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The Integration of Kwale County into the Colonial Capitalist Economy (1895–1919)

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Abstract-- Although earlier studies note declining crop production and land degradation in Kenya's coastal region, they largely overlook how colonial land policies (1895–1919) integrated Kwale County into the colonial capitalist economy and influenced long-term agrarian change. This study addressed this gap by investigating the nexus between land policies and food security in Kwale County, Kenya. The purpose of the study was to examine the integration of Kwale County into the colonial capitalist economy (1895–1919). The research adopted a qualitative historical methodology grounded in the Articulation of Modes of Production Theory (Jean Copans, building on Marxist thought) and the Elite Theory (Vilfredo Pareto), which together provided a critical lens to analyze how structural power relations shaped access to land. Data was collected using both primary and secondary sources. Archival research included colonial and post-independence administrative records, legal statutes, and government correspondence. Oral interviews were conducted with 40 informants including land officials, elders, agricultural experts, and representatives from civil society organizations using purposive and snowball sampling. Secondary sources included academic books, journal articles, and dissertations relevant to land governance and food systems. The study revealed that between 1895 and 1919, Kwale's integration into the colonial capitalist economy involved land dispossession, settler farms, and a shift to export-focused cash crops, disrupting local food systems. These policies favored elite landholders and imperial trade interests, leading to long-lasting land inequality, ecological damage, and ongoing food insecurity. The study concluded that the colonial period in Kwale fundamentally transformed land relations, agriculture, and social hierarchies through legal dispossession, infrastructural bias, and elite manipulation, creating enduring inequalities and vulnerabilities. These historical structures continue to influence contemporary issues of food security, land disputes, and socio-economic development in Kwale County. This study highlights how colonial land policies continue to shape agriculture, inequality, and land conflicts in Kwale, emphasizing the need for historically informed policies that promote sustainability and social justice.

Keywords-- Land Policies, Colonial Economy, Food Security, Kwale County, Land Dispossession

I. INTRODUCTION

The integration of Kwale County into the colonial capitalist economy between 1895 and 1919 marked a transformative period characterized by land dispossession and the reshaping of land relations. During this era, colonial policies prioritized the extraction of resources and the establishment of a settler economy, which resulted in significant land alienation from indigenous communities. As Boone (2012) notes, colonial land policies in Kenya, including Kwale, facilitated land concentration among settler elites, marginalizing local populations and disrupting traditional land use systems. The Crown Lands Ordinance of 1902 and subsequent legislation formalized the transfer of fertile lands to European settlers, relegating indigenous farmers to limited native reserves and restricting their access to productive land (Boone, 2012).

This period also saw the emergence of export-oriented cash crop agriculture, with policies favoring settler farms and imperial trade interests. Such policies disrupted local food systems and entrenched land inequalities, with land increasingly controlled by absentee landlords. John (2015) emphasizes that land ownership in Kwale became concentrated in the hands of a few, leading to a skewed land tenure system that favored the colonial elite at the expense of indigenous farmers. The lack of secure land rights, coupled with infrastructural biases, created a landscape of inequality that persisted beyond independence.

The colonial economic model in Kwale was driven by the articulation of modes of production theory, which explains how the colonial state used legal and infrastructural mechanisms to dominate land access and control (Copans, building on Marxist thought). These mechanisms effectively marginalized local communities from meaningful land participation, fostering a social hierarchy that privileged a small elite over the majority rural population. Boone (2012) further argues that land conflicts and disputes over land rights in the post-colonial period can be traced directly to these historical injustices rooted in colonial land policies.



The long-term impacts of this integration include persistent land inequality, ecological degradation, and food insecurity, which continue to challenge Kwale's development. The land dispossession during the colonial period laid the foundation for unequal land distribution, which has hindered smallholder farmers' access to land and resources necessary for sustainable agriculture. Consequently, the legacy of colonial land policies remains a critical factor influencing contemporary land disputes, food security, and socio-economic inequalities in Kwale County.

In conclusion, the integration of Kwale into the colonial capitalist economy between 1895 and 1919 fundamentally altered land relations, leading to dispossession, inequality, and the marginalization of local communities. These historical processes continue to influence land governance and food security challenges faced by Kwale today, underscoring the importance of understanding colonial legacies in addressing contemporary land and development issues.

II. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This study seeks to address the limited understanding of how colonial land policies from 1895 to 1919 have influenced land access and food security in Kwale County. Despite the vital role of land in supporting agricultural productivity and ensuring food security in African communities, there is insufficient research on the direct impact of colonial dispossession and land inequalities on current food security challenges in Kwale. Historically, colonial authorities dispossessed indigenous populations of fertile land, relegating them to reserves and disrupting traditional land use systems that previously supported sustainable food production. Although Kenya has implemented post-independence land reforms, issues such as land fragmentation, insecurity, degradation, and restricted access to inputs have continued to limit agricultural productivity. This gap highlights the critical need to investigate how colonial land policies have shaped land distribution, social inequalities, and food security outcomes in Kwale, and to understand how these historical policies continue to influence contemporary land and food security issues in the region.

Purpose of the study

The purpose of the study was to examine the integration of Kwale County into the colonial capitalist economy (1895-1919).

III. LITERATURE REVIEW

The examination of China's food security governance by Lin (2017) through the framework of state capitalism reveals how the Chinese government has expanded its control over food production and supply since the 2008–09 financial crisis. This model involves both traditional state-owned enterprises and emerging government-backed private actors, enabling China to manage food availability and stabilize markets, although challenges related to accessibility and corruption persist. The success in stabilizing supply contrasts with mixed outcomes concerning food safety and raises international concerns over China's expanding agricultural strategies. Analogously, the colonial capitalist economy influenced food security by centralizing control within state or state-backed entities, marginalizing smallholder farmers, and reinforcing economic dependencies (Lin, 2017). This pattern exemplifies colonial influence where state intervention and market control often sidelined local producers and prioritized strategic economic interests.

Banerjee (2023) explores how capitalism and imperialism, particularly through colonial resource extraction, have historically fueled economic growth in the Global North at the expense of the Global South's food sovereignty. Colonial economies relied heavily on exporting tropical food and raw materials, establishing a long-term dependency and disrupting local food systems. The colonial focus on cash crop cultivation over staple foods weakened indigenous food security and entrenched economic reliance on external markets (Banerjee, 2023). These colonial practices—extracting resources and prioritizing export-oriented agriculture—created structural inequalities that persist today, shaping land use and food security challenges in regions like Kwale County.

McMichael and Raynolds (2002) analyze how capitalism reshaped global agricultural systems, beginning with colonial core-periphery dynamics. Colonies specialized in raw materials and cash crops for export, subordinating rural communities to global market forces. This integration disrupted traditional food systems, emphasizing export crops over local needs, which deepened economic dependency and food insecurity (McMichael & Raynolds, 2002). These historical patterns continue to influence land use and resource allocation in Kwale, emphasizing the importance of developing resilient, locally driven food systems to counteract ongoing vulnerabilities rooted in colonial economic structures.



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Settles (1996) provides insights into how colonial policies marginalized African farmers through resource extraction and the promotion of export-oriented agriculture. Land alienation, forced labor, and taxation weakened local food production, creating dependencies that persisted after independence. These policies fostered structural vulnerabilities that continued to hinder sustainable agriculture and food security in Africa, including Kwale County. Settles underscores that colonial economies prioritized external markets over local needs, leading to long-lasting effects on land use and economic stability (Settles, 1996).

Araghi (2009) critiques capitalism's "*accumulation by displacement*," where peasant populations were dispossessed and integrated into exploitative global markets. This process commodified natural resources and prioritized profit over ecological and social stability, contributing to systemic food crises. The ecological contradictions of capitalism such as resource depletion and environmental degradation have deepened food insecurity globally (Araghi, 2009). This legacy of resource dispossession and market expansion under colonial capitalism has left Kwale vulnerable to ecological and economic shocks, emphasizing the need for sustainable and equitable resource management.

Akinola (2019) emphasizes that colonial land reforms across Africa resulted in land alienation, which remains the most profound injustice inflicted on indigenous populations. Colonial policies displaced traditional communal land ownership, favoring privatization and benefiting colonial elites. Post-independence, these trends persisted, leading to land grabbing and marginalization of local communities, which exacerbated social tensions and hindered sustainable development (Akinola, 2019). In Kwale, these historical land policies continue to influence land tenure, access, and economic inequalities, reinforcing the patterns of land dispossession established during colonial rule.

