cotton. A letter by Joseph Ochok, then the Secretary for Rachuonyo Farmers

(Cotton) Co-operative Limited, dated 21/2/1972 confirmed that cotton growing was improving in Karachuonyo. The letter was addressed to the Commissioner of the Co-operative Movement confirming the buying of Kendu Bay Ginnery by the union (KNA, 1972). This is shown in Table 9.

Table 9: Cotton Production in Kenya, 1968-1972

Year	Metric Tonnes
1968	14,279
1969	17,111
1970	14,017
1971	16,764
1972	16,981

Source: Economic Survey of 1973.

The above table shows that from 1968-1972 cotton production improved, with 1969 registering the highest tonnage. This also indicates that there was an increased trend in cotton production in Karachuonyo.

Impact of Cotton Growing

Cotton growing led to the development of infrastructure; roads in Karachuonyo which were impassable before could then be used without any difficulty. Some of these roads include, Omboga-Karabok-Kendu Bay and Kadel-Homa Lime joined with Pala-Otaro-Adiedo and Rakwaro-Nduru School. Kendu Bay-Kandiege road was regravelled and repairs were done on the bridges of Nyangweso on Kendu Bay road, and Awach on Homa Bay-Kendu Bay road (O.I, 7, 2018; KNA, 1972). This made the transportation of cotton by all means easy. The following roads had also been maintained with cotton money: Omboga-Wikondiek, Oriang-Kowuor, Mawego-Kajieyi, Pala-Ongoro Market-Homa Lime (O.I, 6, 2018; KNA, 1972).

There was also the creation of employment following cotton growing in Karachuonyo. More Co-operative Unions were registered, and the ones that existed such as Victoria Cotton Farmers Co-operative Union Limited and Rachuonyo Cotton Farmers Co-operative Union Limited became more active. These include the Victoria Cotton Farmers Co-operative Union at Homa Bay Ginnery and the Rachuonyo Cotton Farmers Co-operative Union at Kendu Bay Ginnery (O.I, 4, 2018; KNA, 1972). These cooperative unions promoted the marketing of cotton and created employment.

The other impact of cotton growing was that, it connected Karachuonyo to other parts of Kenya and the rest of the world. There were important roads that linked highly productive areas of Kabondo and Karachuonyo locations which grew cotton. These were roads such as Oyugis-Kendu Bay, Kendu-Homa Bay and Kendu-Kibiri-Pala-Got Oyaro. There was also a steamer at Kendu Bay that joined Karachuonyo with the rest of the world through Kisumu and Homa Bay. The steamer was used both for public transport and transportation of cotton lint to Kisumu Cotton Mills (KICOMI) in Kisumu. During this time, cotton was the chief cash crop grown in Karachuonyo (O.I, 3, 2018; KNA, 1972).

Cotton growing was a source of income for many people as many cotton farmers in Karachuonyo depended on cotton payment to help them cater for their needs and meet their financial obligations. Cotton money received in lumpsum could easily help purchase at once, items needed without necessarily waiting to save money from little sales from other subsistence crops (KNA, 1972). Many people who received education in the early 1970s to 1980s obtained school fees from cotton income (O.I, 23, 2018; O.I, 21, 2018).

Limitations of the Study

Since the study mainly relied on oral and archival information, it could have been possible that some information, especially between the period between 1903 and 1945 was missed. Some oral informants relied on oral traditions pertaining to cotton growing since they were not direct eyewitnesses to the practice of cotton production. Also, there were few agricultural officers, and therefore the researcher could not find varied information on cotton growing

in Karachuonyo. Archival resources were also scanty, especially for the period between 1903 and 1923.

Theoretical Implications and Practical Application

The study was conducted within the lens of Articulation Modes of Production Theory (AMPT). The AMPT linked the African pre-capitalist economy in Karachuonyo and the British capitalist mode of production by the use of new technology to instruct the farmers on how to grow cotton. Cotton was an exotic crop that required new skills and technology to produce. The AMPT shows how the people of Karachuonyo were incorporated into the colonial capitalist economy with an emphasis on surplus production. The vibrancy witnessed in the introduction and progression of cotton indicates that there was extreme exploitation which was attached to Dependency Theory that led to the unsustainability of cotton growing, hence the decline. Since cotton growing can be revived and sustained in Karachuonyo, there is a need for its revival to be guided by the Theory of Sustainability. As cash crops (tea, coffee, wheat etc.) have been sustained in other regions in Kenya, cotton also needs to be sustained.

