11

IMPACT OF PARTICIPATIVE MANAGEMENT AND EMPLOYEE SERVICES
ON LABOUR PRODUCTIVITY

A CASE STUDY

BY

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A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER IN BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION IN THE UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI.

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI AUGUST 1978.

THIS THESIS IS MY CRIGINAL WORK AND HAS NOT BEEN PRESENTED FOR A DEGREE IN ANY OTHER UNIVERSITY.

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DECLARATION FORM

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

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This thesis has been submitted for examination with my permission as University Supervisor.

P. OUMA HAGENI

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

In compiling and writing this thesis I owe much to a number of people without whom it would not have assumed its present form. In the first place, I wish to thank the Canadian International Development Agency (C.I.D.A.) who made the funds available for this project. Secondly, I am greatly indebted to Mr. P. Goko the factory manager of Chinga Tea Factory Company Limited and his staff at the time of this study for both the hospitality and the valuable information they gave me during the collection of data for this research project. However, I cannot forget to convey a vote of thanks to Mr. P. Cuma Magemi my supervisor. He was all along the keyman behind this work. His criticisms and encouraging remarks are the ones that have made this piece of work be what it is now.

Last but not least in importance, I am indebted to
Mrs. N. Chege who ably worked round the clock to have the
manuscript typed the way it is.

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ABSTRACT

This study is basically an exploratory one in that it has been focused on an area where little is known and where the enterprise has not received a judicious treatment. Apart from the fact that participative management and fringe benefits accorded to employees have been widely discussed by Western Scholars, their usage in developing countries like Kenya has been minimal. The two concepts as a matter of fact have largely been conceived and developed in predominantly industrialised environments and as such it would be of interest to establish their relevance in predominantly agricultural environments. Secondly, it is also of interest to depart from the convention of examining industries of the popular urban locations (modern sector as is called in developing countries) and see what goes on in industries surrounded by the traditional sector i.e. rural areas where the majority of our people live. This study as a matter of fact is specifically designed for these two purposes.

The Focus of this study is participative management and employees services. However, to be able to assimilate the study it is fitting to make a few observations at the very outset, on which the study hedges. Firstly, the literature forming the back-bone of the study is a product of studies done in western societies. It has all along been assumed that though these concepts were developed in such societies, they also hold true in others and as such the impact of employee services and/or participative

In other words, the industry under discussion is a subsystem of the entire national or global economic, political and social system.

It is in the light of this that after examining the concepts of participation, employee services and labour productivity in the first chapter and methods used in carrying out the study in the second chapter, that the third chapter embarks on an overview of the industry. It is in this industry that the toa factory under review is a subsystem. The tea factory operates within the economic, social and political ecology set up by the larger society. For example, it being an agricultural undertaking, it enjoys a hangover of the colonial legacy of mixed farming which have had to be protected at all costs for them to survive. It also experiences rural-urban salary differentials which have not changed even in the post-independent era.

The fourth, fifth and sixth chapters examine the data collected from the tea factory in question (i.e. Chinga Tea Factory Company). The idea here is to establish the existence of workers' participation and the type of employee services involved with the sole purpose of assessing their impact on labour productivity. It is on the basis of what is found in the factory that it has been possible to make some few recommendations in the concluding chapter.

CHAPTER ONE

1.1. Introduction

Until the turn of the last century when trade unionism began to forge its way in response to the capitalistic development that tended to totally alienate the worker from control over his situation of production, the coalition of the captains of industry and government had always had the upper hand in the industrial government. The worker had hitherto been totally at the mercy of management for he neither owned nor controlled the instruments of production. Indeed, in the early part of this century, well known authors and students of industrial relations like Oscar have ably described the position of the worker in an industrial setting before the 19th century. They have shown how the worker was totally excluded from industrial relations and simply regarded as a factor or commodity of production or as an article of commerce completely devoid of any human individuality. Flanders makes the point even clearer when he observes that "many employers tried to assert their absolute prerogatives over their labour force, the argument being that their authority rights were derived from ownership of the means of production!" Indeed, management had absolute control over all the aspects of employer-employee relations, labour market, labour force, personnel planning and administration and the day-to-day management of the enterprises.

In spite of the low and neglected status of the worker

he had to survive and subsist by working for capital to get his daily bread. However, because of his insignificant and unrecognized status in the production process, he sometimes produced only the minimum that he could safely get away with and even this minimum was possible due to close supervision by the management staff. Indeed, a situation of mutual interdependence whereby production was sometimes just enough to make the enterprises survive prevailed in some undertakings. With this state of affairs, industrial conflicts emanating from the disadvantaged workers were rampant in the industrial relations environment. In fact, it was the worker who was extremely unhappy about his work, his work environment and the political, social and economic conditions that he was subjected to. With these prevailing conditions, the worker had no alternative but to join hands with other worker colleagues so as to collectively and much more strongly fight back and resist pressure from the management and capital owners so that he could continue selling favourably and profitably his perishable labour commodity to capital. As such industrial conflicts were socially, economically, politically and/or purely physically motivated. The only difference of the many industrial conflicts that plagued industrial environment during that time was one of intensity, dimension and the manner of their manifestations. For example, while some workers expressed their discontent in organised group demonstrations, strikes or go-slows, others registered

their discontents individually and in unorganised manner; sometimes completely unnoticed by the public eg. absenteeism, lateness or simply walking out of work, etc. However, the impact of the different styles of manifesting discontents varied according to the nature and intensity of grievances or industrial unrests at hand.

Meedless to note that it was evident that, among others, the nature and structure of industrial society was one where class conflict based on wealth differentials was natural and inevitable. As such, since industrial relations was a sub-system of the larger society with wealth differentials among its actors, it continued to exhibit the same characteristics of class conflicts. However, since as things were, there was an apparent commitment to preserve the system and retain the statusque, the aim therefore was one of trying to introduce management techniques or a management philosophy that would contain industrial conflicts. It was in this connection that at the turn of the 19th century, as part of the human relations doctrine, joint participation by all industrial actors was suggested as a panacea to the predicament of our modern industrial conflicts. The authors of this notion of workers' participation promised that if applied, it would give miracles of success in our modern industrial activities.

Closely associated with the ideology of industrial democracy was the idea of paternalism i.e. providing all employee services to workers by the employers in an effort to create industrial peace, improve the efficiency of labour

and prevent the formation of trade unions. By this notion which became prominent and popular in the 1930's and 1940's. management capitalised/and assumed paternalistic relation on ship with the workers. It took the responsibility of caring for workers welfare at the times of need, emergencies and in making the workers feel secure in their employment. In this regard and in an attempt to show its genuine concern for the economic and social welfare of the workers, management has created personnel departments in their respective industries which are charged with the responsibility of formulating personnel policies and procedures that are calculated to harmonise labour and capital so as to make the overall goals of the enterprise possible. These departments have tirelessly wrestled with individual and collective demands of their workers which are of predominantly social and/or economic nature. This strategy of undercutting industrial conflicts have worked on the assumption that an industrial enterprise is a unitary structure where team spirit, common purpose, one source of authority, one focus of loyalty, no rival factions exist and a true spirit or partnership exists. Under a genuine unitary perspective, while the workers are and should feel safe in the hands of management, there is no need of trade unionism since its emergence shows that the interests of sanagement and workers are entithetical. In the eyes of management, trade unions

would achieve nothing other than frustrate the enterprise and intrude into the enterprise's private unified structure where it will only compete for loyalty and control of workers. However, with the strategy of participative management and employee services it is suggested that workers would be disuaded from union offers.

At this juncture it would therefore be fitting to examine the literature on participative management and employee services. It is only after grasping the ideas involved in those two concepts, that we shall be in a position to conceptualize and appreciate the case study that follows.

1.2 The Concept of Workers' Participation

Since the 19th century, the ideology of industrial democracy has become one of the blue-prints of undercutting and overcoming industrial conflicts which had hitherto been so rampant in industrial settings of developed countries. This notion called for the genuine application of human relations school of thought in industries and an active joint effort and involvement of all industrial actors in some, if not all, the aspects of the industry. The whole idea has been one of appealing to management to show genuine concern to their employees' total lives and welfare. Particularly important was the idea of bringing the hitherto neglected worker up to par or nearer the management since he has all along remained a major component

in the production process. It was hoped that if the worker participated emotionally and mentally in the decion-making processes of the enterprise, he would become more socially, politically and economically satisfied with his industrial environment and would subsequently be motivated to produce more than the mandatory minimum he had hitherto been producing. His production which would be largely voluntary and not dictated by anybody would go along way in helping the enterprise achieve its overall objectives of raising productivity and profitability. Many managers of today still hold this formulation.

The importance of workers' participation cannot be over-emphasized. Other than being merely a management technique, it has become an expression of a new approach to industry and society at large in that all along people have wanted to be associated with the taking of decisions affecting them. Indeed, the participants of the Central Organisation of Trade Union (C.O.T.U.(K) Seminar on Workers Participation in Management observed that by not mentally and emotionally involving the worker who is a major component of production process in the decision-making mechanisms of the enterprise, he will become less efficient. As a political human being, we shall deny the worker of certain inalienable human rights on matters that directly affect him while at the same time we shall also escalate industrial conflicts and fail to offer possible

solutions to the current pressing economic problems of our modern mechanised and industrial society. While referring to the Indian experience, Saxena also noted that for rapid industrialization to take place, the two major problems of efficiency of labour and industrial peace can only be solved by the proper handling of labour.4 This was however the art and technique that was absent until the turn of the 19th century before which, the workers were totally excluded from the deliberations of industrial government. However, it is my contention that workers' participation with its implications of showing concern for human labour welfare, and its mental and physical contributions to the industrial setting seems to be the only hope of industrial success. By encouraging participation at all levels of an organisation a spirit of 'enterprise-consciousness' and 'loyal opposition' by workers is likely to emerge and be fostered while the respective inherent class consciousness of industrial actors coupled with their ideological stands would eventually be undermined. Stressing the importance of involving all active actors in industrial relations, Chamberlain had this to say: " those who are itergral to the conduct of an enterprise should have a voice in decisions of concern to them ownership of property is not an exclusive entitlement to the exercise of authority in industry."5 Through the workers' participation strategy of resolving industrial conflicts, not only

do we resoncile the exploitation that is inherent and indispensable to the capitalistic mode of production, but we also make the workers feel that they made or helped to make the decision that affect their economic and social welfare as well as those decisions affecting the overall enterprise objectives. .../

The workers who have hitherto been in the back-ground will henceforth subordinate or sublimate their values and give priority to the thoughts pertaining to the objectives of the enterprise. As such, the workers who will become self-disciplined employees will see things only in the light of the enterprise's interests and will become committed to the enterprise's objectives.

potential source of conflict. 6 Governments have also been very interested in the area of industrial conflict. While they have tried to maintain a balance between the freedom of private property owners and that of the workers, governments have also tried to redress and balance the corresponding bargaining strengths of both the workers and employers. They have done so by enacting laws that supposedly give adequate protection to workers, restrict property ownership rights, enforce minimum wages and conditions of employment. All these efforts by the respective actors of industrial government have been calculated to give industrial relations some peace. However, despite the parties' serious contributions towards industrial peace, industrial unrest organised or otherwise is characteristic of our industrialised capitalistic economies – but why?

It would seem to me that all the efforts of the interested parties in resolving industrial conflicts are done pre-emptively or superficially and as such they are short-lived in their lives.

What seems to happen in practise is that once a specific problem has been solved in a particular industry, either a similar or a different one immediately crops up necessitating the summoning of the parties once again to come together and seek a solution. At times, the solution-seeking exercise is unilaterally taken by the most interested or aggrieved party without even consulting the others. No sooner is one industrial problem solved than another related or unrelated problem comes up again. Indeed, the whole exercise of industrial

conflict-solution-seeking therefore becomes a pre-emptive vicious circle with no end. All that I am saying is that no serious attempts are made to look into the root of the problem of industrial conflicts, but instead we only give the symptoms of such conflicts reppressive cure doses. It is because our strategies of resolving industrial relations problems seem to be based on naive assumptions that they have failed to meaningfully respond to the basic problem of industrial conflicts which lies in the nature and structure of our capitalistic economies and society. On this point, Bogomolova tells us that given the nature of our society, industrial conflicts are inevitable. He emphatically points out that: "Indeed, conflict of interests exist between labour and capital due to the exploitation inherent in capitalist society and can only be stamped out by socialistic re-organisationof the society. One way in which this end can be achieved is through a radical revolution of the social, economic and political aspects of our society. However, as thinge are, we are not enthusiastic about restructuring our capitalistic society for something else and hence class struggle and industrial conflict will always tend to remain natural and inevitable. However, all along our problem has been and still is to contain these conflicts and struggles

lest they get out of hand and marr the current system if not overwhelm it. This is where the advocates of insutrial democracy came in.

The literature on workers' participation is predominantly western in orientation partly because the concept was developed in the western capitalistic countries and partly because most authors on this subject are from those countries. It would however do us no harm to examine this literature because most of the developing countries, and Kenya in particular, have chosen to emulate industrial relations models of the western countries. As a matter of fact, thought Developing Countries are dundamentally different from Developed Countries, their styles of life approximate that of Developed Countries. Indeed, they have assumed the role of junior partners with Developed countries in matters pertaining to economic, cultural, social, and political affairs.

Several authors have in general and in specific terms

attempted to define the concept of workers' participation.

For example, the I.L.O. (Int rnational Labour Organisation)

publication entitled Participation by Duployers and workers

Organisations in Concept and Social Planning (Geneva 1971)

notes that there are individual and group levels of workers'

participation in the organisations of work and industrial relations, At the group level which is our concern in modern industrial relations system, workers' participation is the combined effort of the vatious occupational and social groups operating under cooperative principles, but independent to a certain degree from the state. In more emphatic terms the same paper observes that participation is a "means of reducing intransigience or a mediator of conflicting interests"8 since as a principle, it gives room for a more objective approach to the job in hand or a more realistic approach to any human related industrial issued. Indeed, it is evident from the same paper that discussions at par among workers, management and union officials, tend to increase understanding of each other's point(s) of view(s) as far as the subject in question is concerned. Such discussions assist management by giving it advice, informations, suggestions on matters pertaining to production, the comfort and well-being of the workers which are all necessary if our modern industries are to succeed. Students of group dynamics on the other hand, have seen participation purely in the light of human relations school of thought. They have seen participation as a device that can reconcile exploitation that is indispensable to the capitalistic mode of production. As such, one of the authors has defined participative management as one designed; "to get workers accept what management wants them to accept to make them feel

that they made or helped to make the decisions". Melman tells us in very clear terms that we have no alternative if we want success since "within the framework of industrial capitalism (in which we operate), growth in labour productivity has become a joint effort of workers and management". 10

More specifically Keith Davis defines participation as an individual's mental and emotional involvement rather than simply being task-involved in his bodily, muscular and skill activities." As such, participation calls for one's initiative, creativity and responsibility for what one has set to offer to the group. As such a two-way psychological and social relationship must prevail for the exercise to succeed.

In yet another development, Roberts in his book

Workers Control notes that the term participation is used interchangeably with other terms like industrial democrary, joint consultation and workers control. To him, participation per se envelopes the ideas of equity ownership (co-partnership) and the day-to-day control of business. In all, whatever form of participation is tried in a specific industry, there is the notion of increased involvement of workers in matters of direct relevance to their own work activities, a thing that enables the employees to enjoy to an extent their desired satisfaction. The worker is then motivated to display his creativity and initiative for the benefit of the goals of the organisation. It is important in this regard that we make the exercise a

two-way psychological and social relationship that prevails between management and employees rather than management unilaterally bringing its package of intitiative and creativity to the workers for approval and implementation. It is however fitting to see what each of the aspect of workers' participation specifically entails and its impact on industrial relations.

By co-partnership, we allow workers to buy equity in the enterprise and subsequently they share in the profits, dividends and in major policy formulations of the enterprise as owners of the enterprise. By this arrangement, the workers assume two roles in the organisation. They own the enterprise and at the same time provide the much needed human labour in the enterprise. In this way their loyalty to the employers who in turn are workers but of a different cadre is boosted. However, these schemes of profit sharing and co-partnership apparently just give the worker an illusion of security and involvement which are in many cases pre-emptive. For example, the workers through ownership scheme may be allowed to own about only 10% of the total equity shares and this would not make even their combined impact felt at major policy or decision-making mechanisms of the enterprise if the policy of one share one vote is the way decisions are reached. Because of the simister motives of the authors of co-partnership and profit sharing schemes, the trade unions which are the custodians of workers' interests quite naturally

view them with suspicion. They see them as simply half-hearted mechanisms that are designed by capital owners to attract workers' loyalty and not schemes genuinely devised to help workers. However, though these schemes are reforms on our industrial relations, the fact that they have ulterior motives and co-partnership in particular overlooks the fundamental differences between workers and employers, it has become the prime objective of trade unions " not to accept the system even in its improved form, but to change it."13 Indeed quite naturally the workers under the outspoken leadership of trade union fear such schemes since they sometimes subject them to hard conditions which may neither be of the workers' making nor their interest. Justifying workers' fears on profit sharing schemes Heron had this to say: "There are many influences on profits of an enterprise for which the worker is not responsible", 14 yet the scheme subjects him to an irregular and fluctuating income. As such, a more rational, fair and justifiable approach would be to share the profits between labour and capital on equitable basis.

It is regretable to note also that only after a part of the excess profits over and above a 'reasonable good dividend' is paid out that the workers then come to enjoy the profit-sharing scheme. Both the reasonable good dividend and the percentage of the profits to be shared are arbitrarily decided upon by management and capital owners in the absence of the ordinary workers and their

representatives. In practice, when large profits are made, the company authorities tend to capitalize the earnings for the benefits of the owners e.g. they issue more stock. The irenical thing about this exercise of profit-sharing is that it is honoured only after a reasonable and liberal dividend has been paid out to the equity holders. Then nothing remains after a reasonable dividend is paid to equity owners, workers get nothing. As such, workers see profit-sharing school as a bait to make them contented with starvation wages hopeful of being compensated by the erratic profits shared. In addition to this, apart from the workers seeing the others as an act of grace, charity or privilege accorded to them by management and capital owners, they are aware it is not their right for which they sould lodge an effective complaint if denied.

In co-partnership (i.e. equity concrabip) scheme,
it is assumed that workers will be notivated to increase
the everall profits so that their collective individual
profits out of which dividends are paid correspondingly
increase. It is also assumed that with co-partnership,
workers will stop bickering about the wages they get as
workers and concentrate more on maximizing the surplus
carnings of the company since these surplus carnings will, in the form
of dividends augument — their wages. The ludicracy of this
scheme however is that it decon't matter whether one gets
his income labelled as wages or as dividend since they all

go to the same pocket. As a matter of fact, if wages increase they benefit all workers, but if dividends increase they only benefit the few workers who have equity in the company and the absentee owners of the company. Indeed and in practice, we know that it is only a few workers particularly those in managerial positions who are allowed and able to acquire some limited stock in the company. However, on the strength of their equity-holding, these enall equity holders (employees) are spart from being deprived of any effective voice in the control of share capital, their position does not significantly change the role of workers in principle. "They ("orkers) still deprived of any means of production as before. This is precisely what human relations (on which participetion in equity and control hinges) experts are unwilling to acknowledge Instead, they attempt to depist the representatives of antagonistic classes as separate individuals carrying out various functions in production and linked together by purely personal relationship without any socio-economie base. To Mark and Engels, these views belied an attempt to conceal the antagozistic essence relationship between bourgeoisie and proletariat. 15

Workers control is the other extreme of their participation. Workers all over the world are naturally desirous and anxious to possess control rights on all aspects of their enterprise. In this regard they are ever pressurising

management so as to be allowed to effectively participate in the control of their enterprise. They are convinced and rightly too that if they get the control rights of the enterprise then they will reap some economic and social benefits that they have hitherto been denied or even neglected by industrial capitalism. In an effort to succeed in this right control andeavour, the workers /to have been convinced not only to own equity in the enterprise but to be admitted into the crucial executive and policy machineries of the enterprise where the majority vote is the popular way of reaching substantive decisions. By allowing workers to control the business, it means that the workers assume management responsibilities of effectively and efficiently managing the business as they deem Not only do workers evolve policies, design the corporate strategy, plan, control, implement policies. they also monitor most of the functions and activities of the enterprise all of which are calculated to help towards the achieving the defined objectives of the organisation. Because the workers are emotionally and mentally involved in all aspects of the enterprise, they accordingly cooperate willingly and they effectively counit themselves to the realisation of the objectives they jointly with management set to achieve. This is what is sometimes called 'self-management technique' where workers exclusively control, manage and usually become responsible for all managerial functions. Apart from usurping the management's

area of prerogatives, self-management technique makes the role of management staff largely rendudant.

The whole exercise of workers striving for control started off with workers striving to get control of matters that only directly affected them in their work environment e.g. wages, fringe benefits, etc. but gradually and overtime they have widened their scope as to include workers participation in the crucial business policies. This trend of workers wanting to participate in industrial government is neither unique nor is it confined to industries alone. Indeed, it extends in the larger community as well. In this regard, Myers (1920), a leading psychologist had this to say about participation in the larger community: " the impartial observer cannot deny the justice of workers demand for greater industrial control in these days of government by consent, of increasing democracy spirit in education and growth of personality and responsibility." As such, the workers in their small industrial communities which are subsystems of the larger community see themselves as no exception to what is happening in the larger system. They are part and parcel of the larger community and they earnestly subscribe to the realisation of this political myth of equality through being represented effectively in all policy and executive bodies of their enterprise where their views have some impact.

Workers' control is therefore " a term used to describe complete control over production, on one hand, and the present

attempts to encroach upon employers' power on the other and unbroken continuity of democratic advance stretches between the imposition of a trade union veto on dismissals and the ultimate overcoming of capitalistic property relations. 17 This is a naive view in a capitalist system where management greedly holds to the practice and principle that it is their prerogative to manage particularly in the field of business policies. Again in workers' control all aspects of businesses e.g. control over hiring and firing of employees, redundancy, disciplinary issues, training and the welfare of workers, pricing, investment and production programmes etc., then the system ceases to be capitalist and becomes socialistic and capitalist giants would not allow it to collapse for they would be out of social prominence. After all, they are the entrepreneurs, owners of wealth and managers of the crucial political and governmental machineries. As such, they will not sit idle while workers usurp their crucial responsibilities to the society as they claim. As such, workers control in our given system is not only theoretically impossible, but practically limited due to institutional, material and psychological factors of our society.

because it envisages complete control by workers over their own lives which he says is incapable of being realised since efficient management is a highly skilled job and while it is proper that the views of unions should be constantly sought on matters of general policy and taken into consideration, final authority and responsibility must be upon the manager. An industry cannot run on the basis of popular vote or majority rule."18 of fact there are resources placed under the control of the manager e.g. money, materials, people, etc. and it is his primary responsibility to plan (decide what to do); organise (set up the means); motivate (create conditions where people will want to work and achieve); and control (monitor the progress made against the plan and correct deviations) in order to achieve the goals of the organisation. In other words, it is up to the management to decide where the organisation wants to go and make sure that it gets there, but with workers' total control, the organisation may not only fail to set concrete objectives but it can also fail to reach the destination. Again, by adopting a workers' control strategy, it implies that the workers who are always the majority will always have it through notwithstanding the fact that they are more often than not pursuing their own selfish sectional interests. a matter of fact, it is a well known fact that workers! goals are usually antithetical to those of the fire's.

They will keenly and tirelessly explore into the prospects of getting higher wages, more fringe benefits, etc. that will inevitably scoop on the firm's earnings and profits and if this trend continues unchecked it can wreck the firm or discourage prospective investors.

We would however note that it is naive for workers to assume and think that once they have seized all control, presumably as in socialist societies, all their industrial relations problems are solved once and for all. Indeed. the truth of the matter is that the struggles and problems of industrial relations continue but they assume different dimensions and intensities. For example struggle may now become one between the workers and the state because the state takes over the responsibility of appointing top management in consultation with the elected workers. Though the workers can successfully press for the removal of a manager, the manager's genuine concern over output and profit levels and unit costs can easily encroach on or conflict with the rights and interests of workers Thus, the need of a trade union to protect the workers' interests against the managerial zeal for profit and to plead with it to come to their side in case of a dispute becomes of paramount importance. It should be noted however that this kind of struggle continues in the organisation until total democratic control goes to the workers.

Lastly, industrial democracy is an aspect of control which comes about as a result of the struggle between the ever-warring industrial factions. The struggle here has its dimensions changed from one over the redistribution of wealth in the enterprise to one over power. Roberts puts it in very clear terms when he observed; "The problem is one of power and who wields it". 19 The situation is that each of the industrial relations participants is desirous of getting most power so as to use it for its own benefits. However, to get it, the party must fight for it. In the process of establishing an industrial government which would provide law and order in the industry that would be in tune and congenial to the operational needs of the parties, the parties involved protect their vital interests and in the process, whichever party wins in the deliberations, it takes the advantage of the situation and thus amasses more power over the rivals. Accumulated power by say the workers, ends up into a group dictatorship with political elitism undertones. In a socialist state like U.S.S.R. where power is with the workers, Trotsky had this to say; "The Party organisation wouldsubstitute itself for the party as a whole; then the Central Committee would substitute itself for the organisation and finally a single dictator would substitute himself for the Central Committee." In other words, if we open ourselves to genuine industrial democracy there is that danger of simply replacing the former management

dictatorship with a workers oligarch which operates under a one man or a small clique which assumes the responsibility of the workers' leadership. It is in the light of this fear of an individual or a small group dictatorship which was central to the notions of consultations and accountability in industrial democracy. Though in consultation workers do not exercise their organised strength, the fact that they are elected to directorship boards indicates an important development in the struggle and at the same time it gets the worker a chance to get the experience of management techniques. We must nevertheless be aware that however much we give to the workers, the more they will press for "..... if workers are given an inch, may one day feel disposed to take a yard."21 If those elected to boards, councils, etc. are made accountable to the workers, then the interests of the workers can effectively be presented to the right sectors. The workers in such institutions will always support the course of the fellow worker and will strongly counteract and oppose any deliberations of such bodies. However, should management force things, then the workers can always retaliate by going on strikes against such decisions and actions that are contrary to their interests. As such, industrial democracy is a power relationship in an industrial setting between and among the parties. involved. Indeed, any industrial victory by one party can rightly be termed as a political victory for it. It is therefore important to note that those workers in participative and deliberative bodies, other than adopting the right attitudes they should become truly representative of the working masses' interests lest participation process turns out to be a mockery or a mere formality. There is a danger that if genuine democracy is not observed we might get people who are not really representative in the deliberative bodies; people who are cut off from their member organisations due to functional and structural weaknesses in the organisation and people who do not enjoy the confidence of the others in the participative group. Such people would just disadvantage their respective interest groups as far as effective political, economic or social power of the organisation is concerned.

It is therefore evident from the foregoing discussion that the terminologies we meet in this general area of participation are pointing to the same direction of physical, emotional and mental involvement of workers in the affairs of the enterprise. The differences of the various types of participation is one on the degree of involvement. For example, while profit sharing and copartnership is the mediocre way of involving workers, workers' control of the total business environment is the other extreme. However, it is popularly accepted in the capitalistic set—up that we have now reached the stage where the issue is one on how to implement workers' participation rather than whether we should introduce it. We have to bring in workers into

the business sycle and business affairs if we want to
harmone their emergies for the constructive good of the
business. Indeed, past theories that have asserted that
workers have to be cajoled or forced to work by using the
stick or the carrot have been strongly discredited and
it is apparent that if we totally ignore humanisation of
work then the business is likely to be handisapped by
industrial unrests that will adversely affect its health.

Participation which is a gesture or expression of concern for the human relations in an industrial set-up stresses on the importance of improving the effectiveness and efficiency of human resources which have hitherto been inefficiently used for the economic performance of an enterprise. This it does by notivating workers and fostering job metisfaction and job enrichment as a result of capitalising on behavioural factors that affect performance. These factors include the desire of men not only to accept responsibility but to seek it; desire for achievement, recognition and growth which are of primary importance to people in a work situation. In other words, if man is self-motivated in suitable circumstances and with proper management, he will committedly direct himself towards an objective which he understands and has had a hand in cetting. It is in this regard that participation is seen as a calculation designed to help management elicit the cooperation of people in working toward those

goals of any enterprise). Bogomolova also accuses it of being a "cow sociology" i.e. a science designed to obtain more milk by seeing that the cows are contended."23

It is quite apparent that participation is a counteroffensive tactic against trade union movement rather than a basic change and challenge to the basic philosophy of capitalism and its attendant exploitative tendencies. However and whatever the case, the need of workers involvement whether pre-emptive or genuine is necessary and need not be overemphasized. Given our economic system we need it as a management technique if we are to achieve maximum output out of the workers. Our economic system is characterised of modern industries that are complex and pluralistic in nature. In them there are numerous and divergent interest groups which are only brought together to produce goods in an industry. For the industry to survive therefore. the interdependence of these groups is necessary and by genuine participation we can harmonize and maintain an equilibrium so that what were rival groups become united as a team with a common purpose of maximising output for both their mutual benefits as well as for the survival of the enterprise. Once we have developed this participation ideology we will then make the hitherto disadvantaged workers assimilate and live in it with the result that they can no longer afford to be analytical about it other than more

or less blindly behaving, thinking and feeling in terms and values which reflect the interests and aspirations of their industrial system.

On the local scene we find that the need of participative style of management in our industries is equally needed. Our industrial relations and society at large is no different from the one described so far. We live in a society that experienced colonisation by the industrialised countries and Britain in particular. Colonialism developed political, social and economic institutions similar to those of developed countries and what is more interesting is that these same institutions have continued to post independence era only under different labels. In more specific terms, what colonialism did was to dismantle the traditional mode of life and substituted it with a capitalistic one. For example, the land that was communally owned and managed was replaced with individual plots of land. The landed class through government help e.g. loans and extension services, has turned out to be the progressive rural elites with comparatively more wealth derived from their land. The less progressive farmers, usually possessing insignificant small pieces of land and the landless group, have turned out to be the poor members of the rural society. They are the ones who usually patronise the rural elites economic activities in order to supplement their meagre peasant lives. They have turned out seekers either in urban or rural areas. Their number keeps on mounting as the national population increases partly due to the high birth-rate of about ... As such, one may say that the Kenya society just like that of developed countries is charaterised by distinct classes which are broadly rural and urban based. Again, within each major class, there are the wealthy and the poor members of the community.

It is therefore evident that the Kenya worker is not fundamentally different from that of the industrialised countries. To subsist, he must supplement his subsistence life with wage employment. In the wage employment situation, he has not only to be cared for physically, economically and politically, but he also needs to enjoy job-satisfaction and job-enrichment partly through workers' participation style of management and/or through the provision of appropriate employee services. The only difference from that of his counterpart the western industrialised country is one of degree, sophiscation and priority listing otherwise his needs are basically the same as those of his counterpart. Failure to satisfy him in any of his needs tends to provoke industrial unrest whose form of manifestation may differ from that of industrialised countries.

It is also evident that our economic institutions are run on similar lines as those of developed countries in that they have profits as their major objective. To achieve

profits however, they must be run efficiently and sometimes at the neglect of the wishes of the rank and the file workers. Again, as they prosper and progess they must observe the tenets of industrial peace part of which is brought about by workers' participation and the employee services provided. However, since Kenya seems to have opted for similar economic, social and political institutions and industrial relations as those of developed countries, it would do us no harm to examine the impact of workers' participation in a Kenyan local scene. To be able to implement this concept of workers' participation we are however handicapped by the same problems as those of developed countries. It is in the light of this that we now set to examine the problems.

1.3 Problems of Participation.

In applying the concept of participation, we must be careful of how we go about it lest we make the workers feel manipulated, or become resentful, confused or even lacking in objectives. We may for example find that we have applied it for the detriment of productivity and workers' morale such that it were better if we hadn't tried it at all. Warning us in this regard, Keith Davis had this to say: "In developing participation we must be able to strike a precarious balance between counterfeit, participation, which would arouse distrust, and excessive participation, which would consume valuable work time and destroy unified direction." It is therefore important

that as we introduce any form of participation in our industry we should take into serious account the already existing arrangements of participation. This is because, a single radical change of the system of participation will not necessarily guarantee a meaniful or/and successful workers participation in decision-making. Indeed, a carefully thought out and properly designed participative system will definitely not fail to harness workers' support. Its success depends on what sort of management system our industry is currently pursuing i.e. whether it is the benevolent authoritarian amanagement system at one extreme or participative group management system at the other extreme or the consultative management system in the middle. Ideally, we should aim at moving gradually from one to the other with the target of eventually reaching the participative management system that optimally maximises benefits to all the parties and the enterprise. In this move, we should be careful lest we cause havoc if we become overenthusiastic about getting to the ideal at the shortest time possible and at the expense of either one of the industrial relations parties or the enterprise itself.

It is therefore important to be sware of some of the serious problems we are likely to encounter in our quest and zeal for participative management. In the first place, it should be noted that while participative system has been hailed by academicians and practising managers, there still remains a heated debate as to the degree and manner of

participation. In other words:- how far should the workers be allowed to participate in a given structure? In what sort of decision-making should the workers be involved? How far is management obliged to execute decisions taken out of a participative process? Should workers' participation assume authoritative, non-authoritative, consultative, advisory, joint management or self-management form(s)? In general while the degree and manner of participation depends on the specific industry and the decision type in question, there is no hard and fast rule about how to go about it. For example Wall D. and Lischeron J. work revealed among others: "The form of participation depends upon the level and type of decision involved". 25 For meaningful and successful participation, the most important thing is that both the workers and management must show interest and support/the whole notion /for of participation regardless of the form it takes. In other words, a unilateral decision to introduce participation in a given industry by let's say management may not succeed unless it receives the blessing of the workers. reverse is also true. There is also the problem of the level and extent of participation to be assumed. This is largely due to the differential attitudes of the industrial actors as far as participation is concerned. For example, to what extent do the workers want to participate? It should be noted that as we emulate the ideology of participation as a guarantee of modern industrial

success, we must be aware that if there is little or no interest or pressure on the side of workers to participate. then it is all futile for management to be committed to the course. As a matter of fact the works of academicians, behavioural scientists and researchers in this field have indicated that "participative or group approach" doesn't seem to work with all people and in all situations. Research has shown that satisfied happy workers are sometimes merely happy. Some managers and workers are able to take only limited responsibility however much the company tries to give them. 26 In other words, it all depends on the attitude of workers and management towards it and in particular the degree to which the majority who are the workers support the notion of participation especially in specific decision-making as this will tend to vary according to the situations, the nature of decisions, the industry in question and the kinds of people involved. In this connection the observation of Albrook is very fitting. He has observed that while industries in the vanguard of change will be best suited for participative management, depending on the personality types, the cultures of the people attracted by certain kinds of jobs the workers will emulate either a pro or anti-participative style of management. 27 For example, only the old authoritarian style of management with its paternalistic undertones will do for the classicoriented person as this will enable him to meet his psychological and other needs. Elsewhere Lischeron J. and Wall D.

have noted that the degree of one's bureaucratic orientation significantly influences his desire and attitude towards participation. They observed that " highly bureaucratically oriented individual may accept the classic management worker role dichotomy and therefore desire minimal participation in management decision-making and individual low in bureaucratic orientation in an organisation where management is high in bureaucratic orientation may feel frustrated and disatisfied and reflect these feelings by expressing an inordinately high desire for participation." As such we should be careful of the extent to which we involve our workers in participation since some people are not and may never be suited for democratised jobs while others especially the professional groups may not only desire but ably participate in decisionmaking as confirmed by the works of Aiken and Hage (1966), Pearlin (1962), Etzion (1964), etc. 29 Thus for participation to be effective, it all depends on whether the participants possess the relevant communicative abilities, I.Q. and knowledge of the particular subjects in question. It is possible for the worker to merely present himself or remain silent in the deliberative body of an industry yet this constitutes participation in the work of that meeting.

While there is the problem of drawing a demarcation line between managers and workers, salaried and non-salaried staff, there is also the problem of limitations of industrial

democracy imposed by the nature of our economic system. Indeed, the nature of our economic process limits the amount of democratic life we can tolerate or accommodate in our industries. Indeed, "given the exploitation inherent in the capitalistic mode of production"30 in which our modern industries operate, we cannot afford genuine participation of workers in all administrative and business aspects of our industrial process. As a matter of fact, we can only allow such workers as the rank-and-file to be mentally and emotionally involved only in matters of secondary importance. In many cases we only accommodate what can be termed as "pseudo-democracy" to take place which means that workers' representatives and management are recruited into joint committees, boards, etc which serve primarily as advisory, consultative, and suggestive bodies. Proposals put forward by workers are merely suggestions since all final decisions depend on the management. This exercise is done merely to give the workers an illusion or an impression that they are employers' partners and indeed it is a device to kid the workers to think that they are important while in the real sence the are not. One can outrightly sense this cunning strategy of participation by the very fact that it is used only where it strengthens and justifies management's actions. Again. in practice one observes that the scope and substance of workers' participation is not only limited, but it is

threatening the superior position held by the captains of industry, the latter allows very little discussions to take place in deliberative bodies where workers are or are represented before final decisions are reached. As a matter of fact, what such bodies do is just to forward recommendations leaving the captains of industry to take the final decisions. As such, given our medern economic system, industrial democracy that we aspire and strive to reach may be nothing but wishful thinking until or unless we re-organise our economics.

Despite these problems and the fact that our first concern in industrial institutions is profitability and productivity rather than welfare of workers, by participation we can pursue the latter objective at the expense of the forcer primary objective. One way in which this can be done is by stressing and capitalising on the various aspects of human relationship rather than the economic ones in all our dealings with workers and this can successfully sustain our industry. Thus, through humanisation of work by allowing workers to participate freely in most if not all the industrial affairs, we are very likely to realise the enterprise's goals. One way of effecting this is by consulting the workers in most if not all matters, having complete confidence on them, seeking their ideas, establishing corporate or sectional goals with them except

when we are in a critical stage. In other words, both control and decision-making functions should be widely shared among all people in the industry. We should also facilitate workers to freely talk to management, allow both up and down communication to take place and be taking final decisions only after reasonable discussions have taken place. By expressing our concern for workers in these directions, then it is possible for workers to totally forget their economic relationship with capital and thereby devotedly strive for the enterprise's goal. After all, we are aware that workers discontent does not wholly lie in economic deprivations, but that other factors and human ones in particular are equally, if not, more important. However and to some extent participation caters for all of these factors. By allowing workers to participate in the enterprise's affairs we shall undoubtedly undercut some of the social, psychological and political sources of industrial conflicts.

