

UNSKILLED AND SEMI-SKILLED FACTORY WORKERS:
MAJOR DETERMINANTS OF THEIR
MODERNIZATION LEVELS AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS
THEIR WORK

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By

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

on Ratabaki Labour
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ABSTRACT

In this study, we have tried to examine some of the major factors which influence individual modernization among factory manual workers (semi-skilled and unskilled) and the factors which influence their acceptance of rules, regulations, conditions and terms of their work situation. We have referred to this acceptance as "industrial labour commitment". We have used social change and modernization theories advanced by sociologists like Toennies, Redfield, Lerner, Rogers, Hoselitz and Inkeles to construct a theoretical framework.

The data was collected from factories in three towns in Kenya; Nairobi, Thika and Kiganjo. These three towns which lie on a continuum from the largest (Nairobi) to the smallest (Kiganjo) and Thika as the medium case provide a rural-urban research design for the study.

Using the factory manual workers as our unit of analysis, we first of all try to determine what factors influence modernization at the micro level. Then we try to find out whether modernization (measured by some specified attitudes and practices) is in any way related to the factory manual workers' acceptance of rules, regulations and terms of their occupations. We also attempt to determine whether

the same factors which influence modernization at the micro level also influence workers' "industrial labour commitment" in similar directions. We end our analysis by trying to determine what factors have major influence on workers' level of industrial labour commitment.

We conclude our analysis by suggesting that industrial labour commitment and modernization are two separate processes determined by different factors. While modernization at the micro level is mainly influenced by level of formal education, exposure to urban environment and age, "industrial labour commitment" is very significantly determined by a worker's satisfaction with salary and the time he has spent in factory employment.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

PROBLEM STATEMENT AND JUSTIFICATION

This study which is both hypotheses testing and exploratory has attempted to answer two questions which we consider to be closely inter-related. The first question is: what factors could we consider to be very instrumental for modernization at the micro level (measured by specified practices and attitudes - see Appendix I) among semi-skilled and unskilled factory workers in Kenya? The second question is whether modernization (as measured in our study) is in any way related to those workers' acceptance of the nature and requirements of their occupations in the modern sector. In our study, we refer to this acceptance as "industrial labour commitment" (see Appendix II). We therefore tried to find out whether the same factors which influence modernization also influence 'industrial labour commitment' in a similar direction. We also tried to identify other factors which could be regarded as important for determining 'industrial labour commitment' among these workers.

Relying on theories of social change and modernization advanced by sociologists like Toennies,

Redfield, Lerner, Rogers, Hoselitz, Inkeles and what other sociologists like Gutkind and Wachtel have noted, we have attempted to determine the role contact with urban environment plays in bringing about modernization at the micro level. We have also tried to determine the role of education as a modernizing factor. Secondly, we have tried to find out whether Hoselitz's suggestion that:

"...in town or the city and only in town or the city a labour force can be found that is finally committed to industry and does not tend to float back regularly to the land, and this fact makes the labour contract more impersonal, functionally specific and tends to endow it with universalistic criteria in the selecting of individuals for industrial jobs".

(Hoselitz in Breese (ed.), 1969, p. 33)

is empirically valid in our Kenyan situation. Other industrial sociologists like Kerr (1962) and Berg (1965) seem to support Hoselitz's suggestion that committed factory workers can only be found in big towns.

We consider our study to be relevant for three good reasons. One of these is that Kenya is a developing country and the need for modernization is time and again repeated in our Development Plans. We should therefore as sociologists be concerned

in identifying factors which could be considered to be important for influencing modernization at the micro level. We should be concerned in pointing out what factors may lead to a person's acceptance of new ideas, programmes and practices which may lead to social change at the individual level as well as the social system level.

The second reason which renders our study relevant is that if Hoselitz's suggestion that committed workers can only be found in big towns and cities is taken seriously, it could be used by investors to justify continued location of industries in the big towns rather than in the small rural centres. This as we know would frustrate the latest policy on industrial location as given in both 1974-1978 and 1979-1983 Development Plans - i.e. the emphasis on taking industrial investments to the rural areas. We are certainly aware that today, other factors are considered to be more important for determining location of industries. Ogendo (1972) has for instance noted that administrative and economic considerations are the most important determinants of industrial location in Kenya. He does not however rule out the possibility that, after the urban infrastructure and other services necessary for installation of industrial plants become more widespread in the countryside, labour

considerations will not play a more significant role in determining industrial locations than they do today.

Last but most important industrialization is a stated policy in Kenya (see all Development Plans) and the manufacturing sector has been expanding at a very steady rate and today it ranks second in Kenya's economy both in terms of contribution to GDP and employment. As the most recent Development Plan (1979-1983) stated, the rapid growth is expected to continue. According to the 1979-1983 Development Plan, manufacturing is expected to continue putting emphasis on labour intensive technologies where they are found to be appropriate. It is also noted that at the beginning of this Plan period, manufacturing employed over 118,000 people and during the plan period, an additional 40,000 new jobs will be created in the modern manufacturing sector. Given that more and more people will in future be involved in jobs provided in the modern manufacturing sector, we should concern ourselves with finding out what factors determine acceptance and satisfaction with these jobs and what factors lead to their rejection or dissatisfaction with them among the workers.

THEORY AND LITERATURE REVIEW

In this study we have depended heavily on social change and modernization theories advanced by sociologists like Toennies, Redfield, Lerner, Rogers, Hoselitz and Inkeles to construct a theoretical framework. Here, we shall review the related literature. In addition, we shall review relevant literature on the concept of commitment and especially commitment among industrial workers. Kanter, who has given a broad discussion of the concept of commitment, will be reviewed and so will industrial sociologists like Feldman and Moore and Goldthorpe, who have narrowed the concept in their discussion of commitment among industrial workers. We shall also review related literature on African wage workers.

Redfield, and Toennies before him, refer to the eventual transformation of society from a traditional way of life to a modern way of life in the course of social development. Toennies refers to social transformation in terms of "Gemeinschaft" (traditional community) and "Gesellschaft" (modern society). Redfield, borrowing heavily from Toennies, talks of the existence of a rural-urban continuum in developing societies. Toennies' 'Geselleschaft' and Redfield's 'urban society' refer to a similar social order.

The major characteristics of the new social order are, an industrial way of life, a nuclear family system, functional relationships, universalism, secularism and social heterogeneity. This new order is seen to be a contrast to the old order which is characterised by subsistence production, kinship ties, relationships based on emotions and kinship, particularism, traditionalism and social homogeneity.

Referring to the old social order, which Toennies calls 'communal order' he says that this order is based on consensus of wills, rests upon harmony and is developed and ennobled by folkways, mores, and religion, while the new order is based on rational wills and it rests upon convention and agreement. Redfield on the other hand discusses his rural-urban continuum with reference to Mexico, where he noted from research he did there that cultural traits moved closer to modern (western) ones as one moved from the most rural to the most urban (physically). His study covered a continuum from the village on the one hand to the city on the other. Between those two polar ends, two towns were studied. Redfield (1949) found that as towns became larger and moved closer to the city, people's attitudes and practices changed and became more similar to those of the city (which were modern rather than traditional).

Later modernization theorists like Lerner (1958), who did research in the Middle East, argue along the same lines. Lerner, in his discussion of the theory of modernization, quotes the western model of modernization. In this model, Lerner points out that physical mobility was the first crucial step, since by moving from farms to flats and from fields to factories people became intimate with the idea of change through experience. Physical mobility on a large scale led to growth of cities and social mobility. According to Lerner a mobile personality has to possess the capacity to identify himself with new aspects of his environment. Lerner uses the word "empathy" as a shorthand for "the capacity to see oneself in the other fellow's situation" (ibid., p. 50) which he says is vital for modernization at the micro level. According to Lerner:

"....high empathetic capacity is the predominant personal style only in modern society, which is distinctly industrial, urban, literate and participant".