Akubor (2021) discusses Nigeria's colonial legacy of prioritizing cash crop exports over local food production. Colonial policies undermined traditional farming systems, resulting in weakened local capacity and increased reliance on imports post-independence. This legacy contributed to ongoing food insecurity and economic dependency, as resource allocation favored export crops at the expense of staple foods (Akubor, 2021). Similarly, in Kwale, colonial policies shifted land use towards export-oriented agriculture, disrupting local food systems and fostering dependency on external markets.

Nafziger (1990) highlights that colonial economic structures prioritized resource extraction and export-oriented industries, which limited industrialization and local enterprise development.

These policies entrenched structural inequalities and fostered economies reliant on raw material exports, leading to persistent vulnerabilities in food security and economic stability in Africa (Nafziger, 1990). Kwale's current land and resource challenges are rooted in these colonial legacies, where land and resources were commodified and controlled by external interests.

Ruth (2015) discusses the ongoing land question in South Africa, emphasizing how international capitalist interests and land dispossession continue to undermine post-colonial land reforms. External influences and resistance to land redistribution perpetuate land insecurity and social inequality. This dynamic mirrors Kwale's experience, where colonial land policies and external capitalist interests have contributed to land dispossession, marginalizing indigenous communities and impeding equitable development (Ruth, 2015).

Makuwerere (2021) analyzes how racial entitlement and colonial modernity fostered land inequalities and social divisions in Zimbabwe. Colonial discourses of racial superiority and settler privileges embedded persistent social hierarchies. These features continue to influence land disputes and social relations in post-colonial contexts like Kwale, where racialized narratives and colonial legacies shape land distribution and social cohesion (Makuwerere, 2021). Bernstein (2016) traces the development of global food regimes, highlighting how colonial and post-colonial export-oriented agriculture marginalized small farmers and fostered dependency on global markets. This legacy continues to impact Kwale, where reliance on export crops and external markets undermines local food sovereignty and sustainable development (Bernstein, 2016).

Oya (2010) discusses the decline of agriculture's share of GDP in Africa, emphasizing that colonial policies prioritized cash crops for export, marginalizing smallholders and destabilizing local food systems. This history persists today, with export dependency limiting food security and rural livelihoods in regions like Kwale (Oya, 2010). Carmody and Taylor (2016) explore land grabbing and the colonial state in Uganda, illustrating how land dispossession driven by capital accumulation and state interests continues to reproduce colonial land control patterns. External land acquisitions and the marginalization of local communities perpetuate land inequality and insecurity, themes relevant to Kwale's ongoing land struggles (Carmody & Taylor, 2016).

Wayumba (2017) reviews Kenya's land reforms, noting how colonial policies disrupted traditional communal land tenure, leading to privatization favoring elites. Post-independence land grabbing and speculative acquisitions have displaced indigenous communities and exacerbated social tensions.



These ongoing processes reflect colonial legacies influencing land inequality and development in Kwale (Wayumba, 2017). Studies detail how land grabbing and irregular land allocations have displaced local communities in Kwale, exacerbating poverty and disputes. Colonial and post-colonial policies prioritized external interests and marginalized indigenous land rights, perpetuating social and economic inequalities.

Overall, these studies demonstrate that colonial capitalist policies characterized by land dispossession, resource extraction, export-oriented agriculture, and market control have left enduring legacies in Kwale County. These features fostered land inequality, dependency on external markets, and weakened local food systems, contributing significantly to persistent food insecurity and social inequities. Recognizing these historical patterns is crucial for developing policies that address land injustices and promote sustainable, inclusive development in post-colonial Kwale.

IV. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The study employed two linked theoretical frameworks; Articulation of Modes of Production Theory and Elite Theory to examine how land policies have influenced food security in Kwale County. The Articulation of Modes of Production Theory explains the interaction between pre-capitalist and capitalist systems, showing that colonial rule did not entirely dismantle communal land systems but restructured them to promote cash crop production and labor extraction (Wolpe, 1972; Garo, 2010; Guenther, 1980). In Kenya, colonial authorities reorganized governance and alienated fertile land for settlers while selectively retaining aspects of communal tenure to secure labor, ultimately weakening indigenous agricultural productivity (Mulae, 2016). Elite Theory complements this analysis by highlighting how colonial and post-colonial elites controlled land allocation to protect their own interests, marginalizing local populations and sustaining inequality (Dahl, 2005). In Kwale County, elite dominance restricted access to productive land, reinforcing food insecurity. Together, these frameworks show how capitalist restructuring and elite power contributed to persistent land and food challenges (Wegman, 2020).

V. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The study adopted a historical research design to examine how land policies shaped food security in Kwale County across colonial and post-colonial periods (Kapur, 2018). Kwale's fertile land and diverse communities, including the Digo, Duruma, Kamba, and Arab minority, offered a strong context for analysis (Alden Wily, 2018).

Forty purposively selected informants, such as land officials and elders, contributed insights (Mwangi & Kariuki, 2022). Data came from archives, oral interviews, and secondary sources. Instruments were piloted and reliability tested (Mwachiro & Wanjiru, 2022). Thematic analysis linked historical land dispossession to present food insecurity (Karanja & Wambua, 2023).

VI. FINDINGS

This section presents the results of the study on the integration of Kwale County into the colonial capitalist economy between 1895 and 1919, drawing on archival records, oral testimonies, and secondary sources to examine the political, legal, and economic transformations that occurred during this period.

I. Advent of Colonialism in Kwale County (1895–1919)

This period was marked a decisive transition in Kwale County from indigenous sovereignty to colonial domination. Archival evidence confirms that British administrators imposed new political and legal systems that dismantled traditional authority structures (KNA. (1897) 1/1; KNA/DC/KWL, 1/3). The early foundation of colonial control was shaped by the Imperial British East Africa Company, whose commercial expansion gradually evolved into political dominance and land acquisition, laying the groundwork for taxation and economic restructuring (Global Africa Review, 2021).

Colonial officers enforced land policies and taxation through police posts, courts, and administrative centers, directly supervising local populations and disrupting indigenous governance (KNA/DC/KWL/1/1 (1899)). These systems institutionalized control and redefined authority, reflecting broader colonial governance patterns (Mamdani, 2012). Economic exploitation and structural inequality were entrenched during this period, contributing to long-term underdevelopment (Rodney, 2010).

Communities in Kwale responded with organized protests, tax resistance, and preservation of cultural identity. Local populations opposed land confiscation and colonial taxation policies through both collective and individual acts of rebellion (Ochieng, 2016). Oral testimony by Mwanakombo Baya (OI, 12/5/2025) recounts how elders resisted land alienation and maintained customary practices despite administrative pressure. Cultural resilience and subtle opposition became essential tools of survival (Mamdani, 2014).

These movements underscored deep dissatisfaction with colonial exploitation and divide-and-rule strategies, which created enduring social divisions.

The period was characterized by land confiscation, political instability, economic reform, and cultural disruption. Its legacy continues to shape land disputes, governance challenges, and identity debates in Kwale and coastal Kenya, demonstrating the lasting structural effects of colonial rule (Mamdani, 2012).

II. Colonial Land Legislation and Legal Dispossession

The integration of Kwale County into the colonial economy began with the 1895 establishment of the British East Africa Protectorate, when the colonial state asserted sovereignty over land through the Land Ordinance of 1895 (KNA/DC/KWL,1/4). The ordinance declared:

“All lands within the Protectorate of East Africa, whether vested in the Crown or in any other person or authority, and including lands held under customary tenure, shall be subject to the provisions of this Ordinance and the regulations made thereunder.”

This legal framework ignored customary systems such as rotational farming and sacred territories, redefining African land as “vacant” and subject to alienation (Okoth-Ogendo, 1991). The Crown Lands and subsequent amendments enabled compulsory acquisition, settler leases, and formal land registration, deepening dispossession and weakening food systems (Kerfoot, 2013).

As Kanyinga (2017) notes, fertile communal lands were reallocated, displacing communities and increasing vulnerability to hunger and poverty. Obeka (2024) further shows how loss of secure tenure undermined sustainable land use and livelihoods.

Oral testimony captures the lived experience of this transformation. Mwanakombo Baya recalls:

“At a makeshift settlement located near Msambweni... they now bear numbers that represent the colonial state’s assertion of land sovereignty, which was a consequence of the 1895 census.” (Mwanakombo Baya, Msambweni (OI).12/5/2025).

Another account states:

“People buried their loved ones on the hills. After the white men came, they said the land was not theirs. They even cut down sacred trees near their graves.” (Mwanakombo Baya, Msambweni (OI).12/5/2025).