As academicians and practising managers subscribe to that ideology of workers' participation they should not lose sight of its shortcomings and limitations. It is definitely a difficult exercise when we are dealing with large groups which are characteristic of our modern industries. Because of the number of people involved and the nature of decisions to be taken there is a danger that we might get lost and/or bogged down in the procedures of participation as to overlook its basic philosophy since

the substance of the exercise does not automatically flow from its procedures. As such, we should be careful not to become victims of procedures of participation since procedures and participative philosophy are not mechanically connected. What is needed is the use of those laid down procedures at the right time and in the right circumstances.

Participation can also be a time consuming exercise.

A lot of time must be allowed for meaningful discussion to take place before any final decision can be taken. As such, there is the danger that a critical problem that needs quick response may be over-delayed by a prolonged discussion as to injure the health of the enterprise. For example, if an enterprise experiences a heavy financial loss due to loss of one of its vital product market it would require immediate attention and action. However, by participation such an action may be overdelayed as to make the enterprise experience yet another loss before an action is taken.

In other words, participation exercise as such has a financial cost of time which might outweigh both the economic or social benefits reaped.

There is also the danger of some actors especially
management and capital owners feeling that their positions
are threatened by a participation exercise. This is expected
because the exercise tends to encroach on management prerogative areas of profits and administration and they would
naturally not be happy when workers start to show and become
involved in their prerogative affairs. It is also important

to note that not always are the matters discussed by industrial actors of immediate and/or direct concern or relevant to all the actors at any given time. For example in matters of no direct relevance to the workers, they may not meaningfully and effectively participate in them yet because they are part and parcel of the system they are made and held responsible for the decisions reached in such simply formal participative occassions. In practice however, the workers are normally restricted to only decisions and forms of participations that they are familiar with and this tends to discourage the introduction of new unfamiliar forms of participations to them since they cannot contribute much. Such unfamiliar forms of participation may become useless unless they receive prior support of the workers who apparently do not understand them because of the imbued novelty in them. As a matter of fact, despite the enthusiasm of management to foster a participative spirit in an enterprise, such unfamiliar forms of it may make the authors caught up in 'a chicken and egg-laying situation.

Despite the cited problems, participation ideology has received wide acceptance not merely as a management technique, but as an expression of a new approach to industry and society at large. People want and impress on being associated with decision-making on matters directly or indirectly affecting them. As a management technique, participation is an ideology to be pursued at all costs because it improves work organisation at the shop-level

employee communication system so necessary in modern industries. For modern industries to succeed, the emphasis of humanisation of work, and the 'quality of working life is of paramount importance. Indeed, the current issue is now not on whether participation is feasible, but rather on how to effect it. Later discussion will show the implacations of participation in a local rural setting.

Employee Services

1.4 Early Development of the Concept of Employee Services.

The idea of employee services like the ideology of industrial democracy is a development of the 20th century. Again like its counterpart concept, it developed in the industrialised countries. As a matter of fact, it was a product or outgrowth of the forces that were set in motion by the European Industrial Revolution. However, because of the recency and the speed at which the notion of employee services has developed, there has been a heated debate among the students of industrial relations and practicising managers as to what the term really means. Because of the tremendous increase in the types and sizes of employee services particularly after the 1940s, it has become increasingly difficult to demarcate the subject, but because of the large sums of money involved in it, it has been necessary to look into it despite its lack of a clear and distinct definition. As a matter of fact, the truth today is that such things like retirement programmes have enormously increased; disability, survivor and health benefit programmes
have multiplied; payment of time not worked has also expanded
while other wage-extra services are prevalent and new ones are
in the offing particularly in the industrialised countries.

Originally, employee services started off as employeefringe-benefits. They were merely wage-extras that employers used to give their employees as either charitable gestures or in appreciation of their work. They provided them with houses, stores, etc. However, with the increase in number of workers employed, frequency of workers' needs, their costs and forms of entertainment and recreation programs to workers' wage supplements, it became increasingly unfair to call them merely fringes. Thus assumed the term employee-services. The employees were entitled to enjoy those services by virtue of their role in industries. It does not mean however, that the fringe benefits that those employees used to enjoy in the past ceased to be provided, but rather they were institutionalised, legitimised and made a requirement and a workers' right. As a matter of fact, the scope of employee services has widened even in developing countries as to cover legal services, major protection services and the maintenance of employee incomes and special services while on and off-the job. Indeed, they have gone as far as enveloping the economic and social security of the

worker and his family. Employee wage-extras have therefore tended to provide the worker with a stable employment coupled with a definite income. Such services like dismissal compensations, severance pay, layoff pay, etc. have all tended to provide the worker with economic security. We cannot however overlook the role played by unemployment insurance, old age assistance, stockownership plans, etc, all of which have gone along way to strengthen the economic position of the worker while at the job or off the job.

It is also notable that employee services have offered health protection to workers and their dependants in case of industrial accidents and work-related illnesses. Such schemes like accident insurance, hospitalisation of indisposed workers, sick leaves with pay, medical examinations, workmen's compensations, etc. are all very familiar to many of us. Other employee services however, have helped individual workers to personally identify themselves more with the organisation and this has greatly facilitated effective participation for the general good of the enterprise. Indeed, such services like housing, commselling, christmas bonuses, recreation facilities, etc. have all gone towards this end. However, other employee services like family allowances, paid helidays and vacations,

overtime payments, coffee or tea breaks, etc. have not only provided extra incomes, but they have also provided leisure to the workers. However, whatever employee services have shown up in industrial relations, they have come about, as a result of either individual, bilateral or/and collective initiative emanating from the efforts of workers unions, government, or/and management.

The impetus to improvise employee services came as a result of the numerous researches and innovations that took place in the 1940s and 1950s, at a time when the whole field of personnel management received tremendous emphasis. Apart from pointing out the need for more democratisation of industrial affairs and participation by employees in decision-making in matters affecting them, studies on motivation in particular showed how ignorant management was in understanding and stimulating their employees to work. In other words, industries had been plagued by some human and personnel relation problems that made it hard for management to carry out the policies and programs of an organisation. Indeed, in its function of acquiring, developing, utilising and maintaining an efficient work force, personnel management in particular and management in general have since 1920s realized that workers need desirable working places and security of their employment. To this end, it is argued that employee services have something to offer. In addition, capital owners and professional managers have become increasingly

influenced by the prosperity of their businesses that workers should get more than mere wages. In the words of Chruden; "In many instances this action Undoubtedly is motivated by a sincere belief by employers that employees are entitled to more of the benefits of capitalism than represented by their wages."31 Again, apart from the fact that the engaged workers during those early days were lower economically, socially and educationally than the management, the latter lacked the time and ability to manage their own organisation's personnel affairs and as such, someone else had to come forward and look after those personnel matters. As expected, management being more responsible and enlightened than workers, it came up with a paternalistic hand and cared for the workers at the times of personal needs, emergencies, etc. This gesture, apart from making the worker feel secure with his employment, it marked the beginning of fringe benefits which have of late enormously increased in both scope and magnitude.

The employee services package has also swelled partly because of union pressure. Though management had tried to thwart the development of trade unionism by unilaterally giving employees wage extras, trade unionism has nevertheless flourished to an extent of becoming a big force that management has to contend with. Indeed, pressure from trade unions to have management provide employee

services cannot be underrated. To start with and over time, trade unions exhaustively concentrated on demands regarding wage-rate and productivity adjustments but in the 1940s they suddenly switched to demands of getting more of fringe benefits. Indeed, it was around that time that because of the increased growth of trade union movement and the increased education and employment opportunities of workers that the workers began to realize "...... that their contributions to the employers and society were worthy of reward and should not be left to the initiative of a benevolent employer." 32 With this awareness and consciousness among the workers, trade unions have had no alternative but to fight strongly for better working conditions and addition of fringe benefits for their members lest they withdraw their union-membership. Partly because of the precedent set by the older trade unions, new trade unions have continued the struggle for more of employee benefits while new and private or public organisations have had no option but to provide them to their workers since everybody else is doing it. Indeed, the role of trade unions in employee services is best summed up by Backman who asserts that "..... unions have a powerful impact on non-wage benefits such as supplemental unemployment benefits, pensions, and welfare funds, all of which developed earlier and more extensively because of pressures

of unions".33 It is obvious that without the pressure of unions, management which is more often than not always cost-conscious and sensitive to all costs would turn down most of the demands of employee services' types since honouring them would entail scooping some of the organisation's earnings. However, on the basis of union strength and the fact that they have always drawn the attention of management to the growing cost of living affecting their workers, management has partly or wholly given in to the demands as a point of compromise so as to foster industrial peace among the actors. In some cases however, the employee services package has contained what management considers to be inconsistent with its objectives but because of unbending stand, pressures and threats of the union, the package has been in that form. Indeed, it would seem to me that some of the employee services have been dished out by management in an attempt to prevent a major industrial dispute in an industry or plant. Once they are provided, they have definitely reduced the temper of workers and given way to possibilities of industrial peace.

Another major but external influence on employee services are the governments. Working in the interests of the public at large, governments have come in the field of industrial relations to regulate certain things.

For example, while considering the strength of the national

economy and the economic well-being of the workers, governments have stipulated certain working conditions e.g. minimum wages, health standards, etc. During the times of inflation or mass unemployment they have gone as far as enforcing wage-freezes whereby employers cannot raise the wages of their employees. In such situations, companies desirous of increasing incomes of their employees have been left with no alternative but to resort to nonwage supplementals. Such companies providing those wage extras have not only retained their employees, but have attracted more competent workers from the labour market. In cases of mass unemployment situations as in Kenya, because of the government enforcing minimum wages which have tended to go beyond what employers have been willing to give, private companies have tended to give manual workers less and less of fringe benefits. However, where the statutory minimum wages are within easy reach of a company, a company has tended to evade being convicted for contravening the law by offering only those stipulated fringe benefits that help to attract and retain its employees.

1.5 Definition of Employee Services:

'employee services', but as pointed out earlier because of its recency and its rapid development it has been difficult to come up with one concrete definition. For

example, while some authors will include certain programs as employee services, others will either not include or will add other programs. For example, Calhoon R.P. while identifying both the employee services and benefits, he broadly describes them as "..... those benefits, aids and accommodations provided by an organisation for employees" This would tend to give an impression that the provision of employee services depend on the whims of the organisation and more specifically on the whims of management. This view suggests that employee services or benefits are paternalistic benevolent donations or even acts of charity or grace accorded to workers by management. Calhoon distinctly defines benefits as "...direct or indirect payments to employees for purposes such as insurance and pensions and services as conveniences or aids to employees such as cafeterias, loans and recreation, services that are applied to all features provided or supported by management that aim to make conditions of employment more secure, satisfying and pleasant for employees".35 The only distinction Calhoon draws between the two terms is one of purpose and source but in essence they point to the same direction i.e. additional services or benefits an employee gets from the enterprise as a result of collective bargain, as provided by law or voluntarily provided by management. However, for the purpose of this study employee services, benefits or welfare will be regarded as synonymous to simply 'wage extras'. These wage extras are either direct e.g. housing; or indirect e.g. education to workers' children; immediate or deferred; tangible or intangible, etc. The common and important thing about all of them is that they are compensations, wage supplements, labour costs, additional costs whose incursions is supposed to benefit management and workers alike otherwise they would not be provided leave alone being mentioned in industrial relations.

1.6 Importance of Employee Services

The importance of employee services cannot be overemphasized. While he observes that employee services are logical complements to work requirements, Pigors P. also notes that if provided; "Management can rightly expect a high standard of efficiency from employees whose energies are not being wasted in combating unnecessary adverse conditions, "36 Speaking specifically about music, Calhoon further observes, "..... music increased production on monotonous repetitive work" because it reduces workers' boredom on routine work. Referring to recreation, he categorically points out that: "One study showed that high producers are generally active in recreational work However, in the latter case, it is not clear which is the cart and which is the donkey. As a matter of fact there is no direct correlation between an organisation and the efficacy of recreation programs.

However, one can hypothesize that the type of recreation program provided is likely to contribute to the worker either liking or disliking the place of work and as such a worker can either raise or lower his productivity since he is either happy or unhappy of his work environment. It is common knowledge that recreation programmes are normally effected during leisure time and as such, the sore we have of thou, the more leisure time should be made available to the workers. Again, while it is true that when workers go to work after recreation, they are fresh, energetie and enthusiastic about work, Taylor and his scientific management followers also "..... found that rest pauses could offset the effects of fatigue and financial incentives could increase productivity'. In other words, in course of their working time workers need breaks eeg. morning coffee/tes and lunch breaks so that by the time they resume duty, they are fully relaxed and fresh. In another development, Pigers referring to health and medical programs noted: "From a purely practical viewpoint, employee safety and health are desirable because they make regular attendance possible and thus contribute to productive efficiency."40 If either the employer or the production-oriented manager does not provide health services to his workers, this will definitely lower the workers' morale, enthusiasm and significantly lower their production and thus defeat the whole purpose of an enterprise to maximise production. .

Without going down the list of employee services in terms of their individual contributions to production, it is evident that a logical optimum combination of various employee services as jointly suggested by the three interested parties (i.e. workers, management and government) will undoubtedly maximise workers' satisfaction and subsequently ensure an efficient system of production. It is the nonexistence of some of the essential employee services that distract the workers and as Pigors points out elsewhere: "When any person has a serious problem to which he cannot satifactorily adjust, his preoccupation is likely to affect both his productivity and morale It is to management's advantage to provide plant conditions that are satisfying both on and off the job and to give each employee whatever help can properly be offered in meeting his personal problems." Indeed, it is naive for the manager to solve only the mechanical and technical production problems without solving the workers' problems since the two are closely knit together and should be of primary concern to both workers and management alike.

Employee services and benefits are known in some cases to be critical in attracting, stimulating and retaining workers at all levels of an organisation. In other words, they work as incentives for prospective employees in a particular enterprise. Robert D. Gray sums up the role and purpose of employee services in the following words:"Although benefit plans are often referred to as employee benefits, it is necessary that the employer also plans

in some instances in order to recruit, and especially to retain competence employees. The employer also needs to control costs of benefits and to be able to anticipate such cost. This can be accomplished more easily with formal, than with informal plans. "12 With the popularity of the current ideology of human approach to industrial relations, it is evident that management will out of its own initiative see the need of employee services. When introduced, employee services or benefits programs will improve human relations and personnel relations. Once these relations are improved, industrial peace is likely to become prevalent in modern industries at least in those areas where industrial unrests are brought about by the lack of employee service programs. Lastly, we should also acknowledge the fact that like anybody else, workers who are ever busy with their duties have needs beyond their abilities or rescurces and as such they would love to see them met by someone who is resourceful.

Once workers' problems on and off the job are taken care of by the organisation through the institution of employee services, the employees are likely to be more committed to industrial employment. Again, though employee services are co-tly and create additional duties and responsibilities to the administration,

they are important devices and practices for implementing amagement objectives and policies. As a matter of fact, through them workers' morale improves, wider participation and mutual understanding prevail and this goes along to undercut industrial conflicts. They also halp the workers to harmonise and identify their goals and interests with those of the organisation. This situation inevitably brings about the spirit of cooperation among the crucial participants of industrial relations. Again, not only does the sultivated spirit of cooperation benefit the employees but it has also incretive payoffs to the management's objectives.

To the employees, employee services are also known to give them a greater sense of well being, cultivate better relation with management and provide increased carmings of an enterprise. In addition, employee services give werkers a better chance of participation, reduce the causes of workers' disatisfaction and thereby minimize internal distresses that can easily provoke industrial Besides raising workers' morale and um vets. offering additional job security which is an age-long ambition so eagerly sought by all employees, employee some vices are known to save an enterprise from industrial disputes a.g. strike action by workers especially when management turns a deef ear to wage demands on the grounds that it has adequate services provided to exployees. However, since the employee benefits are direct, immediate and basic, the workers actually get the goods of employee

services and hence satisfy their basic needs to some extent.

Though employee services may be provided in the interest of public policy which tends to emphasize the importance of the advancement of economic security of workers. employers have also something to gain. In this regard Pigors tells us: He (the employer) must get some benefit or advantage, however, or the expenditure is pure gift or benevolence, difficult to substantiate as a reasonable and necessary expense for tax purposes." Indeed, by providing employee services, the employer enjoys greater efficiency that yields him increased productivity at low unit cost. Because of the morale stimulated among the workers by employee services, a team spirit is cultivated with its attendant better personnel and public relations. This kind of atmosphere greatly helps management to work constructively with the workers for the benefit of the company's objectives and policies. It is also known that apart from employee services significantly improving labour turnover, they drastically reduce absenteeism, tardiness, complaints and undue personnel mobility. As a matter of fact, employee services literally enable the management to buy loyalty and gratitude from their workers. On the labour market, apart from employee services helping employers to secure and hold competent employees, they give a company a competitive advantage over other companies not giving the services, leave alone providing a better standing of the

company in the larger community. In other words, employee services advertise a company and give it competitive advantage over others since they make publicly known the good purposes and practices of a company. As such it becomes cheaper for the company that provides employee services to hire, retain and train the personnel it needs. However, to the employer the benefits obtained by providing employee services unlike those reaped by employees are remote, uncertain and secondary. They are benefits of hope and expectancy. The employer only hopes that in the long-run he will indirectly benefit from the services he provides. It is however difficult to measure directly the benefits accrued from employee services. All that management can do is to compare the indirect or direct benefits it reaps as a result of providing the services with those of their counterparts. It is on the basis of such a comparison that the employer can say whether he is better of or worse off than his counterparts as a result of providing certain employee services.

Coupled with participative style of management, employee services can foster a harmonious industrial relations in a given industry. Through participative management, not only do we get rid of unnecessary misunderstanding in our organisation, but we also cultivate the feelings of mutual responsibility which is so necessary before ar employee service is provided. We should involve the worker emotionally, muscularly and in all aspects if mutual understanding has to prevail otherwise," When employees feel that there is

a string tied to every benefit, they are apt to respond not with gratitude and loyalty but with resentment..... employers naively think they can by benevolent paternalism, control the employees motivation." The need for establishing mutual understanding and responsibility is elsewhere better stated by Pigors who observes: "When employees are convinced that on the whole, management cares what happens to them, then services and benefits are taken as farther evidence of this concern. They are chalcked up to management's credit as it were"45 However, if employees justifiably or otherwise distrust management's motives, the services are likely to be interpreted as evidence that management is trying to pull some kind of 'fast trick'. Through employee participation, the problem of industrial unrests are likely to go since the employees will feel that it is their service, a service they helped to conceive and develop. Indeed, unless the employees share in providing the service emotionally, mentally or idea - wise they are unlikely to be uninterested in benefiting from it or misunderstand it leave alone resenting it. As a matter of fact, the best way to ensure the continuance of their interest is to initiate a service only at the participating table and inculcate the aims and purposes of it to the employees' minds so that they can believe in it enough as to want to share in it and cooperate in planning and administering it. Indeed when a service program is jointly planned and operated by workers and management, then the employees can see that each part

of it is humanly speaking good business and not merely a philanthrophy gesture of management.

1.7 Problems of Implementing amployee Services.

Having shown the importance of employee services to both the workers and employers, it is appropriate at this juncture to review how to make them a success. Critics of employee services have accused the enthusiasts of the services of concerning themselves with family and community or public problems which are not strictly speaking management responsibilities. It is also alleged that apart from weakening workers and making thez dependent, employee services are unmarranted extravagances on the side of an economic enterprise. If anything, the critics allege that employee services subject an enterprise to a financeial strain and as such they should be shouldered by the state lest they marr personnel relations of an organisation. It is in the light of these accusations that management should program employee services in such a way that they are logical, objective, planned and inter-related such that they are part and parcel of an enterprise.

program, management should address itself to a variety of questions. First, it should ask itself whether the company will benefit by providing certain employee services. It is pointless for a company to incur an expense on an item if it will meither directly nor indirectly benefit from it, either in the short-run or long-run. It is better to invest

that money into other worthwhile undertakings. Secondly. management should establish whether there is adequate evidence that employees want a particular service. It is important that employees are given what they want and as Calhoon rightly states: " extended vacation and money all have appeals, but, as is always with incentives, they must be tied in with employee wants and with perceptions". Besides, it is vital to find out whether there is satisfactory evidence that employses need the service. Workers are known to come up with a thousand and one wants, but a closer scrutiny of those wants shows that they do not really need some if not all of them. They can do without some of them as they may be much of a luxury. However, through an effectiwe employee - employer communication network, it is possible to establish what workers need. In addition through a participative approach, we can be able to enlist the support of employees in such services which is of prime importance for successful benefit programs.

It is also necessary to explore opportunities open for employees to share the cost of providing a service.

Indeed, as we emulate the ideology of participative management, we should not only restrict it to production problems and decision making, but we should extend it to the administration of employee services as well. Pigors has warned us against excluding workers in sharing the cost of providing workers' services and in his words he observed,

"Pension plans often illustrate the fact that management's efforts to serve an employee are futile unless the employee himself takes an active part." In addition, Pigors winds up his discussion on the sponsorship of employee services, by observing:- "Unless the employees have a share in providing the service, they are likely to be uninterested in benefitting by it, or they may mis-understand and even resent it. The best way to ensure a continuance of employee interest is to initiate a service only when employees believe in it." It therefore goes without saying that after the employees see the need of a service, they enthusiastically support it both morally and/or materially. Again, they will back it both at the conception and administration of the service.

The next question is for management to ask itself how much service the company shall provide. Several factors come into play when the answer to this question is sought. In particular, the cost and benefit considerations of the service should dominate. Indeed, it is important that only a service worth its cost and directly or indirectly helpful to the enterprise and employees should be provided. Thus, since the type and amount of a service have cost implications, to be able to know how much to give, one should analyse the service in the light of the existing and changing societal philosophies and on such things as social security and the problems of administering the service now and in the future. There is also the legal

aspect that specify the quantity and type of service to furnish. while it is important that this minimum legal requirement be met, it is also vital for a company to consider each service and its amount purely on its own merit. For example, there are times when a company would benefit more or most and this by itself should justify the provision of such a benefit in larger quantities than merely meeting the legal requirement. However, the basic philosophy that should guide us in deciding the amount should be one of providing an amount of service or benefit that will give reasonable income to the workers and therefore help them meet the basic worker-living costs and conditions such that they do not go to seek jobs elsewhere. At times it may be necessary to seek the advice of experts on this matter. For example, in the prevention of industrial accidents we should rely on medical experts to pimpoint the places where the greatest hazards lie and subsequently summon the industrial engineers to come and rectify the situation.

Having decided on the type and amount of service to provide other questions should be answered. Is the service going to be related to one's earnings, the period of one's service or purely on merit? This is the administration stage of a service. There are services that should be provided to all workers purely because it is a legal, medical or spiritual requirement while others should be provided sparingly so as to work as motivation tools or as effective incentives to employees. In the former case, by

group sponsorship, a company can enjoy the economies of large scale both in improving and administering them. In the latter case however, cost-benefit consideration should be paramount since it is important that a service should be able to pay for itself unless the workers are its sole sponsors.

Lastly, while it is important to consider whether the service is obtainable without the organisation, it is also important to establish whether it is understandable by its beneficiaries. There are some services that are furnished by one's family, community or the state such that it would be redundant for an organisation to be in charge of such responsibilities. For example, some employees may be members of a certain self-sustaining local club that takes care of their recreational needs such that the company would be duplicating the club's activities by offering such recreational facilities. Through participation, it is possible not only to avoid duplicating services, but to make any proposed service understandable to the workers. In such a situation, management can take pains to explain and enlist employees' support. It is only when management unilaterally imposes a service on the workers that misunderstanding is likely to arise.

1.8 The Problem of the study.

This study is designed to examine workers participation and employee services in industries in general and the tea industry in particular. At the same time it will attempt to offer some possible solutions to thwart the potential

and overt industrial conflicts so rampant in Kenya. More specifically, this study which is basically an exploratory one embarks on investigating: (1) Whether workers participation and employee services exist in the tea industry with reference to Chinga Tea Factory Company Ltd. (2) Assess the impact of the existence or non-existence of workers participation and/or employee services on labour productivity of the enterprise.

1.9 Labour Productivity

The concept of labour productivity has variously been defined by production engineers as a ratio between labourinput and labour out-put. However, for the purpose of this study we shall view labour productivity as a measure of the quantity of work done and the hours of working by each employee. More specifically, while the yardstick for the quantity of work done by each worker will be the annual total number of kilograms of made tea, the yardstick for the time worked by each worker will be the total number of hours each worker works in one year. To arrive at the appropriate figures for this measure for the factory, it is necessary to get the total number of hours worked by both the permanent and casual labourers in each year and the corresponding annual total number of kilograms of made tea that are produced. The kilograms of made tea will then be divided by the number of hours worked for one year. This approach is appropriate because as the amount of green leaf delivered to the factory varies from month to month, and from season to season, so also does

the total member of hours of work needed fluctuate.

Before we embark on the analysis of the productivity figures for the factory, it is however necessary to point out at the outset the shortcomings and problems associated with the chosen yardstick of measuring labour productivity. There are basic problems of reliability and validity of the measure. The reliability problem of the measure is caused by the margin of error arising from the calculation of hours worked in a particular year's tea crop. This is because casual labourers are hired and fired gradually as the amount of tea being processed increases or decreases at any given moment. As such, though the approximate picture of the total number of hours worked by the casual laboursrs was obtained by getting the monthly average hours of casual labour, real accuracy should be ruled out due to poor labour accounting system at the factory. There is also the problem of the eight members of management staff who do not directly do the actual manual work. Should we include them in our calculations of kilograms of made tea that are produced in one hour or year even if their contribution to labour productivity is indirect? For the purpose of this study, however, since this category of labour does not directly contribute towards the overall tea production, it has been ignored in the calculations.

The problem of validity of the measure may as well override the problems of reliability. The problem is - does the real test of the factory's labour productivity

depend on the quality of tea it produces or how few hours of labour it can get away with? In other words, is it the quality or the quantity of tea that matters in the final analyses? The economics of tea production and the primary objectives of the Company strongly support the importance of the quality of tea. This is because it is on the quality of tea that the final tea grades that form the basis for the different payments to farmers and the different tea buying prices by consumers at both the local and overseas tea markets. As such, the quality of tea has been the primary base of measuring labour productivity.

The importance of precision and proper timing of tea processing stages cannot be underscored. If carelessness or negligence occurs in course of tea processing, the quality of tea is bound to be marred. Hence the importance of labourers being precise, enthusiastic, keen and concerned about proper tea processing mechanisms which can partly come about as a result of management showing the workers that it is concerned about their welfare both on and off the factory. Since the quality of the processed tea is important and since the factory does play a significant role in determining what it will be, the factory's made tea grades (grades 1, 2 and Dust) were used as another measure of labour productivity. This yardstick of labour productivity was used because it is the same grades reached by the management staff at the factory site that are arrived at by the tea-taste experts at Mombasa and London markets.

Indeed, commenting on the quality of his factory's tea the factory boss had this to say: "My tea quality favourably compared with international standards of tea grading". We must however indicate that there are also problems associated with the validity of this measure which are unfortunately beyond the plant's control. Indeed, the quality of tea is strongly influenced by the ecological zone in which green tea is grown and the standard of farmers' tea husbandry. As a matter of fact, tea from East of Rift Valley where our factory is situated has been reputed to be of a much superior quality than that from the West of Rift Valley. However, a cross-examination of the tea factories performances in the whole of the Republic shows that despite the general categorisation of the quality of tea according to the geographical locality of the factories there does exist discrepancies in their performances. The second payments to farmers does clearly show this discrepancy. For example, there are cases where some factories west of Rift Valley do better than some in the East of the Rift Valley. Looking at figure 1.1 that shows the second payments to farmers, the truth of the discrepancies in the performances of the factories is clearly manifested. It is quite evident from figure 1.1. that last year (1974/75), the named factory companies west of the Rift Valley paid better than those east of the Rift Valley. It should be pointed out however, that the second payments popularly called bonuses are instrumental to the quality, quantity and the standard of tea husbandry the farmers practice. For example, when

bonuses are fat, then the farmers raise their tea husbandry and thereby improve the quality of green tea as well as increasing their tea acreages. They however lower their tea husbandry standards and fall just short of uprooting their tea bushes if the bonuses are small. As such, the question of our factory enjoying an ecological advantage over the others does not overwhelm other critical considerations pertaining to the domestic affairs of the Company performance. In any case however, while we acknowledge this potential source of error in our calculations, we have assumed that it is evenly distributed among all factories in the country such that in the final analysis it averages out.

1974/75 Second payments per Kg. for some of the Factory
Companies West and East of Rift Valley

	2nd Payment rate
Factories West of Rift Valley	(Cts./Kg.)
Litein Tea Factory Co. Ltd.	52
Nyankoba Tea Factory Co. Ltd.	47
Kiribigo Tea Factory Co. Ltd.	45
Tegat Tea Factory Co. Ltd.	42
Factories East of Rift Valley	
Kenya Marusen Tea Factory Co. Ltd.	20
Kambaa Tea Factory Co. Ltd.	40
Kanyenyaini Tea Factory Co. Ltd.	35

Source: K.T.D.A. Annual Report and Accounts 1974/75

1.10 Assumptions

To accomplish its mission, the study assumes that by providing workers with some services and benefits as well as involving them in the industrial government, we shall underout some of the industrial unrests that are so rampant in modern industries. By providing the worker with some social and economic services and participation opportunities, it is hoped that the worker will become more economically, socially, and politically satisfied and thereby will willingly reciprocate by producing more than the minimum he has hitherto been producing. This will subsequently go alongside in helping the enterprise to achieve its overall objectives of raising productivity and profitability. As such, despite the fact that the nature of our economic system may not allow genuine employee services and participative practices, the whole philosophy and ideology per se is a good thing and worthy practising if not experimenting in the system since its payoffs are enormous. Workers should therefore not only be provided with employee services but allowed to some extent to control and/or own some if not all coonomic, social and political resources accruing from industrial relations. However, for the purpose of this study, we shall confine ourselves to only some forms of participation and a number of employee services plus their individual or combined impact on labour productivity.

1.11 Variables of the study

In this study, we shall only confine ourselves to the variables related to employee services, participative management and production output. More specifically we have in that order the following variables:-

- l. Employee services covering one's life while in the job e.g. accident insurance, health services, compensation in case of injury, death, overtime payments, travel allowances, etc.
- 2. Employee services covering a worker's life while off the job but in the company e.g. recreation facilities, counselling, paid leaves, family allowance, etc.
- 3. Employee services to cover one's life when outside the company in the larger community e.g. pension schemes, old age assistance, terminal pay, severance pay, etc.

that cover an employee's total life. They demonstrate to the workers that management actually cares and feels concerned about what happens to them - the problems they meet while in and out of the job. Because of these services, the workers tend to reciprocate them by willingly and committedly producing more than the bare minimum required. Again, in each category, though there is a minimum legal requirement, it is up to the company to decide whether to exceed it and if so, by how much to exceed it. On the whole however, the most beneficial employee service programmes are the ones that provide the requisite facilities that cover and promote employees' health, safety, conveniences, education, economic

since their payoffs are very encouraging. They are also the services that are fairly flexible as to take care of certain special and unique problems that might arise as a result of the nature of work in question. It is gratifying to note however, that while the services provided under (1) aim at increasing the worker's income, adjust him to a work environment, improve his working conditions and solve his personal problems; those under (2) and (3) offer him major private protection and maintain his income while he is away from work.

In participative management however, we shall examine the fellowing variables:-

- the enterprise, the workers hopefully acquire the right
 to influence both the policy and executive decisions of an
 enterprise. However, it should be noted that their influence
 and impact significantly depend on the magnitude of their
 stock ewnership as compared to the equity owned by the nonworkers or pure capital owners.
- 5. Actual control whether directly or indirectly through representations or more union presence. This approach calls for an examination of the policy and executive boards; suggestive system facilities; consultative and/or advisory bodies if any i.e. their membership, composition, procedures of reaching decisions, regularity of their meetings, etc.

 All of these would show how workers attempt to influence

and effect their wiches in the plant.

- 6. Potential and overt industrial disputes that have occurred e.g. strikes, lockouts, turnover, etc. The point here is to find out how disputes arise, forms of industrial unrests, issues involved, how they are solved and the role of workers and management or the third party in seeking the disputesolutions.
- 7. The role of management and workers individually or collectively in trying to meet workers' social and economic meeds. This will show the concern shown by assagement on the welfare of workers. An examination of the company's personnel policies and their application will throw light into this field.
- 8. Items in the collective bargaining. These will tell whether workers are involved in all matters affecting the business or they are just restricted to only a few and/or probably participate in some matters while at the periphery. It is also worthy establishing whether workers are or have emerosched on what are called strictly management prerogative, areas e.g. recruitment of labour, what to produce, how to produce, investments, etc.
- 9. Output figures for the last three years. In this respect, both the quantity, quality and number of workers for each year will be examined.

1-12 May the Ten Industry was Selected

The ten industry was chosen because of its peculiar mature, character and purpose. The industry is an area

of special interest because since independence the emphasis in tea industry has changed from large-scale tea production in estates and plantations to small peasant tea farmers whose production is on a small scale. Indeed, it was in an attempt to realize the aspirations of smallholder tea growers that Kenya Tea Development Authority (K.T.D.A.) was incorporated in 1964 by an act of Parliament. The responsibility of this statutory body is to encourage small peasant farmers to grow tea, help in collecting of tea leaves from the farmers, transport the leaves to the factory, build and manage tea processing factories as well as making local and overseas tea selling arrangements. Although at this initial stage of opening the tea industry to the small peasant farmers K.T.D.A. has undertaken these responsibilities, it would seem from its emphasis and activities that the aim is to have these responsibilities eventually and squarely shouldered by the small tea farmers themselves. The encouragement of farmers by the Authority to buy Growers' share capital and to plant more tea are all pointing to that direction of their eventual control and ownership. That being the goal then, it would seem that the industry may one day be controlled and managed by tea farmers who may also own most if not all the equity of the respective factories that they patronize. As a matter of fact, the structures in the industry may one day approcimate the cooperative institutions that characterize our rural economy. As such, the industry will have to care

for both the economic and social welfares of its farmermembers.

As an economic organisation, K.T.D.A. currently works as a middle-man that links the producers and the consumers. By pooling together the individual farmers' green tea-leaves. and after processing it in the Authority's own or hired tea factories, the Authority then proceeds to market the made tea (in the local and overseas markets) and through it. the farmers enjoy the economies of large scale production and organisation. However, depending on the magnitude of business the individual farmer does with the Authority, he draws a proportionate income which he uses for his personal consumption or private investments. As the partial owner and an integral component to his local factory since he is the sole supplier of its raw materials, the farmer should be able to draw loans from it to enable them to maintain or improve their tea production, and subsequently their bonus and/or dividend payouts would correspondingly go up. Also from the factory, the farmer can enjoy credit facilities in kind e.g. fertilizers, tea sprays, made tea for consumption, etc. On the social side, the farmer can get social services like going on agricultural visits, shows, agricultural magazine facilities, etc. While the above social and economic services would go to the owners of the factory, it would be interesting to find out whether same or similar services go to the workers or they are exclusively provided to the owners alone. Indeed, it would

public utility cares and feels concerned about the workers just as it cares if it does so, for its patronising farmers. However, as pointed out earlier the consern about the welfare of workers beyond the legal minimum requirements can be shown by the application of the human relations school of thought as exemplified by workers participation and the provision of employee services. The two styles of management can be implemented by the joint or/and collective efforts of the workers, management and/or owners and can apply in some if not all affairs of a given enterprise.

Since the study is an emploratory one, it will empuine the above identified forms of employee mervices and workers' perticipation in control and ownership of the enterprise. For example in workers' participation, it will examine whether actual participation of workers in policy and executive decision and implementation bodies of the orgamisation exist; whether workers are ever consulted or advise mamagement on any policy or executive matters; whether consultation, advisory or involvement of workers in executive and/or policy mechanisms of the organisation exist; and hether this involvement entails all aspects of the business or is just restricted to some. Again, to appreciate workers' participation in those capacities, it is necessary to scrutinise the extent, magnitude and impact of their involvement in all policy/executive decisionmaking processes of the plant from top hierarchy to the bottom.

Before going into the core of the subject, let us for the purpose of this study regard all those people entrusted with supervision or the making of peripheral or crucial policy and executive decisions affecting a small section or the entire enterprise as management. This then covers all the personnel both in the staff and in the line of command from the director at the top to the foreman at the plant level and at the bottom of the hierarchy. workers on the other hand will be regarded as those who do the actual manual and dirty work at the plant level. These workers can participate directly (e.g. by offering suggestions in written or verbal forms) or indirectly through their elected or appointed representatives or through their trade union. At the same time employee services can deliberately be designed participatively or otherwise so as to benefit the workers.

Once again, before we proceed to examine the tea industry which is the focus of this study, we need to re-emphasize that this literature is predominantly of western Developed countries. However, as pointed out elsewhere, Kenya society and style of life is based on its former colonial master Britain which is one of these countries. Even after independence, the country has chosen to proceed with the close relationship she inherited and experienced during the colonial period. Thus, industrial relations in particular are therefore basically British based. Again, the sort of employee services initiated by the actors of industrial relations resemble those of developed countries and Britain in particular. Probably the only difference is one of degree, amount and intensity of the demand of employee services. For example, while the Kenya workers continue to demand employee services while on the job, and out of the job, the British worker does not bother of the latter. It would therefore, be interesting to investigate the style, type and amount of employee services that a Kenyan worker demands and/or gets while on the job, and out of the job. It would be particularly interesting to investigate the style, type and amount of employee services accorded to the workers in the Kenya tea industry which is situated in an economy that is predominantly rural-oriented. It is in the light of this background that we proceed to examine the tea industry whose strongholds are in the rural areas of Kenya.

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- 36. Pigors P. Personnel Administration. McGraw-Hill

Book Company. 1965 Page 572.

37. Calhoon R.P. Opt. Cit. Page 326.

38. Calhoon R.P. Ibid. Page 325.

CHAPTER 2

KETHOD LOGY

Since this study was both an exploratory and suggestive one, it was necessary to investigate the role played by each actor of a typical industrial relation system in facilitating or not facilitating participation and providing or not providing employee services. For example, it was important to investigate from the union officials their attempts and stands on matters affecting social and economic welfare of their worker-members which may be sponsored by either the management or the government. In this particular context the idea was to establish the role played by workers individually and collectively in providing social and economic services through their own initiative and It was also necessary not only to evaluate the actual reaction of workers towards the existing and proposed business and personnel policies of an enterprise, but also important to review how workers negotiate and/or pressurise management in an attempt to have the latter provide economic and social services and at the same time try to win the actual control and ownership of an enterprise from both the management and canital cwners.