(ibid., p. 50)

Lerner has further argued that mass media play the role of "mobility multiplier" by multiplying earlier increase of physical mobility through transportation by spread of mediated experience

through mass media. In other words mass media mentally transport people to new places and expose them to new ways of life and ideas.

Rogers (1969) who has also discussed the theory of modernization, relies heavily on Lerner's findings and interpretation of the process of modernization in the Middle East. Indeed, he quotes Lerner throughout the book. He utilizes all of Lerner's central variables, which are empathy, literacy, mass media exposure and urban contact (cosmopolitanism). Rogers notes that these variables could be seen as both cause and effect in the modernization process. For instance exposure to mass media might lead to a higher level of modernization in an individual and at the same time a more modernized individual will most likely be the one who goes to seek out mass media. The same applies to 'cosmopolitanism' which might lead an individual to become more modern in his orientation and at the same time a more modern individual will tend to be more cosmopolitan.

Like Lerner, Rogers also points out that a high level of aspirations is a good thing for modernization but too much of it could lead to general frustration. Rogers further points out that modernization brings change which may produce

both benefits and conflicts within a social system or within an individual. In addition he notes that since modernization is a synthesis of old and new ways it varies in different environments. According to Rogers the factors which determine modernization are level of living, aspirations, education, political participation, cosmopolitaness and communication.

Other modernization theorists who have argued along similar lines are sociologists like Inkeles who has pointed out that modernization at the external level or macro level which is always closely related to modernization at the individual level (micro) can be summarized by reference to a series of key terms; urbanization, education, mass communication, industrialization and politicization. In turn Inkeles says that the above terms signify that in contrast to his forebears living in traditional order of society, the modern man is less likely to work the land as a farmer and is more likely to be employed in a large and complex productive enterprise based on intensive use of power and advanced technologies. This contemporary man is likely to live in cities because of concentration of industries in certain sites. The man living in urban settings will not only experience crowding and contact with different people but will also be

exposed to other stimuli which are characteristic of urban life of which media of mass communication are dominant. Inkeles also adds that schooling will augment the contemporary man's experience of new places, ideas and opinions through contact with urban life. However, he points out that exposure of man to all these features of the modern setting does not automatically make a man more modern though it might contribute to his transformation and require a new way of life for him. The man himself has to "undergo a change in spirit" (ibid., in Weiner (ed.), 1966, p. 153) and acquire new ways of thinking. Inkeles places education and urban environment on top of the list of complexes which produce a modern man. He says education is certainly the most important factor in the process of individual (micro) modernization.

It is important to note that the reviewed literature on modernization distinguishes two levels within this process. These levels are the 'macro level' - which refers to modernization at the social system level and 'micro level' which refers to modernization at the individual level. However, the two levels are closely inter-related. Modernization at the macro level will most likely produce modernization at the micro level. Our study is mainly concerned with the micro level of modernization.

From the reviewed literature we developed three major hypotheses:

- (1) That modern attitudes and behaviour would predominate more among big town dwellers than among small town dwellers.
- (2) That people who have lived in relatively big towns for the longest period would tend to demonstrate a higher level of modern attitudes and behaviour.
- (3) That people with a higher level of formal education would demonstrate a higher level of modernization.

Urbanization and Industrial Labour Commitment

Hoselitz, whose theoretical approach to modernization is very similar to that of the sociologists who we have already reviewed, has tended in his writings to positively correlate urbanization and industrial labour force development. He seems to hold that the urbanized individual is easier to recruit into industrial labour than his rural counterpart. Hoselitz, like Inkeles and Kerr, argues that the urban way of life acts to accelerate modernization, and the modern man according to them is no longer a subsistence farmer living in the rural areas but is an industrial man living in cities and earning his livelihood from wage employment in big industrial enterprises. Kerr remarks in his writings that the work force in industrial society is geared to shift operations and the community to changed attitudes like working at night are alien to subsistence farming in the rural areas. He further notes that the industrial society is necessarily an urban society concentrated in metropolitan areas (Kerr, 1962). In addition, Kerr argues that industrialization tends to promote the values and the folkways of the city and to weaken those of the farm.

Hoselitz's and Kerr's ideas are very similar to those of the colonial anthropologists which Lee (1967) has discussed. In his writings on colonial development, Lee refers to the urban anthropologists who had considerable influence on colonial policies which were related to urbanization of Africans in the Copperbelt. From Lee's discussion, it seems that the anthropologists believed that urbanization of Africans (making them live in towns rather than commute from rural areas to work in urban areas) created industrial labour commitment among African employees. Industrial employers were eventually advised to provide housing for their workers in order to make their stay in town more permanent.

The summary of the above arguments is that urbanized individuals (those who are settled in towns) find themselves in a better position to accept the nature and regulations of industrial employment. From these arguments we developed two more hypotheses for our study:

- (1) That workers who were resident in the biggest urban centre (Nairobi) in our study would demonstrate a higher level of industrial labour commitment than their counterparts working in the smallest rural town (Kiganjo)

and those working in the medium sized town (Thika).

- (2) That workers who scored high on modernization would also score high on industrial labour commitment.

We are aware that both the index approach to the problem of development and cultural change, which is often associated with Hoselitz, and the diffusionist approach advanced by sociologists like Lerner (1958), Rogers (1969) and Mocre and Feldman (1960) have been thoroughly criticized by Gunder Frank and Wolf. Frank's argument is mainly that these approaches lack empirical validity and they are theoretically inadequate.

Both Frank and Wolf have taken pains to show that the problem of development at the macro level can only be attacked effectively if the relationship between the developed nations and the underdeveloped is well analysed and the exploitative consequences of that relationship removed. Frank has not however given us an alternative approach to the study of modernization at the micro level. In absence of such an approach we decided to utilize the much criticized approaches and subject them yet to another test in our study of the factory manual workers in Kenya.

Commitment in Industrial Work

Since we have brought the concept of commitment into our study, we shall here give its broad definition and then narrow down the concept to refer to commitment in industrial work.

Kanter (1974), who has discussed the concept of commitment, gives it a very broad definition based on a social unit but one which can be employed in any other organizational unit. She has stated that commitment:

"....is the process through which individual interests become attached to the carrying out of socially organized patterns of behaviour which are seen as fulfilling those interests and as expressing the nature and the need of the person".

(Kanter, in Field (ed.), 1974,
p. 126)

She has further broken up the concept into three categories:

- (1) Cohesive commitment - which refers to commitment of actors to group solidarity and to a set of relationships.
- (2) Control commitment - which is the commitment of actors to upholding of norms and obeying the authority of the group.
- (3) Evaluative commitment - which refers to commitment to norms, the values and the inner convictions, which morally obligate the individual.

Feldman and Moore's (1960) definition of the concept of commitment is very similar to that of Kanter's but they refer to a specific type of commitment - i.e. "industrial labour commitment" which they define in the following words:

"...commitment involves both performance and acceptance of behaviour appropriate to an industrial way of life...the fully committed worker is one who has internalized the norms of the new production system".

(Feldman and Moore, 1960,
p. 1).