Archival data (KNA/KW/DC/1/5; KNA/PC/Coast/1/12/260) demonstrate escalating alienation between 1902 and 1919, concentrating fertile land under settlers and colonial authorities. These policies restructured agrarian relations, entrenched inequality, and severely compromised indigenous food security (Kanogo, 1987). The table 1.1 below shows how land was alienated and sub divided among different groups in Kwale County.

Table 1.1:
Land Alienation in Kwale County (1902–1919)

Year	Area Alienated (acres)	Beneficiaries
1902	10,000	Colonial government, primarily for settler farms
1910	20,000	Asian traders, colonial administration
1915	40,000	Small elite African collaborators, colonial authorities
1919	30,000	Primarily land owned by colonial government and settlers

Source: KNA/KW/DC/1/5, Land Alienation Records in Kwale County, 1902–1919.

The Table 1.1 above reveals that between 1902 and 1919, land alienation in Kwale County progressively transferred the most fertile land to settlers, Asian traders, colonial authorities, and a small African elite, displacing indigenous communities onto marginal and less productive areas. This dispossession disrupted traditional farming systems, reduced staple crop production, and undermined the Mijikenda’s food security by increasing dependence on wage labor and limited resources.

III. Cash Crops and Agricultural Transformation

During this period, colonial economic policy in Kwale County deliberately integrated local production into the global capitalist system through export-oriented agriculture. Fertile soils, reliable rainfall (Mvula), and Kwale’s coastal location made it suitable for sisal (*Makonje*), cashew nuts, cotton (*Pamba*), and coconuts (*Nazi*). Colonial authorities, working through appointed chiefs and headmen, enforced planting quotas, supervised communal labor, and distributed approved seeds, restructuring agriculture around imperial market demands (Okoth-Ogendo, 1991).



This shift from diversified subsistence farming to monoculture plantations displaced indigenous practices such as intercropping, rotational cultivation, mulching, and agroforestry. Large-scale sisal and coconut estates expanded between 1900 and 1919, reducing land available for millet, sorghum, and cassava production (KNA, DC/KWL/5/9). As export crops replaced food crops, household reserves declined and vulnerability to famine increased. Environmental consequences followed: monocultures depleted soil fertility, reduced biodiversity, and heightened susceptibility to drought and pests, reflecting broader colonial conservation and agrarian challenges in East Africa (Anderson, 2002).

Gender relations were also transformed. Women, who traditionally managed food production, seed preservation, and storage, were marginalized as agriculture became market-oriented, weakening gender-balanced knowledge systems and household food security (Thomas, 2003). While a small African elite gained land, credit, and status within the colonial economy, most communities experienced dispossession, wage dependency, and class differentiation (Kanogo, 1987).

Overall, colonial agricultural restructuring in Kwale generated environmental degradation, social inequality, and chronic food insecurity. By 1919, reliance on volatile global commodity markets and extractive monocultures had entrenched structural vulnerabilities whose socio-economic and ecological consequences persisted beyond the colonial era.

IV. TAXATION AND MONETIZATION OF THE ECONOMY

In this period, colonial taxation in Kwale County functioned as both a fiscal and coercive instrument, integrating African households into the colonial cash economy (Tarus, 2004). Approximately 37% of colonial revenue derived from taxation, particularly the hut tax (1895) and poll tax (1900), which compelled Africans to seek wage labor and monetize subsistence livelihoods (Tarus). As Sir Charles Eliot observed:

“Taxation is the most effective way to compel natives to leave their reserves and seek employment. By raising the cost of living, taxes affected labor supply and wage levels, serving as a strategic tool for colonial authorities to manage and direct African labor.” (Clayton and Savage, 1974).

Similarly, Coast Provincial Commissioner Arthur Donaldson Smith noted:

“The effect of imposing the hut tax on the native had been excellent, and it made them seek employment on European plantations.” (KNA/PC/Coast/1/4).

Taxes extended beyond revenue generation to restructure agrarian life. The land tax (1910) and crop and produce tax (1912) formalized land registration and extracted harvest shares, reducing food availability and intensifying displacement (KNA/PC/Coast/1/4). Oral testimony confirms that households were forced to sell food crops or lease land to meet tax demands, undermining subsistence systems (Nzai Mwakazi (OI), 5/6/2025). Marketing boards regulated African production and pricing, ensuring surplus flowed toward colonial capital (KNA/AGR/4/32; Tosh, 2021).