In an actual work situation or work environment however, since the workers are such that they are only in face-tc-face

and direct contact with the middle, lower and line management staff rather than with the owners of the industry, they accordingly see management as the provoker of their unhappiness or discontents. To the workers, it is this face-to-face category of management that is the creator and responsible for the horrible conditions, instabilities and disatisfactions that they experience. For this reason therefore, this study, apart from using managers; workers' organisation and workers as individuals as the sole units of study it also focused on their individual activities and their interelationships (see the questionares in the appendixes 1, 2 and 3). However, since employee services and benefits are more often than not a joint effort of management, workers and government, to be able to appreciate the involved and associated social and economic variables, it was necessary to examine the unilateral endervous by workers' union, government or management in providing employee services of both social and/or economic nature. It is the personnel department that provides such services as far as management is concerned and it is in this regard that the study of the personnel policies and their application in the factory was necessary so as to evaluate what is on paper and what ctually happens.

To be able to accomplish the mission of this study however, it was necessary to use the popular methods of social

investigation and in particular observation and personal interview techniques. In addition, it was necessary to get information pertaining to this study from documentary sources. Documents that were extremely valuable in this exercise include the Kenya Tea Development Authority Annual Reports and Accounts for the years 1963 to 1975. Chinga Tea Factory Company Ltd. Annual Reports for the same years, Annual Reports and Journals from the Kenya Brooke Bond Liebig Ltd., the Tea Board of Kenya, the Ministries of Agriculture, Finance and Economic Planning and the Ministry of Labour annual reports at district, provincial and national levels. On the other hand, the Kenya Statistical Abstract was also particularly useful in providing tea data for comparison purposes with other national economic activities be they related to tea or not. The importance of documentary information however, cannot be overemphasized. Indeed, the documentary sources of information were particularly valuable in providing the objective type of information of the study, all information which if sought from people would have stood the danger of containing memory errors. Again this documented information, though some of it was originally collected for other uses, it was particularly invaluable in the initial stages of conceiving the study and also helped greatly in the format and formulation of the questionnaires.

As for observation, actual watching and noting the phenomena as they occurred in the factory situation was done. For example, the author observed what happens to green tea from the time it enters the factory to the moment 1t comes out as made tea. Not only were the automated mechanical processing noted, but also what the workers do at each stage of tea processing. The main purpose of this exercise was to get information pertaining to the effect and relationships of the activities that take place in an actual physical working environment of the factory. At times, it was necessary to conduct informal conversations with the workers and some of the members of management so as to get a feel of their reactions and interpretations regarding certain things they do or expect to do while in the factory. I must say that this method, unlike simply asking questions, gave me a better grasp of the whole system of the factory operations and the many inter-relationships that prevail in the factory and again in very rich details. For example, in the evenings the author was able to share with the workers some of the recreation facilities in their canteen, watch the T.V. together and informally converse with them. I believe by using this strategy of collecting information. I was able to get direct information which was exact and undistorted responses from the workers. I must however admit that due to time constraint this valuable method was not employed exhaustively.

sample of fifty workers, the four senior members of management staff and union officials. Since the factory employs a work-force of about 100 strong, on the recommendations of my supervisor, I chose to interview only 50 of the workers. In order to give each worker a reasonable and non-zero chance of being interviewed and avoid human bias in selection of the sample, I assigned the name of each worker a number on a piece of paper, put all of them in a hat, thoroughly mixed the pieces and then randomly picked the sample of 50 workers that I needed. It is my contention that this exercise gave me an unbiased random sample of the population.

The administration aspect of the questionnaire was however much more taxing. As the questionnaires in the appendixes 1, 2 and 3 show, the questions were formally set and the responses were recorded in course of the interview. However, at certain stages in the course of the questionnaires, it was necessary to introduce less formal variants, explain the meaning of certain questions, and/or pose additional probing questions, or even change the wording. However, in all these variations I made sure that the general essence and theme of the questions was not lost. On the whole however, interviewing made me enjoy the benefits of personal contact and personal feelings.

To reassure the respondent that the exercise had no

sinister motives and at the same time in order to gain his cooperation in giving answers to my questions, I had, for each respondent, to start off by doing the painful job of explaining the purpose of the interview, what is expected to emerge out of it and assure him or her that the responses would be treated anonymously and confidentially. Where I got inadequate answers, and depending on the spur of the moment, I followed the respondents with supplementary questions or even more probing questions. It was also necessary at certain junctures to momentarily pause briefly or give encouraging statements so as to elicit further information. I must acknowledge however that this method of collecting data stood the danger of getting inaccurate information on the basis of either the respondents were ignorant of certain facts as was the case with many workers on a variety of questions or vulnerable to possibilities of getting distorted answers. There was also the danger of the respondents misunderstanding some questions and subsequently giving the wrong answers.

It is in the recognition of these shortcomings and strengths of each of the methods that prompted me to use all the three together since none is perfect by itself.

While each tended to supplement the other(s), they worked as cross-checking mechanisms of each other. However, there were some areas where one of the three was the only source of information and there was no alternative but to take what it gave. For example, documentary sources were the

only sources of statistical information on employee services. Again, in getting what the respondent feels or thinks about certain issues as is the case with the last question of each questionnaire, personal interview was the only source. However, the use of all the three methods on the whole gave me all the relevant information needed as to give an unbiased state of affairs in the factory.

CHAPTER 3

AR CYBRYIEW OF TEA INDUSTRY

it is necessary to have some background information about the tea industry from which the case study is extracted. By adopting this approach, it will be possible to see the factory under study in the context of the whole industry of which it is only a part. This review will further give us some insights into labour matters and employee services in particular, which is the focus of the study, such that by the time this exposition is over, we shall be in a position to know how labour has and continues to influence the industry and vice versa.

3.1. The Importance of Tea Industry

The economic importance of tea industry in the national economy cannot be underscored. Indeed, it is a major foreign exchange earner for the country. For example, in 1966 tea export" earned £K.8.7 million which was 15, of total domestic exports and 19, total agricultural exports". The table below (table 1) further illustrates the importance of tea

as an earner of the nation's badly needed foreign exchange.

It is evident from the table that over the five years, and
of the principal exports of Kenya, tea has remained second
to coffee in Kenya's exports.

PRINCIPAL DOMESTIC EXPORTS OF KENTA

(IN RE *000)

Year	Coffee	Tea	Sisel	Prethrum	Meat
1971	19,530	11,876	1,515	3,332	3,661
1972	24,769	16,417	2,068	4,572	4,876
1973	35,777	16,964	4,777	3,661	3,761
1974	38,387	19,377	16,888	5,649	4,512
1975	35,204	22,927	7,342	4,790	5,006

Source: Extracted from the relevant columns of Kenya Statistical Disest Harch 1976. Volume XIV No. 1 Published by the Central Bureau of Statistics Ministry of Finance and Planning. Page 12.

However, since the expansion of tea continues unabated, unlike that of coffee whose expansion has been almost exhausted, it is very likely that by 1980, tea may well become the most important export crop. In the world market, Kenya has 5% of the world tea trade (excluding tea trade with the communist world) and her production is about 3% of the world tea production. It is also commendable to note that Kenya made tea commands a high demand in the world market

because of its high quality. As a matter of fact, apart
from Kenya tea being good for blending purposes by London
buyers (who are the major buyers of Kenya tea), there has
been a general world shift in the taste of tea and in
favour of Kenya tea. Because of its favourable position
in the world market, Kenya tea has over many years enjoyed
stable prices as confirmed by the table II below. On the
average and over the 15-year period (1955-1969) Kenya tea
has held the best and the most stable price in London market

LONDON PRICE OF KENYA TEA

(IN U.K. OLD PENCE PRICE).

Table II

Year	Price Per Lb.	
1955	44.6	
1956	42.6	
1957	41.2	
1958	46.5	X
1959	46.9	
1960	51.2	
1961	50.0	
1962	53.9	
1963	48.8	
1964	50.8	
1965	49.3	
1966	50.4	
1967	52.1	
1968	48.7	
1969	50.0	
1966 1967 1968	50.4 52.1 48.7	

Source: International Tea Committee

with tea prices from other countries where enormous fluctuations are evident. For example, during the same period 1955 - 1969 Ceylon tea price fluctuated between 59.9 and 47.4 per 1b., Uganda from 47.3 to 41.8 per 1b., Northern India between 59.2 and 48.7 per 1b. and Tanzania from 47.7 to 44.9 per 1b. in the same market. With the current emphasis being on improving the quality of tea both in the fields and factories, Kenya tea is likely to continue to command high and stable prices in the world market. In addition, not only is Kenya tea popular in the world market, but it is also popular in the local market.

nities to potential job-seekers. In this connection, in its 1975 Annual Report Brooke Bond Liebig Kenya Limited (A major tea company in Kenya) had this to say: "Our exports now total over K£ 10,500 a year with more than 14,000 citizens on our payroll we are in the forefront of suppliers of employment in the country."

Indeed, as will be seen later, tea being a labour-intensive industry, its role in creating more employment openings cannot be overemphasized. This is particularly fitting in a country like Kenya which is plagued by the problem of mass unemployment and/or underemployment. As a matter of fact, it is strongly argued that it was the availability of cheap labour that stimulated overseas tea companies to come to Kenya and establish the

employ people on wages alone, but it also provides some employee services to its workers and in this way, it does improve directly and indirectly the workers' incomes and welfare. For example, tea companies like Brooke Bond Liebig Kenya Limited (B.B.L.K.) is known to provide its work-force with houses, medical facilities and other welfare facilities. Indeed, "by 30th June, 1976 the Company (i.e. Brooke Bond Liebig Kenya Limited) expects to complete the building of 490 grade III, 19 grade II and 6 grade I Houses. Total cost of work is over is. 5.4 million to replace the old ones⁵

We cannot overlook the importance of tea in encouraging and stimulating the establishment of infrastructure in some of the remote corners of the country. For example, the factory under study is situated in a formerly remote and inaccessable corner of Myeri district but because of the introduction of tea industry, the area has been opened up. Roads, electricity and telephone services have been installed which not only benefit the tea industry, but they also benefit the local people. Some trade centres, schools, dispensaries etc. have also been established. In other words, the tea industry has had some spillover effects which to me are also beneficial to the local people. Thus, developmental effect of tea industry is evident in the area where the industry is located.

Equally important is the contribution of the tea industry to Harambee projects. Both employees and tea

growers have been able to earn some income that enable them to donate generously to Haranbee projects. In other situations, tea companies have openly come forward to aid harambee projects. For example, Brooke Bond Liebig Kenya Limited on 9th November 1975 at a fund-raising function at Boito School presided over by the Vice President the Company donated to 2,000/- and five small chests of tea for auction. 6 In yet another Harambee project at Tea Secondary School near Kitco Instant Tea Factory in Kericho, Kenya Tea Growers Association (K.T.G.A.) raised to. 431,895/for phase I of the school and nearly half of this has been paid by Brooke Bond Liebig Kenya Limited (B.B.L.K.) and its employees. 7 In addition however, we cannot forget to mention the part played by B.B.L.K. in the preparation of the Kenya contingent to the Olympic games. In this regard B.B.L.K. has contributed is. 60,000/- to the course. while it also helped to sponsor the Kenya Amarteau Athletic meeting in 1973.

3.2. The Early Development of Tem Industry.

For long, tea was exclusively a Chinese crop until
the eighth century when it spread to other countries of
S.E. Asia e.g. Java, Ceylon, Japan, etc. However, it was
not until the late 18th Century when tea trade started
as a result of tea becoming a popular drink in Europe.
In this regard, commercial tea was grown in India as early
as 1824 under the East India Company which partly traded in
tea. From China, the Company used to take tea to Buropean

markets of Amsterdam and London. However, tem growing aprend to Africa and Latin America from S.S. Asia in the early part of 19th Century. In Africa, Malaui was the first African country to grow tem in 1878 where it proved to do well.

In Kenya, tee was first planted in 1904 at Limuru in Kiamba where the Caime brothers are said to have planted the first seedlings of ten. 10 Outside Limuru, ten was first planted by a ten-loving District Commissioner H.B. Partington who is 1907 planted one ten bush in Kericho town and in 1917 he planted half an acre of tea bush which proved to do extremely well. It should be noted however, that from 1904 to 1920 tee growing in Homya apart from being on an experimental basis, it proved to be a success. In the 1920s, tea planting spread to other districts on commercial basis prisarily due to the impetus from intermaticual and private companies with considerable experience of tee production in S. . Asia. As a matter of fact, by 1925, 382 mores in Kerisho and Kinubu were already planted with ten under the auspicies of two experienced British Companies manely Brooke Bond and Company Limited and James Pinlay and Company Limited. These two companies have continued to deginate tee industry in Kenya to the present.

In 1926 two ten factories were built at Limmra and
Kerisho. However, by 1928 5,593 acres were already

planted with tea, and in the same year, the first Kenya manufactured tea of 52,813 Lbs. was produced. 13 In fact, in the same fiscal year of 1928/1929 tea export earned the country £738 in foreign exchange. 14 It is the favourable tea prices of 1920s that strongly stimulated growers to grow more tea in East Africa and Kerya in particular. Indeed, right from the beginning, because of its unparalleled high quality, Kenya tea has commanded high and stable prices which it has continued to enjoy up to the present. Again, because of the massive destruction of tea in Indonesia, Formosa and Japan during the war there was a world-wide shortage of tea and this situation encouraged East Africa and other countries to increase tea production because of the general adverse conditions in S.E. Asia during and after the war. These conditions led to a general pilgrimage of Asian tea firms and companies to East Africa where there existed plentiness of cheap labour, a seemingly secure future of foreign companies, a comparatively calm atmosphere, price stability, lower costs, and higher tea yields. All of these favourable conditions attracted tea companies in Ceylon and India to come and establish themselves in Kenya. Indeed, it was during these early years that the tone of tea industry took its present shape. Thus, while between 1920s and 1933 there was an average planting of tea of 1,000 acres per annum, between 1933 and 1947 because of licence restriction on tea planting only 3,842 acres were planted with tea. However, after 1947 there was a tremendous increase of tea planting due to the expansion of the then existing tea growers

in the luctrative industry. High yields and low cost of production coupled by correspondingly huge profits strongly induced the growers to expand even faster after 1952. Table III clearly depicts the picture of tea expansion in Kenya between 1946 and 1965. While the acreage under tea almost doubled between 1946 and 1957, it also almost doubled between the years 1958 and 1965. Thus the tea acreage of about 16,000 almost quadrupled to 61,200 acres by 1965.

AREA PLANTED WITH TEA

Year	Acreage	Year	Acreage	
1946	16,239	1956	27,030	
1947	16,981	1957	30,000	
1948	17,325	1958 33,200		
1949	17,765	1959	36,200	
1950	18,883	1960	39,400	
1951	19,873	1961	44,000	
1952	21,021	1962 49,200		
1953	21,753	1963 53,000		
1954	23,415	1964	57,000	
1955	25,073	1965	61,200	

Source:- Extracted from the relevant columns

of: Atim C. Tea Industry in East Africa University

College Nairobi Library Page 3; Department of

Agriculture Annual Reports 1946 - 1954 and 1954 - 1964:

Kenya Economic Survey (1966) and World Coffee and Tea

Vol. VII No. 3 1966.

national and private companies was by 1965 as shown in table

IV below. However, the important thing about the early develowment of ten industry in the country was its domination

by foreign interests who established themselves virtually

in all the tee petential areas in the former white Highlands.

In fact, they took nearly half of the country's ten potential

area only to leave the other half in densely populated areas.

This trend continued to 1950s when a few progressive African

farmers were allowed to plant the crop. However, with most of
the ten petential land taken over by the foreign-owned ten

plantations and estates, the small peasant African farmers

THE POTENTIAL IN THE LARGE TED ESPATE AREAS

Table IV

) istrict	Total Acreage	Acreage Suitable	Licenced Acreage	Planted	Percentage of of Tem Petential Developed
Keriche :-					
Lesbwa	72,122	37,900	33,065	26,120	65
Sotik	20,318	5,150	4,600	3,278	64
Nand1	64,629	27,800	21,209	12,040	45
Klambu	14,402	9.736	5,948	4,214	43
Tramela	44.277	7,565	1,952	448	6
Subukia :-					
Behati	7,603	2,300	616	131	5.6
Halters !-		411-0			
Molo, Turi	40,100	3.585	483	8	0.2
Total	270,451	94,036	67,873	46,239	49

Sources Recorded Boylew of 1575

joining the tea industry have been left with only half of the tea potential land of the country to use. As table IV shows, the main tea estate districts like Kericho have had their tea potential almost exhausted. What remains are only the tea marginal areas and the high tea potential but already densely African populated areas. Thus, the up-coming African tea farmers are faced with the problems of getting low output because of the marginal nature of land and the fact that they cannot expand extensively because the land is committed to subsistence crops by the huge population.

It is interesting to observe some of the arguments that
were advanced in fewour of large-scale tea farming rather than
the current smallholder peasant tea growing. Brown L.H. has
offered four reasons supporting the ideology of large-scale
tea production which at the face value are fairly scund
economic arguments. Firstly, he argues that it is economically
possible to develop a large and extensive tea plantation
land with the necessary but the minimum reads, machineries,
buildings, etc. allocations. If such a land is put under the
use of small holding tea production, the argument continues,
only less than 20% of it would be developed. The rest of it
would be inefficiently used with subsistence farming and
therefore become relatively undeveloped or underdeveloped.
This argument is similar to those that were advanced by
Advocates and supporters of continuing the colonial system of

farming intact into the post-independence era on the grounds that the economy of the country would collapse. In his book: Underdevelopment in Kenya Collin Leys ably documents these arguments and debates that were prevalent at the transition period when the settling exercise of Africans in the former white highlands was in the making. To me, the idea behind plantations was aimed at retaining the monopoly of tea in the hands of private companies which had massive capital to invest in this lucrative industry and keep off the emerging small African farmers from benefiting from the industry. Elsewhere L.H. Brown also strongly argues that with tea plantation agriculture, exployment opportunities would be created. He goes on to observe that about 1,200 people or families will be employed per every square mile and that each one of them will be paid about an equivalent of subsistence income he would gain from an inefficiently run smallholding. However, as far as we know the renumerations of agricultural workers are minimal and can hardly meet a simple family's basic needs like education for one's children. Again, this strategy is a way of creating social classes based on wealth or occupations. By it, we shall come out with a large class of working people owning nothing and are at the mercy of plantation owners with strong financial strength.

It is also argued that with tea plantation agriculture the Government will be relieved and spend less since the tea owning companies will build such things like roads, hospitals, schools, etc. which is a responsibility of the government. As such rapid economic development and employment opportunities will be brought by tea plantations. One can however, argue that the private companies are very profit-conscious undertakings and will provide only the legal minimum oconomic and social services to the employees. In most cases where such services are provided, they are largely of poor quality since companies are reluctant to plough their sweet earnings into non-profit making projects. However, when installing public utilities, not only are we to consider economic benefits per se, but we are also concerned with social benefits and political expendiencies as well which are the responsibilities of the government. The government is not interested in economic benefits only, but it is also concerned with the short and long term political and social benefits accruing from its undertakings. Thus, the fact that the government is spending less in the already established tea plantations does not arise since whether the company is there or not, the government has an obligation to provide the essential services to its people. Again, experience in developing countries has explicitly shown that international or private companies cannot rapidly develop a host country's economy leave alone creating more employment opportunities. Radical authors like Rodney, Marx, Fanon, etc. have shown how developed countries underdeveloped and continue to underdevelop the third world countries and Kenya would not be an exception.

Brown concludes that: "The large estate companies should

dated tribal customs should not be allowed to stand in the way of such development. What Brown overlooked was that the remaining potential tea growing areas are in the already densely African populated areas and are occupied by small holdings and unless we want to make them squatters or are prepared to settle them elsewhere, his suggestion breaks down on practical grounds. However, it is these kinds of arguments and ideology subscribed to by the colonial farmers and colonial government that kept Africans out of the tea industry in particular and commercial agriculture in general.

Tea planters also used to express sceptism about small holders African tea growers' ability to cope with the requirements of the industry. They argued that since tea takes long to mature (2-3 years), the Africans would need long term credit facilities which was not forthcoming because they lack realiable security against loans. Not only would the African be unable to repay the loan advanced, but the planters also doubt of his stamina in waiting for the crop to mature before he gets some income. Again, since transporting and processing of tea is an expensive exercise that requires precise and efficient organisation and management, the planters doubt of the economic standing and skills of the Africans in executing these fairly technical functions. The planters have also expressed fear that the African would not be able to follow the rigid

rules of tea plucking, cultivation and transport which are crucial to the success of high quality tea production. Again, all along, the planters have not been keen to process what they describe as inferior African tea as it would spoil their superior tea. This danger was anticipated because the small African tea farmers especially at the initial stage had to rely on his European counterpart either to buy his tea or process it in his factory before selling it in the local and overseas markets. In this connection, the planter even feared the risk of processing or buying green leaf stolen from his farm by the Africans. To make the matter worse, experience gained in Ceylon and Java on small tea farmers had been disappointing and the planters argued that the Kenya small farmer was no exception. Indeed. it had been established that not only is small tea farmers poor in tea husbandry, but their tea was low and of bad quality. Because of these reasons, tea growing among the African population was ignored and discouraged until 1950s when a different outlook overtook the government and it opted to develop the African rural areas. However, by the time this new ideology that was partly propounded by Synnerton overwhelmed Kenya, the tone of tea industry had already been set by the planters. It is from these experienced tea international and private companies that the African tea farmer had to learn from and rely on in order to succeed. For example, because they had common problems of labour recruitment and supply, the planters had collectively set common standards of agricultural employment that enveloped the whole country and spearheaded by the Federation of Kenya Employers

(F.K.E.).

3.3 Development of Small-scale Tea Growing .

Growing of cash crops by Africans was prohibited and greatly discouraged until 1950s when Swynnerton came up with his Plan of intensifying and transforming African Agriculture which had hitherto remained exclusively of subsistence mode. As such, tea being a cash crop was up to 1950s monopolised by European farmers who preferred to grow it in large estates and plantations. However, with the suggestions of Swynnerton to which the colonial government was committed to implement saw the growing of tea in small African smallholdings and on experimental basis in the 1950s mainly in Nyeri, Kirinyaga and Kericho districts. However, as table V below shows, serious tea planting in African smallholdings did not come about until after 1959. In 1960 tea acreage almost trebled from 1959 and the sudden rise continued in the subsequent years unabated. The tremendous increase in tea acreages after 1959 is attributed to a series of successive statutory bodies that were specifically formed to help the incoming african farmers in tea industry. Owing to the need for processing and marketing of African grown tea, in 1955 the Central Province African Grown Tea Marketing Board; Nyanza and Rift Valley African Grown Tea Marketing Board were formed. While tea from the latter Board could all be processed by the European tea factories, it was found necessary to build a tea factory at

Ragati in 1957 since the European Limuru Factory could not cope up with all the African tea from Central Province.

However, to justify the building of the factory using government funds about 500 acres had to be planted with tea to make the plant a viable economic undertaking.

APRICAN SMALL HOLDER ACREAGES .

Tear	Acreage
1954	54
1955	150
1956	365
1957	542
1958	691
1959	824
1960	2,295
1961	4,075
1962	6,445
1963	8,716
1964	10,659
1965	13,284

Source: Kenya Department of Agriculture.

Annual Report. 1954 - 1964; and

Kenya -conomic Survey 1966.

The two marketing boards were however replaced by the Special Crops Development Authority (S.C.D.A.) in 1960.

However, apart from being responsible for all African grown

cash crops, it was the responsibility of this Authority to look after all the African grown cash crops right from their establishment stage to the marketing stage. The Authority was also empowered to raise development funds from within or without the country so as to help it in performing its functions. Most of its funds were however obtained from the Commonwealth Development Corporation. The functions of the Special Crops Development Authority (S.C.D.A.) were however taken over by the Kenya Tea Development Authority (K.T.D.A.) which was also specifically set to look after tea development in African areas. It was from the African tea nucleuses of experimental districts like Kericho and Nyeri that tea spread to other districts that were equally suitable to tea growing under the auspicies of the Authority. Such districts were Murang'a, Meru, Kiambu, Embu, Kisii, Nandi, Sotik and of late Taita and Kakamega all of which have again been under the auspicies of the two successive Authorities.

The S.C.D.A. and K.T.D.A. in particular were charged with the following functions: 17

- 1. Supplying planting material and fertilisers to tea farmers on credit terms.
- 2. Supervising cultivation of tea in the field and providing the necessary training facilities.
- 3. Arranging for the inspection, collection and transportation of green leaf.
- 4. Procuring proper arrangements for the processing of green leaf and the marketing of made tea.

It is in pursuit of these terms of reference that K.T.D.A. has been able to expand tea growing among African farmers to the present volume. It has been able to do this through its ambitious First, Second and Third Plans of 1959-1964, 1965-1968 and 1968-1973 respectively. Most parts of these plans have been drawn up and financed with funds borrowed largely from overseas creditors and in particular from the World Bank, Commonwealth Development Corporation and West German Government. Kenya Government and private Companies with tea interests also gave funds to effect the plans. These plans which were incorporated in the national development plans show quite clearly that the emphasis of tea industry has shifted from large scale tea estate and tea plantation sectors to the small African tea farmers sector. As a matter of fact, the government has become committed to mobilising all the resources in the smallholding sector so as to make them viable economic units and growing of tea has been one way of making them viable.

The emphasis and commitment of the government through K.T.D.A. to expand tea industry in the smallholding sector has not been in vain. Indeed, by 1973 as Stern N.H. ably documents the K.T.D.A's Tea Planning Programme in the tea potential areas had been extensively exploited to a point such that had there not been a dense population in African rural areas all tea suitable land would be exhausted. 18

It is also interesting to note from table VI that the

amount of manufactured tea from these African districts has greatly increased in the 1970s to a combined total of well over 50 million Kg. of manufactured tea per annum.

TEA OUTPUT PER DISTRICT IN 1975.

11111111	of tea Potential area Plan- ted by 1955	Production of Manufactured tea in Kg.				
		1973	1974	1975		
Kericho	1.08	19,353,995	15,936,704	15,834,650		
Mandi	0.47	6,918,133	5,713,973	5,113,521		
Kiambu	2.7	3,251,970	2,803,228	2,986,295		
Sotik	0.3	2,632,597	2,431,957	2,864,615		
Kisii	1.07	1,909,873	2,190,007	2,325,871		
Nyeri	5.8	1,870,470	2,015,990	1,875,820		
Meru	2.7	1,330,180	1,651,446	1,581,653		
Murang'a	1.4	1,114,706	1,261,669	1,358,293		
Kirinyaga	3.7	927,835	1,020,433	875,646		
Trans Maois	0.07	68,725	59,031	56,704		
Total	1.44	37,846,484	35,084,438	34,873,068		

Source: Economic Review of Agriculture

Third Quarter Volume ? No. 3 1975. Published by

Economic Planning Division of Ministry of Agriculture

and Printed by Government Printer. Page 23.

LABOUR IN TEA INDUSTRY

3.4 Labour in Tea Plantations.

Tea needs a high labour input since tea is a labour intensive crop. It needs primarily manual labour which can be obtained from adults and children alike. This labour is needed both in the tea shambas and tea factories and as such the availability of labour is a binding constraint in the development of tem industry. In the actual tea growing areas, labour is needed in the tea establishment stage i.e. in digging, planting and pegging; in the maintenance of planted tea i.e. in weeding, fertilizer application; and in the harvesting stage i.e. tea-leaf plucking and delivery to the collecting centres. In the factory, human labour is required practically in all stages of tea manufacture. Human labour is also needed in the withering, rolling, formenting, sorting, grading and packing stages of the manufacturing process. Indeed, while noting that according to a study done in Sri Lanka 1.9 labourers per acre are required to produce 1600 lbs. of tea, Harler also observed: "In fact it is considered to employ more labour per unit than any other cash crop (tables VII and VIII further illustrate this). A study conducted in several estates in Ceylon showed that an average of 287 labourdays were required per acre of which only 24.4. were utilised in factory work". 19 Again, referring to Russia where technological innovation has been done in the tea plucking exercise, Arvo observed that there is no cost difference between mechanical and manual plucking. 20 such, there are no significant incentives to make technological break-through in the tea industry and in an East

African context, Russel, while commenting on mechanication of tea farming had this to say: " I do not consider there is yet any justification for research on reducing labour on tea estates by increased use of machinery". 21

It is therefore evident that the importance of human labour in the tea industry (i.e. in tea cultivation and tea processing in factories) cannot be overemphasized. In fact and as seen earlier, it was the availability of cheap labour in Kenya that was crucial in attracting international and private companies to come and invest in the East African tea industry. In this regard Vincent Harlow and Ukers rightly observe: " Since tea growing requires a large mumber of workers whose wages make a substantial percentage of production costs, the promise of cheap labour was attractive. For example, in the mid-1920's the average wage for agricultural labour in Kenya was between in 12.00 - 14.00 per month almost to. 2.00 less than the average male wage Not only was labour cheap, but its supply was guaranteed by governmental machineries that were instituted to mobolise labour during those colonial days. For example, in his book: the Underdevelopment in Kenya, Leys shows how the Resident Native Ordinance of 1918 made it obligatory for squatters to reside on Europearn land only if they contracted to work for the proprietors. Other devices like the introduction of hut-and poll-taxes, Kipande system, recruitment of labourers by the Provincial

Administration, prohibition of growing of cash crops by
Africans, alienation of land, etc. generated labour for
the European farming needs. Now that these mandatory
devices are over, what machineries can the tea proprietors
use in order to recruit and retain the much needed human
labour in their establishments? Before responding to this
question, let us see the current nature and character of
labour at the disposal of the employers in the labour
market.

The situation of tea proprietors is made grave by a variety of factors. First, the Africans who used to be compelled to work for the European farmers under the Kipande system are now free to work for any proprietor. Again, if they are to work, the workers are not necessarily obliged to work for the European farm proprietors, but while they can work for an European or an African, they can now choose their employer who can either be in the rural or urban place. Secondly, now that the Africans can grow cash crops in their smallholdings, the formerly European farm potential workers have a full-time occupation that tend to deny them time and the driving need to work for wages. Apart from some of them prospering in private commercial businesses, they have equally done well in their smallholdings to the extent of tapping some of the labour that would have otherwise gone to the European farmers. Thirdly, most of the landless and squatters who used to be a potential source of European plantation labour needs have now been settled

in either Government settlement schemes or in Cooperative lands. It is also evident that the time when employers could get away with free and/or cheap labour is gone. Currently, there are strong trade unions and labour laws that require certain minimum conditions be fulfilled by the employers whether in the urban or rural areas. Most of these requirements demand money and are not necessarily and directly beneficial to the employer, yet because of their mandatory nature they force him (i.e. the employer) to share some of his earnings with his workers. Lastly, one can also observe that with the sort of education the literate community of the country is getting, it does not in any way lure the prospective and potential workers to join agriculture industry. Instead, those literate and semi-literate workers who ever join the labour market flock to the urban places is search of white-collar jobs which are not to be found. Most of these potential workers are not willing after several years in school to dirty their hands in rural agricultural work only to get low wages in return. However, we should note that though the salary differentials between rural and urban workers have persisted over the years, rural salaries have significantly increased in both real and absolute terms and even further increases can be anticipated in the future. Apart from crediting agricultural oriented trade unions and the government for pressurising the increases, we should note that these increases are becoming a worry and causing concern to agricultural proprietors. Indeed, and as a

matter of fact, the current labour affairs are likely to either force many agriculturalists to mechanise their farming operations, or employ only a few workers whom they can satisfy and comfortably retain without jeopardising their profits or even frustrate the legal requirements or both.

The situation for the big agricultural proprietors is however not so desparate especially when we observe the mass unemployment that has hit the country. If they could only institute some mechanisms or devices that would attract this potential labour force into their farms then their labour problems would be solved. May be with the help of the workers' unions and the provision of employee services and benefits this lot of unemployed would be persuaded to join the agricultural labour market. This will undoubtedly require agricultural employers to do more than just providing the legal minimum that is required by the government so as to tap this unemployed group. More fundamentally it will call upon the proprietors and agricultural managers to change their attitudes, their philosophy and outlook of agricultural life. For example, they can create conditions which will encourage their working people to cooperate willingly and effectively towards the achievement of their overall defined objectives i.e. conditions that will make these people feel wanting to achieve. More specifically conditions that will intergrate the workers' needs with those of their enterprises. Such philosophies like management by objectives, participative style of management and provision of adequate employee services have been suggested as strategies to this end.

Past theories to which the old-timers in Kenya's agriculture subscribed tended to be racially based. They also asserted that for the African people to work they had to be cajoled or forced to work using the stick and the carrot. These theories are however, absolete and out-moded. Instead, it is now midely accepted that to improve our industries and our economic performance the least efficiently used human economic resource has to be reviewed by examining and improving the behavioural factors affecting performance in the effectiveness of workers in their work and work places. These new philosophies as pointed out earlier, will make the potential agricultural labourer accept and seek agricultural labour, acquire job satisfation, possess achievement, recognition and growth feelings that will induce him to seek and work in the farms. With proper employee-oriented management techniques therefore, the agricultural workers will carry themselves directly towards the enterprise's goals and be committed to the very goals.

3.5 Labour in the Small Holder Tea Areas

As we have seen earlier the Swynnerton Plan of 1954 and its implementation in the subsequent years set in motion a major rural transformation in the African agricultural system. According to the Plan, the African

traditional sector of our dual economy had to be transformed into a modern sector through intensification and diversification of the African agriculture. The small african farmers were mobilised and oriented towards farming for sale instead of producing wholly for subsistence. By so doing (i.e. commercialising agriculture), employment opportunities have been and continue to be created particularly in the already african densely populated rural areas. Through this rural transformation programme the chronical under-employment and unemployment problem so rampant in the rural areas has partly disappeared if not aleviated as the author of the Plan envisaged.

A major rural transformation was envisaged by the Plan and
the subsequent post-independence Development Plans have been
in the same spirit. One can understand the reasons behind
these plans and gestures in a country like Kenya which is
currently hard hit by mass unemployment, under-employment and
disguised unemployment. Like any other developing nation,
Kenya is hit by a high unemployment problem which
is probably in excess of over 75% and if anything, this
unemployment rate seems to be growing fairly fast despite
the massive investments that are taking place in the
modern sector of our economy. The situation is made worse
by the high population growth rate of about 3, which swells
the unemployed army year by year. This worsening situation has
been so because the modern sector of our economy has not been able to

absorb the ever increasing number of unemployed and as a matter of fact our economy only employs a small fraction of the labour force in the market at any given moment. Harbison gives us a vivid picture of the situation when he observes " well over three quarters of the labour force in typical developing country is engaged in subsistence activities in the traditional sector "23 where they are largely underemployed in subsistence activities. Thus, Kenya, like any other developing country, is a labour surplus society which is not new to economists. Labour surplus is bound to come as we are in the process of transferring labour from the traditional to the modern sectors of the economy only that given time, this manpower surplus would be absorbed in the modern sector. 24 However, the situation in developing countries is contrary to this expectation. unemployment looms, there are no hopes of absorption of the surplus labour into the economy and as a matter of fact, as investments rise so does unemployment correspondingly build up. Hence the need for a country like Kenya to do something about modernisation of its traditional sector of the economy so that the rural-urban migration and the attendant mass unemployment problems can be slowed. However, though rural transformation may be politically motivated, it nevertheless has economic repercussions which will become evident later in this study.

Since there is no hope in relying on the small modern sector of the economy to create adequate employment opportunities and if any, they are minimal, "Perhaps the greater

scope for increased employment opportunities lies in the small farm sector, which is characterised by chronic underdevelopment. 25 However, despite the shortcomings entailed, we can generate increased labour inputs in the small farm sector as in large mixed farms probably in only three ways:-

- (1) Extending the area under cultivation which may come up against the problem of land hunger since an individual small farm has multiple ownership of several families.

 In other words, heavy population density may frustrate this strategy.
- (ii) Intensifying the use of the occupied land, but we must note there is a limit beyond which this cannot be done or it becomes uneconomical to do so.
- (iii) By changing our production system or farming techniques and by resorting to labour intensive methods of farming. MCArthur however warns us against adopting these strategies when he notes that these small farms are not conductive due to their repercussions of upsetting the social fabric of the people concerned. In addition, he goes on to observe: "Despite an expansion of the area under crops and some intensification of production of these crops, it will be extremely difficult to create an expansion of employment opportunities to absorb the rising population in rural areas." We are therefore left with only one option i.e. expanding the cash crop area so as to commercialize the African agriculture.

 It is in this regard that K.T.D.A. has come to stimulate

as a cash crop. However, as we have noted earlier, tea is a labour intensive crop as table VII below confirms. As the table shows, tea needs most of the labour at its initial establishment stage when the tea garden has to be prepared by digging, pegging and planting tea stumps.

Table VII

MAN - HOURS OF LABOUR INPUTS

1962	1963	1964
3727	2657	1471
1684	919	i i
2187	668	865
2284	2008	-
1809	1964	2694
	3727 1684 2187 2284	3727 2657 1684 919 2187 668 2284 2008

Source: Adapted from Table 27, FES by Stern N.H.

An Appraisal of tea production of small holdings
in Kenya. 1972, Paris. Page 41

It is quite evident from table VII that in the second and third year, less labour is needed since the farmer is left to care and maintain the seedlings by weeding, pruning and fertilizer application. Much more work turns up in the fourth year when the crop is mature (the maturity of the crop varies from place to place, but the genuinely mature crop is generally in the 6th year) and has to be plucked

and delivered to the factory. Depending on the weather, the length of harvesting period and the amount of the crop harvested fluctuates according to seasons. For example, when it is rainy and sunny all the year round, harvesting is continous with no peak seasons. On the other hand, when weather fluctuations occur, there are peak seasons with correspondingly high labour input.

Compared with other cash crops, tea labour input requirement is the highest as table VIII vividly shows. It is highest throughout the crop's life span. It is quite evident from table VIII that during the first year of establishment, tea requires approximately twice as much labour as coffee and pinneaples and about four times as much that of pyrethrum. In the second year of its growth, tea labour requirements are still the highest. It is about 10% higher than its runner-ups: Pyrethrum and pinneapples and over twice as much as that required for coffee. Its labour needs in the third year are also about 10% higher than that of coffee and pyrethrum and much higher than 10% for pinneapples. In the fourth year, tea labour requirements while still being the highest, it is still more than twice the one needed for pyrethrum and about 20% higher than that one needed for coffee, its runner-up. Tea is also highest in labour demand in the fifth year and this should be the state of affairs in the subsequent years since by this time it is mature just as coffee is.

Table VIII

YEARS OF VARIOUS CASE CROPS ON SMALL FARMS IN NYERI DISTRICT (WORK HOURS PER ACRES)

	1st Year	2nd Year	3rd Year	4th Year	5th year and after
Coffee	1555	588	1164	1728	1666
Tea	3192	1427	1427	2146	1877
Pyrethrum	888	1179	1179	805	•
Pinneapples	1591	1287	1287	1148	

Source: Sheffield J.R. Conference on Education

Employment and Rural Development. Kericho 1966

Page 133.