John Goldthorpe (1973) also defines the concept of industrial labour commitment similarly. In his discussion of the concept of commitment,

Goldthorpe quotes Etzioni's (1961, p. 10) definition of "normative commitment" which Etzioni refers to as "moral involvement" and as "positive orientation of high intensity". Goldthorpe goes further and points out that this involvement is seen as loyal identification with the aims of the company. In addition he notes that this type of commitment is likely to be found more among industrial workers in the higher echelons than among those in the lower ranks. This he says is so since for moral involvement to exist there has to be an agreement between the individual's aspirations and the prevailing organizational norms which extend to intrinsically valued norms. He says that one can only hope to find a kind of segmental commitment among the lower ranking workers. This segmental commitment implies superficial acceptance and performance of rules, regulations and conditions of work as laid down by the management.

Since my study deals with the lower ranks of industrial workers no attempt was made to trace "moral involvement of high intensity" among the respondents. We were merely measuring the workers' level of acceptance of the rules and regulations of their occupation and especially when compared to the traditional way of earning a living from tilling the land. Thus the term "industrial labour commitment" in this study has that limited meaning.

Behaviour of the Unskilled Labour Force in Kenya
and the Rest of Africa

Elkan (1960) and Leys (1975) have done separate studies on the urban wage labour force with relation to unskilled labour force stability. Elkan in his study noted that:

"neither gradual wage increases nor other incentives were likely to reduce the structural instability of unskilled labour".

(1960, p. 124)

We are not here taking the term "labour instability" to refer directly to "committed labour" (as operationally defined for our study) but we believe that the type of instability that Elkan was referring to is partly a result of lack of commitment among "unskilled industrial workers". Elkan in addition pointed out that the continued instability among the industrial labour force was directly related to the rural areas. Leys in his study noted that even at the end of 1960s the great majority of urban workers were still essentially migrant workers:

"...studies of the urban adult wage working population show that two thirds spend at least a week and a third a month in their rural homes a year".

(Leys, 1975, p. 180)

Ley's conclusion was that for most of the urban work force:

'the relations of production of their small rural holdings still predominated over those of their urban jobs".

(Ibid., p. 180)

In other words the urban wage worker according to Leys' findings continued to regard his economic and social ties with his rural home as more important than his economic and social ties with the town where he worked. Leys did not however deny that there was some sort of urban culture in big towns like Nairobi and Mombasa but he felt that this was just some transient culture since workers hoped to retire to their rural areas.

Rempel has also studied the behaviour of the unskilled labour force in Kenya. His findings led him to conclude that only temporary migration occurred (Rempel, 1970, p. 115) and that in the case of these newly arrived migrants, when asked whether they wished to remain in town for the rest

of their lives, 59% "replied in a sense which indicated that they considered themselves a permanent part of the urban labour force" (Ibid., 1970, p. 84-86).

Our study has tried to find out whether the urban culture of the big towns is a transient one as Leys and Elkan have claimed or whether it is gaining permanence.

Relationship Between Availability of Land and African Reluctance to Get Into Wage Labour

Stichter (1975) has discussed how Africans were initially pushed into wage labour through coercion and artificial creation of needs like taxation and alienation of land. Her arguments are similar to those of Berg (1965) in his discussion of recruitment of industrial labour in Africa South of the Sahara, where he noted that the problem of labour recruitment was the transfer of labour resources out of subsistence agriculture into wage employment. He further points out that this problem of recruitment has some unique features arising from the special discipline requirements of industrial ways of life. Berg observes that Africans were initially reluctant to get into wage labour because of their rural traditional way of life which was dominated by subsistence farming. Availability of plenty of arable land, according to Berg, enabled

and encouraged Africans to adhere to their traditional values. Henley (1972), like Berg and Stichter, has also related the reluctance of Africans to engage in industrial employment to availability of land.

In our study we have tried to determine whether change of values and attitudes (modernization) has led to higher level of acceptance of industrial employment. We have also tried to find out whether there is any relationship between landlessness and industrial labour commitment.

A List of the Hypotheses we Set Out to Test

- (1) That modern attitudes and behaviour would predominate more among the big town workers than among the small town workers.
- (2) That workers who had lived in relatively big towns for the longest period would tend to demonstrate a higher level of modern attitudes and behaviour.
- (3) That workers with a higher level of formal education would demonstrate a higher level of modernization.

- (4). That workers who were resident in the biggest urban centre in our study would demonstrate the highest level of industrial labour commitment followed by those in the medium town with those in the smallest town coming last.
- (5) That there would be a positive relationship between modernization and industrial labour commitment.
- (6) That there would be a positive relationship between landlessness and industrial labour commitment.

OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS OF TERMS AND CONCEPTS USED

Some concepts and terms have been employed in this study in a particular sense for operational purposes. These terms are 'modernization', 'industrial labour commitment' and 'industrial unit'. We shall define them here to avoid any misinterpretation or confusion.

(1) Modernization

The term modernization is frequently used in the literature which we have already reviewed. It is noted by all the modernization theorists we

have reviewed - i.e. Lerner, Rogers, Hoselitz and Inkeles, that the process of modernization has two closely inter-related levels:

- (a) Macro level - where changes are expected to occur in the whole social system e.g. move from subsistence production to industrial production, development of urban centres, widespread literacy and education and communication through mass media.
- (b) Micro-level - this refers to change at the individual level which is expected to correspond to development at societal level. Individuals are supposed to change from a traditional way of life to a more complex, advanced, and rapidly changing way of life. According to Inkeles, Rogers and Lerner, modernization at the micro level deals with attitudes, practices and feelings. Items commonly used to measure modernization at this level are:
 - (i) Use of mass media.
 - (ii) Cosmopolitaness - defined by Rogers as:

"The degree to which an individual is oriented outside his social system...by having new reference groups in town".

(1969, p. 52)

(iii) Empathy - defined by Lerner as:

"...the capacity to see oneself in the other fellow's situation".

(1958, p. 50)

(iv) Higher aspirations.

(v) Participation - political and social.

Our study was concerned with the micro level of modernization and we measured it by a number of attitudes and practices which are closely related to the above given items, (see Appendix I).

(2) Industrial Labour Commitment

Kanter's discussion of the concept of commitment has already been outlined. Feldman and Moore's definition of the term 'industrial labour commitment' and that of Goldthorpe have also been discussed. Industrial labour commitment in this study does not refer to total personal involvement but to a partial type of commitment whereby a worker might not find any real chance of expressing his nature, through the work he does (except by 'making believe' or as Chinoy (1955) puts it, by "executing

skillfully even routine tasks to which they are assigned" and getting some sort of pride from that) but nevertheless, he does not express contempt and opposition towards the prevailing conditions, rules, regulations and terms of his work but considers them acceptable and obeys them. In other words, "industrial labour commitment" in this study refers to a worker's level of adjustment to the type of activities he must engage in and acceptance of their demands, and the people around him.

(3) Industrial Labour and Unit

Industrial labour here refers to full time (in terms of days and month) wage employment in any work situation where a collection of activities are performed in order to produce or process particular item or items (material items) and where the activities must be deliberately coordinated and supervised. The products must of necessity be for the market rather than for subsistence within the unit. An industrial unit is any place where such coordinated work is carried out. Industrial units in this study are inevitably commercial enterprises.

(4) Semi-skilled and Unskilled

Semi skilled in this study refers to machine minding jobs or machine operating and repairing minor faults in the machinery.

Unskilled refers to any type of activity in which a worker can engage after a few hours direction, e.g. moving articles from one place to another or cleaning up. Basically both semi-skilled and unskilled jobs in factories are manual and are so considered in this study.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

AREA OF STUDY

Since one of the major aims of the study was to find out whether contact with urban environment influenced respondents' level of modernization and his level of industrial labour commitment, industrial units which provided our data were inevitably picked from towns. The towns from which samples were taken were Nairobi, Thika and Kiganjo. These towns lie on a continuum with the largest (Nairobi) on the one end and the smallest (Kiganjo) on the other end and the medium case (Thika) in the centre. Choice of these towns and their location was mainly determined by availability of industrial units, financial and time limits.