These developments exemplify the articulation of modes of production, whereby forced labor, monetization, and regulatory control subordinated indigenous economies to imperial accumulation (Ghosh, 2022). Collectively, taxation disrupted food production, accelerated labor migration, deepened inequality, and entrenched long-term food insecurity in Kwale County (Tarus). In conclusion, colonial taxation in Kwale County not only generated revenue but systematically transformed African livelihoods, coercing communities into wage labor, undermining subsistence farming, and reinforcing economic dependence on the colonial state, with long-lasting effects on food security and social inequality. The table 1.2 below shows taxation structure in Kwale County during colonial period between 1895 and 1919.

Table 1.2:
Taxation structure in Kwale County Between 1895-1919.

Type of Tax	Year Introduced	Purpose (Colonial Intent)	Mode of Enforcement	Effects on Kwale Communities
Hut Tax	1895	Taxation Control	Colonial household taxes	Economic strain, resistance, disruption.
Poll Tax	1900	Militarization	Tax enforced locally.	Opposition and Marginalization
Land Tax	1910	Promote land registration.	Colonial land records.	Land conflicts escalate.
Crop and Produce Tax	1912	Increase revenue, regulate.	Collected locally, sold.	Farmers face hardships.

Source: Kenya National Archives (KNA/PC/Coast/1/4), Coast Province Annual Report, 1912.



The table 1.2 above shows that between 1895 and 1919, colonial taxes in Kwale County hut, poll, land, and crop/produce taxes forced households to sell food crops, reduced access to fertile land, and diverted harvests to authorities. These measures disrupted traditional farming, undermined subsistence agriculture, increased reliance on cash crops, and exacerbated poverty, social inequalities, and long-term food insecurity in the region.

VII. SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

In this period, Kwale County underwent profound transformations under colonial rule, marked by the systematic dismantling of indigenous authority, land dispossession, and economic restructuring. Colonial administrators, supported initially by the Imperial British East Africa Company, imposed new legal and political systems that replaced traditional governance and facilitated control over land and resources. Land policies, including the 1895 Land Ordinance and subsequent Crown Lands amendments, redefined customary territories as state property, enabling large-scale alienation to settlers, colonial authorities, Asian traders, and a small African elite. This process displaced communities from fertile lands, undermined traditional farming systems, and reduced household food security.

Colonial agricultural policies further transformed the economy by prioritizing export-oriented cash crops such as sisal, cashew, cotton, and coconuts. Indigenous practices like intercropping and rotational farming were replaced by monocultures, depleting soil fertility, reducing biodiversity, and increasing vulnerability to famine. Women's roles in food production and seed preservation were marginalized, weakening household resilience and community knowledge systems.

Taxation acted as both a revenue tool and coercive mechanism, compelling Africans to engage in wage labor and monetized agriculture. Hut taxes, poll taxes, and crop levies forced households to sell food or lease land, accelerating labor migration and deepening social and economic inequalities. Collectively, colonial governance, land expropriation, cash crop expansion, and taxation entrenched dependence on external markets, disrupted subsistence economies, and established enduring patterns of inequality and food insecurity in Kwale County.

VIII. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, between 1895 and 1919 Kwale County was fundamentally transformed through its incorporation into the colonial capitalist economy.

Colonial governance dismantled indigenous authority, while land legislation institutionalized dispossession and concentrated fertile territory in the hands of settlers and collaborators. The shift to export-oriented cash crops disrupted subsistence agriculture, degraded the environment, and marginalized women's productive roles. Coercive taxation further monetized local livelihoods, compelling wage labor and deepening inequality. These interconnected policies entrenched structural dependence on external markets, weakened food security, and produced socio-economic disparities whose consequences continued to shape Kwale's development long after the colonial period.

Recommendations for Practice

Kwale County should prioritize equitable land access, support diversified and sustainable farming practices, and empower women in agriculture to restore food security, ecological balance, and reduce historical socio-economic inequalities.

Recommendation for Further Research

Future research should investigate the long-term impacts of colonial land alienation and cash crop policies on contemporary food security, gender roles, and socio-economic inequalities in Kwale County.

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