Not only is tea labour requirement heaviest for all
the years when compared with other crops, but the character
of its labour input is one that lacks extreme seasonality.
As table IX below clearly illustrates, tea needs a fairly
even labour profile that calls for a constant supply of
labour throughout the year. This state of affairs significantly contrasts with other cash crops like coffee,
pyrethrum and pinneapples whose labour needs vary from
crop to crop, from month to month and from one season to
the other. The fact that tea labour is highest and fairly
evenly distributed throughout the year, it inevitably gives

Table IX

CROPS CX : ALL FIRST IN THE DISTRICT

(TRE HUPS POP ACIE)

	Ton 5th Your and above	Coffee 5th Year and above	Pyrothrum 3rd Year	Pineapplos 3rd Year	Dairy Cattle Work ham. por ocw
Jamenzy	140	174	88	99	41
Po brunzy	144	71	223	149	53
March	166	70	77	132	54
Ap EL a	169	58	130	118	51
Lay	154	72	71	131	47
June	160	204	83	156	51
July	165	110	76	97	50
August	228	88	74	123	54
September	83	74	75	700	46
Catobez	169	195	79	77	45
lie von be r	214	254	96	58	47
Do Combe T	145	274	107	47	46

Sources Sheffield Jo to Cpt. Cit. Page 133

the justification for possessent employment in the industry.

However, eming to the sensent nature of the industry,

permanent employment of workers would lead a tea preprietor

to under-employment of his labour force. This is because

tea plucking, which is the major labour input activity

especially after second year, is done on cortain days of

the week one. Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays and between

certain set times of the day i.s. 6 a.m. - 1 p.m. so as to give enough time for the collection and transportation of tea leaf to the factory before sunset. Thus, the tea proprietor has to rely on labour that is seasonally unemployed and has to engage it on largely casual terms. Again, because of the constant need of labour in tea husbandry which is spread out throughout the year and in the life span of tea. it means that a small holder tea-farmer cannot afford to relax labour input in his tea garden and indeed he is kept fairly busy throughout the year. Apart from his family's labour which doesn't compete in the labour market, it may be necessary for him depending on his family size and tea garden size, to hire wage or casual workers from outside. The need for cutside hired workers becomes even more necessary when a farmer has embarked on the growing of a number of cash crops in his small holding.

With these few observations about the inputs of human labour in commercialised smallholdings, the cause of developing the small scale sector of our economy becomes justified. Not only does it bring income to the small holder farmer, but it also creates new employment opportunities for the unemployed and under-employed. Indeed, the prospects

of employment opportunities in the agricultural sector surpasses all other openings as table X below clearly illustrates. It is vivid that it is the only least nonmonetised traditional sector of our economy where prospects of future employment are. As such, efforts to make it capable of absorbing the unemployed are not futile. They are justified and quite in keeping with the trend of our economic development which is agricultural based. As a matter of fact, table X clearly shows that agriculture employs the most people. Of the total employment opportunities in the economy, agriculture employs well over 60% while non-agriculture activities absorb less than 40%. Again, while agriculture activities are on a rapid expansion especially when we recall the government policy emphasis on rural development, those activities on the non-agricultural sector are likely to need less of human labour or simply retain what they have largely due to technological innovations that are hitting the modern sector of our economy. The agricultural sector however, is likely to expand and subsequently need more human labour not only because it is the backbone of our economy, but partly because the rest of the non-agricultural activities largely depend on the progress made in the rural agricultural sector which occupies the majority of our people. Indeed, about 90% of the population is found in the rural areas where agriculture and its allied activities dominate.

EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS IN KENYA

(EMPLOYMENT FIGURES IN THOUSAND PERSONS)

111/11/11	1964	1970	1985	2000
Agriculture:				
Monetised	470	650	1570	3555
Non-monetised	1370	1500	1740	1640
Total	1840	2150	3310	5195
Non-Agricultural				
Activities:				
Goods producing	83.5	116	294	768
Construction	30	61	142	382
Electricity and		265		2000
Water	2.5	167	395	1000
Other Services	206	258	529	1250
Total	322.0	602	1360	3400
Total Employed	2162	2752	4670	8595
Population in				
Labour Market	3200	3800	5900	9200
Total Unemploye			-	100000000000000000000000000000000000000
& underemployed	1038	1048	1230	605

Source: Extracted from relevant columns of Sheffield J.R.
Opt. Cit. Page 249.

It is also evident from table X that it is in the non-monetised agricultural sector of the entire agriculture that has the majority of the people. Indeed, it has absorbed more than twice as many people as the monetised sector of agriculture. This suggests that there is a high potential of employment opportunities that has yet to be exploited or tapped. Thus, the emphasis of the government on rural development in order to create more employment opportunities is not in vain since the potential is there and the problem of unemployment exists. Since tea is a new commercial productive activity introduced in the formerly non-monetised society, the Conference on Labour and Leisure in Traditional African Societies of 1971 suggested a few potential sources of labour for such new productive activities. In such areas recently introduced to tea occupation, the Conference suggested that their labour that is idle because of lack of opportunities in the modern sector could be used in the industry. As table X indicates, for Kenya this type of labour comprising of the unemployed and underemployed was more than twice the employed labour between the years 1964 and 1970. The projection further suggests that things may become worse between now and the turn of the century. While the underemployed and unemployed will be about four times by 1985, it will be about fourteen times the employed by the year 2000. It therefore means that this labour which has hitherto been either totally unemployed or underemployed to yield products

and services of low value especially in subsistence societies will get jobs as well as become more efficiently used in new productive activities created by the tea industry. As such, the current and anticipated problem of unemployment in the country will be partly alleviated by the numerous activities in the tea industry.

Despite the high hopes of creating employment opportunities in the traditional sector by the strategy of diversifying and intensifying agriculture to which the government is morally and materially committed, serious labour shortages in rural areas are nevertheless rampant. Witness mickizer observation: "Despite the density of population (being high) in most tea growing areas, the recruiting of a labour supply has long been a problem common to all plantations." More specifically in its Annual Report of 1973 the Ministry of Labour, while noting that tea, coffee, rice and maize were the worst hit by labour shortage, the report went on to observe, "During the year, both coffee, tea and rice employers reported shortages of labour during peak harvesting periods". 28 This state of affairs forces farmers into unfortunate options. The farmers have either to harvest their crop prematurely or overmaturely and this runs them into the problem of harvesting a bad crop or overworking both their family and the little hired labour in order to beat the crop deadlines. Alternatively, they have had to raise their piece rates of payments lest they

lose their few hired workers. This latter exercise impinges on their earnings by increasing their production costs. This state of affairs has quite often discouraged the existing and potential farmers not to plant the crop or plant only the crop that they can manage comfortably with their family labour. However, we should ask ourselves; why the labour shortages in the rural areas despite the much publicised unemployment problem hitting the country coupled with the high population growth rates? Why can't the rural—urban migration labour force be diverted to the employment opportunities in the rural areas? What is it in the urban places that lures and attracts potential labour force that doesn't exist in the rural areas where jobs are in plenty?

While this study does not offer the only solution to
the problem of labour in the rural areas, it has attempted
to look into the tea industry with a view of advancing
possible solutions. Though we might be tempted to blame
our unbalanced economic development, we should nevertheless
find out whether something is missing in the rural areas
that disuades potential employees from seeking jobs there.
Harbison has attributed this sad state of affairs to the
unbalanced economic progress and the education system
prevalent in the country. He notes that our economy is
a dual one with a clearly marked and distinct modern and
traditional sectors whose levels of development, production
akills, wage-rates and technology are antithetical. He
further notes that there is a general plight of incumbants

of the traditional sector to the more lucrative modern sector which unfortunately is incapable of accommodating all who want it. On education, Harbison notes that it inculcates feelings and attitudes of modernisation as well as giving high hopes and aspirations to people which lure them to join the existing but small modern sector. The unfortunate thing is that our education system has spread out even into the traditional sector where it has given the youth of this sector high expectations and aspirations for the town life too. However, while Harbison has gone to the fundamental causes of the situation, it is my thesis that if the existing and potential rural workers are provided with the necessary facilities, not only will they choose to remain in those employments, but more will also be attracted to join the much avoided and unattractive rural employments. More specifically, by introducing the participative style of management and by providing all the necessary employee services, the much detested rural work is likely to become more attractive. Many rural workers will thus devotedly raise their productivity to something equivalent to or near those employed in the modern and urban sectors of our economy. However, before we focus the study on the case under review, let us examine the nature of employment opportunities in the rural sector of the economy.

Admittedly, tables VII, VIII and IX exhibit significant fluctuations of labour inputs in the life-span of tea production. There are 'peaks' and 'troughs' in course of the crop's life-span. This means that employment can only be sought at certain times of the year particularly in the peak seasons. As such, permanent and stable employment opportunities are limited and are likely to be found only in plantations and in well established mixed farms. On the other hand, the small scale rural sector is largely characterized by casual employment mode of labour which is paid according to the amount of work done or under piece - work rates, contract, etc. As such, the casual employment labour pattern in rural sector leaves much to be desired since it doesn't cater for a worker during the time he is not working. Sometimes these non-working sessions could be considerably long for someone to subsist on saved earnings while waiting for the next employment peak season to come. There is therefore that element of uncertainty and instability of rural employment which many potential workers cannot countenance.

What makes rural employment even more discouraging is
its renumeration aspect. The rural labour market is composed
of numerous unorganised sellers of labour in a market that
is a fairly free one. As such, wage rate fluctuations are
fairly common especially during crop flushes despite the
fact that on the whole they are said to be very minimal.

For example, in 1964 Stern found that the average wage for
a man was 25 cts. per hour while that of a woman was 22 cts.
per hour. For those who had secured permanent employment,
their monthly wage was \$5.50/- in Kericho and Kisii, and

to 60/- in Myeri. Since last year (i.e. 1975) after the Presidential Decree on Wages, an agricultural worker is now paid in 150/- per month which amounts to a wage rate of about 60 cts. per hour. In the area under study due to labour shortage, the Presidential ruling is very much followed, but had it not been for the scarcity of agricultural labour, it would not be followed and in fact past experience on statutory minimum wages in both urban and rural areas have demonstrated this. 29 However, it is important to note that though the agricultural wages have risen by about 150% since 1964, they are not in keeping with the rising cost of living. Compared with those in urban places and in real and absolute terms, rural workers earn about the same as their urban counterparts. However, while the urban dwellers enjoy a variety of amenities and recreational facilities provided by the local authorities, the rural dwellers/little or none of such facilities. Hence the /see dislike of rural employment.

We cannot also fail to make some few observations about casual employment in rural areas. As we have seen, apart from the fact that casual employment subjects a worker to a low numerical wage with little or no non-wage benefits except those coming from a humanitarian and benevolent employer, rural employment is very unreliable and carries no economic security to the employees. As a matter of fact, a good number of our rural people prefer doing other economic activities of trading, freely working for their prosperous relatives,

operating 'matatu' enterprises, etc. to working for others only to get low wages. Again, one cannot fail to note that wage employment for quite a considerable portion of the rural population is not necessary for them to survive since the majority of them lead a subsistence life and in case of a natural calamity the local society collectively takes care of the disadvantaged. The need for most of the items that money can buy in rural areas is little or non-existence since they have been living without those items for a long time. Lastly, the school - leavers who form a substantial portion of the labour force that is surplus in rural areas are possessed with anti-agricultural attitudes. Also their parents, relatives guardians, and friends do neither look forward nor encourage their educated counterparts and offspring to join agricultural employment. The argument is that, parents and guardians invest most of their money on their children's education not in the hope that the latter will come and join them in the dirty agricultural labour market, but they optimistically hope that after their education, the offsprings will get high paying jobs in the modern sector so that they can support them at their old ages. To them therefore, whoever joins agricultural employment after school apart from being accorded a low social status, he is regarded as a failure by his family, relatives and community at large. With these few observations, it is unfortunate that agricultural employment with its casual employment character is seen as the only hope of creating

employment opportunities in our rural economy.

It is in this backgroung that we should see our tea factory. It is in a rural setting characterized by labour shortages despite the potential labour surplus existing around it.

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- out many cases where employees are asked to sign against blank spaces for salaries they did not receive. The employer then proceeds to fill in the statutory minimum wages against those signatures and it is this that he submits to the labour and union officers as true of their firms. It therefore becomes hard for any legal action to be taken against such employers for contravening the law.

CRAPTER 4

CHINGA TOA FACTORY COMPANY

4.1. Location of the Pactory

Chinga Tea Factory is in Otheya division which is one of the six administrative divisions of Myori District. It is situated in the southern side of the district. The division, with an altitude of between 5,000 - 7,000 ft. above sea level is located just on the southern part of the saddle between the Aberdares ranges of mountains in the west and mount Kenya in the east. More precisely, it is Karena Hill that marks the division's western limit. like the rest of the district, the division is characterised by a terrain of ridge - valley topography. It is also endowed with a rich volvanic soil and a ocol climate with adequate rainfall that occurs throughout the year as to make the place ideal for tea planting. Because of the suitable ecclosical conditions prevailing in the division, most of the farmers have favourably and positively responded to the innovative agricultural methods of farming and they emulate the style of mixed forming as well. Indeed, spart from growing tea, they also grow pyrethrum, coffee and raise dairy cattle and pigs as important mometary activities.

Of the three administrative locations of Othaya division, the factory is situated in Chinga location. The division's total population is approximately 14 of the district's total

population of 360,845 people. Indeed, working from the figures shown in figure 3.1., Otheya division which comprises of Chinga, Otheya and Mahiga locations has a total population of 48,954 people enveloping an area of 173 eq. km. Of this population, only 21,587 people are adults and likely to seek employment at the factory. In addition to the three locations

Population sizes and land area by locations in

Othera Division and some locations of Tetu Division

Location	Total Population	Adult Population	sq.Kn.	Population Density
Chinga	11,352	6,073	51	221
Otheya	23,667	10,288	79	301
Hahiga	13,935	6,286	43	321
Thegenge	28,070	12,260	67	422
Totu	18,932	8,373	49	388
Muhoya's	16,417	7,474	44	370

Volume I, Statistics Division.

Ministry of Finance and Economic

Planning, November, 1970.

in Othaya division, the factory serves the neighbouring ten growing areas of Tetu division which comprises of Thegenge, Tetu and Muhoya's locations. All of these locations are in the upper part of the Division. On the whole however, the factory is situated in a district that is reputed for its high population density as evidenced by the three locations of Tetu division, and in a district known for its high birth rates. These two factors tend to suggest that the problem of labour supply is non-existence. However, from the 1969 population census only 48% of the total population is made of adults and therefore likely to seek wage employment notwithstanding problems of labour mobility, other locally available occupations and old age of the adults, etc. It is however evident from figure 3.1 that the immediate locality surrounding the factory has a low adult population size and a low population density. This state of affairs ferces the factory to supplement its local labour supply by recruiting from far areas since the local population is also occupied in the tea growing aspects of the industry as well.

The factory under review, apart from being located in the south-west corner of Othaya division, it is about three miles from Aberdares sountains and near the border of Myeri and Muranga districts. It was the second tea factory to be put up in the district after Ragati tea factory in Methira division of the district which had been built by the government in 1957. Owing to the rapid expansion of tea growing in the district in the early part of 1960's. Ragati tea factory had proved inadequate / cope with the /to increasing amounts of green leaf produced while tea potential in the district was far from being exhausted. Indeed, by 1962 when Chinga tea factory was conceived, about 1,200 acres of land were already tem planted in the district and more tes acreages were anticipated in the subsequent years. The 1,200 acres of tee had as a matter of fact exceeded the recommended 500 acres of tea per factory and in 1975 with about 2,000 acres of tea in the district the establishment of yet another tea factory has been called for, but this time in Tetu division. This is the only tes growing division without a tea factory in the district.

The construction of this last factory is currently underway and should start tem processing early next year.

Chinga tee factory was therefore basically built to alleviate tee processing problems experienced at Ragati tee factory. In particular, it was destined to process green leaf from Othaya and Tetu divisions in addition to some adjoining parts of North Murang's that border Myeri district i.e. Kangema and Kiharu divisions of Murang's district. Though the construction of the factory did not start until late in 1962, the actual processing of tee did not begin until December 1963 and by June of 1964 (end of financial year) 185,438 lbs. of made tee were produced from the factory. Despite the low amount of green leaf delivered to the factory in that year coupled with high operating costs, the factory nevertheless made a profit of £1,863 during the year.

The drive to have Chinga tea factory built in 1963
was due to the impetus received from the K.T.D.A. It is
the K.T.D.A. that planned, organised and borrowed funds
from overseas and locally. These funds made the factory
a reality. Since its construction in 1963 the productive
capacity of the factory has steadily expanded and the
quality of its tea has favourably risen as to compare
equally well with other made tea from local and overseas
tea factories. Indeed, its quality has greatly risen as
to gain a world reputation.

The geographical location of the factory has far-reaching implications on labour recruitment, labour supply, labour retention and the quality of labour attracted to the factory. In the first place, the ridge-valley topography that surrounds the factory which is characteristic of the district poses comunication problems. To reach the factory from either north, south, or east requires one to traverse and negotiate fairly steep valleys and slopes which is both a time and energy consuming exercise. As such, unless one is guaranteed and assured of getting a job at the factory and promised to stay for a reasonable length of time, say one month or longer, the potential workers especially those from far will be reluctant to negotiate the rugged and rough topography only to get temporary employments that would last them one day or few days. Indeed, unless one is desperately in need of wage employment in which case he will not count the costs involved in getting it, many far-workers are not very such attracted to work at this factory. However, those far workers who happen to get it, they selfishly stick to it and they genuinely make the factory work their career. It is the few ones from the immediate local area who are not serious about the factory work.

Because of the topography of the surrounding area another related problem is one of public transport. In fact, despite the fact that the factory is well served by modern and sophiscated road-network system which has been induced by the factory, public transport connecting the factory and the outside world is either missing or very limited. Indeed, from the local people it was learned that there is only one

"matatu" (taxi) that passes through the factory very early in the morning at about 6 a.m. only to return from Hyeri and Othaya towns late in the evening at about 6 p.s. As a matter of fact, the author was a victim of this sad state of affairs of transport. During the preliginary stage of the study, the author had to hire a taxi from Othaya administrative centre in order to commute to the factory mite, a distance of about 10 miles after hopefully swaiting for any public transport for six hours but all in vaia. Lack of public transport to serve the area around the tea factory can be attributed to its location and the type of local society. In the first place the factory is situated ment to the forest (it is only four miles away from the forest) where no busy shopping or market centres exist as to attract the business-minded 'metatu' operators, Instead 'matatu' eperators in Otheya division prefer to patronise the more direct roads leading to Otheya division centre or to Nyeri town, Again, the population around the factory is very sparse and scattered as not to justify an economic operation of public transport. Indeed, the population density of Gikigi sublocation where the factory is sited is only 184 people per sq. Ka. 5 and this is one of the lowest population densities in the division. To make the matter worse is the fact that the majority of the local people predominantly lead a subsistence life and for a long time they have been cut off from the

external influences of the outside and more affluent world, They therefore, apart from being unable to afford transport fares, they do not have the teste of making trips to towns, As such, 'matatu' operators free within or without have been very reluctant to establish their businesses in such an area where the local people are least affluent, but more conservative and people who regard travelling in public transport as a luxury rather than a necessity. Indeed, the little soney the local people earn is spent mainly in supplementing their livelihoods like sending their children to schools rather than sowing on public transport for far enterprises. Indeed, the author came across numerous cases where the local people especially women had to walk long distances carrying heavy loads on their backs to the markets even in those places where public transport was available. With this kind of attitude and habit among the local populace, public transport eperators are reluctant to establish transport businesses in the area. Lack of public transport to a certain extent discourages many potential far workers from going to work at the factory since, while many cannot afford to hire taxis say from Otheya town, they cannot venture commuting on foot on such a long valley-ridge topography either, unless they are very desperate of wage employment or lack an alternative occupation nearer homes or urban places,

The factory's environment is yet another vital point worthy considering. The factory is built in an area that is sparsely populated as evidenced by the land that surrounds

the factory which comprises of fairly large expanses of individual demarcated and consolidated land of bushes and fallow sections. Equally indicative of the sparse population is the school population. There are few primary schools around (only two within a radius of five miles from the factory), and the two, other than being distantly apart, they have a combined school population of about 400 pupils. At this point I cannot afford not to caution my readers against the danger of associating Myeri district as whole with the much publicised high population density and high population growth. Indeed, while it is true that the district with its area of about 871 sq. Km. has about 154,440 people living in it (according to 1969 population census) and a population density of approximately 322 people per square kilometer. this figure only applies to some parts of the district. Indeed, the area around the factory is an exception since it has a population density of approximately half that of the district's average. Undoubtedly, the climate does partly influence the population density of the area. It is extremely cold all the year round and very few people, unless they have no alternative areas, are willing to make such an environment their home. As such, people who would otherwise be readily and locally available for casual employment in the factory are lacking from the immediate environment. The few people around the factory are reasonably well occupied in their aubaistence and small-holding activities.

A c sual glance at the area around the factory indicates

that ten industry is not the only field requiring labour and indeed this chapter will later show that coffee, tea, pyrethrum, livestock and food crops are equally popular land uses in the area. Not only do these activities compete for land, but they also compete for labour that is available in the local area. Thus, the labour going to tea industry and factory labour in particular largely depends on the opportunity cost considerations as reflected in the rural wages structure. More specifically the individual job-seeker will opt for the tea factory employment only if he cannot earn sore in either coffee, pyrethrus or dairy industries. The essence of the matter in the locality under consideration is that casual job-seekers opt for tea plucking where they work for half a day under least supervision earning as average of 45.7.00 and thereafter attend their affairs in the afternoons. This contrasts significantly with factory employment where one works for 12 hours a day only to earn tie 5.75 and under very close factory management supervision. As such, people from around the factory prefer and seek casual employment among their tea farmer colleagues and in particular in the tea plucking activity. Thus, the factory gate is denied of the casual employment job-seekers from the immediate locality. It is therefore left to recruit most of its labour force from far and in fact the fifty workers interviewed confirmed this. Over 90% of the workers interviewed came from outside a radius of ten miles from the factory. However, despite this problem of recruiting labour from the immediate locality, labour supply for the factory is not a very serious problem. The Factory's very

rural location more or less guarantees it a steady labour supply and indeed, despite the commuting problem discussed earlier many potential workers especially those from far flock at the factory's gate looking for jobs. These far workers who are the majority of the factory's labour force, because of being in dire need of wage employment, least complain about their terms and conditions of work lest they lose their golden jobs. They don't even negotiate or bargain for their conditions of work leave alone questioning the terms of employment at the time of recruitment lest they don't get the much desired wage employment. Indeed, it is because of their low socioeconomic status that make them more tolerant, conformable and adaptable to the boredom and other disadvantages associated with their terms of exployment since it is the satisfaction of their physiological, economic and mafety needs that dominate their activation to work. As a matter of fact, 80% of the workers interviewed indicated that they joined the factory employment because of the pay they were to earn and according to them, it is the pay which was and is the main incentive to work at the factory. Thus, the desire to make as much money dominates their minds, so much that, they do not even bother to press for better working conditions or for more recreational facilities to alleviate the work monotony they experience at the factory.

We cannot also fail to observe that though the factory
is situated at a high altitude in order to tap the advantages
of being within an area suitable for tea growing and in an area
with suitable conditions for conventional manufacture of tea,

there is a problem associated with its site. Its position lacks a central position. For example, the road system has been along the ridges leading either to Hyeri urban centre or to the Myeri - Nairobi highway. The building of the factory at its present site had necessitated the construction of roads across the ridges and valleys that challenges the conventional rural-urban road system. This novel road system has been necessary in order to collect green leaf from tea growers that patronise the factory who happen to be spread out all over the ridge-valley terrain of the tea growing parts of the district. The exercise of collecting tea has therefore been an expensive one since it has involved the construction of numerous bridges, levelling the ground and cutting of many corners, etc. This expensive improvised read system which is meant to cope with the difficult topography, apart from challenging the conventional rural urban road pattern that normally runs along valleys or ridges, it has necessitated the exclusive use of four wheel - drive lorries since ether types of vehicles cannot make it. The cost of buying and maintaining such powerful lorries is, needless to say, an extremely high one.

4.2 Ownership of the Factory

The building of the factory was made possible by the loans provided by Commonwealth Development Corporation (C.D.C.), Arbuthnot Lathan and Company Limited, Dalgety (E.A.), International Development Association (I.D.A.), and Kreditanstalt fur wiederanfbau and some commercial tea companies.

Loans from consercial companies and I.D.A. were given to K.T.D.A. which is technically speaking the custodian of smallholder tea scheme in the country and the owner of the factory. The factory company's capital structure comprises of 164,000 authorised capital shares. "By 30th June 1964 K.T.D.A. and C.D.C. had each subscribed for 82,000 fully paid shares valued at (£20,500). As for the loan capital, C.D.C. provided £80,000 while Arbuthnot Latham and Company Limited and Dalgety (E.A.) Limited jointly contributed £20,000 to help in the initial stages of the factory, 9 It is this long-term loan capital that the factory has, since its inception, been repaying and as the factory manager indicated it should be over by the end of 1976. Again, in its share capital structure, while the authorised 164,000 founder shares are fully paid (by C.D.C. and E.T.D.A.), only 66,166 of the 100,000 authorised Growers' shares were fully paid as by 30th June 1975.10 This capital structure of the Company has far reaching implications on how the factory is managed and the services provided to the workers.

The capital structure of the company shows that though the Company looks like a public Company since individuals and private companies and public institutions like I.C.D.C. own some of its equity, only a limited number of shares are open to the tea growers as Growers shares. The sajority of the shares are owned by foreign interests. Indeed, while foreign interests own 51% of the equity, I.C.D.C. owns 12% leaving only 57% of the equity to tea growers. 11 Again as

meen earlier the swning process of growers has been staggering such that by the end of 1974/75 financial year only 66,166 shares had been fully paid out of the authorised 100,000 Growers Shares, 12 This means that the growers who are the nationals, by virtue of their equity ownership, they do not stand a good position to influence the control and management of the company even after the time they will have bought all their authorised shares. Since the Company's inception, the participating foreign interests have been keen at the quick recovery of their loans whose payback was originally set at 13 years. As such, by virtue of their equity ownership and the huge investment capital outlay they have poured, they have seen to it that the company has been operating efficiently, effectively and they have ably guided the company towards the objective of maximising profits at the exclusion of anything else. It is for this reason that growers and workers' participation plus the provision of exployee services beyond the legal requirements have been greatly ignored due to their cost implications in terms of time and money.

Not only has the Company neglected the workers, but

it has also mobilised all the necessary resources of tea

industry for the achievement of its objectives. For example,

by using the K.I.D.A. machinery the Company has seen to it

that farmers have been prosecuted for negligence of tea

husbandry or for sundrying tea leaves. Provincial admini
etration has also been effectively used in the exercise of

recruiting new tea growers to the industry in order to make the undertaking a vimble one. The Company on the other hand has maintained the exclusive monopoly of tea processing in the area. As a matter of fact, even when the factory cannot cope with the amount of green leaf it receives, it still buys all the green leaf and then transfers it to other factories. The efficiency of the factory has however been possible due to the engagement of able and experienced staff who are both cost and profit sensitive and conscious. They have also been keen at keeping aloof or ignoring any bad spill-ever effects in course of the pursuit of the Company's primary objectives. To me, it is the capital structure of the Company more than anything else that compels the Company to operate the way it does. It looks as if the private investors who have the sajority of the equity have put their money in the enterprise in order to realize huge profits with minimal welfare of the factory workers in their hearts.

4.3. _xternal Relation of the Factory.

To start with, the factory was managed by Smith
Arbuthnot (Kenya) Ltd. which formerly was R.E. Smith and
Company Limited, while Dalgety (E.A.) Limited acted as the
broker. However and of late, Brocke Bond Liebig Kenya
Limited(B.B.L.K.) because of its long experience and expertise
in ten industry it has been appointed as the factory's
managing agents. The B.B.L.K. manages the factory on
behalf of K.T.D.A. which lacks the requisite manpower to

manage its own factory. The Company has also been appointed because of the huge capital outlay it poured into the factory's establishment. 15 Apart from seeing that temprocessing is preceeding well at the factory, the managing agent (i.e. B.B.L.K.) arranges for the cale of made tem both at the local and overseas markets. This managing agent is paid a fixed fee of K.E.2.500 per annum regardless of the factory's output. In addition, it receives commissions on sales and purchases it makes at the rate of 2% and 2% respectively. 16 Indeed, it is the Brooke Bond's competence and experience in tem marketing that greatly influenced its choice as the managing agent of the Company on behalf of K.T.D.A.

The Company also works in close laison with the Ministry of Agriculture which looks after the standards of tea husbandry in the small tea holdings since it is from those small-holdings that the factory gets its supply of green leaf for processing. In this regard, the Ministry of Agriculture has seconded some of its staff to K.T.D.A. to specifically look after small holder tea growers' tea husbandry. Among the seconded staff to Nyeri district alone are: one senior tea officer and one tea efficer both in charge of tea husbandry east of the Rift Valley but stationed at Nyeri town. There are also two assistant tea efficers, eleven A.A.S. (Agricultural Assistants) and sixty J.A.A.S. (Junior Agricultural Assistants) who regularly visit tea farmers in the field, organise Growers Field Days and conferences or seminars as well as conducting

field demonstrations for tes growers. These are the people who implement and advice tes growers on the K.T.D.A. policies on tes industry as a whole.

This is the overall body that is responsible for the top
policies about ten industry in the country and in establishing
the relationship between the industry and the outside world.

As a latter of fact, it has the exclusive monopoly of tea
sales in both the local and overseas tarkets. As such, spart
from formulating general marketing policies, it arranges for
the local and overseas sales of tea which is usually done
through auctions in the respective markets. It is also the
signatory on behalf of the government of Kenya for the tem
quota——in the world market agreements. To perform its
functions, the Board enjoys a cess levy of 5 cents per kg.
of made ten that is sold outside the country.

In the local market to which about 15% of the company's made tea is sold, we have the Association of Tea Growers of Kenya to which the company is a member. 19 This body has taken the exclusive monopoly of the local tea market. It blends the locally made tea from the various tea factories, packs it anew and then sells all over the country where it enjoys an exclusive marketing accorpoly. Of late, because of pressures from local factories, pressures aimed at discouraging the local small tea farmers from sundrying their green leaf for consumption purposes, the Association has reluctantly

to tea farmers and to do so only in toa buying centres. To discourage commercialisation of this local factory made but chesp tea, the tea farmers are limited as to the number of made tea packets they can buy (less than 10 packets) and they can only buy that tea on presentation of their Tea Number badges. All these efforts are designed to give the Association an exclusive scropoly of the local tea market.

At the London Market which is the chief cutlet of the Company's tea, Frencis Peak and Company has the contract of handling the Company's tea. 21 However, in the last African setting, the Company relates with the Sast African Tea Trade Association which laises the Sast African tea with the outside world. 22

Chings Tes Pactory Company is a member of the Federation of Kenya Employers (F.K.T.) whose role as the national spokesman of private interests (in plantation and manufacturing sectors of the economy particularly in the development of labour affairs and industrial relations) cannot be under-scored. It was quite clear from the management responses that their actual and protracted industrial disputes are left on the hands of this Federation. Though it has never occurred in the factory under review, I was given to understand from the

industry appearing at the Industrial Court are left to
the Federation's executives and legal staff. The Compa
being a member of the Federation has therefore continued
to subscribe and observe the Federation's ethics of industrial
relations. For example, the company continues to honeur
the rural-urban salary differentials where ordinary worker
in the factory earns about a 170/- per centh while his
urban counterpart earns an average of a 300/- per menth.
The Company also follows very closely the Federation's
guidelines and resources in all industrial relations
affairs which have all along chapioned the employers' interests.

4.4. Tea Farmers and the Factory Company

At the local scene, we have already noted that the K.T.D.A.
is the custodian of small tea growers' interests in the tea
industry. As a matter of fact, it was specifically instituted
by the government to promote the industry among the small
holder formers. Among others, one of its tasks has been to
enco rage the small tea growers to buy what are called Growers'
shares of the factory company they patronise so as to give

equity. Indeed, of the total 264,000 authorised shares of Chinga Tea Factory Company 100,000 shares have been set aside for tea growers to buy which is only 37.5% of the total authorised capital. However, at the end of 1974/75 (i.e. at the 30th June 1975), the farmers had only managed to buy 66,166 Growers shares which constituted 25.1% of the total authorised share capital of the Company. As a matter of fact, the growers had only bought 66.2% of the total Growers shares while their counterparts the Founder share holders had right from the inception of the factory fully paid up for their authorised 164,000 shares 26 which comprised of 74.9% of the total equity of the Company.

Apart from organising Tem Field Days and encouraging tem growers to buy and own part of the equity of the factory company they patronise, the K.T.D.A. has also instituted various tem committees and boards at divisional, district, provincial and national levels in which tem growers are represented.

These boards and committees link the K.T.D.A. with the small tem farmers. Indeed, these institutions advise K.T.D.A. on the growers interests and at the same time they advise the growers on K.T.D.A. or government policy on tem industry by pleading with the farmers to follow the instructions they get from the technical staff which is seconded by the ministry of agriculture to K.T.D.A. These committees and board meet from time to time as matters arise either from the K.T.D.A. or from the farmers. Below is an exhibit of their meetings in Eyeri District for the years 1971 - 1975:-

Dates of Tea Committee Sections.

Hame of Committee or Board	Year	Specific Dates	Total feetings for the year
Central Province	1971	15th May	1
Tee Board	1972	17th Jan.	4
		4th April	
		10th July	
		20th Nov.	
	1973	11th Jan.	5
		19th March	
		13th July	
		27th Aug.	
		29th Nov.	
Nyeri District	1971	30th Jan.	5
Tea Committee		16th April	
		12th June	
		27th Sept.	
		30th Cct.	
	1972	19th Feb.	5
		19th April	
		15th July	
		16th Sept.	
		30th Dec.	
	1973	27th Jan.	5
		9th June	
		13th Aug.	
		19th Sept.	
		5th Dec.	
Cthaya Tea	1971	11th Feb.	2
		11th July	
	1972	11th March	' 2
		11th Dec.	
	1973	15th Feb.	3
		21st June	
		13th Oct.	

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1972 & 1973

From the exhibit 3.1, it is quite evident that the Provincial Tea Board and the District Tea Committee met more often than the divisional committee. Indeed, from the exhibit, while the Provincial Tea Board and the District Tea Committee met for four and five times during the years of 1972 and 1973 respectively, the Division Tea Committee met for only two and three times in the respective years. As such, it can be implied with some reservations that the Provincial and District tea condittees act more often than the Divisional Committee. This is because the overall national economic planning is done at both the district and provincial levels, but not at divisional level. 27 Thus, both the provincial and district tea consittees meet more often than divisional ones so as to make their respective contributions to the demands of the district, previncial and national economic plans as far as tea industry is concerned. However, while the district, provincial and national tea boards are deliberative bodies focused on tea industry in general and specifically confined to their geographical areas, the divisional tea committees sore or less devise the specific strategies of implementing policies on tea that are passed onto them by the higher authoratitive tea bodies. They see to it that those policies suit the local conditions and situations. We must however point out that the tea committees exclusively dwell on tea husbandry and hardly touch matters on tea factories. All that they do as far as

any matters about them, but the factory's management is not necessarily obliged or bound to accept or implement them.

On the other hand, the tea Factory's Company meither dictates to the board nor to the tea committees. They simply consult each other on a willing give-and-take basis and they do so at par terms. It is up to either the tea committees or the factory Company to reciprocate the other, but there is no legal binding to do so. In practice however, because of the technical superiority of the company, the latter initiates developments or proposals about tea industry and the committees advise it on the feeling of tea farmers about such proposals.

The question of external relation of the Company has already emphasized that there are too many intermediary institutions that characterize the industry. While their role should be reviewed in an attempt to merge them or cut most of them if not all, there is need to educate the small ten growers more than has been done in the past. Ten growers contributions to the industry are enormous and we would be doing them injustice if we do not recognise their critical impute into the industry. We should focus our attention at uplifting their position in the industry as well as encouraging and enabling them to participate more in the industry and in particular in the affairs of the factory they patronise.

Since it is the ten farmers' neighbours, colleagues and acquintances who will be employed at the factory, the ten

farmers can then be able to present workers' views in the policy and executive boards of the Company. By this exercise, not only will it improve the morale of the tea farmers, but it will also instil a feeling of devotion in the industry among the farmers and workers alike. The current tea committees and boards have already paved the way in that general direction.

4.5 Social and Economic Services accorded to Farmers

The importance of farmers and workers as far as the factory's progress is concerned cannot be over_emphasized. The two are closely knit together and/interdependent. / are the harmonious working collaboration of Indeed. farmers, workers and factory management is essential for the success of the industry which in the eyes of the government is one way of effecting rural development in tea potential areas. Thus, while the farmers provide the green leaf for processing at the factory, the workers provide the essential manufacturing labour. The Company in turn provides the necessary technology, capital and skilled manpower to help in the manufacturing and marketing of the made tea. It would therefore be of interest to identify the social and economic services the Company accords these parties so as to strengthen their bond of relation and create a feeling of togetherness.

Asked what social services the Company accords the

tem farmers the factory manager relied: "The Company does not give any social services to farmers. It neither directly donates to local harambee projects, sponsor get-together parties, nor organise and finance agricultural tours and displays nor allow farmers patronising the plant to use the Company's property for private affairs." However, the Company comes indirectly in public welfare functions as evidenced in 1975. During that year and according to the factory manager's report each tea farmer contributed 2 cts per every kilogram of green leaf he sold to the Company towards a local harasbee water project i.e. Othnya Harasbee Water Project that aims at supplying each home in the division with water when completed. This money was directly deducted from the farsers' tem second payments and in total it realised £500,000 for the water project. Though specific figures are not available, the factory had employed local workers who were also able to donate to the same haranbee water project from the wages they drew from the Company. Indeed, from the income derived from the Company's coffers by both the farmers and workers the two can be able to divert some of their incomes to welfare and economic functions within their locality. This is an exercise they would probably avoid or not afford had they not the Company's derived regular incomes. Though the actual mometary figures involved are lacking,

figure 3.2 shows some of the welfare projects to which some of the tem derived income has gone to.

Figure 4.2

Self Help Projects 28

Schools	Otheye Division	Tetu Division
Nursery Schools	13	15
Primary Schools	11	12
Secondary Schools	6	5
Dispensaries	3	2
Shurches	9	21
		The Lieu

in Murang's area whose farsers patronise the factory under review. It has also excluded tea-derived money which has been donated to other welfare harasbee projects outside the two main administrative divisions. Also excluded are some welfare projects within and without the district but projects within the area that is served by the Company not to mention private social services enjoyed by individual farmers and workers in their private lives e.g. paying for the education of their children, buying of social personal effects, etc.