Samples of 60 respondents were taken from industrial units in each of these towns. In Nairobi, Kenya Cooperative Creameries (KCC) factory and Cadbury Schweppes provided samples of 30 respondents each making a total of 60 respondents from Nairobi. In Thika 60 respondents came from the Metal Box factory. We had planned to take samples from two factories there but management in other factories proved to be uncooperative. In Kiganjo, the KCC factory there provided a sample of 60 respondents.

Choice of these factories was mainly determined by the cooperation of the respective managements and the size of factories themselves in terms of manpower. We should perhaps note here that private enterprises are very sensitive to researches on labour and permission to carry out such surveys very much depends on whether one knows some of the influential executives within their administration. In Thika for instance we had hoped to interview some workers from Kenya Cannery and Thika Cloth Mill but neither of the factories' management was willing to give permission. It was also considered important to choose relatively large industrial plants to allow for a more diverse sample in variables like education, level of contact with urban environment and age. None of the above industrial units had less than 60 semi-skilled and unskilled workers. Two KCC factories were studied from Nairobi and Kiganjo to control for town of location or the type of environment that the factory was in. This was to enable us to see whether workers enjoying similar terms and conditions of work but in different towns (in terms of size) would demonstrate different attitudes towards their work.

The choice of Nairobi and two other towns from Central Province was influenced by the familiarity we had with these areas and time and financial considerations. It is however believed that a similar design could be drawn from other parts of the country taking Nairobi as the largest town.

Since the idea of size of town (in terms of population and area) is important in our study the variations of the three towns in these respects is shown in table 1.a.

Table 1.a.: Description of Nairobi, Thika and Kiganjo by Population Size, Area and Population Density in 1969

Town	Total Population	Area (sq.km.)	Population Density	Projected Population for 2000
Nairobi	509,28	693	734	965,600
Thika	18,387	15	1,217	43,500
Kiganjo	1,715	-	-	-

Note:

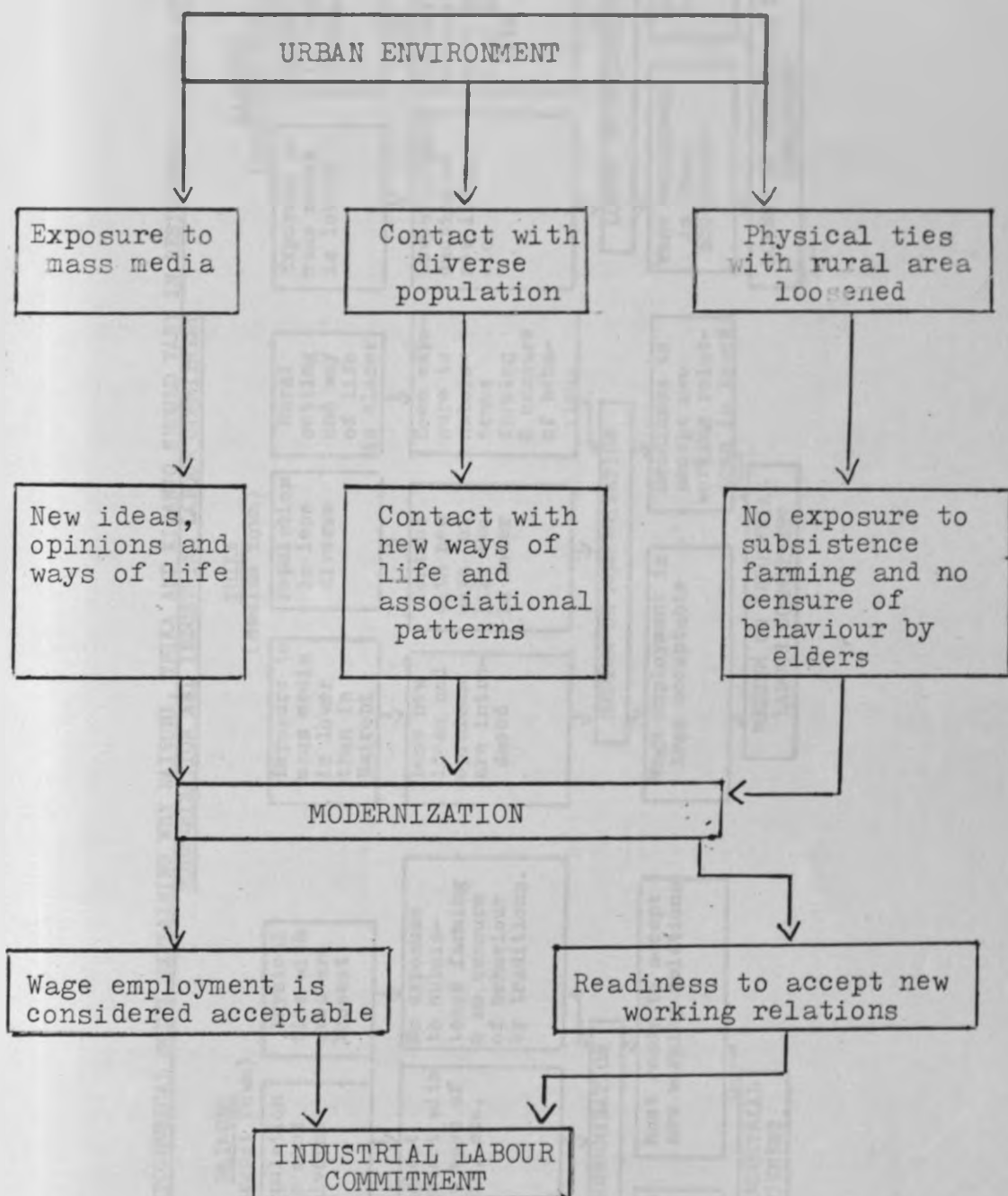
- (1) Area is given to the nearest sq. kilometres.
- (2) Dash (-) for area and density means these were not available due to lack of gazetted boundaries.
Dash (-) for projected total population for the year 2000 for Kiganjo - plans for Kiganjo from 1980 onwards are put together with those for Nyeri town and thereon the two are planned as one big town.
- (3) Density: Higher in Thika than Nairobi because gazetted boundaries for Nairobi in 1969 cover much unoccupied land like parks, forest reserves and some surrounding coffee estates on Kiambu side and density was worked out on the basis of area covered by boundaries and not on the basis of the occupied space only.

Source: 1969 Kenya Population Census, Vol. II, p. 1 and 2 & A.M. Vukovich, "Urban Population Projections in Kenya during 1969-2000 within the Context of Urban Development Strategy".

Since one of our major hypotheses was that these variations in size (population size and physical size) would have some socio-economic consequences which could in turn lead to varied levels of modernization and industrial labour commitment for respondents in the respective towns, models illustrating the rationale behind this hypothesis is given in the next two pages. The first model shows how urban environment is hypothetically supposed to influence modernization at the micro level and an individual's level of industrial labour commitment.

It is also important to point out here that in terms of distance Thika is closer to Nairobi (26 miles) than Kiganjo (46 miles) since this could affect the level of modernization in the three towns. Redfield for instance found out, in his research in Mexico, that as towns moved closer (in distance) to the city they also demonstrated a higher level of modernization.