Regarding practical application drawn from the findings, it is prudent to point out that, the vigour with which cotton growing was introduced in Karachuonyo by the colonial state, and the progress of its production can still be emulated by Africans in the independent Kenya. Despite the fact that cotton growing declined in Karachuonyo, it is practicable that its production can be revived. Up till now, the people of Karachuonyo, due to the type of soil (black cotton soil), do not have a stable cash crop that can generate reliable income apart from cotton.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusion

This paper has analyzed the capitalist economy in colonial and post-colonial Kenya, focusing on cotton growing in Karachuonyo between 1903 and 1972. Cotton is an exotic crop, and was introduced in Karachuonyo by the British who colonized Kenya. Its introduction was a result of the incorporation of Karachuonyo into the colonial capitalist economy. This paper has explored the introduction of cotton growing in Karachuonyo, and the development and challenges encountered during its introduction. As much as cotton growing was officially introduced in Karachuonyo in 1903, meaningful take-off in production was realized from the time of the outbreak of the Great Depression. The outbreak of the Second World War reduced the production of cotton growing in Karachuonyo. The colonial government promoted the growth of food crops to feed the soldiers, hence causing a drastic reduction in cotton growing in Kenya at large and Karachuonyo, in particular. However, much production was again realized from 1945 up to 1972, after which, its growth started showing a trend in decline.

Recommendations

Based on the findings advanced in this paper, the following recommendations are made: One, the concerned governments should consider finding viable ways of reviving the defunct and moribund cotton industry that had existed. Two, regions that have proved to have lands suitable for particular crops should be identified, empowered, and exploited. Three, agricultural economic activities such as the production of cotton that provided the people of Karachuonyo with means of livelihood should be revived. Lastly, the unique nature of cotton fibre is that it easily decomposes and can solve the problem of environmental decadence. It is, therefore, prudent to actively embrace cotton growing in order to salvage our environment which

has since been captivated by the unwarranted disposal of synthetic wastes.

Suggestions for Future Research

The findings of the study revealed that there was an enormous impact of cotton growing in Karachuonyo. However, cotton growing somewhat declined. Since the decline of cotton growing, there have been coping mechanisms that have been

adopted by the people of Karachuonyo to cushion them against economic difficulties. Based on this, the suggestion is made that, a study be conducted on the economic impact and coping mechanism following the decline of cotton growing in Homa Bay County since 1975.

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2. Anna Omollo	Wangchieng	26-7-2018
3. Benard Ogutu	Kanam A	1-2-2018
4. Benjamin Omollo	South Kanyaluo	31-1-2018
5. Boaz Okoth	West Kanyaluo	31-12- 2017
6. Caren Achieng	South Kanyaluo	31-1-2018
7. Chief Aloyce Ongere	Kanam A	1-2-2018
8. Chief Naftali Achola	Kanyipir	21-7-2018
9. Clement Ochieng	Kanam A	1-2-2018
10. Elizabeth Oricho	Kanyipir	21-8-2017
11. Harrison Ojijo	Kakdhimu West	1-2-2018
12. Henry Okombo	Kanam B	1-2-2018
13. Hezron Onyango Abuor	Kokwanyo West	8-2-2018
14. Jane Auma Okumu	Kakdhimu East	1-2-2018
15. John Ouso Andele	South Kanyaluo	31-1-2018
16. Lukas Ouko	Wangchieng	6-2-2018
17. Margaret Ongang	Kokoth Kateng	11-2-2018
18. Ododa Ogola	Kanyipir	21-7-2018
19. Oduar Ogot	Wangchieng	6-2-2018
20. Paul Gor	Kanyipir	5-2-2018
21. Perpetua Aomo	Koyugi	5-2-2018
22. Peter Ogondi	Koyugi	5-2-2018
23. Roda Aoko	Kakdhimu East	1-2-2018
24. Salmon Obudo	Koyugi	5-2-2018
25. Shem Okello	Wangchieng	26-7-2018
26. Susan Atieno	Kakdhimu West	1-2-2018

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