It is probably in the provision of economic services, that the Company has directly benefited the farmers.

Without sentioning the regular payments (popularly called sonthly 'donges' or cheques) and end of year (i.e. second

payment) incomes the farmers get from the Company, there are crop-specific credits, dividends and bonuses enjoyed by the farmers. Indeed, figure 3.3 shows the breakdown of the ascents involved in each case for the last three financial years.

Figure 4.3.

Breakdown of Economic Services to Farmers

	1972/73	1973/74	1974/75
Dividends	£756	£8 49	n,161
Bonuses	£7,712,100	£20,064,000	£21,137,625

years has been fixed at 8% by the Company's Board. It worked out to 38 cents per share for 1972/73, 40 cents per share for 1973/74 and 36 cents per share for the year 1974/75. The amounts involved have tended to vary because of the number of Growers' shares bought by the farmers at any given year. Indeed, the accumulated Growers shares bought were 34,5536, 42,466 and 66,166 for the years 1972/73, 1973/74 and 1974/75 respectively. It is also evident from the figure that the dividend payment to tea growers has steadily increased over the last three years. Indeed, the increase has been mounting up over the years since the factory was incepted in 1963. The increase

is a reflection of the number of shares bought by the tea growers who have an authorised 100,000 Growers shares of the Company's capital structure. Tea growers have over the years been buying these shares such that when completed they will make 35% of the Company's equity. Asked what will happen when the 100,000 shares targetted for farmers are all bought up by the factory's patronising farmers, the factory manager had this to say: "The tea growers will embark on buying the Founders shares." If this turns out to be true then the absolute amount of dividend going to the local tea farmers will certainly rise. One can also speculate that the amount of dividend will rise even more in the future once the initial loan advanced to the Company is fully paid up since at the that time, the current fixed dividend rate of 8% will cease to operate. Instead, it will fluctuate according to the anguitude of business the Company transacts at any given year.

As for the bonuses, these have also been on the increase as the figure 3.3. clearly shows. During the three years, the bonuses which are the second payments have been 22 cents per Kg., 57 cents per kg., and 60 cents per Kg. for the years 1972/73, 1973/74 and 1974/75 respectively. It has also been recently announced by the local tea leaf officer attached to the factory that in this year 1975/76 the second payment will be at the rate of 90 cents, per kg. While this increase can be attributed to a number of factors

like the ecology of the local area, managerial skill and technology used at the factory, etc.; we cannot rule out the part played by the increased number of tea grovers and tes acreages in the area. 32 With increased green leaf deliveries to the factory gate, the factory has been maximally operated and so has been the transport facilities such that the cost of manufacturing of tea has been reduced to a minimum (i.e. economies of large scale production has been enjoyed). Again, because of the attractive bonus rates of payments by the factory company, not only have more farmers joined the industry, but the standard and seriousness of tea husbandry have also risen up with the subsequent result of raising the quantity and quality of the factory's tea as to tap a wide and popular market. Indeed, the factory's tea has won an international reputation for its high quality.

Though the credit facilities spoken of earlier do not directly come from the Company's coffers but rather from the K.T.D.A., the latter has extended it to tea farmers so as to enable them to improve their tea. The credit however, has only been in kind and of crop-specific type.

Indeed, it has only involved the provision of polythene materials to take care of the young cuttings in the surseries, the supply of clonal sother bushes and the provision of fertilizers (N.P.K. 25.5:5). Figure 3.4 shows the breakdown of the tea farmers in the district who patronise

the factory and who have enjoyed the various credit facilities extended by K.T.D.A. for the last three years.

Figure 4.4

Number of Farmers enjoying Credit in Kind from K.T.D.A.33				
	1972/73	1973/74	1974/75	
Polythene Materials	5,385	4,529	3,026	
Clonal mother bushes	1,629	1,749	1,763	
Fertilisers	6,514	-	-	

All of these credit facilities started in the aid sixties. The fertilizer credit scheme has however been suspended for the last two years running due to the exorbitant rise in the price of fertilizer that have made its application completely uneconomical. In its place, farmers have been advised to use farm yard manure.

However, in this financial year 1975/76, the exercise has been renewed and every farmer as in the past, is entitled to an average of 45 kg. per every 500 tem plants. As for the polythene materials and clonal mother bushes the leaf officer noted that the new tem grower is supplied with them while the old growers wanting to extend their tem acreages, depending on the quality of their tem, get the clonal mother bushes from K.T.D.A. If their tem is of high quality, the old tem growers get only the bushes. However, if they

K.T.D.A. they are also supplied with it. In all, the terms of the credit facilities are fair and soft in that repayments are sought when one starts to sell his green tea to the factory and even them, it is done during the bonus payment times when relatively huge lumps of noney are paid to farmers and as such one does not significally feel it.

It is probably in the midst of the general public that the tea farmers feel rewarded by the Company. Like everybody else, the individual tea farmer stands a better chance of getting wage employment either on casual or persenent terms. The tea farmer and especially the one near the factory or near the routes to the factory also enjoys telephone, electricity, water supply and road services all of which have sprung up as a result of the installation of the factory in the vicinity. These benefits are however not primarily meant for the fareer and public at large, but have been instituted to facilitate the amouth functioning of the factory. They are the social and economic externalities of the factory. However and on the whole, they contribute a great deal to the overall economic development of the area as well as uplifting and improving the standard of living of the local population the tea farmer being included. Again, as for the direct economic services, the tea farmer draws from the Company, it is evident that he enjoys a quantity that is compatible with the amount of business he does with the

Company. For example, while the amount of dividend the individual farmer gets depends on the number of shares that he has bought, the amount of bonus he receives depends on how many kilograms of green leaf he has delivered to the factory during a given year.

4.6 Internal Structure of the Company.

Like any other K.T.D.A. tea factory, Chinga tea factory operates as a separate and independent entity. It has its own Board of Directors, employed members of management, an accounting system, etc. Indeed, as the figure 3.5 shows, at the top is the Board of Directors of eight members drawn from C.D.C. (1), K.T.B.A. (2) Brooke Bond Liebig Kenya Limited (2), District Tea Committee representative (1), Ministry of Agriculture (2) and the growers representative (1).35 This Board is the overall policy making body of the factory Company and it deals with policy matters of the Company e.g. the use of profits, capital investments, payment of loans and the appointment of senior personnel of the factory Company. 36 Though the Board meets as Matters arise, they meet at least once in a year at the factory site when the annual reports are made known to the share holders. Any other meetings are held in Nairobi. This Board of Directors is responsible to the Minister of Agriculture through the chairman of K.T.D.A. Board of Directors. 37

Below the Board is the Technical Director for Chinga

Tem Factory who is the most senior member of staff directly responsible to the Board. Be is charged with the responsibility of technical and operational matters of the factory and he advises the Company's Board accordingly.

CREANIZATION STRUCTURE BOARD OF DIRECTORS TECHNICAL. DIRECTOR PACTORY FACTORY FACTORY MANAGER MANAGER MANAGER (CHINGA) (IKUMBI) (MATARA) ASSISTANT served also the tax multipleton FACTORY MANAGER SENIOR SENIOR SUPERVISOR SUPERVISOR JUNIOR JUNIOR JUNIOR JUNIOR SUPERVISOR SUPERVISOR SUPERVISOR SUPERVISOR SUBORDINATE STAFF. (WORKERS)

Unfortunately, rather than the Technical Director
being stationed at the factory site, he operates from
Bairobi about 200 kilometres away from the factory scene.
He relies on the factory manager who is at the grassroot
of the factory site to supply him with all the necessary
informations about the factory. Because of his technical
competence his advice is seriously taken by the Board of
Directors. Indeed, he is the man behind the policies of
the Company which have to be approved and sunctioned by
the Board before they are implemented. He is also the
top executive arm of the Company. Through him the Board's
policies pass to the factory for implementation. He is
the man who devises the best strategies of implementing
policy decisions reached at the Board meetings.

Asked what his duties and responsibilities were, the factory manager had this to say; "Apart from being responsible to the Technical Director, I as responsible for the planning, directing, supervising and controlling all the activities in this factory." In other words, the factory manager is responsible for the day to day operations of the factory. Through his immediate boss the Technical Director, the factory manager advises the Board on the operational aspects and the problems experienced at the grassroots of the organisation. In addition, the factory manager recruits the junior operational staff from the senior supervisor downwards. In all his duties, the factory

manager is closely assisted by the deputy factory manager.

At this stage, it must be pointed out however that all the personnel from the assistant factory manager upwards are appointed and fired by the Board and are therefore directly or indirectly responsible and accountable to the Board.

In this way, the Board makes sure that it only appoints people to this management cadre who are competent, capable and experienced in the tea industry. For example, while the current factory manager was a leaf officer attached to the mane factory for ten years before he took up the present appointment, his assistant was working in a dairy plant for six years before he was appointed to the present post.

Below the Assistant Factory Manager are two Senior supervisors followed by four junior supervisors. These supervisory staff have been promoted from the ranks of the workers by the factory manager on the strength of their past performance at the factory. They supervise the workers and train the green workers on the job. At the very bottom are the workers or subordinate staff who do the actual manual work in the various departments at the factory. the junior staff from the senior supervisors downwards are hired and fired by the factory damager. It is in this bottom group of workers that our study was focused. Their number, fluctuates from month to month, season to season according to the amount of green leaf delivered to the factory. The amount of green leaf received is again governed by the vicissitudes of the weather. For example,

when the weather is wet more green leaf is plucked from
the tea gardens than when there is no or little rain.
Because of these fluctuations in the production of green
leaf in course of the year, labour demands at the factory
also fluctuate. As such, the need for a steady supply of
labour and mainly of casual nature at the factory gate
becomes very necessary if all the green leaf received has
to be processed in time before it goes bad or gets spoiled
due to delayed processing. Emphasizing the importance of
having readily available labour, experts in tea processing
have stressed and recommended that green leaf should not
remain in green state for more than 48 hours before it is
processed otherwise a high qualitative tea will not be
obtained.

On the whole however, because of the importance of great care, precision and the chain relationship of each stage of tea processing, the responsibility of each worker at the plant is clearly spelt out and closely supervised by a sember of the management cadre. Showing how heavy handedness the management has to be towards the workers during processing, the factory manager, while responding to a casual question had this to say: "These workers must be strictly supervised day and night lest they cause bottlenecks in the processing channels since if left unsupervised they engage in petty talks at the expense of their assigned work". Thus the workers are very closely controlled by the

management staff on whatever they do at the factory during the actual tea processing.

The close control of this Company does not affect workers alone but it also encompasses the various categories of management. For example, the factory manager who possesses a lot of executive powers at the factory level has his powers limited when it comes to the relationship of the Company and the outside world. Replying to the question "Do you make the Company's statements of accounts public?" The factory manager said; "No" and added. "It is only the K.T.D.A. which scrutinizes what is suitable for public consumption and then releases it to the public". As such neither the Company's employed management staff nor the Board can make public anything that pertains to the factory. This responsibility is with the K.T.D.A. which is again responsible to the Minister of Agriculture. Indeed, despite the geographical dispersal of tea factories in the country, a fairly centralised authority structure from top to bottom exists in the Company. K.T.D.A. has however taken the pains of clearly defining and delegating the powers and responsibilities of each tea factory authority incumbant and failure to comply as defined is swiftly acted on by the K.T.D.A. management staff. For example, when this research was being carried out the factory manager of Litein Tea Pactory issued a press statement which according to the host factory manager was bound to lead to a loss of his

the factory manager had this to say: "We as factory managers are not allowed to release anything to the press about our factories as this is the responsibility of the Chairman of K.T.D.A. alone." As such the duties, responsibilities and authority of each hierarchical incumbant is clearly defined and none has the complete autonomy over everything in his post despite the fact that he may be well and strategically placed to act since he is at the grassroot of the matter.

4.7 Processing of Tea At The Factory.

Though the quality of the final tea is made in the field, the inherent attributes of tea can however be lost through carelessness in the tea manufacture. As such, factory preparation is of prime importance in the determination of the final quality of tea and must therefore be carried out under expert direction. In fact, experts in tea industry tell us that 'fine flavour and good' vintage of tea is the result of proper care in withering and fermentation just as much as it is a question of altitude and climate.

In defining the processing procedure adopted at the plant, the factory manager noted that the traditional method of tea manufacture is adopted at the factory.

This means that processing of green leaf undergoes withering, rolling, fermenting, firing, winnowing or sieving, grading and finally, the packaging of made tea.

The pace of work and the processing mechanism is however all determined by the conveyor belt technology which leaves the workers with no alternative but to go with the machine set speed. It is along this line of processing based on the traditional method of tea manufacture that Chinga Tea Factory has its labour force divided. It is divided into five main departments or sections which are all according to the ten processing stages. Thus, while there is a minimum of eleven people in the withering department, there are ten in the rolling department and nine in the fermentation department. Firing department has on the average six peole and sorting or grading fifteen people. In the withering department, the bought green leaf is spread out in drying lofts in order to make the leaves pliable. In the withering department, green leaf is made to lose some of its moisture. The removal of the soisture, depending on the weather is either naturally or artificially done. In the latter case, warm air currents are artificially pusped from side wans through the underlying troughs and these currents absorb some of the moisture. By constant stirring and levelling of the leaves in the lofts, the field moisture is lost. The leaves are then led through a conveyor belt to the rolling or cutting machines after a period of about 18 to 24 hours of withering.

In the rolling stage, the leaves are broken into small bits by different graded machines which break the

cells of the leaves and thereby release the enzymes from the surface of the leaf. It is then led through sieves which sort out and loosen the broken pieces so as to allow even fermentation. The main task of the workers at this rolling stage is to ensure that the machines are continually functioning, greased or oiled as well as seeing that green leaf is in constant flow into the rolling machines. Fermentation is however a purely natural process but very crucial in tea processing. The cut leave-pieces are evenly, loosely and thinly spread out in a cool humid trollery for several hours (about 10 hours and with the help of wet and dry bulb thermometers as indicators of the required temperature), until they turn into a bright coppery colour. It is important that fermentation be arrested in time and quickly by taking the fermented tea to the firing chambers. By mechanically rotating the fermented leaf-pieces through various sections of the heating chamber in the firing department for about 10 hours, the leaf turns into a crisp and black colour. this stage the leaf is said to have lost three-quarters of its natural weight and left with only 3 - 9% of its moisture content. By the time the pieces of leaf come out of the heating chamber one can say that the critical stages of tea processing are completed. At both the fermentation and firing departments, the workers are supposed to ensure that fermentation matures in time and that the fermented tea is fed into the firing chamber

promptly and continually. It is also important that workers ensure that the relevant temperatures are maintained at the two stages of tem processing.

After firing there comes sieving or winnowing and grading. Four major grades are obtained and subsequently the made tea is put in tea chests ready for delivery to Mombasa. Here again, it is the job of the workers to ensure that the fired and sieved tea is in constant flow to the respective grading channels, cellect any fall-over and take it to one or several stages behind in the winnowing process, put the made tea in chests and store it ready for transportation to Mombasa for export or to Kericho to be blend with tea from other factories for local consumption.

seriousness of work in tea processing does delimit the sort of workers that are recruited - hence the ability and desire of workers to participate in the Company's affairs.

As a matter of fact, the important thing about tea processing as a whole is that the work involved is fairly mechanical and desards no special skill except the patience of doing the same repetitive, routine, and monotonous job. Again, because of tea-dust in the factory plus the machine noises, the work can be extremely boring and umpleasant. Again, since the factory runs for 24 - hours, a 12 - hour shift system has been devised. As a result of this shift system, workers are at times compulsorily required to work at odd

hours of the day. Again, the mobility of workers from one department to another is very much limited and this immobility subjects a worker to the same monotonous work day after day and month after month. In this state of affairs, apart from having far reaching consequences on both the availability of labour and the sort of workers who are attracted by this kind of job, it also partly dictates the style of management to use and the employee services to give.

4.8 Characteristics of the Labour Force and the Lorkers Union.

The labour force at the factory falls under two categories of workers. There are those workers who are under permanent terms of appointment and there are those under temporary terms of appointment. While the former is wholly made of management members of staff, the latter is wholly made of subordinate staff. It is in the latter category of the labour force that the number of workers fluctuate from time to time according to the amount of work at any given moment. However, on the average the subordinate staff number about 100 per month. At the peak times (mainly from September to November, and from April to June) the number of workers goes sometimes to as high as 210 - strong while in some months like August it goes to as low as 70 - strong. The management section of the labour force is however always eight and comprises of the factory manager his assistant, two senior supervisors and four junior supervisors. However, as it has already

been pointed out, this study focuses its attention on the relationship between the management and the subordinate staff who are popularly referred to as workers. This the workers do the actual manual work, the management is predominantly occupied with supervision of the former.

characteristics of the labour force as these might help us to appreciate the style of management used and the sort of social and economic services rendered. From the responses received from the workers and the management, it is quite evident that most of the subordinate staff were either relatively old people or people with families to care for. Indeed, of the 50 workers interviewed 60% of them were aged 30 and over. As a matter of fact while the youngest worker was 16, the oldest was 58 and figure 3.6 showing the breakdown of ages of the workers demonstrates this.

Figure 4.5 - Age Breakdown of Werkers

Age Bracket (Yrs.)	Rumber of Workers
15 - 20	5
20 - 25	6
25 - 30	9
30 - 35	12
35 - 40	6
40 - 45	3
45 - 50	6
50 - 55	2
55 - 60	1
	50

Figure 3.7 clearly illustrates the literacy state of affairs at the factory. From the figure it is quite evident that the majority of the workers interviviewed are illeterate (about 60%). Those with some formal education have failed to get either the K.A.P.E. (or C.P....) or K.A. C.E. certificates that would enable them to get better jobs in urban places. In fact, the one person with secondary education was educated in a haranbee secondary school and had not passed even the C.P.E. to qualify for a place in a government sponsored secondary school.

Figure 4.7 - Education Background of workers,

	Number	of Workers
No formal education		31
Primary Education up to Std.	IA	13
Primary Education up to Std.	AII	
		,
jecondary education		1

The low formal education of the workers has put the perkers in an askward position as far as getting wage employment is concerned. Indeed, out of the 50 workers interviewed, only two had previously been employed in the local soffce co-operative society and none of them had previous factory experience of any kind. They were all recruited from their little farm plots where they had been

leading a subsistence type of life. On the whole therefore, the workers are essentially people from the same social background as instanced by their general outlook of life, the central values they shared and their low level of education. From informal conversations with the workers particularly in the evenings, the author found that they had shared interests. These shared interests of workers included: drinking habits, love for money, identical views on matters pertaining to the day-to-day running of the factory to mention only a few. Admittedly, this homogeneity of interests and common background can be a powerful force or asset of consolidating and protecting their action had it not been for lack of able leadership among themselves. On the other hand, lack of previous employment experience suggests that the Plant's workers have hopelessly failed to secure urban employments and white collar jobs in particular partly because they lack the relevant certification of their little formal education and partly because there is general unemploysent that has hit the whole country.

Apart from the fact that the internal organisation of the Company does not in any way provide for workers' participation, there is a strong evidence to persuade us to believe that the sort of workers hired cannot participate and worse still they lack the desire to participate. By virtue of their ages, over 80% of the workers interviewed have been brought up and experienced the authoritarian colonial regime that used to deny workers any form of participation. During the colonial era, these workers

were used to the idea that the employer was always right and that he cared for his workers' welfare. The employerworker paternalistic relationship that prevailed during those days is very fresh and real to them. In addition, because of their low socioeconomic status and education. all the workers interviewed except one indicated that they had no new ideas to put forward or knew not of how to put the ideas of participation in action partly because their work process is all dominated by the automated technology and partly because they are just not creative. This is due to the fact that the workers are aware of the fact that they have no technical and indispensable skills and as such, they have no high expectations that would lead them to aspire to participate in management functions. The workers are predominantly after pay and nothing else. Participation to them is a luxury and they can as well do without it since its promise of monetary returns is remote and in the long run it is a thing most current workers will not live to see because of the temporary nature of their employments. However, since things have began to change with the youthful and a bit of more educated school leavers who are constantly looking for jobs at the factory, there are possibilities that this category of youthful and more enlightened to the democratic ideology may dominate the factory's labour force. As such, the importance of workers' participation and the provision of

more employee services to workers may therefore become more imperative in the future than ever before. This is understandable when one recalls that the rural-urban labour migration has become a hopeless exercise and as such trying to secure rural employment is now becoming the only alternative of employment and our factory offers one of these opportunities. It is therefore advisable to start honouring and implementing this ideology of workers' participation at the factory right-away lest it overtakes the Company unawares or finds it unprepared to the extent of wrecking the whole establishment.

The statistics on labour force received from the management showed that 40% of the total labour comprised of the women folk. In this regard, the manager did not hesitate to print out the "the trend is now to recruit more women in the factory's labour force." Apart from the fact that women do particularly well in routine jobs as those found in the factory, the manager pointed out: "Homen are easier to handle and pleasant to work with". As such because of the management's feelings that women are better workers than men the recruitment drive which is exclusively a management's preserve has specifically opted to recruit mainly the women workers. This is because they do their work without numerous complaints about the assigned work and express satisfaction with the state of affairs at the factory. This is also probably one reason why the factory

labour force is least unionised since the majority of these women workers and aged men do not see the role a trade union would play in the factory if things are already running well. As a matter of fact, of the 50 workers interviewed only six are members of the local branch of Kenya Plantation and Agricultural Workers' Union. Because of this small number and with a monthly subscription rate of . 5 per worker-member, the Union draws a monthly income of only . 30 from the Company's labour force. From the union's executive branch secretary it was learned that out of its 600 members in the district the union gets a monthly subscription of only is. 3,000. According to the union boss; "this amount puts the union in an owefully weak financial position as not to effect its major function of looking after the welfare of its worker - members". Despite the smallness of the amount collected by the union, 15% of its monthly subscription goes to the Central Organisation of Trade Union (C.C.T.U.) headquarters while the remaining 85% is centrally controlled from the Union's headquarters in Nairobi by the Union's Secretary General. The branch union boss added: "Each union branch at the district level is given funds according to how much it submits to the headquarters and hardly does our branch receive more than t. 1,000 from Nairobi monthly".

At this stage it would be fitting to comment briefly on the union. Like most of the trade unions in Kenya, the Kenya Plantations and Agricultural Workers' Union (K.P.A. W.U.) is affiliated to C.O.T.U. which is the apex of trade

union movement in Kenya. From C.O.T.U., K.P.A. U. receives advices and assistance in performing and carrying out its basic trade union tasks and responsibilities e.g. in engaging in collective bargaining with employers, handling disputes and grievances, and in conducting and organising trade union campaigns at national or local levels. The Governing Body of K.P.A.W.U. on the other hand, comprises of the Central Committee and the Executive Council which is responsible for the general and overall administration of the union's business e.g. suspending or dismissing union officials subject to approval and sunction of the Union's Mational Conference. The Council also utilises the union's funds and property, enters into agreement or transactions on behalf of the union etc. In all its transactions, the Council is responsible to the Mational Conference of the Union. Below the National Governing Body is K.P.A....U. district branches spread all over the country. The branch is the lowest unit of the union and is run by a Triennial Meeting (the supreme authority of the union at the branch level) and the Branch Committee. The latter is responsible for the general administration of the branch. The branch Secretary who is a member of this committee is responsible for the day-to-day running of the branch. He serves as the chief administrative officer for the branch office. On the whole however, the organisation structure of K.P.A. ". U. is a fairly centralised one with powers and responsibilities of

each authority incumbent clearly spelt out and the corresponding powers delegated. For example, the branch can hardly do anything without consulting the headquarters. Commenting on the tight control exercised on the branch by the Mairobi Office the branch boss had this to say: "I cannot do anything leave alone susmoning my Committee members even to discuss trivial matters without getting a clearance from the headquarters. Indeed, I am always in close touch with Mairobi". As such, the organisation of the Union leaves the branch with little policy and executive powers to use in handling workers' problems despite the fact that the branch officials are better and strategically placed at the grassroots of the union affairs. For example, I was given to understand by the union branch officials that whereas workers' wages and salaries, hours of work, housing and medical schemes, safety of workers and lay-offs are the only items included in the collective bargain in case of local disputes, the local branch without doing anything refers them to its Mairobi headquarters. Indeed, it is the union's national headquarters that does all the collective negotiation with the Federation of Kenya Employers (F.K.E.) officials and then informs their respective branches in the field. In other words, the union branch officials though at the scene of the events cannot take the responsibility of jointly negotiating directly with the local factory management. The two parties only honour the collective agreement reached at Nairobi and communicated to them to either note or/and implement where applicable. Even at the national level, the Union has been unable to pressurise F.K.E. and the Company management to incorporate more items in the list of collective bargaining. Affairs that are central to management and in particular recruitment, promotions, work rules, work-load, job evaluation, training schemes and discipline matters are all in the preserve of management. Indeed, as noted earlier the Union collectively bargains on matters that are economically crucial to the workers and matters that tend to give management success in the industry. As such, the negotiation strength and power of the Union leaves much to be desired.

Needless to say, the Union at the district branch level has a financial weakness which is manifested in a number of ways. Because of its meagre financial resources, the Union cannot afford to engage qualified staff. Only poor quality staff is attracted by the Union's poor salaries, poor terms of employment and insufficient fringe benefits as evidenced by the current executive branch secretary, who despite the demanding nature of his office is only a part-time officer. He opens his union's branch office at Nyeri town twice a week i.e. on Tuesdays and Fridays and again only in the mornings. Apart from running another office at Nanyuki, the branch secretary is basically a 'matatu' (taxi) operator

and he runs an office with no clerical staff. Asked how
he does office work, the Union boss replied, "part-time
clerical staff is hired only when need arises". Because of
lack of full-time office staff, the inadequate times of
epening the effice and because of the organisation of
shift system of work the union's clientele do, it is very
hard for the union members to visit the office at their
own convenience without interrupting their work. The
situation is very serious for the workers at the factory
in question because of the considerable distance and the
poor public transport facilities existing between the factory
site and Union's office in Nyeri town.

The leadership weakness of the union at the branch level is also exemplified by the chairman and treasurer offices, Asked what were their occupations, the Chairman said he was basically a messenger while the treasurer was a machine attender both employed by a local coffee co-operative society. Despite the poer current leadership, I was given to understand that the constitution of the Union stipulates that the union officials should hold their respective offices for a period of five years before new elections are held. However, due to apathy shown by the members, the leadership has been reelected for the last two terms running. It was also learned from their responses, that the three senior union officers (1.e. Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer) do not possess even a Certificate of Primary Education (C.P.E.). To familiarise themselves with the national trade union movement, the officers were soon after election asked to attend a three

months' course organised by C.O.T.U. at Kabete, Since their first appointment in 1969, they have been regularly attending local and national seminars organised by either the government, I.L.O. (International Labour Organisation), C.O.T.U. or K.A.P. W.U. However, despite the fact that the branch union is led by people with reasonable knowledge about trade union movement and the fact that K.A.P.W.U. is joined voluntarily and is open to all workers in the agricultural industry, the leadership has not been very successful in recruiting many worker-members to the Union. For example, of the total labour force in the factory, the six unionised members represent only about 6% of the total labour force. In a nearby local coffee factory the unionised workers made 19 of the total labour force. Indeed, from the Union's branch boss, "of the total labour force of the toe industry in the district, unionised workers were only 2150. commenting on their efforts to recruit more workers into the union, the union branch boss went on to observe: "all our efforts to Casual workers recruit new members have been in vainwhen employed want to pocket all their hardworked money and are totally ignorant of the union's role in the industry while at the same time, management strongly discourages its workers to join this Union." Thus unionised workers in all the reral industries are pretty few and tea industry is no empoption. This is partly due to the week financial and

leadership position of the Union which makes it difficult for the Union leadership to organise an effective membership drive of recruiting members.

From the responses received from the Union officials on the moral and material support they get from management, it was apparent that there is poor cooperation between the Union and the management. Apart from getting a small temporary room or space when need arises for interviewing worker members the union does not get any other facility from management. The Union boss went on to observe; "we are not even allowed to contact new workers or distribute the union's literature leave alone giving time - off for workers to consult their union officers. If a worker decides to visit my office he must get permission from his factory boss and he must be prepared to make up for the time lost in visiting this office". This relationship suggests that the workers' union is weak not only in finance, organisation, leadership but also in membership sise. At this stage, it should be moted that this general weakness has far - reaching implications on workers' participation and the welfare services they receive as we shall see later.

The sort of labour that is recruited has given the sanagement a number of advantages which it has been keen to tap. In the first place, because of the workers' temporary terms of employment, it has been easy to discipline them. For fear of losing his job an individual worker is

always trying to please management so that one day he may be put on the permanent pay-roll and subsequently acquire some form of economic security which is the life-long battle of all workers. Secondly, the fact that people who are recruited into the labour force are unskilled workers who come from low socioeconomic section of our larger seciety, they are people who have been unable to secure any other form of wage employment. The responses of the workers interviewed confirmed this phenomena. Despite the fact that they are fairly advanced in their working ages, of the 50 workers interviewed only two had previous wage employment. As such the factory labour force is dominated by a desperate lot of workers, workers who have no alternative employment and this gives the mamagement an easy time in working with this kind of labour. Such a desperate lot of people tends to work extremely hard (and the annual tea production figures of figure 5.3 support this) in order to please management lest they are denied the only source of their daily bread. Because of their insecure position, the factory workers are very submissive to management and they unquestionably comply with the latter's orders or instructions.

It should be observed at this point that the current practice of recruiting more women than men has had some encouraging payoffs. Apart from the fact that it is easy to handle, work with and discipline them, women are

particularly better equipped temperamentally and physically to perform routine jobs that characterise the factory work in question since they are less exreen-oriented. Indeed. none of the interviewed women - workers bitterly complained of the conditions of work at the factory and if anything most of them hailed the conditions as excellent. Their positive responses were quite in keeping with the sort of jobs performed at the factory. All that these women workers need is proper guidance, encouragement, continued recognition and a wholehearted backing by the management while at their work, Though similar regults could be obtained from a purely male labour force, the costs involved in terms of management's time and emergy would certainly be more than would be expected when dealing with a purely women labour force, Commenting on the difficultiness management has when supervising departments that are predominantly men, the factory manager had this to say: "If left on their own these bloody men would do nothing or very little. Instead, they would resort to petty politics". As such, unlike their women counterparts, neticulous supervisios of men workers is of paramount importance if the targetted output has to be reached efficiently and effectively.

Because of the advanced ages of the majority of the workers as suggested by figure 3.6, it would seem to me that since it is difficult to get jobs elsewhere the current workers may have to remain in the factory for the rest of their working lives. However, it should be noted that the

basis reason for lack of jobs elsewhere is one of the terrible unemployment problem that has acutely hit the country at large and one that affects both the young and the old. Apart from the unemployment problem that these factory workers have at one time experienced, there is the problem of geographical labour immobility due to their long established local taste, family commitments and local associations, Over the time, these workers have developed a liking of the locality such that they have now reached a stage in their lives that they are reluctant to change their local jobs or to work outside it. Even if they were to work outside the district, the accompanying remmerations is likely not to justify the move, Labour mobility is mainly confined to the simple youths and school leavers in particular who. because of being exposed and knowledgeable about the lucrativeness of life in the modern sector, migrate to urban centres where such sweet opportunities and amenities are expected to exist. When workers were asked if offered similar jobs in any town they would go or not; thirty of the workers interviewed indicated that they would decline the offer. They contended that by going to towns they would lose land and family connections - a thing they would hate to contenance. It is therefore true that the workers' sense of commitment to land and family obligations has effectively guaranteed their loyalty to the Company.

Partly because of their low education, the factory workers cannot think of any other industry or trade as possible employment alternatives. The truth about the factory's labour force is that the majority of the workers are functionally illiterate with hardly any formal education at all. Indeed, as seen earlier, of those interviewed, while 50% have no ferm of fermal education, the rest have hardly gone beyond standard four of primary education. The possession of this megligible or no form of formal education by the majority of the workers coupled by the fact that the majority of these workers have lived in rural areas since they were born has tended to inculcate in their minds a feeling that there is me better place this theirs. For this reason, they have ne inclination to move out. Farlier discussions have already shown how reluctant the majority of the workers are is accepting similar jobs far away from their homes. However, it is clear that their standard of formal education which would be a ticket for a better job does not promise them any better employment opportunities outside their immediate locality. In fact, reports from their contemporaries have ventured to go out have discouraged most of them from leaving their factory employment. Indeed, several verters casually cited to me of cases of their relatives, friends or acquistances she have ventured to go out for greener pastures oaly to come back disappointed and cupty-handed. In some eases, those she have gone out have gloriously failed to secure jobs in the modern sector while the very few who have

been lucky to get urban-based jebs have been unable to cope up with the urban cost of living and its style of life due to the meagre salaries they get.

When the factory was first opened in 1963, the current factory manager who was by then a leaf officer based at the factory site revealed to me that most of the job-seekers by them comprised of the literate youths (15-25 years). These youths saw the company's employment opportunities would offer them a glorious and wonderful future. To them, factory employment was going to physically station them near their homes and at the same time offer them comparatively steady, regular and high wages as those given to their counterparts in similar urban jobs. They felt that they were certainly going to be better eff than the majority of the rural population. Other than working near their homes, the youths felt that they were going to experience a low rural cost of living - certainly lower than that of their counterparts in urban places. It did not however take them long before these youths realised that they were disillusioned by the very factory's employment they took. The hard facts about the factory employment was that they had to work at odd hours of the day, to do dirty work that didn't require them to have gone to school and their wages were extremely low and certainly lower than those carned by illiterate and less educated workers who were working exclusively for rural farmers. In addition, the workers saw no hope of being promoted since all posts in the factory except the factory manager's post were manned by equally young and local Africans. As a result of the

unexpected unattractive future, many of these workers fled to
the peasant farmers around the factory while others went te
try their luck in urban places. Indeed, figures 3.6 and
3.7 point out that of the 50 workers interviewed, 27 of
them joined the factory in the 1970s while only 23 had
joined it in the 1960s. In fact, only four workers who are
quite advanced in age have been with the factory since its
inception in 1963.

The high labour turnover of the 1960s is the one that has led management to change its pattern of recruitment. In the first instance, management has established that people from the immediate environment are not interested in the factory employment. The potential workers would rather sit idle at their homes while there are jobs for them in the nearby factory. For this reason, management has been keen in recruiting people from far. In Chinga location where the factory is located, of the 50 workers interviewed only 5 case from the location while 7 came from the adjoining Othaya location, 12 from Mahiga, 14 from Tetu division, 11 from Murang'a district and 3 from Mathira division. Management has discovered that those people from far are the ones who are devoted and serious with the factory work. They are normally fairly aged people who because of families to care for and children to educate, they stick to the factory employment regardless of the conditions in it.

At first, men dominated the labour force, but the

new recruitment exercise has emphasized women category of labour force. As one senior member of staff pointed out: "These are easier to handle than men and they hardly complain of anything in the factory". This ties very well with the rural population which comprises largely of women folk who are basically a very passive lot. Asked for the marital status of the thirty women employed at the factory at the time this study was carried out, the factory manager disclosed that all of them with an exception of four women either have families to support or legitimate husbands. Nine women have genuinely lost their husbands, eleven have had children out of marriage, four have been deserted by their husbands while two have divorced. Thus, the women labour force at the factory comprises of women with domestic and private problems - women who have either lost their husbands, or are divorced or have had childred out of wedlock or have been deserted by their husbands. They are women who for one reason or another not only lack men to support them, but they also have dependents who wast be cared for. As such, unless they get a wage employment their future and that of their dependants may be deemed. Indeed, because of their low education standard. It is only in domestic employment or in the factory's one in which they could be engaged and be able to earn a stoady income to support their families. As for domestic employment opportunities, they are plenty in urban places but rather scarce in rural areas and the potential women workers are reluctant to go to urban places because

of the high cost of living involved. They are therefore left with factory employment as the only alternative.

The wage structure is yet another factor that influences the type of labour that is employed in the factory. Before the Presidential directive on minimum wages on 1st May 1975. the factory workers used to earn to. 5.25 per day only to get to. 157.50 at the end of the month. After the Presidential Degree the wage was raised to is. 5.75 per day only to give to. 172.50 as the monthly wage. A wage rise of about 14% was indeed effected by the Presidential ruling. There are however, some few observations we can make from this salary structure. First the tea industry commands a comparatively higher wage scale and better salary structure which significantly used and continues to contrast greatly with other rural industries e.g. coffee, dairy and pyrethrum. In the latter industries, an average regular worker earns 150.00 per month while he used to earn in the region of th. 60.00 - 90.00 before the Presidential Decree. 42 Thus, the wages in tea industry are superior when compared with other rural industries hence the migration of people from predominantly coffee, dairy and pyrethrum areas to tem areas and tem factories. Another factor that influences the migration is the impact of local politics which are paroc ial. Since the other rural industries e.g. coffee. dairy etc. are managed by farmer cooperatives, the employees have tended to be very insecure at their jobs. One's job

From the popularly elected management committee since the patron-client relationship is the pattern of retaining jobs. For example, the author came across cases of coffee factory managers whose work and morale has been drastically frustrated by the cooperative management committee members who literally interfere with the day-to-day running of the factory. In such cases, the factory management has had no alternative but to bow to committee members decisions and whims despite the fact that he is the most technically qualified to do the job. Workers in such farmers cooperatives stick to their employments only because they have no alternative avenues of employments and whenever they sight a greener pasture as in tea factories, they immediately resign and flee.

its salary structure does not in any way compare with urban industries. Its salary structure and terms of work fall far short of what workers in urban industries enjoy. For example, the urban industrial workers earn a minimum of it, 300.00 per month which is about 43% higher than their rural tea factory counterparts. In other words, there is that phenomenal gap between urban and rural workers despite the fact that they do the same or similar work. Thus, though among other advantages like nearness to home, according to make the same work in any rural etc.; one strong reason that makes one work in any rural

factory is the fact that he cannot get a similar job or any other job for that matter in town. The author came across numerous cases where tea or coffee rural factory workers particularly the youth have left their work immediately they were offered urban job openings with better promises of job security. It seemed from my discussions with the factory workers that the factory workers are not very different in terms of their home distances and needs from their urban counterparts. Like their urban counterparts, the majority are far from their homes and as such they have to buy all their necessities just like the urban workers do. Again, though their cost of living in rural areas is low their incomes allow them to buy goods equivalent if not fewer than the urban workers. In other words, their incomes in real terms is equivalent if not lower than that of the urban workers. In any case, even if there might be some differences in the cost of living, it is not so great as to warrant the rural worker to earn about half the wage of the urban worker. In fact, the rural wage in real terms and at a time of inflation as at the moment renders the factory workers in particular unable to make their ends meet. Indeed, the author came across a number of workers who are constantly in debt with the Company over such petty advances like money to buy charcoal, foodstuffs, fees for their children, etc. As such, because of the wage structure in the tea industry, only a limited

category of the population is attracted to it i.e. the people who are desperate of some form of income however meagre it is. This is true with the old men who have family commitments and widows who have no other source of livelihood. They are the people who are ready to work in hard conditions provided they get some income.