A Hypothetical Model of Urban Environment as an
Influence of Modernization at the Micro
Level and Industrial Labour Commitment

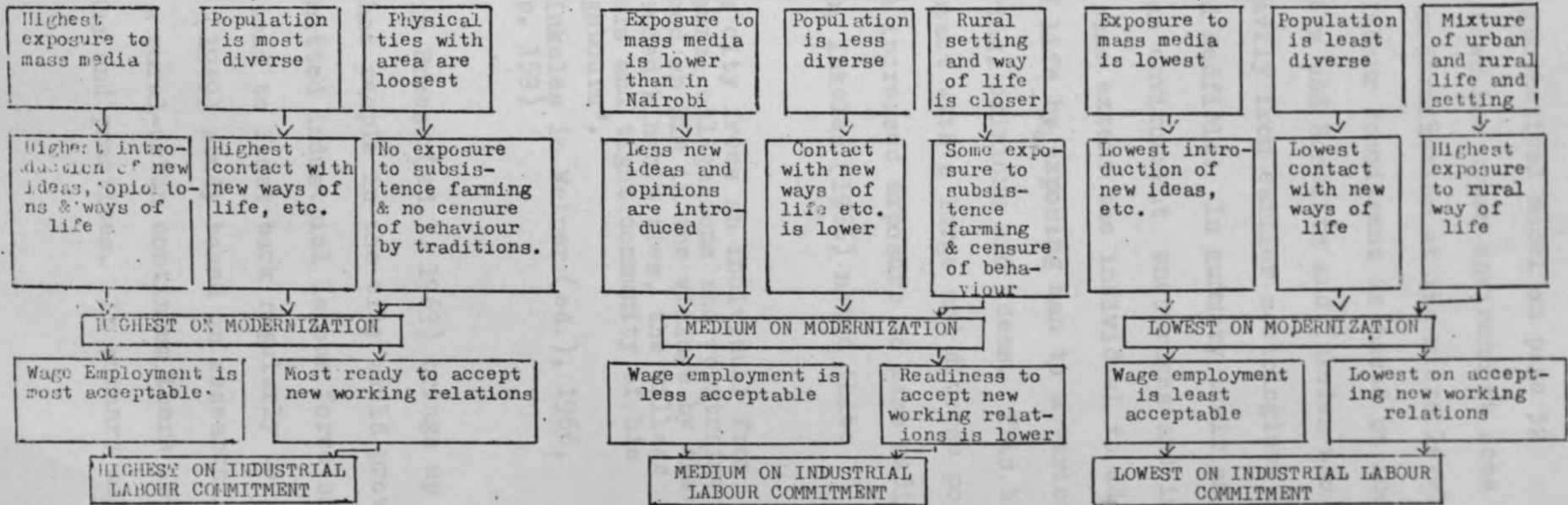


A HYPOTHETICAL MODEL, EXPLAINING WHY NAIROBI, THIKA AND KIGANJO SHOULD VARY IN RESPONDENTS' LEVEL OF MODERNIZATION AND INDUSTRIAL LABOUR COMMITMENT

NAIROBI
(Largest Town)

THIKA
(Medium Town)

KIGANJO
(Smallest Town)



The hypothetical model on page 32

which shows how urban environment acts to bring about modernization at the micro level and industrial labour commitment is based on ideas of Lerner, Rogers and Hoselitz and Inkeles who have borrowed heavily from earlier sociologists like Toennies and Redfield. In summary their argument is that urban environment encourages and indeed obliges to some extent the individual to adopt many new ways of life by exposing man to a variety of ways of living, opinions and ideas. This happens through contact with a large and diverse population and through increased exposure to mass media. In addition, Inkeles (1966) noted that:

"the city frees an individual from censure, obligations and constraints, placed on him in the village by the extended kinship ties, the village elders and tight community of his neighbours".

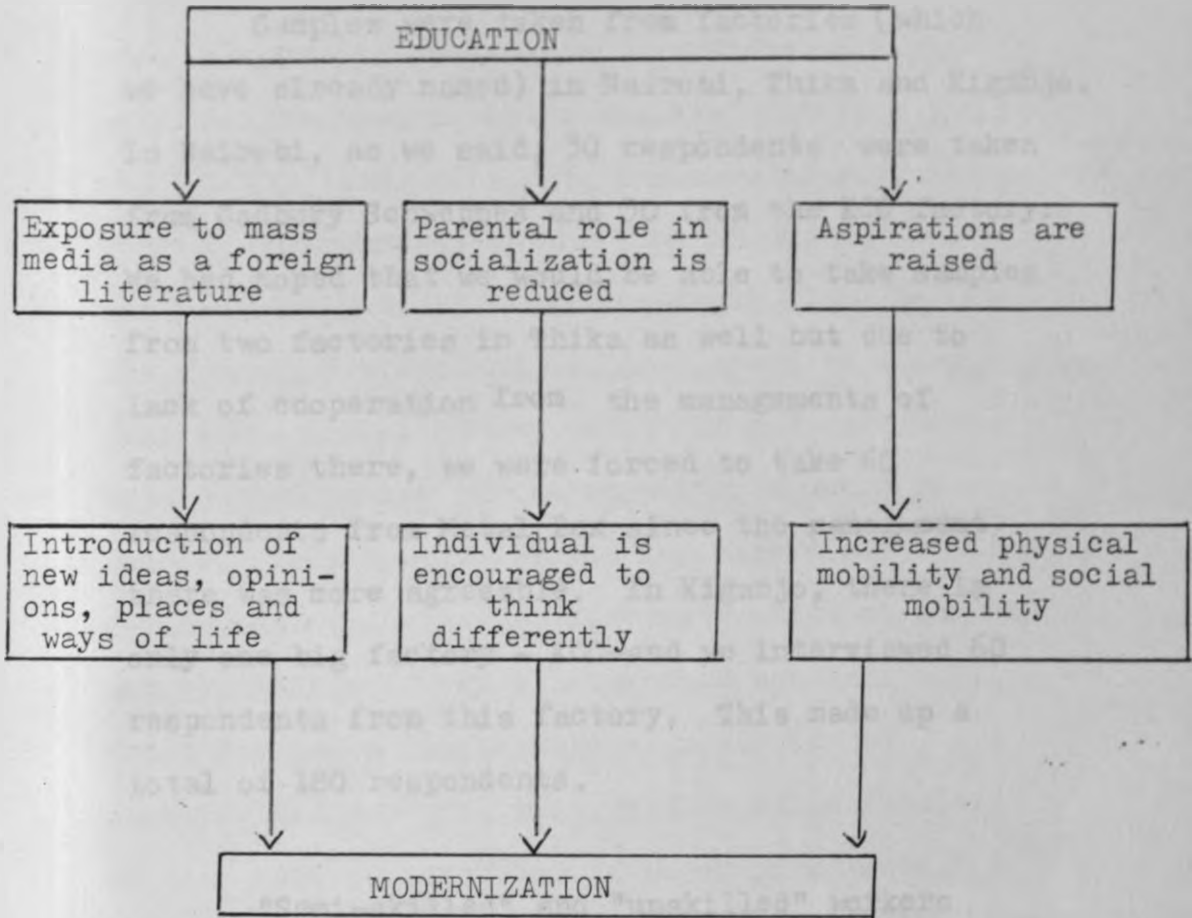
(Inkeles in Weiner (ed.), 1966, p. 159)

Hoselitz (in Breese (ed.), 1969) brings up the argument that people in the city would provide a more committed industrial labour force since they would not tend to float back regularly to the land. Redfield's (1949) study based on research in Mexico refers to a rural-urban continuum there in terms of attitudes and practices. In summary his finding

was that attitudes and practices became more modern as one moved from the village through relatively small towns to the city. We are obviously aware that much criticism and debate has focused on the rural-urban continuum by people like McGee (1964) but we however felt that it would be interesting to subject the notion of rural-urban continuum to an empirical test here.



A Hypothetical Model of Education as a Factor
Influencing Modernization at the Micro Level



The model shown above which indicates the role of education in micro modernization process is heavily based on ideas of the modernization theorists we have been referring to: Lerner, Rogers, Inkeles and Smelser.

SAMPLING

Samples were taken from factories (which we have already named) in Nairobi, Thika and Kiganjo. In Nairobi, as we said, 30 respondents were taken from Cadbury Schweppes and 30 from the KCC factory. We had hoped that we would be able to take samples from two factories in Thika as well but due to lack of cooperation from the managements of factories there, we were forced to take 60 respondents from Metal Box since the management there was more agreeable. In Kiganjo, there is only one big factory - KCC-and we interviewed 60 respondents from this factory. This made up a total of 180 respondents.

"Semi-skilled" and "unskilled" workers were preferred to skilled workers because it is believed that skilled workers regardless of their work environment tend to have a similar orientation towards their jobs due to the type of schooling and training they have received and where they have received such training.

In all the industrial units which were studied the production systems are divided into different sections. When drawing the samples from the respective factories, we first obtained a roster of the sections and the workers assigned

to different sections. From these, random samples were taken. In all the factories however, movement from one section to another is a common practice and the fact that a worker was assigned to a desirable section (in terms of noise, pressure of work and general environment) at the time of the interview was not likely to bias his responses since he had the overall picture and could be moved to a less desirable section at any time. It had been hoped that a good number of the respondents would be female. This however proved impossible since female employment in the factories which we studied was negligible if not all together non-existent. Metal Box was a unique case with 14% of its semi-skilled and unskilled workers being female. We were able to interview 14 women from there. This number was however considered too small to allow for comparison of workers' level of industrial labour commitment by sex as we had planned to do.

DATA COLLECTION

A questionnaire schedule was used. The full questionnaire has been attached for reference. In the questionnaire particular questions were asked to measure related variables. Besides getting information on personal background of the respondents like sex, ethnicity, age and marital status, Part I of the questionnaire was aimed at measuring

a person's level of modernization.

Questions in Part II of the questionnaire are related to attitudes towards factory employment and aimed at measuring a workers level of industrial labour commitment.

Part III of the questionnaire was mainly aimed at exploring whether there was any relationship between landlessness as a push factor into wage economy and industrial labour commitment.

The management and foremen in the respective factories were an additional source of information, especially information related to conditions, terms and regulations of employment. Officers in Labour Exchange Offices in Nairobi, Thika and Nyeri were also interviewed though the information they provided was not adequate for comparing the rate of unemployment in the three towns as it had been hoped it would. Some descriptive data was also taken from the 1974-1978 Development Plan and the 1969 National Census documents.

DATA ANALYSIS

Construction of Indices

We used various questions to construct a modernization index and an industrial labour commitment index (see Appendix for details).

Modernization Index - Questions Used:

Part I of questionnaire - question 7

"Considering the type of life you lead and the type you are leading now, would you consider yourself rural or urban?"

Question 9

"If you managed to save some of your earnings after paying school fees, rent, and your other day to day needs, what would you spend that money on?"

Question 10

"If you did not own any land and you obtained some somewhere where there are no urban amenities like light, ready transport, tap water, would you prefer to go and live there to working and living in a town where you have access to those amenities?"

Question 11

"Thinking of your traditional way of life, do you think the kinship obligations like looking after your neighbours while sick, giving them food and clothing if they are not in a position to provide for themselves, constitutes a better way of life compared to nuclear family system with no kinship obligations?"

Question 13

"Thinking of how you became friends with your ten best friends, what would you say brought you together and what do you think keeps you close?"

Question 14

"Among your ten best friends, how many come from the same tribe as you?"

Question 20

"How often do you read a newspaper?"

Question 21

"How do you mostly gather news or find out what is happening in the country?"

Question 22

"How much money do you spend on entertainment per month?"

Part II of QuestionnaireQuestion 20

"Do you feel that it would make any difference to your employer if you failed to turn up for work one day?"

Part III of QuestionnaireQuestion 3

"What would you prefer your son to be, a rich farmer or a rich landless manager of some business firm with property in town given that the income would be the same?"

Industrial Labour Commitment Index - Questions UsedPart II of QuestionnaireQuestion 6

"When a person does something the way it should be done - for instance when a mechanic repairs a car satisfactorily or when a woman cleans a house and people admire it etc. a kind of pride is derived from that type of achievement, does your job give you chances for such personal achievement and experience of such pride?"

Question 8

"Would you like to continue in this job? (Explain why)?"

Question 15

"Do you think it is wrong to fail to obey the regulations of your work?"

Question 17

"If the person who gives you your orders or supervises you is transferred, would it affect your feelings towards your job?"

Question 19

"Do you feel like you contribute much to the success of your employer and if so, does that make you happy or do you think it is unfair?"

Question 22

"Among your ten best friends, how many are your workmates?"

Part III of Questionnaire

Question 5

"If you had enough land producing enough to meet your needs, would you work in it full time or would you still keep your job?"

Data Processing and Analysis

After constructing the above indices using the given questions, we then run tables cross-tabulating, independent variables like town of residence, length of residence in relatively big towns, education and age against both modernization and industrial labour commitment.

- We also run other cross tables in an attempt to determine what factors were influencing industrial labour commitment.
- Computer was used to carry out frequency distribution of the data. Most of the cross tabulation was however done manually.

Percentages were also computed manually to measure central tendency in cross tabulations and the data has been presented in that form.

Where necessary χ^2 was computed to measure the statistical significance of associations between independent and dependent variables.

CHAPTER THREE

DESCRIPTION OF THE FINDINGS

One of the assumptions of this study was that the three towns where the survey was carried out would vary in some aspects which would lead to varied levels of modernization and industrial labour commitment. Here, we describe the empirical evidence of variations in population diversity and exposure to mass media. Table 1 in the Methodology chapter can be referred to in relation to variations in exposure to subsistence farming. The table, in part, shows the area in square kilometres that each of the towns covers. The logic is that residents of a town which covers the greatest space (Nairobi) would be more removed from the subsistence farmers in its periphery than residents of a town which covers a very small space like Kigango where a worker in the factory can literally watch small scale farms and farmers who surround the factory.

In addition to this we also describe the sample by two important independent variables; education and age. We also give a brief description of the work sites or the factories by some important work conditions and terms like salary given to the workers and general conditions of work.

Table 2.a.: Description of Nairobi, Thika and Kiganjo by Social Heterogeneity in 1969

Town	Total Population	% of Kenyan Africans	% of Non-Kenyan Africans	Non-Africans
Nairobi	509,296	80.06%	2.62%	17.32%
Thika	18,387	89.56%	0.44%	10
Kiganjo	1,715	100%	-	-

Source: 1969 National Census, Vol. II, p. 3 and 5

Data on ethnic composition of the three towns was not available except for the two largest towns in the country, Nairobi and Mombasa. We were however able to get the proportions of central Bantus, which is a large ethnic group made up of peoples of Central Province and the Akambas of Eastern Province. Peoples of Central Province included are Kikuyus, Embu, Meru and Mbere. Out of the total Nairobi population, 51.11% is composed of central Bantus and for Thika, the same group constitutes 74.01% of the population while for Kiganjo 97.67% of the population are central Bantus. Reference to Central Bantus is relevant here since both Thika and Kiganjo are located in Central Province which is bordered on one side by Eastern Province and Nairobi on the

other. All the mentioned peoples can understand each other's dialects and are very close in their customs and have indeed formed the famous political-cum-social organization called GEMA. The percentages we have given for each town in this connection are therefore a reflection of the proportion of outsiders who are Kenyans and African. The term "outsiders" is used here in relation to GEMA components.