Because of labour cost considerations by management, only a limited number (about 70 people) have been put on a more or less permanent terms. The rest and their number staggers from season to season, are put on temporary terms, These are the casual labourers and are paid at the rate of \$5.75 per every working day. They are not paid for sundays and public holidays when they do not work. In this way, management is able to save on labour and it is not worried of missing the same people because more prospective workers keep on queeing at the factory gate. Indeed, if there is any venue through which management can effect cost savings, it is in its labour cost component. All that the Company does is to man the factory operations with casual labourers who are not only easy to get given the mass rural unemployment situation, but are also paid on daily basis and again for only the hours worked. Again, since the factory's tea processing operations are dominated by automated technology, the recruited casual workers do not need any special skill or prior training since the whole exercise is fairly routinised and repetitive.

Due to the low education of the workers, their temporary terms of employments, and the fact that they are desperately in need of paid employments, the workers are least interested in labour union affairs. They seem to see the labour union as a champion of a workers - management antagonistic relation which would inevitably disadvantage their economic security. They therefore want least connection with such a monster that is likely to jeopardise their economic and social relation with the Company. However, it is unfortunate that these workers know very little about the important role such a union can play on their behalf without antagonising the interested parties. Their lack of knowledge about what the union can do for them can be attributed to the remoteness of the factory from the union branch office because it denies them of the necessary interaction with their union. Coupled with the fact that the workers are least educated about the benefits accruing from being union members, their negative attitude towards it have gone along way in weakening the position of the Union. It is in the light of these factors that we find that the Union (Kenya Plantation and Agricultural Workers Union) has been able to recruit only six of the 100-strong labour force at the factory.

The weak position of the labour Union can also be attributed to a number of other local factors. In the first place, we must recognise the fact that tea industry is a recent innovation in the district with about a 10

years' life. Unlike its Kericho counterpart, it lacks the plantation essence i.e. plantations which employ many permanent peole in one or several close tea plantations. Instead, the people employed in the smallholder tea gardens are predominantly of casual type and they enjoy other though intermittent alternative employments. Because it lacks the permanence tone so characteristic of plantations, tea factory employees are not keen in joining the relevant trade union. "Why join the union and my days in the industry are numbered and uncertain?" a potential worker candidate for the union wondered. Such a candidate was expressing fear of losing part of his small renumeration to a union that is likely to reward him with nothing during his few days or months at the factory.

We cannot fail to elaborate other related factors about the workers that are also at play in discouraging them from joining the local union branch. As evidenced by their apathy to join the industry's trade union, the majority of the workers seem to be ignorant of the role of a trade union. Indeed, of the 50 workers interviewed, 40 of them were not even aware that a union existed in the industry and they openly pointed out that even if it did exist, they would be reluctant to join it as it would mean a loss of part of their earnings to it. Secondly, Chinga tea factory is situated in an environment where neither other nor active trade union exists. Unfortunately, where other active trade

workers are so physically distant from them that they cannot be influenced or interact with their members. It is my contention that if these factory workers were in reasonable touch with unionised or active members of other trades then they may be more enthusiastic about their union. Because they have little or none education, through interaction with enlightened members of other active trade unions our factory workers will be able to physically see and hear what such unions have done or/and are doing for their worker-members. This may inevitably persuade them to join and strengthen their relevant union in order to bring it to comparable levels of achievement.

To be able to revitalise the Union, however, it is important that first and foremost we identify the Union's areas and causes of weakness and then act on them. As we have seen earlier, the interaction of the Union and its potential factory worker-member is missing largely because of the poor financial health of both the workers and the Union. The cituation is made worse by the 12-hour shift system that is operative at the factory because it denies the majority of the workers a convenient and right time to go to Myeri town and meet the Union office open. In addition, apart from the fact that workers cannot freely interact with their Union office because of distance and inconvenient office opening hours, the branch secretary on the other hand hardly gets time to visit his worker

members at the factory site. For example, I was told by the factory boss that the last time the Union branch boss visited the factory was in 1972 which is about four years back and even at that time he visited the factory he didn't see the workers, but instead he spent only a few minutes with the factory manager. Though it is true that numerous visits by the union secretary to the factory may not be all that necessary, it is important that the Union should be familiar with the problems of its worker members. Knowledge about such problems could be obtained form either the workers or their representatives at the factory site. However, in the factory, neither the shopsteward nor the work's council exist. The factory workers have no way of channelling their grievances either. They are therefore left at the mercy of the factory's management. As a matter of fact, the author came across stories about some workers who have been victimised by management for airing workers grievances. While I acknowledge that there might be financial constraints facing the union in the district, I still believe that the union branch leaves much to be desired. The union has the responsibility of not only recruiting new members, but also of being conversant with workers' problems at the factory level. By educating the workers on the role and importance of being union members more factory workers would be recruited and this would undoubtedly strengthen the union's numerical and financial position as to be able to hire full-time and qualified

the factory site, but would also see to it that institutions of shopstewards and work's council are recognized and instituted at the factory. The union would then be able to strongly and effectively participate in the affairs of the factory for the benefit of its worker-members. Workers' problems would find an audience in both the union and management ranks without any fear of being victimized or ignored.

The role of Kenya Plantation and Agricultural Workers Union in the district and the factory in particular significantly contrasts with its counterparts in the districts of Kericho, Sotik, etc. In the latter districts, the union branches are quite strong and they pose a force that management has to contend with. Indeed, it is in these tea plantation areas that the union was first conceived and formed way back in 1959 with an initial membership of 262 workers as members. At the beginning, the union did not have an easy sailing in those creas since it faced employers who were not ready to negotiate with workers (i.e. the old timers). However, the union showed that it was equally tough by strongly formulating and presenting demands and by so doing it inescapably got involved in politics. The climax of the union activities came in 1960 when a twoweeks' strike was staged - the longest strike which had hitherto been experienced in a single industry. 44 Because of the momentum gained in plantations, the union has recruited

numerous members in the past years such that at the moment it has a national membership of 40,575 strong. Indeed, it is the strongest national labour union, with that of teachers taking a second place with its 39,272 members. It is therefore evident that the weak position of the union at Myeri branch level is unusual, lamentable and disgraceful. Though the organisation of the union may have contributed to the branch's weak position since all its activities are controlled from the headquarters leaving the branch with no powers and resources, it is nevertheless my staunchest contention and conviction that the union leaves much to be desired in the district.

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who is an employee of Brooke Bond Liebig Kenya Ltd. also confirmed this information.

- Bond Liebig Kenya Ltd. (B.B.L.K.) and other ten commercial companies lent K.T.D.A. £20,000 as contained in the K.T.D.A. Annual Report and Accounts for the year 1963/64. In addition B.B.L. Kenya Ltd. does give short-term loans to the Company e.g. in 1974 it gave the Company a short term loan to the tune of £13,340 as contained in the Company's Annual Report and statement of assounts for the year 1974/75. Page 13.
- 16. K.T.D.A. Final Report Part II. Details Supporting
 the Findings and Recommendations. Inducon London. Page 68.

 17. Ministry of Agriculture. Nyeri District Annual Report
 for the year 1973/74.
- 18. I am indebted to the Assistant Factory Manager for the information about the relationship between the Company and the Tea Board of Kenya.
- 19. I as indebted to the factory manager and the K.T.D.A.

 Tea Leaf Officer stationed at the factory for the information about the relationship between the Association of Toa

 Growers (A.T.G.) and the Company together with K.T.D.A.

 Indoed, the A.T.G. has the monopoly of the tea market in the local area and Kenya at large.
- 20. The assistant factory manager informed me that he has instructed the K.T.D.A. tea selling staff that normally

accompanies the collecting trucks to tea buying centres
to sell the factory packed tea to only the tea farmers and
to do so at tea collecting centres only. Then they sell
that tea outside the collecting centres, they do so at their
cwn risk since they are liable to being caught and prosecuted by A.T.G. marketing staff who have the monopoly of
selling tea.

- 21. I am indebted to the assistant factory manager for
 the information about the relationship between the Company
 and Francis Peak and Company. He also showed me the returns
 the Company received from Francis Peak & Co. in London.

 22. I am also indebted to the assistant factory manager
 for the information about the relationship between the
 Company and the Rast African Tea Growers Association.

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- 25. Chinga Tea Frotory Co. 1td. Ibid. Pare 13.
- 26. Chinga Tea Footory Co. Ltd. Ibid. Page 13.
- 27. This reminds us of the Provincial and District

The State of the Phones with the State of Santany's

Development Committees in the country that do their respective local planning.

- 28. Statistics of self-help project were obtained from the District Community Development Office Mr. J. Khamino.
- 29. Dividend figures were extracted from the Company's Annual Reports and statements of Accounts for the years 1972/73, 1973/74 and 1974/75. However, figures of bonuses came from the K.T.D.A. Leaf Officer Mr. Mwaniki who is stationed at the factory.
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- 31.. The K.T.D.A. Annual Reports and Accounts for the years 1972/73, 1973/74 and 1974/75.
- 32. Working out from the tea hectarage figures published for Nyeri district by the Ministry of Agriculture in its Annual Repors for the last three years with special attention to Othaya and Tetu divisions where the bulk of the Factory's tea comes from, it can be observed that an average of 260 new hectares are planted with tea every year. However, with the rapidly growing rural population this hectarage figure is likely to drop so as to give room for food crops to feed the mounting population.
 - 33. The figures were obtained from the Senior Tea Officer stationed at Nyeri town.
- 34. This was the figure worked out from the factory's

Leaf Officer's fertiliser distribution to tea farmers for the year 1975/76 tea crop.

- 5. I am indebted to the factory manager for the breakdown of the members of the Board of Directors.
- 36. I am indebted to Factory management staff who were interviewed and who had been appointed by the Board of Directors sitting in Nairobi.
- 37. The Company's Annual Reports and Statements of Accounts are primarily meant for the shareholders. It is up to the K.T.D.A. executive director in consultation with the Minister of agriculture to release what they deem fit to the press.
- 38. I am indebted to the office of technical director which is responsible to the Board.
- 39. In a public baraza reported by the Standard of 7th June 1976, the factory manager of Litein Tea Factory had said that his factory was going to close down because the local farmers were not supplying it with enough green leaf. Since the policy of K.T.D.A. is to establish more tea factories in the country, this statement was contrary to the policy of the overall boss body of the industry.
- 41. Stern N.H. Opt. cit. Page 179.
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 Society's Secretary Manager Mr. P. Nderitu for the information
 on the unionised members of his co-operative group.

- 42. I am indebted to Mr. Mderitu the Secretary Manager of Tetu Coffee Growers' Cooperative Society for the information about the salary structure of the Society's labour force.
- 43. Arvo W.E. Opt. Cit. Page 77.
- 44. Arvo W.E. Ibid. Page 77.
- 45. An article contained in a pamphlet entitled

 The Structure of Labour Unions in Kenya Page 2.
- The Structure of Labour Unions in Kenya

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CHAPTER 5

SERVICES AND LABOUR PHODUCTIVITY

5.1. Collective Bargaining at the Grassroot.

Collective bargaining provides an opportunity for both the workers and management to exchange ideas on matters of mutual interest. It is in such a forum that the two parties discuss certain items of a company and mutually agree what should be done, how to do it and when to do it. However, our union which should be spokesman of workers in such deliberations has failed. It has failed to mobilise and gather its workers opinions on certain issues so as to collectively and strongly seek an audience with management on such issues affecting the worker-members. Failing of the union is right in its house. From the responses of workers, though management does not call meetings of its worker members unless it wants to give directives, the union does not call meetings of its members either. The executive branch secretary who is charged with the responsibility of convening and addressing meetings of workers hardly gets time to visit his members leave along recruiting new ones at the factory site. In support of the rarity of ocntact between the union and its worker-members at the factory, the manager observed: "Indeed, the last time the union branch secretary visited the factory was sometimes in 1972 and at that time he had come to collect routine administrative matters about the up to date information on the union membership size at the factory". At that time.

while the unionised workers were four, this number rose to six out of a labour contingent of about 100 - strong by June 1976, four years later, This suggests that the recruitment of morkers into their labour union has been going on at a snail's pace mainly because the union has little or no contact with the factory workers. Emphasizing the weak union-workers relationship, the factory manager went on to observe: "Even that time (i.e. 1972) the union boss made no effort to see the workers either formally or informally". Asked how he acquints himself with the workers' problems and views, the union boss replied: "I write if need be to the factory manager or wait for him to reply to my letters or to inform me". Indeed, he neither meets the workers at the factory nor does he send information pamphlets or letters about the union that can be studied by the workers at their leisure. As such, collective bargaining between the management and the union does not exist at the grassroot of the company

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5.2. Workers' Participation

forkers are said to participate directly in the aff. rs of an enterprise when they themselves own most if not all the equity of the undertaking and when they form an intergral part of all the crucial policy and executive bodies of an enterprise. On the other hand however, workers are said to participate indirectly in the affairs of an enterprise when they own a part if not the whole of the Company's equity and/or when their voice is heard by the institutions that matter through a middle-man who is usually their union representative. In our factory company however, it was quite evident from the responses received from both the management staff and union officials that the workers were neither represented in the policy nor in the executive, organs of the Company. In fact, the Company's Board of Directors which is the topmost policy and executive body of the enterprise is very much skewed in favour of the owners of the equity. Workers are left at the mercy of the management staff. All their problems and affairs are sorted cut and solved by the management staff using the normal bureaucractic channels. It is only through these channels that their affairs or problems come to the attention of the higher bodies of the company that matter. In practice

however, nothing about workers has ever been forwarded from the bottom to the Board of Directors, but instead policy matters affecting the workers has always come from the top and the grassroot management simply implements them. It seemed to me that nothing emanates from workers upwards because the management staff has all the powers and hierarchical support to deal and finalise all problems from workers there and then. It is also the conviction of the factory management staff that workers have no problems that warrant the attention of the higher authorities since most of them are trivial and can be handled on the spot by any member of the grassroot management staff. However, this should not be interpreted to mean that workers have no problems that would require the attention of higher policy and executive authorities, but rather it suggests that workers are not well organised. They lack offices that can pool together, study, synethize, collectively and strongly present their problems and issues to management for upward communication. Legitimized offices such as shop-stewards, works council, etc. which comprise of workers as members and which normally spearhead the interests of workers are non-existent. Again, from the responses of the union officials and management, institutionalised offices which would specifically look at workers' problems and at the same time ensure that workers' contributions are incorporated into management functions do not exist either. In fact, a senior official in the Company (the assistant factory manager)

observed that, "Workers here have no problems."

On equity participation, the factory manager observed: "No worker is allowed to buy shares of the Company unless he is a tea-grower". As a matter of fact, of the total labour force at the factory, only twenty workers grow tea at their homes and could qualify for those shares. However, of these only five have so far bought the Growers shares of the Company. Again, even if one possesses some shares of the Company, the factory manager pointed out that at the annual general meetings, owners discuss purely business matters and not personnel matters. As such, the few who own shares attend the meetings in their capacity as tea growers or partial factory owners and not as workers. Again, even if such gatherings were to deliberate on personnel matters, the workers' number and the magnitude of their equity ownership is too tiny as to be felt in the midst of the majority owners who don't work at the factory.

As seen earlier, there is a general negative attitude among the workers about the Union. For example, although the union boss contended that the union had played a great role in seeing that medical facilities, housing facilities, sick leaves, overtime pays, hours of work, wages and salaries, compensation in case of death or injury and contributions to N.S.S.F. went on smoothly due to union demands and pressures the workers were of a different opinion. In fact, 90% of the workers interviewed felt that the social and economic services they enjoyed were purely a creation of management.

Again, while 5% of the workers did not know how or who

initiated the services, 4% were of the opinion that the government was the main force behind the services. As a matter of fact, it is only 1% of the workers interviewed that attributed the services to the union's initiative partly because of overhearing what other unions in other industries had done for their worker - members. Again, though the union contended that it was active in encouraging its members to force a credit finance cooperative to be lending money to its members, and in urging its clientale to form an enterprising cooperative society so that the workers could invest collectively in buildings and businesses, all the workers interviewed outrightly rejected this. Similarly, the contention of the union that it offers legal services to individual workers when confronted with industrial disputes in the court of law or in the Industrial Court of Kenya was also dismissed by the workers. All the workers interviewed contended that their fates in economic and social affairs wholly depended on an individual and that the union did nothing to help them when in difficulties. This prevailing negative attitude of workers towards their union can only be attributed to lack of or/and inadequate interaction of the factory workers, the union workers and the union officials. Indeed, it has already been noted that union officials hardly visit the factory site to discuss workers' welfare and problems leave alone visits to explain to the workers the role of the union. Again, major industrial disputes e.g. a strike action that normally rally all workers

its inception. Indeed, the role the union would play during such an industrial dispute would definitely persuade workers to pay or not pay much attention to their union. However, the general negative attitude of workers towards the union has led the union not to enjoy the necessary legitimate authority from its present members and potential candidates at the factory.

From the responses received from the workers, the union seems to be the creator of the sad state of affairs. It apparently does not involve its members even in its internal affairs. Asked how often the members are summoned for a general meeting to discuss workers welfare and strategies of facing management, the union boss replied: "No such meetings are ever called. It is only after five years when all members are called to elect their union officials." To make the matter worse, while none of the six unionised members at the plant has ever attended such meetings, none of them had ever contested for any union office. Indeed, none of the current union officials has ever pleaded with any of the factory workers as individuals or as a group to elect him leave alone the fact that none of the unionised members indicated a desire to contest for any of the union offices now and in the future. As such, apart from being least ambitious about holding senior offices of their union, all the workers interviewed showed a general apathy towards their union.

When asked whom they consulted when faced with any problem

while at work; 40 workers said that they normally see the management while 8 said they discussed such problems with their colleagues. None of the interviewed workers brought their problems to the union officials. If they have any suggestions to make about their work, they either chose to talk it over with their immediate boss or did nothing about it mainly because of their ignorance about the existence of the union or the physical distance involved between the factory and the union office coupled with the union's incovenient hours of opening the office. As such, there is very little or no communication existing between the workers and the union. Indeed, none of the interviewed workers ever visited the union's office for the last one year. As seen earlier, the union officials have also equally declined to visit the workers. As such, since the union is not itself participative, it is hard for it to champion a cause that it does not internally subscribe to. Hence lack of workers participation through union representation.

Though workers participation does not exist, it would be premature to hurriedly conclude that the Company cannot introduce a participative style of management. Indeed, the general feelings of the management, workers and the union officials were for it. While the three union officials interviewed were of the opinion that the union should have the same influence on final decisions affecting the plant, the responses of workers and management differed as figure 5.1 shows.

Figure 5.1

(a) Workers Responses	Number of workers
Workers to have more influence	
than management	17
Workers to have same influence as	
management	17
Workers to have less influence than	
management	10
Workers to have no influence	6
	50
(b) Management Responses	No. of Management Staff
(b) Management Responses Nanagement to have more influence	
Management to have more influence than union	Staff
Management to have more influence	Staff
Management to have more influence than union Management to have same influence as union	Staff 6
Management to have more influence than union Management to have same influence as	Staff 6
Management to have more influence than union Management to have same influence as union Management to have less influence than	6 2

From figure 5.1, while 44 workers indicated that they should have some influence in the running of the factory, 2 members of the management staff interviewed on this subject (about 80% of all interviewed) supported the idea. As such, there is a general concensus opinion among them that a participative style of management should be considered as a viable exercise. All the parties of industrial relations stressed that final decisions affecting the enterprise should be a combined responsibility of workers, their union, management and equity owners and not a preserve of any one party.

The only difference was one of the nature and degree of participation which is a secondary consideration.

The current general atmosphere and practice at the factory (which is predominantly a creation of management) seems to be heavily opposed to a participative style of management. For example, though management pointed out that it has no problems in trying to have workers participate in the affairs of the enterprise, it is hard to verify this assertion since even the grassroot management never seeks workers' opinions before taking its decisions. Again, any anticipated change which is usually initiated by the management, is always referred to higher policy and executive bodies of the Company rather than being first discussed among the immediate and concerned parties at the factory scene. Workers have no open venues through which they can air and articulate their views since neither a Company magazine nor a suggestion box system nor any open forum exist within the Company's organisation structure. Everything seems to be left at the discretion of management to decide unilaterally and sometimes quite arbitrarily without even consulting either the workers or the workers union.

Responses from the workers suggest that if we have to emulate a participative style of management, our main and foremost task would be to sell the ideology more to the management than to the workers. The author personally witnessed how freely workers come to management with their personal and work problems. Indeed, though workers continued to have strong bonds with their homes

while employed at the factory, all those interviewed felt that they were nevertheless intergral parts of the Company only that they were denied gemuine recognition. They felt that though their work was all machine-dominated, they could be valuable assets in managing their welfare as long as management gave them the requisite hierarchical and moral support. Showing commitment to their jobs, 31 workers saw their jobs as good occupations with the Company while 19 expressed the desire to leave if they had alternative employments. Given their low social status, 60% of the workers interviewed saw possibilities of improving their working conditions through creation of an effective communication system between the management and workers. Open - air discussions were suggested by twenty five workers as a meaningful strategy of effecting an efficient management-workers communication system. While ten workers suggested regular general meetings with management, thirteen advocated for a revitalisation of the union to be the spokesman of their grievances and welfare demands in the policy and executive organs of the company. The rest suggested no specific means of involving workers in the affairs of the company. These latter workers saw the present system where they could always discuss their problems with management as fitting and in line with their expectation and aspirations. It is probably this category of workers who are apparently the majority who have convinced management to think that they know the workers' problems just too well.

Because of the routine nature of work that does not give

room for the need of workers to participate and the fact that
no formalised structures of workers' participation exist in
the company, the management has chosen to induce workers by
concentrating on their welfare. Indeed, management has encouraged
its workers to personally register all their problems with their
offices and in this connection most workers have positively responded. It would therefore seem that management feels that
once workers' welfare services are provided these literally
take the place and functions of workers' direct or indirect
participation. Once workers problems are looked into, be they
social, economical or political, then the workers tend to
feel that the company cares for them. The workers then reciprocate the services they get by identifying themselves with
the objectives of the company.

5.3 Employee Services:

The types and quantities of social and economic services that employees enjoy depend on a number of things. As pointed out in the introductory chapter, the provided services are usually a result of either management's or workers' initiative. Sometimes, they are a product of collective bargaining between the management staff and workers' union or due to government initiated laws and regulations. However, it was reliably learned from the management and later confirmed by the author actual observation that the company does provide its workers with houses, water, electricity, canteen, protective clothing, recreation facilities and medical services as part of social fringe benefits. In addition to the above social services, the

company does provide economic services as well. It provides overtime payments to its workers at the rate of 1½ times the normal rate of payment as stipulated by the government; gives an 18-day annual paid leave; advances salaries and contributes to the National Social Security Fund (N.S.S.F.) for some of its workers. Indeed, figure 5.2. gives us an idea as to the amount of money the company spends in providing social and economic services to its workers. Norking out from these figures given by management, the total social and economic services bills were 21% and 22% of the total earnings for the years 1973/74 and 1974/75 respectively. However, to be able to appreciate those figures let us examine the nature of each service in much more details.

AMOUNTS INVOLVED IN PROVIDING EMPLOYEE SERVICES*

		(Shillings)
Type of Service	1973/74	1974/75
Social Services		4
Medical services	3,840	3,420
Housing	4,800	4,800
Water and Electricity	4,321	4,836
Canteen	-	-
Recreation facilities	2,000	2,000
Paid sick leave	-	-
Protective clothing	600	600
Economic Services		
Paid normal leave	6,035	5,175
N.S.S.F.	6,727	6,010
Loans	9,600	8,901
Compensations		-
Overtime	103,680	86,400
Total	136,065	108,983

5.4 Social Services

Medical service facilities are basically speaking not the responsibility of the company but rather of the Covernment. All that the company does is to arrange for the transportation of the sick workers from the factory site to a nearby government clinic (which is about three miles away). If when a patient is at the local clinic and is seriously ill and if the clinic transport is not readily available, then the factory transport takes the sick worker to Nyeri Provincial General Hospital for further treatment. Asked how many workers have enjoyed the company's transport facility when seriously sick, the manager noted that he had personally driven six workers to the Provincial General Hospital for further treatment in the last one year using the company's pick-up car. It was also learned from the manager that for minor treatments like headaches, colds, stomachaches, etc., the workers are expected to buy tablets like cafenol, asprin, algon, etc. from the factory canteen which is rented to a local businessman. Thus, in this field of medical services the company makes full use of the free medical services provided by the government to the general public. All that the company does is to ferry its workers to the nearby medical clinic or hospital. Morking out from the figures of figure 5.2, the company spent an average of about 400/- per worker per year in the last two years. The workers on the other hand are quite happy about the arrangement. It would seem to me that the workers see the exercise as one genuinely and jointly worked out by the company and government

opinion of his colleagues about the service when he observed:
"I like this company because whenever I fall sick and the
management is aware then I am sure my illness will be treated
at no cost from my pocket". As for the expenses incurred on
minor illness, the same worker observed: "I never buy those
tablets, instead, I leave the illness to naturally get cured."
His sentiments were later confirmed by the canteen operator
who casually informed me that he keeps the tablets primarily
to help the local people who live around the factory. He
does not keep them for factory workers since very few of them
ever buy them. This is so because the workers are sure that
should the illness develop into serious conditions, then the
company will take care of everything.

All the workers interviewed expressed satisfaction over the accommodation provisions. All of them noted with satisfaction that the company is very kind to them since it gave them free houses, free water and free electricity. However, none of them questioned the quality and quantity of the facilities. Instead, they expressed the feelings that they did not come to live in a paradise but to earn money which they were desperately in need of so as to enable them to educate their children, develop their home commercial undertakings, buy food, and clothes for their dependants. The workers' union officials expressed similar sentiments of satisfaction about the accommodation arrangements.

However, it is worth examining further the state of affairs

as far as housing, water and electricity are concerned.

The houses which are at the factory site and within a walking distance from the plant are twenty single-bedroomed houses in number. However, with a monthly average work force of 100 people, there is an average of five people per house. This average / from time to time according to seasons. While /Fluctuat at peak seasons (e.g. April) as many as 8 people occupy a room, the number drops as low as 3 people per room during the dry or cold season (e.g. August). However, since the houses belong to the company, the company does not directly pay rents for the houses. On the other hand, if we assume that the market value of such rural houses is approximately 480/- per year, this figure works out to an average expenditure of 96/- per worker in one year which was a very insignificant amount as a house allowance when compared with other rural employments. Again, because of the nature of congestion in those houses, it was extremely hard for workers to have individual privacy in them leave alone thinking of bringing their families at the factory site. This housing arrangement forces workers to be unaccompanied by their families, relatives and friends, as is the case with most of the local urban workers.

It is in providing free electricity and water to workers that the company directly pays for the workers. This works out to an average of 50/- per worker in one year. On the whole, water and electricity bill portion going to the workers is about 1% of the total factory electricity bill. Again, the consumption of electricity is bound to be small because it

is only for lighting purposes while water is primarily used for minimal cooking and washings because the workers, spart from being unaccompanied by their families and given their social status, they are not affluent by their social orientation.

The company spends nothing on canteen cervices. is because the company has rented the canteen to a private individual and workers buy foodstuffs from it. The maintenance of the canteen building is done by the proceeds generated by the rent paid to the company. In the canteen building however, there are indoor games housed there. Such games as darts. T.V., draughts and cinema shows are found in it. As for outdoor recreation facilities, the company provides football, tencoits and volley ball. In total, the company spends an average of the 2,000 per annum towards providing all those recreational facilities. This works out to an average of the 20 per worker for one year which as the factory manager pointed out: "This is the least cost item in my cost of running the factory". Because of the ages, social statuses and educational backgrounds of most of the workers, the most popular things are indoor games, films and T.V. shows. The author interestedly observed how on every evening, workers flock at the canteen hall to play indoor games and watch TV programms. Commenting on the flocking of workers at the canteen one worker observed: " We flock at the canteen because we have nothing to do in our houses after supper. can't go out to the nearest shopping centre except on pay days because of shortage of money for drinking and because it is a security risk to go out of the factory."

In the past, the company used to show films to workers after every two weeks. Of late however, the exercise has turned out to be appearing once a month or once after every two months. Asked why the frequency of showing films has changed, the assistant factory manager replied: "I have lost the taste of films". In addition, it should be pointed out that it is the assistant factory manager who is responsible for operating the film projector, order and show the films. His loss of taste of films had unfortunately meant that fewer films were shown to the workers.

On the other hand, outdoor games of volleyball, football and tencoit are open to all the workers. These games took place any time a group of workers that could form two contesting teams were free and out of work and felt like playing. However, because of the rare coincidence of adequate workers who are free and desirous to play, the frequency of playing such games has been limited to about one game per week. During his one month stay at the factory, the author saw only three games of volleyball one game of tencoit and no game of football being played.

As a cost for the factory, paid sick leave was not a significant expense item for the company. Indeed, one could rightly say that the company spends nothing on paid sick leaves. This is because, apart from making use of the national free medical services provided by the government, the company carefully selects its workers. From the physical look of those interviewed, it seemed to me that the management had selected only the healthy and able-bodied looking persons. Those workers who had happened to fall sick during their working appointments were either denied

their annual leaves in order that they could recover the days they were sick, or they were asked to work round he clock with minor breaks in between in order to compensate for the time they were sick. Again, because of the temporary terms of employment of most workers, those who fell sick were not paid for any day they did not work for. In other words, whether one was paid for sick leave or not depended on the whims of the factory management. However, the practise had been to pay only for the days worked and if a worker insisted on getting a full month's salary then he must have been prepared to make up for the time not worked. Asked how he sorts out the workers to enjoy paid sick leaves or not the assistant factory manager observed: "strictly speaking we pay for days worked. Any worker who absents himself from work for whatever reasons must make up for the time not worked either by foregoing his annual leave or by working in 1% shifts each day lest his end of month packet is slashed". However, none of the workers interviewed ever absented himself for sickness reasons and therefore none had been asked to compensate for the time he was sick except two long-serviced workers who fell sick for two weeks.

The author also observed that the company gives protective clothing to its machine attendants and in particular to those who work in the rolling, drying and withering departments.

Por economic reasons, those clothes are always left behind in the factory by the departing shift-workers for the incoming

workers to use. By this arrangement, the company finds itself in a position where it simply replaces the old clothes and since the clothes are under-utilised and the fact that the majority of workers prefer to work without them, the company buys an average of two clothes in one year. Buying of these protective clothing, "has been a minor expense" as the factory manager pointed out.

5.5 Economic Services

Unlike social services, economic services are openly and highly appreciated by the workers because of the monetary returns associated with them. This is because these services either directly or indirectly increase the individual workers' income or help him out of an acute financial problem. This state of affairs is understandable when one recalls that the majority of our workers come from the low income social group of the society. In addition to their low social status, they have large families back home to care for with only the meagre monthly salaries they draw from the company. Expressing the desperate need of money, one worker represented the general opinion of his colleagues when he casually observed: " Had it bot been for money in kind or otherwise, I would not be here. Instead. he went on, "I would be at home trying to survive with my family through any means that would give me any income so as to get the daily bread for myself and my family." Let us therefore examine in much more details the economic services the workers get at our plant.

As stipulated in the labour code of regulation, every worker at the factory is entitled to an annual 18-days leave. From figure 5.2. this entitlement works out to an average of between 500/- and 575/- per worker for one year given an average all year round labour force of 100 people. In practice however, this figure is probably not reached due to the company's temporary terms of employment and the fluotuating size of the labour force at any given moment. On the other hand the management being always cost-sensitive has been reluctant to put any worker on its permanent payroll unless one does a fairly sophiscated and skilled job i.e. a job that is hard to get replacement in the local area e.g. attending machines, assembling tea crates, secretarial work. etc. Management has also always preferred to recruit casual workers who only show up when needed and paid for the days worked. Such workers who are the majority of the plant's labour force do not need to be skilled in anything since their work is basically a mechanical one and even if they are raw, they can be drilled on the job. Again, since there is plenty of unskilled labour in the labour market around, management has not seen the use of putting all of its labour on the permanent payroll only to demand paid normal leaves. This extra and avoidable cost has therefore/reduced to the /been minimum by engaging the majority of its work force as casual labourers who are not entitled to paid leaves. However, to show that it complies with the government ruling of giving

paid leaves it had set aside an average annual amount of about 5,500/- for that purpose in the last two years as figure 5.2 demonstrates.

As required by law, the company does contribute towards the National Social Security Fund (N.S.S.F.) for its regular workers who are on permanent terms of employment. However, while each worker contributes 5% of his monthly renumerations, the company contributes another 5%. Working out from the figures shown in figure 5.2, it is evident that the company contributed towards the N.S.S.F. of 65 and 60 workers in the years 1973/74 and 1974/75 respectively. As such, an average of 40% of the plant's regular labour force did not enjoy the company's N.S.S.F. contributions during the two years. This state of affairs ties very closely with the branch union boss's observation that: "Though the social security fund scheme is compulsory to all unpensionable firms, not all firms pay their workers' contributions due to the N.S.S.F.'s poor check-off and administrative machinery". What management does is to recruit some people who though permanently on their payroll, their names are never submitted to the N.S.S.F.'s offices. Most of the interviewed workers deplored the hidden and silent deductions on their salaries which lead to an accumulation of their terminal income which is enjoyed after one reaches 55 years of age. Given their weak income position and low social status, the workers badly need all the accrued earnings at the soonest so as to improve their lot. According to the responses received from

the workers, there was a concensus opinion among them that they need this money quickly since some may never reach the age of 55 and even if they did, the procedures and time lag before they actually got the money was likely to be complicated, expensive and time-consuming. As such, the majority of the workers were not in favour of the exercise of the company and themselves contributing towards the N.S.S.F. One worker representing the views of his colleagues even went further to show the time value of the expected money from N.S.S.F. He strongly argued that by the time he gets the N.S.S.F.'s accumulated contributions, that lump sum of money will have depreciated so much that it will buy him property or items of less and less value as time elapses. To him therefore he continued the argument; "It is better to get all my income now, invest it whenever I want in expectation of higher returns in the near future". Thus not only is the N.S.S.F. administrative machinery weak, but the unpensionable workers who are its beneficiaries do not like it either.

The popular loans were nothing but salary advances which were recoverable from the workers' salaries within a short time e.g. one month's or several months' time. In most cases, the amounts were one or several tens of shillings and hardly beyond 50/- and they were normally advanced in the middle of the month. Any amount going beyond 50/- had to get an approval from the factory manager otherwise small amounts were decided upon by the assistant factory manager. Again, not always was one to get what he wanted, but cuts were made on the requested

amounts. To make the matter worse, the maximum one could be advanced was half his salary which was for most workers approximately 80/-. It was because of these restrictions and difficulties of getting these loans that the portion that eventually landed on the hands of the workers was pretty small. For 1973/74 and 1974/75 years. the amount advanced was respectively 8.4% and 7.8 of the total wage bill. However, the exercise was very much appreciated by the workers since it enabled them to meet their immediate and burning financial commitments e.g. paying of school fees, buying the basic foodstuffs, charcoal, paraffin, etc. One worker clearly expressed his worker-colleagues' sentiments of appreciation of it when he commented: "It is because of this company that I have been able to give my five children a secondary education, I always get salary advances from this company whenever time comes to go to school." The author also witnessed a queu of workers going to see the assistant manager for salary advances to enable them to buy foodstuffs, pay fees, buy clothes, etc.

Another popular thing among the workers was the provision of credit facilities at the factory canteen. Workers who come from far could otherwise find it difficult to exist or survive at the factory had it not been for the credit facility of meals provided at the canteen. Showing his appreciation of this credit arrangement one worker casually commented: "I was able to survive here for the first two months simply because I got all my meals from the canteen. I had no food and very little money on me to buy my own foodstuffs leave alone buying a bed and bedding for my accommodation." Similar sentiments were expressed by the workers interviewed in connection with

the first time they were recruited in the company. The exercise was done through mutual arrangement between factory management and the canteen proprietor. Through the arrangement, the workers were allowed to take meals, refreshments, etc. on credit terms at the canteen, but they had to be prepared to meet these expenses at the end of the month. Thus when it came to paying workers' salaries at the end of the month the management gave first priority to the recovery of the canteen proprietor's debts that were owed by the workers. The same went to any salary advances a worker may have had acquired, from the company. It was therefore evident that the loans given, apart from having the advantage of being interest free were calculated to enable the workers to subsist and have the desire and stamina or strength to work in the factory. Because the loan were very small and of short-term duration, the worker barely left his subsistence level of living. By these small amounts, the worker was only temporary better of at that particular time but soon afterwards, he went back to where he was before he got the loan. However, given their social status, the workers who largely live hand-to-mouth lives like this arrangement and indeed, all those interviewed expressed a liking of the salary advance provision.

Compensations which come under Accident's Scheme had not been enjoyed by any worker at the factory since the plant was incepted in 1963. According to the factory manager who had been associated with the factory since 1965, no worker had ever been injured or incapacitated while working at the factory. However, it was interesting to observe how ignorant all the workers interviewed

were about the Workman's Compensation Act. To them, if one was incapacitated or injured while at the service of the company, it was his problem. Over 90% of the workers interviewed were of the opinion that if one had such a calamity, he would just lose his job and someone else recruited instead and nothing like compensation followed. They were totally ignorant of the procedures they could follow to get compensation for one who was injured or incapacitated while at work. Indeed, none of the workers interviewed knew how he would pursue a compensation claim if injured or incapacitated while at the company's service.

Overtime, though it adds renumerations on a workers's endof-the-month pay cheque, economic benefits demanded sacrifice on the part of the worker. He had to sacrifice for his leisure time, deny himself the end-of-work rest, public holidays and time to join his family, relatives and friends. However, given their low regular incomes and their low social status, workers saw overtime as a rewarding exercise. All the workers interviewed showed that they badly needed this extra money they could earn as overtime regardless of the bodily and social strains or torture they incoured as long as it made them financially better off at the end of the month. One worker summed up the feelings of his colleagues when he noted: "No matter what other people say and what other losses I experience, it was money that brought me here and if I could get enough, I would immediately quit to enjoy a free life." In other words, the workers work for money and any opportunity to earn more of it is keenly exploited and indeed

overtime gives them such an opportunity. However, strictly speaking, management did not give overtime money, but rather one had to work for it and according to government regulations, the company paid at the rate of 1 times as much as the normal working rates of payment. However, the company needed the workers' labour in order to complete its work in time before the green leaf went bad. As a matter of fact overtime, though popular among the workers, it was not voluntary, but mandatory. If one refused to work for overtime without management's permission, he was automatically to lose his job. However, the chance to make this extra money was given by the company to its workers who all along were orazy about making money all the time.