Table 2.b. and 2.c. which are given in the next pages are aimed at showing whether more social heterogeneity necessarily lead to new associational patterns as our model of urban environment as an influence on modernization indicated.

Table 2.b.: Description of the Respondents of the Three Towns by Their
 Most Important Base for Friendship

Town	% of Respondents with no friends	% of Respondents basing friendship on modern criteria	% of Respondents basing friendship on traditional criteria	Total
Nairobi	7%	59%	34%	60 100%
Thika	3%	55%	42%	60 100%
Kiganjo	7%	27%	66%	60 100%

* Percentages in all tables except in table 2.a. and table 4 (where data was taken from 1969 National Census) have been rounded to the nearest whole number.

Criteria for friendship which we considered modern included "working together and having similar interests", and belonging to the same sports club. Criteria for friendship which we considered traditional was "coming from the same rural area", "belonging to the same tribe", and "being neighbours at home".

Table 2.0. gives the impression that indeed, relationships become based more on modern criteria as we move from the small town to the largest town.

Table 2.c.:

Description of Workers of the Three Towns by their Tendency to
Have Close Friends From Other Ethnic Groups

Town	% of Workers with no friends from their tribe	% of Workers with 1 - 5 friends from their tribe	% of Workers with 5 - 10 friends from their tribe	Total
Nairobi	15%	43%	42%	60 100
Thika	5%	39%	56%	60 100
Kiganjo	22%	18%	60%	60 100

The incident of getting respondents with no close friends from their tribes was most common in Kiganjo partly because among the respondents in that town 13.33% (8 respondents) claimed that there were no other people in the town who belonged to their respective tribes. These people came from tribes such as Luo, Masai, Swahili, Taita, Rabai, Kalenjin, Kisii and Somali. For these people it was logically not possible to have friends from their tribes. In both Nairobi and Thika nobody belonged to an ethnic group by himself. In addition to this, in Kiganjo workers from other tribes like Luhya were very few, 5% (3). If such people happened to be very different in character it would have been hard for them to be close friends which would mean that even those 3 would have had to choose friends from other ethnic groups. Once that explanation is accepted, the rest of the table follows a pattern. The highest proportion of respondents with 6-10 close friends from their own ethnic groups was from Kiganjo (60%) and the lowest was from Nairobi (42%) with Thika as the medium case (56%).

Variations in Exposure to Mass Media and Use of
it by Respondents

The three towns vary in availability of cinema houses but circulation of newspapers is relatively fairer. In Nairobi for instance we note that there are 16 cinema houses while there is no established one in Thika (occasionally cinemas are shown in a kind of a night club) and there is none in Kiganjo. Thika residents who like seeing cinemas usually have to make the journey to Nairobi (26 miles) and those in Kiganjo who like seeing cinemas travel to Nyeri (8 miles) where there are two established cinema houses. Though in Nairobi and Thika one would be able to get a newspaper earlier than in Kiganjo, anybody keen on reading a newspaper daily can do so since the circulation is consistent. In table 3.a., we describe the workers of the three towns by their rate of reading newspapers and in 3.b. we describe them by their most popular way of gathering news, while 3.c. describes them by ways of spending leisure.

Table 3.a.: Description of the Workers of the Three Towns by their Rate of Newspaper Readership

Town	% of Respondents who read newspapers daily or 6 days a week	% of Respondents who read newspapers 1-5 days a week	% of Respondents who read newspapers once a month or never	Total
Nairobi	33%	42%	25%	60 100
Thika	25%	48%	27%	60 100
Kiganjo	13%	53%	34%	60 100

As we have said, newspapers were available daily even in Kiganjo but the above table shows a much higher tendency among Nairobi respondents to read newspapers more often than the Kiganjo respondents. The trend becomes more significant when one considers that Nairobi and Kiganjo were equal on respondents' level of education. (this will be shown in table 5) with each having 31% of their respondents having had secondary education and 69% having had primary education only. Thika stood out with 63% of her respondents having had secondary school education.

	Nairobi	Thika	Kiganjo
Secondary Education	31%	63%	31%
Primary Education	69%	37%	69%

Table 3.b.: Description of Workers of the Three Towns by Most Popular Way of
Gathering News

Town	% who mostly gather news from newspapers, radio and TV	% who gather news from their friends	Total
Nairobi	91%	9%	60 100
Thika	95%	5%	60 100
Kiganjo	83%	17%	60 100

Table 3.b. shows that the differences between the towns are not very great when one does not differentiate the items of mass media used. However, Kiganjo was lowest on the number of respondents who said they gathered news mostly through mass media with Thika slightly higher than Nairobi - most likely because of the higher level of education among the respondents there.

Table 3.c.: Description of the Workers of the Three Towns by their most Popular Way of Spending Leisure

Town	% who attend cinema, watch Tv. attend courses	% who drink, watch sports, or go to church	% who stay in their houses or visit friends	Total
Nairobi	32%	10%	58%	60 100
Thika	23%	12%	65%	60 100
Kiganjo	10%	10%	80%	60 100

Table 3.c. shows that Nairobi comes highest on proportion of respondents who spend most of their leisure time either attending cinemas, watching tv. (in social halls) or attending some professional courses. Thika came next while Kiganjo came last in that respect. On the other hand, Kiganjo had the highest proportion of respondents who said they either sat in their houses or visited their friends while Nairobi was lowest on this and Thika was the medium case.

Table 4: Comparison of the Three Towns by Household Head's Tendency to Accomodate
Unrelated Persons Compared with Tendency to Accomodate Relatives

Town	Total Population	% of Persons Registered as Parents of Household Heads	% of Persons Registered as Household Heads' Relatives	% of Persons Registered as Non-relatives of Household Heads	% of Heads, Wife and Child
Nairobi	509,286 100%	0.41%	12.00%	24.85%	62.74%
Thika	18,387 100%	0.27%	10%	31.34%	58.39%
Nyeri*	10,004 100%	0.36%	8.86%	48.5%	42.28%

Source: 1969 National Census, Vol. II, pg. 80-82 - "Urban Population by Sex, Relationship to the Head of Household and Urban Centre".

* Nyeri has been included instead of Kiganjo because relevant data for Kiganjo were not available.

In table 4, as noted, Nyeri has been included instead of Kiganjo because relevant data for Kiganjo are not available. However, from 1980 onwards, development plans for Kiganjo and Nyeri are merged and it is planned that by the year 2000 the two towns will have expanded and joined to make one town. Kiganjo is about 8 miles from Nyeri. For comparison purposes, Nyeri, which is smaller than Thika in population size, is considered as an acceptable substitute for Kiganjo though there are some slight differences in social and economic characteristics of the two towns.

The question asked to provide the given census data in table 4 is not recorded in the census volume from which we got the data from the headings of the columns one has justifiably assumed that members of each household were asked to identify their relationship to the head of the household.

Table 4 shows that there is very slight difference in the tendency for household heads to accommodate relatives. The last column of the table however indicates that the household heads in the three towns vary notably in their tendency to accommodate unrelated persons. Looking at the percentages which are worked out of the total population of the respective towns, this is quite clear. From this we reasonably suggest that urban

environment does not reduce the functional importance of extended family since people seem to observe their kinship obligations even when they live in big towns like Nairobi.