5.6 Labour Productivity at the Plant

Having examined the style of management exercised at the company's premises and the sort of employee services provided, let us then see the output of our workers. The productivity of the workers quantity and quality - wise will enable us to assess the individual or combined impact of the style of management practised and the employee services provided.

for the last five years. A casual
5.3 and figures 3.3, 6.1. and 6.2, all of which are showing
the general performance of the company suggest that the
company's performance has been satisfactory. Indeed, earlier
discussions have already revealed that the company has been

among the best performers in the country to the extent of winning both a local an an overseas reputation. For example, on its 1974/ 1975 Annual Report, K.T.D.A. had this to say: "Chinga Tea Factory achieved the highest throughput of 7.045, 875 Kgs. of green leaf and the highest output of 1,626,180 Kgs. of made tea with an out turn of 23,07 as compared to 22,68 for the last year."4 However, while other factors influence the quantative and qualititive performance of the factory e.g. quality of management, quality of delivered green leaf, standard of growers' tea husbandry, local ecological factors, local and overseas market conditions, etc.; it is quite evident from figure 5.3 that the manufacturing labour contributes significantly towards the satisfactory performance of the plant. Indeed, at no stage in tea-processing is tea left without the attention of human labour - from withering to the packaging stages. It is because of this, that we find that the amount of labour - hours used in any given year is considerable. In addition, figure 5.3 shows that as the amount of made tea increases (as a result of an increase in delivered green leaf) so does the labour-hours needed increase. However, while the kilograms of made tea produced in one hour tended to be constant during the five years' period, the number of kilograms produced by one man varies from one year to another. It tends to follow no specific pattern. Figure 5.3. clearly demonstrates this. Though in 1974/75 more made tea was produced than in the years 1973/74, 1972/73 and 1971/72, less Kg. per man were produced. Labour productivity

therefore, must be influenced by a variety of factors. As such, labour contributions to the quantity and quality of made tea is not only a function of the supervisory style, but it is also a function of the services or extra-wage benefits workers enjoy at the factory. It is indeed on the basis of employee services that the company accords to its workers that this study of labour productivity focuses its attention. All the other factors that influence labour productivity are held constant while the types of employee services, their quality and amounts are either allowed to vary or totally denied and their impact on the quality and quantity of made tea assessed.

Figure 5.3

Annual Labour Productivity

Year		arly labour ours used	Quantity in Kg/man/year	Quantity in sof the crop in top two grades
1974/75	1,640,000	5,191,680	1282	47
1973/74	1,626,180	4,948,920	13333	31
1972/73	1,596,842	4,822,584	1351	21
1971/72	1,395,435	4,169,568	1357	37
1970/71	1,056,774	3,991,104	1077	56

It is also evident from figure 5.3. that though the labour hours

used and Kg/man/year varies from year to year, they do not vary very significantly. This is because K.T.D.A. has published a blue-print that explicity spells out the amount of labour hours needed as per a factory's capacity. According to this much publicized blue-print, Chinga Tea Factory is restricted not to spend more than 5 cents per Kg. of made tea on labour. It therefore means that the cost of labour consideration as dictated by this K.T.D.A. blue-print supersedes the amount of labour that is hired at the factory at any given moment.

5.7. FOOTNOT IS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1. These were the figures that were read to me by the factory manager.
- 2. This was the current rent that prevailed in the district as gathered from the Ministry of Finance and Roonomic Planning, Nyeri Office.
- 3. Electricity bill for the Company for the years 1973/74 and 1974/75 had been an average of £17,000 per annum.
 - 4. K.T.D.A. Annual Report and Accounts for the year 1974/75. page 14
- 5. The Blue print is entitled 'Relationship of factory costs with factory sizes Dast of Rift Valley' and is prepared by the Accounts Department of K.T.D.A. It was extracted from the Appendix 5.1. of the K.T.D.A. Final Report Part II. Opt. Cit. Page 192.

CHAPTER 6

SUPPLY AND DISCUSTORS

that the plant under study has no evidence of direct or/and indirect participation in the affairs of the enterprise by the workers.

As we have seen, the workers, unless in their espacity as farmers, do not own any equity of the company. They neither appear in the executive and policy bodies of the company nor do they control and/or influence their immediate work environment leave alone participating in the affairs of their very workers union. What them remains is to investigate why workers and/or their union do not participate in the affairs portaining to their organisation.

Basically, lack of workers' participation can/be attributed to /partly the property relationship and the social consenhip of the means of production. Though the management of the tea factory under review does not can the company's equity, it is made of people of massive private property by rural standards. They lead a different style of life from that of the workers. For example their houses, made of life and travel, standard of life, etc. are quite different from those of the workers. In other words, there is both a social and economic gap and distance between the members of management staff and that of the workers which goes along way in making participation by workers in management functions impossible or remote because of the social distance and class differentials entailed. If workers' participation in management affairs has to take place, there is need for a complete overhoul of the present property relationship between the two classes. The property

differentials between employers and workers must be out for meaningful participation to take place. This, unfortunately is a thing the present organisation of our economy and society does not allow and will resist quite strongly. So, we might be asking for the impossible. We may need much softer measures that will start the ball of workers' participation rolling.

Lack of workers' participation can also be attributed to the tradition of authoritariansm which is a legacy of the colonial era. Colonialism with its avowed capitalistic economic system was desperately in need of accumulation of capital. To achieve this objective, it was necessary to pay lower real wages to the workers. The old timer settlers were particularly notorious about this practice of paying lower real wages to their workers in order to tolerating accumulate capital. This they did wi thout any form of workers' participation that was likely to interfere with their earnings and profits. To avoid any form of workers' participation, the old-timer rural employers practised a paternalistic relationship with their workers and voluntarily gave employee services purely as gestures of grace or charity. In addition and in favour of the old timer settlers, the colonial government other than creating a country-wide authoritarian atmosphere, it supported the settlers in their labour malpractices. Any forms of workers' behaviours that showed a desire to participate in managerial functions were uncompromisingly and strongly resisted, repulsed and branded as wholly unproductive by both the old timer mettlers and foreign investors. It was therefore not unusual to

find a complete absence of workers' participation in the affairs of most enterprises during those days. However, this did not mean that workers' did neither know or want to participate in management functions nor did it mean that workers' participation could not have worked in such past undertakings. In fact, as our earlier discussion revealed, the emercise of workers' participation was a desirable one and all the parties at the plant indicated an interest in putting the exercise into practice.

As a result of the serious unemployment situation, the few available job opportunities in rural and urban sectors have become the scene of stiff competition. Subsequently this stiff competition has led to the practices of unfavourable personnel and industrial relations. Cases of favouration, repctism, tribulism, etc. are Very familiar to us in recruitment, promotion and training opportunities in many present day organisations in the country. This is because the African menager is caught up in a state of dilemma because when recruiting or/and promoting workers he finds himself in a situation of twin responsibilities of proacting his organisation and the wolfare of his immediate and extended family at the same time. To the latter, he finds himself responsible to his related people to provide them with jobs, promotion and training facilities. Given the few places at his disposal, the African manager inevitably ends up in practising undesirable personnel practices of favouratism, tribalism, sectional su, repotion not only in recruitment, but also in promotion and training which are styles of mana oment that are both unsatisfactory industrial relations' behaviours and likely to interfere with efficient and effective way of running the organisation. Again, the state of mass unemployment has

employers and management a chance to take advantage of the situation.

They find that they can easily substitute the workers they do not want at any time. The fate of most workers is therefore a function of management's whims and since the workers are desperately in need of wage employment, they literally shut their mouths and try to please management lest they lose their job opportunities.

As such, with this kind of worker-employer relationship the possibilities of even the minimal workers' participation in management affairs of the enterprise are rendered remote.

We cannot also overlook the part played by labour unions in fostering workers' participation. For any union to play this role meaningfully and effectively however, it must be strong in finance, human resources and comprise of able and committed worker-members. The situation in the tea factory under review shows that the workers' union (Kenya Plantation and Agricultural Workers Union), though among the first agricultural workers' union to be formed is relatively weak, at least at the branch level. This is probably so because of its short experience in labour movement in the district coupled with the type and size of its membership that have generated its weakness. The story of the development of labour movement in Kenya leaves us into no doubt that unlike urban union formation in the 1900s, those in the agricultural sector came shockingly late in the late 1950s. This was because of the patron-client relationship that existed between the agricultural workers and their employers. Paternalism and dependency relationship had been institutionalised (e.g. squatter system) as to have made the development of an independent strong agriculture-oriented union impossible or unnecessary. Being new and palply weak in the labour patermalistic relationship hangover, the union has been ill-equipped to handle workers' problems. The union has tended to give priority to the touchable basic mode of workers like salary increases and frings benefits rather than strongly presenting workers' case of participation in managerial functions. Since the tack of fighting for increased salaries and frings benefits is not over, it can be argued that it is after they have not these basic needs of the elientele that the union will then turn to the workers' participation insie. At present, the national union is giving top priority to workers' malaries and province of meaningful employee services that are compatible with modern infunctrial relations and workers' mode of life.

Although our company in run along modern lines and techniques of management, it is unfortunate that the company has paid only lip service to the ideas of employee services. Instead, it has taken in part of the duties and role of a workers union. In other words, the company has taken an adventage of the presence of the week workers' union. The management has tended to employ the relatively old and desperate workers who are more than anything else satisthe meagre wages given to them. In addition, the fied by company does not provide the time or finance to attend to union or workers' collective demands. Instead, it has relied on commal employees and as it wore, cumningly avoided putting many workers on its permanent weekers' payroll lost they become union members and likely to brew trouble. This practice by the management has left the workers with no incentive to join their ecompational union. The prestice of recruiting nor warm and exclusively workers from

the rural areas has also given the company, workers who are shy and ignorant of their rights and responsibilities in an industrial set-up. As we have seen, the workers who are recruited are totally ignorant of both the labour laws, laws of the land and the labour code. Out of their ignorant of the law, they have left their fate on the hands of the management to decide for them. Management seem to have taken advantage of the situation. For example, it has denied its workers some of the essential employee services like decent housing. As such, since the cost-conscious management has exploited and taken an advantage of the situation the workers' union which could counteract management activities is unfortunately, extremely weak.

In the absence of a strong and effective trade union, the provision of any additional employee services other than those required by law have been at the discretion of management. However, since our management is very cost-conscious, such services have been minimal. For example, the annual social services bill has been on an average of only is 2,000/- per year which was 0.04% and 0.03% of the total earnings of the company for the years 1973/74 and 1974/75 respectively. Again, the sort of things that are provided are so lew in number and variety as to please most of the workers. This is because the provision of recreational facilities is purely a management's benevolent gesture and since management is so much cost-conscious, it has always kept this cost item the least costly component of the factory's expenditures. A further discussion of recreational facilities will reveal that much remains to be done in the way of employee service.

When one recalls the remote location of the factory in the district, one camet afford to underscore the importance of recrostional facilities. It is this isolated and remote position of the factory that dimedos workers from going out daily to the nearest shopping centre which is about three miles same, Again, even if they could afford, I am sure that due to financial limitations, the workers comet afford to make it a regular or daily event. Infortanately, the nearest chopping centro does not possess any recreational facilities either. The factory workers visit this shopping centre only when they went to buy foodstuffs and mainly during the merket days which occur twice a week. The only place where a bigger variety of recreational facilities exist is in Othing divisional headquarters which is about 6 miles every from the factory site. However, with the providing problem of transport in the area coupled with the magre calaries the workers corn, they cannot afford regular outings. In addition, outing emurcions are made more difficult by the shift agreement of work in the factory. At times one may be on might whift while at other times he may be on day whift. As much, one cannot progresso regular recreation expression, and source still, the time of the day may not allow a worker to do his favourite recreational exercises. In this regard one worker who is foud of outdoor games had this to says "For the shale week, I have not played vollaybell simply because I have been on might shift all the work-long". Another worker had to enneal his table-tennis knock-out competition in a namely school rimply because he was on a night - wift. Such incomplementes are common mong the factory workers who are keen

at playing games. On financial constraint, one worker noted that though he likes and does well in games he cannot afford to go out of the factory to contest with outsiders unless the outsiders come to the factory fields. As such, given the remoteness of the locality and the meagre salaries given to workers, the provision of adequate and varied recreation facilities to the workers within the factory site becomes of paramount importance. The services have not only to be within the factory premises, but they have to be provided by the company since neither the workers nor the union can/foot /ably them out of their meagre incomes. Again, their provision is fitting when we recall that the majority of the workers are from far and they can easily be bored or engaged in unproductive exercises if they are not occupied in one way or another during their 12-hour break per day after completing their respective shift work. It is unfortunate that the quality, quantity and variety of recreation services accorded to the workers at the moment leaves much to be desired. Of the 50 workers interviewed, only six indicated that they had played games in the / two weeks while the rest either discussed /previous general and family affairs with their workmates or went to aleep. It is also unfortunate that management does not involve its workers in devising and installing suitable recreational facilities. Instead, the management simply imposes what it thinks is good for the workers without even consulting them. As a result of this, inadequate and inappropriate recreation

facilities are provided.

We cannot however fail to recognize the fact that given the ages' background of most of the workers, the majority of them are ignorant of possible recreation opportunities for them leave alone being aware that such recreation exercises have an important role to play in their bodies. However, if more and varied recreational facilities were provided, the workers would gradually learn not only how to utilise the existing and proposed facilities, but also appreciate the importance of such games to their bodies. They have, and will continue to be particularly important especially to the few youth who are constantly queeing at the factory gate for work and whose number is likely to rise as time passes. The author was particularly impressed by the enthusiasm shown by the workers in indoor games in the evenings at the factory canteen where nearly every free worker flocked to play those games. Some workers were even unable to play them for lack of space, time and adequate facilities.

Another employee service that is provided to workers include the provision of a TV set in the canteen. Serving of tea and refreshments is also done in the same building.

The TV set being a new facility in such a rural area has usually attracted all categories of workers and nonworkers due to the varied programmes shown. It is my contention that new recreational facilities like the TV would receive similar enthusiasm and help the workers to identify themselves more with the goals of the company. Film shows is yet another recreational facility that workers like. However, since it is provided at

the discretion of management, it all depends on whether the responsible member of management enjoys seeing pictures.

The manistant factory manager who is in charge of film shows indicated to me that since he has lost the taste of films, films have not been shown for the last two months. This does not mean that the workers have equally lost the taste of films, but because the initiative to show films emanates from the management, the workers have no alternative but to unit until the bess evolves the taste. It may therefore he more seary to form a recreational committee comprising of workers and management, or a works' council to specifically address itself to the interests of workers when they are off duty.

other services going to the workers. While this gosture of giving homes may sound a good one, it has a number of short-comings. In the first place, the houses, provided are fewer than the number of workers and therefore have to be shared. There are twenty workers houses to be shared by at least neventy workers at any given time. At peak times when the labour force more or less trebles, each room has to be shared by six to eight workers. This amounts to demying the workers the cort of individual privacy one needs. One worker summarised the feeling of his colleagues about the terrible housing arrangement at the factory when he observed: "I cannot buy any furniture, food or utennils for this room lest they become communal property or misteriously disappears. I therefore

live a bachelor's life when in this factory and a married life when I go home". Thus the housing arrangement at the factory site makes it impossible for any worker desiring to make factory work his or her career to bring his family at the factory premises. One has to leave his femily behind only to visit it when he is off-duty or on leave. The arrangement also suggests that the wages the company give are not adequate to maintain a family, but that the individual worker has to supplement it with other sources of income. In fact the author did not come across any member of the ordinary work force except those members of the management staff accompanied by their families. The problem of charing houses can be best appreciated when one recalls that housing is not a unique problem in the rural areas alone, Urban places have even a much more acute problem of housing their residents. However, most rural workers have been used to living in their own houses together with their families without the problem of sharing space. They are used to the fact that when an individual house has turned to be too small due to the growth of the family or otherwise, there has always been the space and materials to build either another bigger house or extend the existing one. With the factory policy of workers sharing houses, most workers deplore it and consent to live in such congested conditions because they have no alternative and yet they need some income. They are therefore, overwhelmod by /need of the company's income. This situation of housing /the was such graver before the K.T. .A. tea buying staff were sent outside to live near buying centres. Before that time both

the company and K.T.D.A. field staff used to be accommodated in the same factory houses and thus aggravated the housing problem even more.

Other facilities enjoyed by the workers are indirect medical care, paid leave and credit facilities. As we have seen earlier, the company only indirectly takes care of the health of the workers while in its premises. In addition, it grants an 18-days paid-annual-leave to its workers. However, the medical facility given is of direct and curative nature rather than of preventative type. It is when a worker falls sick that he is rushed to the nearby public health clinic for treatment or to the provincial general hospital. This medical services of transportation of sick workers however, covers only the individual worker and not his family. The workers are totally ignorant of the fact that apart from covering them, medical service provision extends to other members of their families as well. Workers have not exploited this service partly because they are separated from their families by sometimes considerable distances and partly because of the country-wide free public medical service provided by the govern-Responses from the workers interviewed showed that none has ever exploited this facility for the benefit of his family and at the expense of the company. Those who have had members of their families treated in private clinics have rather than use funds from the company, done so out of their own pockets. It should be added that since the company has not come across many cases of its workers needing the curative

medical service, it has not found it necessary to establish its

com clinic or even a mere first-aid facility. As for the preventative aspect of health, the company relies on the government to

administer and educate its workers along with the general public

on such things as preventative drugs and in providing the relevant literature. The author is persuaded to think that this item

of employee service has not been explored to the exhaustion

point because given the temporary terms of employment, management
is convinced that its unhealthy or sick workers can easily be

replaced by able workers at short notices. Again, it would seem

to me that since management is always cost-conscious, it is always
and critically asking itself - why invest some money on an item

like medical care that can easily be avoided at no extra cost?

It is in the light of this that only the unavoidable minimum medical
service is provided by the company.

We have already seen that the credit facility is heavily exploited by the workers. Workers are constantly and regularly seeing the management for either salary advances or outright money credits to enable them meet their subsistence requirements or their long-term investments like educating their children. While petty salary advances are easily granted, major credits are seriously scrutinized. Each application is treated purely on its own merits and at the discretion of the factory manager. For long serving workers whose character is smart, there is normally no problem in getting either form of the requests. It is the newly recruited workers whose character is least known to the management who semetimes may have it

blunt. However, though the conditions are generally tough, the author came across such advances and credits ranging from it. 10/to 150/- granted to a sixcable number of workers, Well over 37 workers of those interviewed had at one time or another enjoyed the credit facility. All the amounts granted in this way are recoverable only in one month's time and not longer. The important thing about these grants is that they enable an individual worker to live a reasonable life within his financial ability without any unnecessary inconviniencies. The management is very paternalistic in this respect of workers welfare. The service enable workers to buy their basic needs which are essential for any working person. Crodit extensions also enable the management to retain some of its able and good conduct workers who would otherwise be out of the factory from time to time looking for such essential things like fees for their school-going children, money to buy food, clothes, travel home, etc.

Though credit in-kind is extended to workers in order to help
thes meet their daily food needs, it should be pointed out that there
are limits to it. As a matter of fact, the canteen operator who seemed
quite convergent with the salaries of all workers casually pointed
out to me that he does not allow any worker to eat meals worth
more than his monthly wage. In addition to that, he has arranged
with the management such that the first priority is given to the
recovery of his debts on the pay day. Though the canteen is
within a company building, it is rented to a private businessman
who is definitely more profit conscious than anything close. His

prices of foods and drinks are no different from those in the open market and outside the factory. Thus not only does the canteen business break-even, it also makes profit which goes to the pocket of the contracting agent. It would seem to me that the agent lacks the welfare of the workers at heart otherwise his prices would be better than those outside the factory. However, this employee-service serves the twin purposes of swelling the contracting individual's income and at the same time provides the workers with the essential items while at the factory on credit terms. However, the credit arrangement leaves much to be desired.

As we have already seen, the terms of employment of the majority of the workers/basically of temporary type of appointments. /are As such, they are not pensionable. All the commany does, like any other private and unpensionable firm, is to reluctantly contribute 5% of each worker's wage to the Estional Social Security Fund (N.S.S.F.) while the worker contributes another 5%. This is the only economic benefit the permanent worker draws from his employer when he retires since he may withdraw the accumulated sum at the retirement time. However, it must be pointed out that this scheme is mandatory and not voluntary since unlike the members of management staff, the workers neither receive pensions nor do they enjoy gratuities at the termination of their services.

The factory's general performance as well as output and outrun has in the past continued to be among the highest when compared with other factories in the republic. As such, providing the workers with such things like bonuses, gratuities, loans, get-toge-ther parties, etc. would not substantially weaken the financial

position of the company, but if anything, it would help to inculcate deeper feelings of belonging and wanted among the workers. spirit is likely to make the overall performance probably even higher than it has hitherto been. Indeed, the absence of a variety of employee services coupled with the total lack of any consultation or involvement of workers in the affairs of the factory had tended to make workers work for the sake of the income they got. Indeed, earlier discussions have clearly revealed that/was the end-of /it the-month pay that motivated the workers to work. However, given the pay structure in the company, the workers felt that their chances of financial progress were slim. They felt that though their hard work was resulting in great output, their salaries were incomppatible with the quality and quantity of the work they did. As such, they saw the company as an institution that was only interested with their labour in order that the factory could make profits. However, in course of the company trying to get the maximum out of the workers, the latter benefited by enjoying though meagre, a steady and regular income that made them economically and socially better off than their unemployed counterparts. As such, though unproportional, a state of interdependence existed in the enterprise for the mutual benefit of the two parties. I am persuaded to think that the interdependence relationship was comparatively a healthy one otherwise the greatly disadvantaged party would have withdrawn its association with the other for something else.

We cannot however complete the story of employee services without mentioning other important services our workers do not get. Among others, these include absence of profit sharing schemes, bonuses,

gemine loans to help the financially handicapped workers, gratuities. outdoor tours, get-together parties, equity ownership, direct donation to workers' local harambee projects, more adequate recreational facilities and transport facilities to and from home and nearby markets. From the responses of the workers interviewed only five showed some vame knowledge about such services. However, they expressed the feelings that they didn't mind doing without them. Though the rest oftthe workers showed total ignorance about the above services, they were quite ready to welcomeaand receive them if granted but were not prepared to initiate the exercise of pressing for them, Like in most firms in the country, the above mentioned fringe benefits are non-existent and wherever they exist, they are voluntarily and charitably given by management, or have come as a result of union pressure. They are however among the collective bargaining items of the industry. As figure 6.1 shows, the company has been making reasonable profits such thattthe provision of these fringe benefits would not seriously jeorpadize its financial health. Indeed, right from its first year of operation the company has been making steady profits. For example, during its first year of operation (from December to June 1962/63), the Company made a profit of £1,863 and in the subsequent year it made a profit of £13,112.2 Indeed, according to the factory manager's observation "though the absolute profit figures of the company have been fluctuating from year to year due to varied amounts of green leaf delivered by tea farmers and due to rises in the cost of production as a result of the uncontrollable inflationary pinge, at no year has the factory ran at a loss". Equally indicative of the good performance of the company

is the initial and second payments to farmers. As figure 6.2. shows, the second payments has tended to be on the increase in the last seven years. Though the average for the last seven years was 44 cents per kg., from 1972/73 to 1975/76 it rose by about 300%. All along, it was rising at an average rate of 70% in the last four years. Indeed, records have it that the second payment to farmers (which is done at the end of each financial year) and which apart from reflecting on the performance of the factory, it indicated that this company had always been among the highest payers. For example, last year it paid 60 cents per kg. while the neighbouring Ragati Tea Factory Company which took the first place in the republic paid 82 cents per kg., a difference of only 12 cents per kilogram. Because of this financial boom that farmers get all at once, many tes farmers have tended to become more interested and serious about their tea husbandry while new ones have enthusiastically joined the industry.

Figure 6.1

PROFIT IN KUNYA POUNDS

(ear	Made profits in £				
1971/72	12,040				
1972/73	14,728				
1973/74	15,794				
1974/75	11,138				

Source: Extracted from the Relevant Columns of the Company's

Annual Report and Accounts for the years 1971/72, 1972/73, 1973/74

and 1974/75.

Firm 6.2.

PAYA ME TO PETER BERKS. OF LES ".

	1969	1970	1771 /72	1972	1973 /74	1974 /75	1975
Initial payment	78	87	90	88	90	83	89
Second payment	27	28	23	22	57	60	30
Total	1.15 1	.15	1.13	1.10	1.47	1.47 1	.79

the initial payment which is normally done on morthly busin has on the other hand been fairly constant. On the average, it has been at an annual payment of 88 cents per kilogram during the last four years. In 1973/74 for excepts, the company's first payment use 57 cents per kilogram which was the second beat when compared with other factories in the country. On the whole therefore, the company has been performing generally well. It is therefore apparent that this satisfactory and encouraging performance of the company is likely to continue in the years to come partly because of the high quality of the delivered raw ten and workmanship at the factory. Indeed, records have it that this factory has been successful in acquiring a good mark at both the local and overseas to markets. Both the

profits and payments to farmers are likely to rise in the future unless a portion of the factory's carnings will be diverted to the workers when the initial loan capital will be fully paid. According to the factory boss, "the loan should be over in one year's time". From the past satisfactory performance of the company, it is evident that the denial of cortain employee services as stated earlier cannot be attributed to lack of finance in the company's coffers. It is my thesis that the absence of certain services and the provision of inadequate services is partly because the company is watching what the majority of the companies in the country are doing. Most companies in the country provide only the mandatory employee services and I am sure our company would not like to be an exception. In addition, by virtue of its 1 ral location, our company has/no problem in recruiting the sort of labour force that /had can put up with the little services it provides at little or no extra costs.

It would seem to me that the grassroot management of the company manipulates the few available employee services for the benefit of the company. It uses the few employee services at its disposal particularly the extension of credit facilities to the workers, because, apart from satisfying the workers' basic needs, it also elicits their loyalty to the Company. In addition, management exploits fully the concept of human relations when dealing

with the workers' problems so as to get them loyal and solidly behind it. This loyalty means that the workers under the benevolent guidance of management are able to put more care and weight into their work and consequently they produce better quality tea. In return, management probably reciprocates this loyalty and good performance of the workers by extending financial credits and by giving a free packet of made tea to every worker every month - a thing management is not allowed to do to workers by the higher management of the company at Nairoti headquarters. By the extension of this generous hand of management, the workers seem to tirelessly wrestle with the increased work-load without feeling its pinge and this goes along way in cutting the overall labour costs so as to coincide with the headquarters requirement of labour cost per kilogram of made tea. This argument ties quite well with the objectives of the company i.e. to increase the profits of the equity owners as well as the income to the farmers who patronise the factory. By adopting this stance, not only has the company been able to pay a constant dividend of 8% to all its fully paid up shareholders, repay the initial establishment loan, and make surplus profits, but it has also been able to pay lucratively to the farmers who patronise it. Indeed, as seen earlier, Chinga Tea Factory Company Ltd. has certainly been among the best payers to farmers since its inception and the payment rates to farmers are on the increase. This state of affairs has not only induced the existing tea growers to improve their tea husbandry,

but it has also persuaded them to increase their tea acreages as well as attracting new growers to join the industry. The spillover effects of this trend, as earlier noted, are fantastic particularly on the rural economic development of the division and the immediate locality in particular. As such, since the factory brings in better profits to the owners and more income to the farmers, we should therefore see labour productivity not only as being effective, but also as efficient.

It is quite apparent from figure 5.3. that there are no fantastic variations in the amount of labour-hours and Kg/man/ year. While this state of affairs can be explained by the pressure the K.I.D.A. blue-print puts on management to suppress labour costs to the required minimum of 5 cents per kg. of made tea, it is also true that the nature of work does play a crucial role in influencing the amount of labour - hours and Kg/man/year. Indeed, the nature of work is such that workers cannot impose restrictions on their rate of production. This is because once the green leaf arrives at the factory. workers cannot afford to relax their labour input until the green leaf is completely processed. Their pace of work is all set by the motion of the automated factory machines and any relaxation at any stage of the manufacturing process would not only lead to bottlenecks at later stages of the manufacturing process, but it would also make the tea in the processing channels to go bad or get spoiled. This would definitely affect the final quality of made tea adversely. It is in the light

of this danger that the management is always handy and habitually puts pressure on the workers and at the same time shows reluctance to increase the number of workers as the work-load rises due to the top priority it gives to the cost of labour considerations. As such, there are no fantastic variations in the amount of labour hours and Kg/man/year at the factory. The emphasis is to produce most kilograms of made tea with the least labour - hours and therefore least labour cost. In this way the factory effectively raises the amount of tea produced by each person in one year. Luckily for the company, its workers have no better alternative employment/elsewhere and therefore the majority are reluctant to /places leave their present factory jobs. Indeed, none of the 50 workers interviewed expressed the desire to voluntarily leave the company either in the short or long - term. As a matter of fact and despite the costs the workers incur as a result of increased work load e.g. body exhaustion, strain and fatigue, etc.; all the workers continued to cope with the increased work load. However, since this factory's labour efficiency is utilised in accordance with the accepted local and international tea standards of tea processing, it does actually improve the company's profitability. Figure 6.1. clearly confirms this state of affairs. This figure (figure 6.1) clearly indicates that the company has been making commendable profits since the plant was incepted and at the same time it has been paying farmers reasonably well as suggested by figure 6.2.

Since worker's participation is absent at the plant under review. 1t is impossible to assess its impact on both labour productivity and profitability. Labour productivity at the plant must therefore be a function of other factors. Among others like supervisory styles adopted by the management, labour productivity at our plant is a function of the employee services and salaries the company accords its workers. This is because, though the quality and quantity of employee services accorded to the workers leave much to be desired all parties spoke quite favourably about those services that are provided. As a matter of fact, these employee services form an intergral part of the company's labour policies. Apparently, it would seen to me that both the welfare services and fringe benefits accorded to the workers particularly the economic ones have helped the company to develop a mondicant labour force that is fairly stable and committed to the company's objectives despite the high labour turnover the plant experiences purely because of the seasonal nature of work in it. The impact of employee services on labour productivity and stability can however partly be best understood by a longitudinal examination of the company's labour force.

From the factory's authorities, it was reliably learnt that before the present African management took over (late 1960s) from the white predecessors, the labour turnover was between 80% and 90%. However, with the present African management this high labour turnover has dropped to the region of

between 40% and 50%. This drop has fortunately not adversely affected the production (quality-and quantity-wise) of the plant. In fact, if anything, the plant has tremendously boosted its productivity as figures 5.3, 6.1. and 6.2. clearly While it is true that people like and get along well with people who are more like themselves at least colour-wise, part of the reason behind this significant reduction of labour turnover is due to a change in emphasis on to the type of employee services given to the workers. While the previous management was keen at providing social services e.g. indoor recreation facilities, games, etc., the current management has been more keen in providing economic services and in particular the credit and overtime payments. Given their weak economic and social status, this change of emphasis has tended to make the workers feel that the management is most concerned about their social and economic health. Indeed, the management has seriously taken it as its responsibility to cater as much as it is able and possible for those needs the workers give top priority. To me, this/a more enlightened /is management practice because it gets into grips with the realities about the relationship of the workers and their immediate families, extended families and the larger community to which they are part and parcel.

In the first place, we observe that the housing arrangement at the factory site, salary structure and traditions of the workers' traditional society discourages them from

being accompanied by their immediate families, relatives and friends. As such, while at the pl at the workers inevitably retain strong links with their homes. They are scmetimes required not only to physically share in communal chores, but to participate in local festivals at their homes. To sever such strong home links which at times necessitate occassional interruptions of their work and in order to retain them, the workers would require the benefits accorded to them by the plant to far exceed the costs involved in living at the factory and in honouring such functions at home which inescapably temporarily or permanently sever the worker-company bond. In other words, the worker is forced by circumstances to consciously or unconsciously do, at the very outset and when time comes, a cost-benefit analysis (i.e. social and economic cost and benefit analysis) exercise before he opts to break or not to break his bond of relationship with the plant. The current management has achieved some considerable success in breaking or reducing the strength of this relationship (as reflected by its lower labour turnover). It has done so by capitalising more on economic benefits which far outweigh the social and economic costs involved in the exercise as far as workers are concerned.

By traditions, it has also been a common practice that

family work which has the family as the basic unit of operation
in both social and economic functions is divided or shared
according to sex. In other words, there is division of labour

that is sex-biased. For example in the local area where the factory is situated, while men prepare the land for planting e.g. clearing bushes, digging, etc., women do the planting of seeds, cultivation and harvesting of the crop. The consequences of this division of labour is that men and women are employed at the factory have seasonally left their work to go and do their work at home and this has occassionally interrupted the smooth running of the factory. Again, since such times are identical to most if not all men or women workers, the exercise is likely to end up in a situation where the factory may be deserted by most if not all women or men labour force. However, despite the division of labour at the workers' homes, such a sad state of affairs has not hit the factory. It is my contention that this has not occurred partly because of the management practice of extending salary advances, loans and overtime payments. These facilities have enabled the factory workers to hire local workers at their homes (who are apparently under-employed if not unemployed) to do the same work they would have done had they interrupted their wage employment at the factory.

Not only does part of the remitted wage go towards
the accomplishment of one's traditionally assigned work at
home, some of it goes towards the maintenance of one's
family at home. For example, one has to remit funds home

to buy essential foodstuffs which the family does not grow, buy clothes, provide medical care, meet school fees for one's children, etc. Also the funds remitted are not only for the immediate family, but sometimes for the extended family as well. Financial responsibilities and demands for an average wage-worker are therefore enormous and in many cases they outreach his regular income. One way in which this problem has been combated at the factory level has been one of providing a small variety of fringe benefits with special attention to economic employee services.

It would nevertheless seem to me that despite the unfavourable management practices on labour and other factors beyond the plant's control, employee services have definitely contributed favourably to labour productivity. One can rightly conclude that because of the hostile environment at the factory that does not allow participation to take place, employee services have ably come to rescue the situation for the better. They have come to help the company achieve its goals of raising productivity and profitability since workers' participation has gloriously failed to be honoured or tried. Thus, not only can we show our concern about workers and integrate them in the mainstream of production process by allowing them to participate in managerial functions, we can also manifest our concern about them by implementing appropriate employee

ment has used employee services and economic services in particular as a patronage tool of lobbying the support of the workers towards the achievement of the company's objectives i.e. raising the wealth of owners and farmer-patronisers. Through the few employee services however, the workers have been converted into keen factory machine-minders and to this end both the management and owners of the plant have proportionately benefited.

FOOTNOTES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. I am indebted to the assistant factory manager for the information. It is the policy of K.T.D.A. not to house its staff at the factory premises except the drivers.

Standard Association of Principles State of Telephone

2. Chinga Tea Factory Co. Ltd. Annual Report and Accounts
1962/63 Opt. Cit.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION.

A few insights can be gained from this study on which tentative conclusions can be drawn and proposals made. All along however, let us not lose sight of the fact that any organisation has its aims and objectives towards which, all its available resources are mobilised. It is on the basis of the available resources at our plant (i.e. labour and capital) that we proceed to assess and evaluate their deployment strategies in the light of the primary objective of the enterprise of raising its productivity and profitability. In more specific terms, our interest has been to assess the impact of workers' participation and/or employee services on labour productivity and profitability.

Our case study is replete with lack of any evidence of any form of workers' participation in the affairs of the enterprise. There is neither direct nor indirect participation of workers. The workers neither own the equity of the company (except the few who are tea farmers) nor share in the control of the enterprise. They are neither consulted by the higher authorities on policy or executive matters nor do they seek to be consulted as an organised group of workers. This state of affairs should however not be interpreted to mean that workers cannot participate in the affairs of the enterprise, but rather that the conditions and institutions of workers' participation have not been created by the interested

parties. Apparently, it looks as if neither the owners of the enterprise nor the workers have initiated the idea and/or the practice. Indeed, it seems to me that both the parties have been shy about trying or/and discussing this ideology as a possible management technique. While the management seem to fear the catastrophy that might befall the company if the practice of workers' participation came about, the workers have their problem. Owing to the nature of their appointments and work, the workers have been reluctant to take the initiative of doing something about the ideology.

Since workers' participation does not exist, it is therefore hard to assess its impact on labour productivity. We do not know for sure whether it is the very absence of workers' participation or the presence of something else that is responsible for the encouraging labour output for the plant as shown in figure 5.3.

However, our yardstick indicate that as far as this study is concerned, the present good performance of the company can partly be attributed to the provision of employee services because however inadequate they might be they are honoured by our company. Thus, we can tentatively conclude that the credit of the current performance goes to the exercise of providing employee services. What then remains is to offer tentative explanations for the absence of workers' participation and the presence of the practice of providing employee services as a management technique.

The implications of the presence and absence of employee services and workers' participation respectively have by now become abundantly clear. It is evident that we inevitably need

workers to be loyal and committed to the enterprise in order to achieve the overall objectives of the enterprise i.e. the maximisation of its productivity and profitability. As a matter of fact, it is only after the enterprise has solicited and won the support of the workers that it can ably and successfully elicit and command their willing compliance. One way in which the enterprise can effectively mobilise and stimulate the workers' effort in the work group is by improving the workers' satisfaction. Workers' loyalty to the enterprise can however be realized among others, by management practising employee-oriented personnel and industrial relations. In this regard, workers' participation and the appropriate humane working conditions, better work organisations and increased work satisfaction and communication network contribute something towards eliciting workers' loyalty to the enterprise. In other words, these are some of the necessary styles or techniques of management that would facilitate the achievement of the objectives of the enterprise.

It would seem to me from the case study that since workers' participation is absent in the plant, its place has been taken over by employee services. Indeed, it has already been shown that such practices and institutions of workers' participation like ownership of equity by workers, shopfloor shopstewards, work's councils are missing in the ranks of the company. In addition, the workers neither consult each other nor consult their bosses.

Again, they neither express their opinions upwards through open discussion forums or suggestion—box system. Blame for this state of affairs has already been levelled to the weak workers'

union which neither champions a workers' participation course nor is it enthusiastic about workers' activities in the enterprise. While the union may have to blame, it would be premature to ignore the immediate environment and community at large to which our organisation is part and parcel.

The larger community of which both the workers' union and the enterprise are subsystems is basically not participative.

It does not resemble the sort of society in which participation can take place. As a matter of fact the larger community is not only hostile to participation practice, but it has also had an authoritarian background with far-reaching implications.

The force of colonisation and imperialism in the early part of this century fundamentally disrupted the then existing communal society. With colonisation, novel styles of living were introduced that cut deep into the social, economic, political and cultural fabric of the indigenous society making it neither self-sufficient nor communal in its functions and in organisation as was the case in the past. This characteristic of the African society is what Hunter overlooks when he saysthat it is ideal for participation.

On self-sufficiency, the indigenous people have found that not everything they need is readily available from around.

They need other things from both near and far neighbourhoods.

For example, while they need coffee, sugar, clothes, etc. these cannot be found from the immediate environment. In some instances their requirements have been imported from outside the country because over time, the local people have become so used to these

become part and parcel of their daily lives. These extra needs have ably indicated that the society is not only self-sufficient but needs other things that can only be found outside its borders. On the other hand, the local society out-produces certain farm products like milk, tea, maize, etc. that outstrech beyond its local consumption needs. In the process of finding outlets for this surplus output, trade connections have been established with outsiders to facilitate a commercial exchange of things the local people need but don't produce and to sell what they produce in excess. Indeed, the whole exercise has turned the local people to be somewhat commercial in outlook.

On the social side, the local community has been exposed to the influences of colonial education. While there are a few literate, the majority semi-literate and illiterate members of the community. The ironical thing about the whole thing is that, it is largely the members of the wealthy section of the community who have enjoyed the available education facilities, partly because they were the only people who could afford to take their children to schools since education until of late was never free. The few who have been educated in the local area are the ones who have found formal employments outside the area, while the majority who are semi-educated and uneducated are still around, either unemployed or under-employed. It is the literate few from around and all over Kenya who are employed in the civil service, in businesses and private firms in both

managerial, orecutive or clorical ranks. The uneducated, who we the majority and who have of late bosn joined by school and college leavers who cannot get employment in the formal sector of our economy due to the country-ride chortage of employment opportunities, are left with no option, but to hunt for jobs or work /urban in the rural areas. Thus, the local society can also be said to be divided into the educated, semi and unchacated classes. In fact, we can generally divide the local society into/two distinct / these groups. There are those who have favourably responded to the western ideac, practices and mode of life (the so called progreestives) and those who have least responded or recited the western style of living (the non-progressives). With this state of affairs in our rural community, it is evident that antagonistic classes based on land ownership, wealth, profession, etc. have already formed and as such it would be naive to expect workers' participation to take place since not all members of the society as well the case in olden days control and own the means of production. conomic decisions are no longer taken on the basis of the extended family, but rather on individualistic lines since such decisions' impact on the weelth of the individual ar of price importance to him.

At the local scene workers' participation has not been a traditional style of management. Both the workers and management have been brought up in an authoritarian atmosphere and possibilities of workers positively contributing or owning the equity are all new to them. Indeed, a casual convergation with a few

workers on their past experiences in other employments showed
a distinct communication gap that existed between them and their
former white settler employers. As such, for management to expect
such things like workers to participate is asking for too much
or for an impossible from such seasoned workers. Very little
is likely to come out of such an exercise. On the other hand,
the management seem to have taken over the aloof positions of
the former white employers and certainly seem not to see how
or what ordinary workers can morally and/or mentally contribute
to the well-being of the enterprise.

Let us not forget to mention that this authoritarian atmosphere is not only prevalent in the plant but it exists in other rural organisations. Indeed, in another study the author observed that all the managers of the ten coffee factories of Tetu Coffee Growers Society had some form of authoritariansm in their establishments. Even in their small holdings, farmers literally diotate to their workers what to do and they hardly welcome any suggestions from their workers. As such, one is left to conclude that if other establishments do not practice workers' participation why should our company be the odd man in the lot? Instead, management has adopted the stance of providing employee services as a substitute to workers' participation.

It would seem to me that apart from providing employee services partly as a substitute to workers' participation, the services are partly provided as a legal requirement according to the law of the land. While workers' participation as a management

technique is not a mandatory requirement, the provision of certain employee services is. For example, it is a legal requirement that workers be provided with living houses, employers make contributions towards their workers' N.J.S.F., workers be paid at the rate of one and half times for overtime work, etc. In addition however, apart from meeting the legal requirements, employee services also help to cultivate a feeling of being wanted and cared for among the workers and in this way labour productivity is boosted. Though the magnitude of various employee services could vary according to the whims of management, it is true that similar positive results could be obtained if workers' participation was practised. It would therefore seem to be the argument of the management that if similar results are possible through the provision of employee services alone, why the two techniques of management if one of them serves the purpose for which the factory was established? Apart from being administratively convinient, one technique is less expensive and likely to be more effective than the two of them. At this stage, one is left to speculate as to what would happen if a combined participative and employee services' styles of management were adopted as far as the performance of the company is concerned. Will labour productivity go up or down or fluctuate or remain constant?

While some form of employee services already exist at the plant, however half-hearted they are, the issue at the plant should now be one of establishing an effective employee - employer communication system. By improvising a workers' participation style of management,

and by employing successful employee services' programmes, it may be a big asset to the firm. Through workers ' participation any conceived employee service programmes will receive the requisite moral or/and material support from workers which is essential for its success.

interested in participating in the affairs of the enterprise.

However, while the majority of the workers had no idea what

work-related suggestions they could make during their work, the

nature of work (which is all automated) does not give them room

for participation. It is the machines that literally dictate to

the workers on what, how and when to do. In addition, given

their social, I.Q. and education background, even if the workers

indicated a desire to participate in the affairs of the enterprise,

one wonders whether they can meanigfully participate. Indeed, the

case study has ably shown us that these workers are predominantly

interested with money and nothing else. This is probably why the

management has stocked and capitalised on employee services at

the expense of workers' participation as a management technique.

It was quite evident from the formal and informal responses received from the workers and farmers that they are all desirous to participate in both the ownership and control of the company. Though somehow ignorant of how to go about it and what participation entails, both parties want to feel that they are crucial ingredients not only in the company's ownership, but in its day-to-day operations. It is however unfortunate that the capital structure of the company show that the local people i.e. tes farmers

capital, while the authors of the company own and continue to own 62% of its equity. If meaningful and sincere participation by workers and farmers has to take place this capital structure must be fundamentally changed. In this regard, I am suggesting that the exercise of buying of share capital by workers, farmers and the general public should continue until all the 264,000 share capital of the company is bought out. In this exercise, since the founders of the company are definitely likely to resist the move, the government should intervene. It should strongly come forward with its police of 'go public' to ensure that the exercise is carried out and that the appropriate compensations to the private investors are guaranteed and honoured.

on the other hand, if the founders have to continue owning the equity as is most likely, given our economic system, then let us allow them to own less than 50% of the company's shares. This move is quite fitting because crucial policy and executive decisions which directly or indirectly affect the workers are taken at the relevant institutions of the company purely on the strength of equity ownership and distribution. The more the local people own, the more they influence such decisions since the policy of one share one vote is the normal procedure of reaching decisions. If workers and local farmers buy more shares of the Company then they will carry more weight and more representation than non-locals or non-workers in the crucial policy and executive institutions of the Company. Hence the interests of the workers and farmers will be safeguarded in such orucial bodies.

To effect a meaningful workers' participation in the plant under review, the first and foremost thing is to preach and educate both the management and workers on the ideology of participation as a technique or style of management. The concept of mutual trust should be grasped by the participants lest some feel their positions are threatened by the practice of the exercise. This task would best be done by people committed and inclined to the ideology of workers' participation. Such people should be attached to the personnel department of the company or outsiders preferably academicians or practising managers who are committed to the tenets of the ideology. Apart from preaching the gospel, these experts should advise the management on how to go about the exercise.

After a protracted discussion with the plant's management, their suggestions should be taken seriously and implemented as agreed.

Once the ideology of workers' participation is emulated and grasped by workers and management alike, the next step is to gradually introduce it from all directions: - from top to bottom, bottom to top and horizontally. In one way or another, the top policy and executive boards should also accommodate workers' interests preferably through representation. The current Board of Directors should have the Factory Manager as one of its members since he is always with the workers and at the grassroot of the working situation. Deliberations about workers at the Board of Directors' meetings should have the blessing of workers in one way or another and not simply have its decisions forced or imposed on them from top. I am therefore suggesting that at the grassroot, workers with junior and senior supervisors and/or assistant factory manager

should form a work's occasil of about five people. This council should be charged with the responsibility of reviewing all matters pertaining to the plant e.g. workers welfare, labour productivity, cleanliness, turnover, etc. At first, this council should work in an advisory capacity but later on it can assume consultative and executive responsibilities as well. All along however, all their deliberations and decisions should reach the higher echelons through their spokesman or the factory manager. To start with, since the exercise of workers' participation is very new to all parties, the management should take a keen role in putting it into practice. This is because management is more knowledgeable about the industry and the company in particular, and as such it should lead in suggestions and in formulating the council's agenda. However, as time goes by, it should gradually bring in the workers in the picture as well.

facilities that will enable them to acquire the relevant and mocessary technical skills pertaining to their jobs. In this connection, the present pelicy of the company training workers on the job should be pursued with extra vigour. It is definite that once the workers achieve the necessary skills, they will then be able to speak with authority and consequently be a vital asset in the 'ork's council and ably pursue both the consultative and executive roles effectively. Once again, in all these functions, sanagement should keenly assume the coordinative roles of ensuring that things run smoothly. Eatters or informations emanating from top henceforth/be tabled in the Work's Council by management /should

while the members of the council should similarly channel their deliberations from the workers to the top policy or executive bodies or persons. Here again, it should be the task of management to coordinate the various matters arising from the various institutions and departments of the enterprise. In this regard, I am suggesting that each department of the firm should in the first place discuss matters pertaining to it and in another session representatives from the various departments should meet as a work's council under the chairmanship of a senior member of the management staff to review those matters.

All I am saying is that workers' participation should be institutionalised, recognized and the terms and powers of each institution e.g. Work's Council be clearly defined. To start with, simple terms and powers should be accorded to each institution and gradually more responsibilities be added as the ability of workers and the ideology of workers' participation sinks. Changes in the terms and powers of the institutions of participation should be enlarged at the advice of the personnel department which is strategically placed to be consulted by both the management and workers. It is this department which should (on the basis of available information) conceive and instal personnel grograms that are appropriate to the overall plant. In addition, it should keep on researching on the improvements of existing styles of management; bring in new innovations; suggest changes and additions; advice and assist in implementing the appropriate personnel policies.

In addition to institutions of formalising workers' participation, it is important to create an open forum of discussion at
the plant-level. All workers, let's say twice a week (to cater

for differential times of shifts), should be meeting under the chairmanship of a junior supervisor. Their suggestions should be included in the agenda of the Work's Council for further discussion. In addition to this open forum of suggestions, workers should be allowed to make suggestions in writing and put them in a suggestion box. All these written suggestion should be read by management and tabled in the Work's Council for further discussion. These latter strategies would ensure that all workers' contributions are incorporated for the good and smooth running of the plant.

In introducing and implementing the participative style of management, the workers' union would be a great asset. Since the whole ideology of workers' participation stresses the importance of the workers, the union is likely to be over-enthusiastic about the exercise. The workers' union can be effective in mobilising its members towards it and this would ensure that all workers are for the ideology. In fact, if we leave all aspects of workers' participation in managerial functions/on the hands of the union, / and then we can rest assured that workers will give the necessary support for meaningful participation to take place. All we need is to caution our union not to capitalise on workers' welfare too much as to defeat the company's objectives of effectiveness and efficiency. As it participates in managerial functions, the union should always strike a balance between the earnings and the services it advocates or presses for its workers.

The net result of workers' participation in the equity and control

of the company is that employee services will be part and parcel of the items jointly conceived, introduced and implemented by both management and workers. The question of management initiating some employee services imbued with attachment of strings and charitable gestures will therefore not arise. The employee services provided will be nothing but logical complements to work requirements emanating from participation deliberations. Management can/rightly expect high morals coupled with high standards of /then efficiency and output from workers whose energies will not be wasted in combating unheeded and unnecessary adverse conditions. In other words, workers' participation will simultaneously solve both the workers' welfare and production problems since it motivates increased effort among workers and at the same time it appeals to their higher needs as well. Indeed, when real and meaningful participation takes place, it increases a worker's self-esteem and a feeling that one is receiving the respect of others since the success of any endeavour of the enterprise partly depends on his ability.

More specifically, with workers' participation style of management, both the quality and quantity of employee services will correspondingly improve and increase. It must however be pointed out that this increase and improvement will tend to correspond with the salary structure characteristic in the industry and the plant in particular. In other words, the quality and quantity of employee services will correspond to the salaries earned by the various codres in the enterprise. Thus, the highly paid workers will have more fringe benefits than the less paid rank-and-file workers as

onding fringe benefits. The economic theory of not advantages which stipulates that there is a tendency for monetary and non-monetary rewards of an occupation to offset each other supports this notion. Thus, the more congenial work (as that performed by our management), ceteris paribus, will carry more pay than the less congenial work (as that done by our workers) and subsequently more monetary and non-monetary rewards than the less paying job.

Finally, the payoffs of workers' participation and provision of employee services are enormous as far as underoutting overt and introvert industrial conflicts. Indeed, the literature review of this study is replete with numerous payoffs. However, as a matter of emphasis, though both workers' participation and employee services may be purely management techniques designed to meet specific needs of industrial relations the exercise goes further to probe in the structure of our society. Indeed, it is a challenge of the very basis of our society - its social, political, cultural and much more importantly our economic system. However, since the society may be proceeding towards this change, it would do us no harm if industries would spearhead the change by first correcting their houses and in particular by humanising its internal relationship. On the other hand, if the system does not change, then the workers have a right and are entitled to share the benefits of capitalism which are currently less than their remumerations and the meagre fringe benefits they got. Workers' participation and provision of employee services is one strategy that

can be taken to realize this end. Hence the importance of adopting them as styles of management and personnel policies and practices.

APPENDIX 1

MANAGEMENT QUESTIONAIRE

1.1. General Information

- 1. (a) When was the plant built?
 - (b) Who were its sponsors?
 - (c) What were are the objectives of the company?
- 2. What does tea processing entail in this plant?
- 3. (a) Is the company affiliated to the Federation of Kenya Employers (F.K.E.)?
 - (b) What services do you get from F.K.E.?
- 4. How is the company organised i.e. its organisation structure?
- 5. (a) To what other bodies is the company affiliated?
 - (b) What services do you get from each body?
- 6. How do the benefits of management staff differ from those of the ordinary workers?
- 7. (a) What is the current labour force size?
 - (b) What was it in each of the years 1971/72, 1972/73, 1973/74, 1974/75 and 1975/76?
- 8. (a) What categories of workers do you have in this plant?
 - (b) What is the specific job for each category of workers?
- (c) What are the wages for each category of workers?

 give the age, sex, education background and marital status breakdown of the work force in this plant.
- 10. What status/titles do you accord to each category

of workers in the plant?

- 11. How many of the workers are unionised?

 Give their breakdown according to the work they do at the factory.
- 12.(a) Which workers' unions represent workers' interests in this plant?
 - (b) that type of workers does each one of them represent?
- 13. Give the production figures for the plant for each of the past four years and the breakdown of tea grades achieved.
- 14. What is the responsibility of the members of management staff in this company?
- 15. What did the company earn in each of the following years: 1971/72, 1972/73, 1973/74, 1974/75 and 1975/76?
- 16. Do you make financial statements of this company public?

 If no, which ones, don't you make public? If yes, which ones do you make public?
- 17.(a) How much did you spend in each of the years 1971/72,
 1972/73, 1974/75 and 1975/76 on each of the following items:
 - (i) Wages,
 - (ii) Social services,
 - (iii) Personnel training?
 - (b) How much did you spend on the following items in each of the past four years
 - (1) Acquiring assets;

- (ii) Investments and re-investments;
- (iii) Bonus payments;
 - (iv) Dividend payments?
- 18.(a) Who owns this company?
- (b) What is the size of its equity?
 - (c) What types of shares are available in the company?
 - (d) What is the minimum and maximum number of shares one can acquire?

1.2. Company and Tea Farmers

- 19.(a) Do you provide the following economic services to farmers who patronise the factory
 - (i) Loans in kind or money form;
 - (ii) Credit facilities:
 - (111) Dividend payments;
 - (1v) Bonus payments;
 - (v) Capital gains;
 - (vi) Any others?
 - (b) For each, state:-
 - (i) Amounts involved.
 - (11) Regularity of getting it.
 - (iii) Terms of getting the service.
 - (iv) How it is apportioned.
 - 20.(a) Does the company provide the following social services to tea farmers;
 - (i) Donations to haranbee projects;
 - (ii) Get together parties;

- (iiii Agricultural tours;
 - (iv) Use of company's property e.g. vehicles for private businesses:
 - (v) Any others?
- (b) For each, state:-
 - (i) Amounts involved.
 - (ii) Regularity of getting the service.
 - (iii) Terms/conditions of getting the service.
 - (iv) Who and how it is opportioned.
- 21. (a) Are farmers represented in both the executive and policy bodies of the company?
 - (b) If yes,
 - (1) In which ones?
 - (ii) how are they appointed/elected?
 - (iii) How many are appointed?
 - (iv) For how long do they hold the appointments?
 - (v) How often do they attend the bodies' meetings and what sort of things do they deliberate?
 - (vi) In what capacity do they serve (i.e. whether advisory, consultantive, etc.?
 - 22.(a) What other tea industry bodies are tea farmers represented?
 - (b) In each body, state:-
 - (1) the specific bodies.
 - (ii) the frequency of their meetings.
 - (iii) how they are appointed.

- (iv) how long they hold the appointments.
 - (v) the sort of matters they deliberate.
- (vi) the capacity at which the body serves.
- (vii) their number in the body.
- 23.(a) Do farmers own equity in the company?
 - (b) What is the minimum and maximum number of shares can a farmer own?
 - (c) What is the total equity that farmers currently own?
- (d) What was it in each of the other past four years?

1.3. Evidence of workers' Participation and welfare Services

- 24. which of the following strategies do you use when introducing a change in this plant:-
 - (i) Call a meeting of workers to discuss the issue;
 - (ii) Call a meeting of management staff to discuss the issue:
 - (iii) Report to the higher policy and executive bodies of the company;
 - (iv) Simply implement the action;
 - (v) Do nothing;
 - (vi) Do some or all of (i), (vi) (iii) and (iv)?
- 25. In what sort of areas do you seek the opinion of workers?
 Why?
- 26. Do workers come freely to talk to you about their problems (work and personal problems)? Why and in which problems?
 - 27.(a) Do you have problems in cultivating workers*
 participation?

- (b) If yes, which ones?
- (c) If no, why not?
- 28.(a) Are workers represented in any of the executive and/or policy bodies of the company?
 - (b) For each, state:-
 - (1) the body they are represented.
 - (ii) number of workers' representatives.
 - (iii) total number of members of the body.
 - (iv) to whom the body is responsible.
 - (v) the capacity of the body i.e. whether advisory, consultative, executive or policy-making.
 - (vi) Regularity of its meetings.
 - (vii) matters deliberated.
 - 29.(a) Do workers raise issues about this plant in the press?
 - (b) If yes, which issues and what does management do about them?
 - (c) If no, how do workers make their problems or issues known to management?
 - 30. Do workers own equity of the company? If yes,
 - (i) How much?
 - (ii) For how long have they been buying shares?
 - (iii) What is the minimum number of shares is an individual worker allowed to own?
 - (iv) What categories of workers are allowed to own shares?
 - 31.(a) Does the company give any assistance to the workers interested in buying shares?

- (b) If yes, in what form?
- 32. Which of the following are included in the collective bargaining;
 - (i) Financial matters.
 - (ii) Investment proposals.
 - (iii) Profit sharing.
 - (iv) What to produce.
 - (v) How much to produce.
 - (vi) Redundancy.
 - (vii) Wages and overtime rates.
 - (viii) N.S.S.F. contributions.
 - (ix) Work rates.
 - (x) Technology to use.
 - (xi) Payment of bonuses and divindends.
 - (xii) Recruitment of workers
 - (xiii) Promotion of workers.
 - (xiv) Fringe benefits and the types.
 - (xv) Discipline matters.
 - (xvi) Any others?
 - 33.(a) Has any overt industrial unrest ever hit this plant?
 - (b) If yes, state whether it was:
 - (i) a major or minor strike or lockout.
 - (ii) Organised or spontaneous strike.
 - (iii) Date(s).
 - (iv) Issues involved.
 - (v) (a) How it was solved Explain the role of union, management and government in the settling of the dispute.

- (b) whether the solution was sought internally or externally.
- of workers?
- 35. lies the union over threatened to go on strike? Thy?
- you give sorkers time off to attend to union functions?
- 37. (a) Do you provide the following economic services:
 - (i) Loans;
 - (ii) Credit facilities;
 - (111) Pension Schemes;
 - (iv) Bonuses;
 - (v) Overtime pays;
- (vi) M.S.S.F. contributions;
 - (vii) Insurance cover;
 - (viii) Paid leaves;
 - (xix) Profit charing schemes;
 - (x) Gratuities;
 - (xi) Compensations in case of accident;
 - (xii) Others?
 - (b) In each, state the amounts involved, terms and regularity of the service.
 - 3. (a) Do you provide the following social services:

- (i) Housing;
- (ii) Medical cover;
- (iii) Clothing;
- (iv) Canteen facilities;
- (v) Donations;
- (vi) Social Security;
- (vii) Transport to and from work;
- (viii) Schools;
- (xix) Libraries;
- (x) Recreation facilities;
- (xi) Newspapers and magazines;
- (xii) Others?
- (b) For each, state: (i) the terms and amounts involved
 (ii) Future plans of the service.
- 39. (a) Would you say that you know workers' problems?

(Yes or No). If yes, state whether you know them

- (i) Reasonably well.
- (1) Not at all.
- (iii) Very little.
- (b) If (i) or (ii) how do you come to know workers' problems?
- 40. Would you say that workers feel quite free or not free to talk to you about their personal problems? Give reasons.
- 41. In your opinion and for the benefit of the smooth running of this plant, would you say that management should have:
 - (i) More influence than workers;
 - (ii) About the same influence as wockers;
 - (iii) Less, influence than workers;
 - (iv) No influence, on final decisions affecting this plant?

APPENDIX 2

MOREERS OUESTICHAIRE.

2.1. General Information for each Worker-

- 1. (i) Age. (iv) Marital Status.

 - (11) Sex. (1) Job training and experience.
 - (111) Formal education.
- 2. (a) hen did you join this plant?
 - (b) Had you ever worked in another factory?
 - (c) If yes, which one and for how long?
- 3. (a) Red you worked anywhere before joining this plant?
 - (b) If yes, where and for how long?
- (a) hat is your specific job in this plant?
- (b) Have you ever changed the job you do in this factory?
- (c) If yes, from what work to what and for how long?
- 5. here you interviewed for your job in this Plant? If yes, who interviewed you?

2.2. or er and Union.

- 6. (a) are you a member of the workers' Union?
 - (b) Are you aware that a workers' union exists in this industry?
 - (c) If no, why not?
 - (d) If you are a member of the workers union, when did you join it?
- 7-(a) Are you/have you ever been a member of anot or workers union? which union(s)?
 - (b) If yes, what bonefits did you enjoy from it/them?
 - (c) For how long were you a member of the union(s)?

- 8. If you are a member of the workers' union, were you forced or you voluntarily joined it?
- 9. What benefits do you draw from your union that other non-members don't enjoy?
- 10. (a) Have you ever been a union official?
 - (b) If yes, which office(s) did you hold?
 - (c) When was that?
- 11. (a) Do you intend to contest for any of the union's offices?
 - (b) If yes, which one(s) and when?
- 12. (a) Does the union provide you with any services?
 - (b) If yes, which ones?
 - (c) How did they come about?
- 13. (a) Does the union run any club for its worker-members?
 - (b) If yes, what clubs and what are their objectives?
- 14. (a) Do you as a worker have a problem in having the union listen to your grievances or problems?
 - (b) If yes, in which problems or grievances?
 - (c) How many times did you see the union official in each of the month of January, February, March,

 April and May of this year?
 - (d) How many times did you visit the union's office in each of the past two years?
 - (e) In each case, state the matters you discussed.
- 15. (a) Did any of the current union officials plea with

You so as to elect him to his present office?

- (b) Did you solicit any other worker within or without this plant to vote with you for the official?
- (c) If yes, how many did you solicit and for which official did you vote for?
- 16.(a) Are there any union-sponsored meetings?
 - (b) If yes,
 - (i) how may occurred this month and in each of the past three years?
 - (ii) what matters did you discuss in each of the meetings?
 - (iii) how many persons attended each of the last four meetings?
 - (iv) was there a non-member present?
 - (v) if yes, who was/we're he/they?
 - (vi) what resolutions did you reach in each of the last four meetings in each matter discussed?
 - (vii) to where were the resolutions passed to?
 - 17.(a) What material or/and moral contributions do you make to your union? How many have you made in the last five months and last year?
 - (b) In each, state how often you make them and the amounts involved in each case.
 - 18.(a) Do you think that the union gives services comparable to your monthly contributions?
 - (b) Why?

2.3. orker and Management Functions

- 19. If you have a problem relating to your work, how do you go about it? Do you either
 - (i) talk it over with your immediate boss first or
- (ii) discuss it with your colleagues or
- (iii) report to the press or
 - (1v) do nothing about it or
 - (v) do several or all of (i), (ii) or/and(iii)?
- 20. (a) Would you say that your boss shows some concern over you a concern that extends beyond the work situation?
 - (b) If yes, why and in what sort of things?
 - (c) If no, why not?
- 21. (a) Which of the following services does management give you;
 - (i) Buying of the shares of the company and the number an individual worker is allowed to buy;
 - (ii) Paid sick leeves;
 - (111) Paid normal leaves;
 - (iv) Housing schemes;
 - (v) Medical facilities;
 - (vi) Newspapers and magazines;
 - (vii) Workman's compensations:
 - (viii) Schools, nurseries for your children;
 - (ix) Working clothes;
 - (x) Pension schemes;
 - (xi) Transport to and from work/home;
 - (xii) Training facilities for workers;
 - (miii) Others?

- (b) For each, state:
- (i) Amount you enjoy as a worker.
- (ii) Terms of getting the service.
- (iii) Regularity of the service.
- (iv) How it came about.
- 22. (a) Do you hold staff meetings?
 - (b) If yes.
 - (i) how often?
 - (ii) What do you discuss in such meetings?
 - (iii) Are they purely workers or workers management meetings?
 - (iv) Who chairs the meetings?
 - (v) who summons the meetings?
 - (vi) when was the last meeting held?
 - (vii) How many did you hold in each of the past five months and last year?
- 23. (a) Do you have problems in having your boss listen to your problems?
- (b) If yes, which problems and how many times did you present the problems to the boss in each of the past five months? State the problems in each case.
 - (c) If no why? How many times in each of the past five months?
- 24. (a) Do you participate in the election of any of the company's members of the policy and/or executive body?
- (b) If yes,
 - (i) How many and what were their status in the body?

- (ii) In which bodies? state the role of each of the body.
- (iii) how many times have you done it since you joined the plant?
 - (iv) when did you do it last?
 - (v) how did you do it?
- 25. (a) Have you ever been promoted since you joined this plant?
 - (b) If yes, from what to what?
 - (c) Do you expect any promotion this year?
- (d) Who is likely to recommend or give you the promotion?

 26. (a) Have you ever gone on strike since you joined this plant?
 - (b) If yes,
 - (i) give dates of the strike.
 - (ii) loss you as a worker experienced.
 - (iii) causes of the strike.
 - (iv) gains you enjoyed during and after the strike.
 - (v) length of the strike.
 - (vi) how it was solved.

2.4. Workers' Opinions

- 27. (a) Who is your boss and to whom do you report to/any/for problem you encounter in the plant?
 - (b) Name the problems or cases you have forwarded to your boss in each of the past four weeks?
 - (c) Here you doing likewise last year? If no, why not?
- 28. (a) When your boss tells you something about your job
- do you just do as told or do you make some suggestions if any?
 - (b) If no, why do you think your boss does not take pains

to listen to your suggestions?

- (b) you think you or other workers or high authority can make your boss listen to your suggestions? why?
- 29.(a) Do you think your job really gives you chance to try out ideas of your own or not?
 - (b) If yes, how?
 - (e) If no, why not and how can it be made to accommodate your ideas?
- 30. (a) Does your job lead to an automatic promotion or not

 if you do it well?
- (b) If no, what can you do to get a promotion?

 31. For a person of your calibre and in your occupation
 do you think this Company is about as good a place for you
 to work in? If no, which other places can you work | more
 comfortably than/this? /in
- 32. Are you aware that a trade union exists in this industry?

 If yes, name the union.
- 35. What benefits do you think you would enjoy by being its member? Thich ones would you expect to enjoy as ammember?

 34. Do you feel that you, other workers and management are all members of one working community? Thy?
- 35. Do you like the working conditions at this factory?

 If no, what would you suggest would make them better? If

 yes, which conditions do you like most and can they be

 introduced and/or improved? How can this be dono?

 56. In which of the following ways do you think workers*

 problems can best be tackled:

- (i) proper establishment of effective communication channels;
- (ii) more worker-management interactions;
- (iii) closer social interaction of workers with management?
- 37. How do you occupy yourself when out of work?
- If in games, how many and which games have you played in the last two weeks?
- 38. Do you like the services offered by management like medical care, housing, credit facilities, overtime pay, etc.?
- 39. Are you aware of the workman's compensation? If yes, how would you go about it to enjoy/if victimised? If no,/it where do you think you can get this information? Why?
 40. Do you have some ideas as to how your work can be improved? Name the way(s).
 - 41. Has your family ever enjoyed the medical facilities offered by the company? Why?
 - 42. If offered an alternative job outside this plant, would you opt for it? Why?
 - 43. In your opinion and for the smooth running of this plant would you say that workers should have:-
 - (i) More influence than management;
 - (ii) Equal influence with management;
 - (111) Less influence than management;
 - (iv) No influence, on final decisions affecting this Plant?

· APP' NDIX 3

UNION OFFICIALS' QUINTIONAIRE

3.1. General Information

- 1.(a) When was the national union started?
 - (b) Where and how was it started?
 - (c) What was its initial membership and annual rate of subscription?
 - (d) What is its present membership size and annual rate of subscription?
 - (e) (i) When was this district branch started?
 - (ii) What is its membership size for each of the past five years?
- 2.(a) How many workers in Chinga Tea Factory Company are union members and how many are non-union members?
 - (b) Any idea as to when they joined the union?
- 3.(a) What were the original objectives of the union?
 - (b) That are the present objectives of the union?
- 4. How is the union organised i.e. how does its organisation structure look like?
- 5. What categories of workers does the union represent?
- 6. Would you say that the membership into this union is based on:

Occupation line; or

Blue-or white collar line; or

Political allegiance or

Historical accident?

7. Referring to this branch and the company in question, give a breakdown of the members of your union in terms of:
Categories of work done;

Sex:

Marital status.

- 8. Would you say that this union is a closed shop, union shop or voluntary union?
- 9. (a) How is the union leadership (secretary, chairman and treasurer) elected at the national and branch levels?
 - (b) Where was the meeting of electing you held?
 - (c) After how long are you elected?

3.2. Union Offices in the lorkers Inion

10. How many chop stemards do you have at the plant?

11. For the shop stewards

a) How and for how long are they elected?

- b) What are their priveleges/Monetary benefits?
- 12. For each of the branch union officials, what was your past,

 present and future occupations? For how long did you hold
 such ranks?
- 13.(a) How long have you served the union in your present capacity?
 - (b) Do you intend to contest for a union post in the next election?
- (c) If yes, for which post?
- 14. What are the terms and duration of your office?
- 15. What other benefits do you as a union official enjoy apart
 from your regular salaries?

 Specify the respective benefits accorded to the (Chairman,
 ecretary and Treasurer).
- 16. (a) Is the Union affiliated to the Central Organisation of

- Trade Unions (C.C.T.U.)?
- (b) What services does C.C.T., offer your Union at either of its national or branch level or both?
- (c) How often do you consult or confer with C.C.T.W. as an individual or/and union and on what port of matters do you consult (name the matters)?
- 17. What other forkers' union do you work in close consultation with? Why? What have you achieved as a result of working together in each of the past four years?
- 18. Would you say that your union operates autonomously within this plant or/and industry or would you say that your union just accept directions from superordinate bodies like C.O.T.U. with links beyond the plant and industry? Thy?

3.3. Internal ffairs of the Taion.

- 19. Has the union invested in any commercial or business projects?

 If yes, which one (s) and how much has it invested in each of the projects? Are there plans to invest in some project(s) in the future? If yes, in which ones and how much is going to be ivolved in each of the projects?
- 20. Where do you get money to carry out branch activities?

 Does it come from the headquarters or is it locally generated?
- 21. Do you make/your financial statements public? If no, which/all ones do you show the worker-members and how often? If yes, which statements do you make public?
- 22. Are non-union members discriminated agains benefits acquired as a result of the union's oweat? If yes, what advantages

- does a union member enjoy over his non-member counterpart?
- 23. When did you as a union official visit the workers at Chinga
 Too Factory last? Now many times did you visit them in each
 of the past four years? Do you visit them as a team from the
 branch office or as an individual?
- 24. When you visit the workers at the ton factory; do you see them individually or as a group or both? Do you at the same time see the management staff about matters raised by the workers?
- 25. Do you report back to:-
 - (a) the worker-members of your findings?
 - (b) higher officials of the union at the national headquarters?
- 26. (a) Do you have any union members at the executive and/or policy bodies of the Tea Factory Company? If yes, in which bodies and how many union members in each? Do they report back to you and to whom are they responsible?
 - (b) How and for how long, do you appoint your members to those bodies?
- 27. (a) How often does the union branch committee council/delegates conference moet? That is the size of each body and who are its members?
 - (b) After the meeting of each of the respective bedies, do you report back your deliberations to the members or to the union headquarters or both?
 - (c) How do you report back?
- 28. Would you say that you neet your worker-combers daily, weekly, fortnightly, monthly, annually or an estimations
- 29. (a) Do you have shopstewards and/or work's council at the Plant?

- (b) if no, are there plans to have them established? When and which people are you likely to recommend for those offices?
- (c) If yes, how many are they? (ii) how long have they been in the offices? (iii) what are their duties? (iv) How often do they visit the branch offices and vice versa?
- As a union official, under what circumstances can your services 30. be terminated as a result of members pressure? Has it ever occurred to you or to any of the union officials? If yes, when or which official was involved?
- 31. How often do you visit the factory's management to discuss workers' problems? Are you sometimes invited by the management to discuss cortain problems of the workers?
- 32. Do you negotiate collectively with management in any of the following items:-
 - (i) hecruitment of employees;
 - (iii) Rules of work;
 - (v) Training programmes;

 - (vii) Redundancy and lay-offs;
 - (ix) Profit-sharing schemes;
 - (xi) Wages and salaries;
 - Job evaluation; Discipline;
 - (xvii) Pension schemes;
 - (xix) N.S.S.F. Contributions;

- (ii) Promotion of workers;
 - (iv) Hours of work;
 - (vi) Safety of workers;
- (viii) Insurance schemes;
- (x) Individual or group grievances;
- (xii) Housing; (xiii) Medical schemes;
- (xvi) Grading of work;
- (xviii) Bomuses;
- (xx) Any others?

3.4 The Union and Industrial disputes.

- 33. Has there ever occurred an industrial strike or lockout in this industry/plant? If yes, state the dates, nature of the dispute (s) (whether minor or major strike), how it was organised, issues involved and how it was resolved (internally or with external help).
- 34. Has the union ever filed a case against the management of this company in the Industrial Court or the ordinary courts of law?

 If yes, give the dates, issues involved, verdict reached, union and management representation at the hearing.
- 35. (a) Do workers in this plant enjoy the following services:-
 - (i) Medical facilities;
 - (ii) Housing:
 - (iii) Canteen facilities;
 - (iv) Schools and nurseries for workers' children;
 - (v) Newspapers and magazines;
 - (vi) Paid sick leaves;
 - (vii) Normal leaves;
 - (viii) Transport facilities;
 - (xix) Bomuses;
 - (x) N.S. :.F. Contributions;
 - (xi) High wages and salaries;
 - (xii) Overtime pays;
 - (xiii) Pension schemes;

- (xiv) Insurance fucilities;
- (xv) Diviniends and
- (xvi, Othera?
- (b) In each, state:
 - (i) How much of the service was provided.
 - (ii, Who had sponsored the service (the company or union).
 - (iii) Its remlarity.
 - (iv) Kumber of people who enjoyed the service.
 - (v) Categories of workers who enjoyed the nervice.
 - (vi) How it come about.
 - (vii) brure plans to improve it if any.
- 36. Laying off of workers is common at the factory, how do you ensure that it is fairly done?
- 37. Do you face problems in trying to get the workers involved in the affairs of this plant? If yes, which ence? If no, why not?
- 38. Would you say that so a union you participate in all or just some of the affairs of this plant? In each case state:-
 - (i) the areas you feel that you participate in-
 - (ii) the areas you would like to participate in.
 - (iii) the areas you would not like to participate in.
- 39. Would you again say that in your involvement in the affairs of this plant you are consulted, advise or just tell what management should do? Heme the port of things you are involved in each case.
- 40. (a) Which of the following rategies make your views best folt by the management:
 - (1) Threats to go on strike or go-clow;

- (ii) Writing to management complaining and/or expressing how things should be done;
- (iii) Actual strike or demonstration;
- (iv) Owning some equity of the company by union members;
- (v) Representation at the company's executive, policy, consultative and advisory bodies;
- (vi) "Joing the press?
- (b) If possible, rank the strategies in the order of their effectiveness.
- 41. Would you may that the first-line supervisors in this plant exercise or show some concern for the workers under them that goes beyond the work mitmetica? If yes, indicate the matters they show their concern on.
- 42. (a) Does management provide any of the following moral and material support to the union:-
 - (i) Right to contact new and old members;
 - ('i) Help in the collection of subscriptions from members
 - (iii) Office or room to attend members' problems and queries;
 - (iv) Facilities to write and distribute union literature;
 - (v) Hake-up arrangements for the time spent in union affairs by worker numbers;
 - (vi) Time-off to worker members to concelt with their union;
 - (vii) Time-off to worker members to attend union functions e.g. election of union officials;
 - (viii) Any othere?

- (b) In each case, state:
 - (i) Specific cases and dates if possible.
 - (ii) Amounts involved.
 - (iii) How it came about.
- 43. In your opinion and for the smooth running of this factory would you say that the union should have:
 - (i) More influence than management on final decisions affecting this plant;
 - (ii) equal influence with management on final decisions affecting this plant;
 - (iii) Less influence than management on final decisions affecting this plant?
- 44. (a) What plans do you have to improve workers welfare, union and workers-management relations?
 - (b) If there are such plans, who is likely to help you in the exercise and in which way?