Table 5: Description of Workers of the Three Towns by Level of Education

Town	% of Respondents with some primary education and full primary education	% of respondents with some secondary education and full secondary education	Total
Nairobi	69%	31%	60 100
Thika	37%	63%	60 100%
Kiganjo	69%	31%	60 100%

Table 5 shows that Nairobi and Kiganjo are similar in their respondents' level of education. Thika stands out with only 37% of her respondents having had either some primary or full primary education. As we shall see later in the chapter on analysis of the findings, Thika came very close to Nairobi on modernization because of her high proportion of respondents with secondary school education.

Table 6:

Description of Workers of the Three Towns by Age

Town	% of Workers who were 18-25 years	% of Workers who were 26-35 years	% of Workers who were 36 years and over	Total
Nairobi	20%	50%	30%	60 100
Thika	40%	37%	23%	60 100
Kiganjo	10%	42%	48%	60 100

As in the previous table where we described the sample by town and education, Thika stands high in her proportion of workers who were young. This is not surprising since education is closely related to age - it is among the younger people where one is more likely to find a higher level of formal education.

Male	100	100	100	100
Female	100	100	100	100
Total	100	100	100	100
Age Group	100	100	100	100
Education	100	100	100	100

Table 7: Description of the Factories Studied by Number of Hours of Work Per Day, Arrangement of Shifts, Number of Shifts and Provision of Transport to Work

Industrial Units	Number of Hours of Work Per Day	Number of Shifts in 24 Hours	Arrangement of Shifts	Transport to Work
K.C.C. Nairobi	8 hours a day	3	8 a.m. - 4 p.m. 4 p.m. - 12 midnight 12 midnight - 8 a.m.	Provided at night
Cadbury Schweppes	8 hours a day	3	7.30 a.m. - 4 p.m. 4.30 p.m. - 12 midnight 12 midnight - 8 a.m.	Provided
Metal Box Thika	8 hours a day	2	6 a.m. - 2 p.m. 2 p.m. - 10 p.m.	Not provided any time
K.C.C. Kiganjo	8 hours a day	3	8 a.m. - 4 p.m. 4 p.m. - 12 midnight 12 midnight - 8 a.m.	Provided at night

In both Nairobi K.C.C. and Kiganjo K.C.C. there is no lunch break which explains why they work from 8 a.m. to 4 p.m. However, the workers in K.C.C. factories are allowed to drink as much milk as they want as long as they do not take any outside the factory. They are also allowed to bring tea leaves and make tea when the milk is being heated and if one so wishes they can bring bread or some other snacks to eat with the milk while still on duty. For Cadbury Schweppes workers, there is a canteen within the factory compound and there is half an hour lunch break which explains why they work from 7.30 a.m. to 4 p.m. These workers are also allowed to drink soda if they want so long as they do not take it outside the factory. In Metal Box, there is no lunch break since the morning shift ends at 2 p.m. and workers on that shift are expected to go and take their lunch after the shift is over. In all the factories, workers are expected to be at their place of work (within the factory) by the time their shift starts so they have to arrive about half an hour earlier in order to change and be ready to take over on the dot.

Table 8: Description of the Factories by Range of Wages Paid to the Category of Workers Interviewed

Factories	Highest Salary	Lowest Salary
K.C.C. Nairobi	960/-	457/-
Cadbury Schweppes	1,090/-	562/-
Metal Box	976/-	631/-
K.C.C. Kiganjo	960/-	457/-

The figures put down on this table should be regarded as approximate because there was a slight discrepancy between what was put down as the official lowest salary (shown in the table) and with what some of the workers said they received. In K.C.C. for instance 5 workers said they received less than what was officially put down as the lowest salary - some (2) said they got as little as 300/- per month. In Metal Box, 2 respondents said they got less than 500/- per month while one respondent said he received 575/- per month. The same thing applied to Cadbury Schweppes where 2 respondents said they received less than what was officially the lowest salary. It was hard to correct this discrepancy since

managements were not prepared to give information on what particular individuals were paid since this, according to company regulations, was classified as confidential and personal. Salaries for Metal Box include house allowance while those for K.C.C and Cadbury Schweppes do not. These two companies tried to house as many as they could but for those who could not be housed, house allowances ranging from 76/- to 150/- were given. For K.C.C., house allowance for workers in Nairobi was slightly higher than for Kiganjo workers (higher by 25/- - 75/- depending on a worker's grade).

SUMMARY

(1) Comparison of Nairobi, Thika and Kiganjo by Social Heterogeneity and Respondents' Pattern of Behaviour

We noted from table 2.a. that Nairobi was the most socially heterogeneous town, followed by Thika with Kiganjo as the least heterogeneous. In Nairobi, only 80.06% of her total population was made up of Kenyan Africans compared to Thika which had a corresponding proportion of 89.56% and Kiganjo with 100% of her total population being Kenya Africans. On the other hand, Nairobi had a proportion of 17.32% of non-Africans compared to Thika with a corresponding proportion of 10%.

and Kiganjo with no non-Africans. In addition to this we mentioned that in Nairobi, only 51.11% of her total population were central Bantus while Thika's corresponding proportion was 74.01% and 97.67% for Kiganjo.

From table 2.b. we further noted that relationships became based more on modern criteria as we moved from Kiganjo to Nairobi which leads us to suggest that urban environment had an influence on associational patterns. Table 2.c. also supported the same suggestion.

(2) Variations in Exposure to Mass Media

Table 3.a. showed that Nairobi was much higher than Kiganjo and slightly higher than Thika on respondents' rate of reading newspapers. In Nairobi, we noted that 33% of the respondents read newspapers daily compared to a corresponding proportion of 25% for Thika and only 13% for Kiganjo. Table 3.b. on the other hand indicated that Thika was slightly higher than Nairobi on respondents' use of mass media for gathering news and Kiganjo was lowest in this particular respect. The difference between Thika and Nairobi was however very slight. In Nairobi 91% of the respondents said they gathered news through mass media while

95% of the Thika respondents answered similarly and 83% of Kiganjo respondents said they gathered news through similar means.

Table 3.c. indicated that the tendency to spend leisure time attending cinemas, watching Tv. or attending courses (which are all ways of exposing an individual to new ways of living, ideas, and places) was highest in Nairobi with 32% of her respondents saying they spend their leisure time in that manner with 23% of Thika respondents and 10% of Kiganjo respondents answering similarly.

All this leads us to believe that exposure and use of mass media was definitely highest in Nairobi with Thika following very closely and Kiganjo being remarkably lower than the other two towns.

(3) Importance of Traditional Extended Family System

From Table 4, we noted that Nairobi, Thika and Nyeri (Nyeri was used as a substitute for Kiganjo) did not vary in the functional importance of extended family system. From the table we noted that 12% of Nairobi's total population were registered during the last National Census as relatives of household heads while in Thika 10% of the population were registered under the same

category and in Nyeri 8.86% were also registered as relatives of the household heads.

From the table we find it reasonable to suggest that the functional importance of the extended family system is not affected by urban environment. People in big towns like Nairobi continue to rely on relatives just like those in smaller towns like Nyeri.

(4) Education and Age

Table 5 indicated that Thika was outstanding in level of education among respondents. 63% of her respondents had either some or full secondary school education while Nairobi and Kiganjo were similar with only 31% of their respondents having had either full or some secondary school education. The high level of education among Thika respondents explains why she was very close to Nairobi on use of mass media and respondents' associational patterns. Table 6 also indicated that Thika had the highest proportion of relatively young respondents. Of her whole sample 40% were between 18-25 years old compared to corresponding proportions of 20% for Nairobi and 10% for Kiganjo. On the other hand only 23% of Thika's respondents were over 36 years old compared to 30% for Nairobi and 48% for Kiganjo of respondents who were over 36 years old.

(5) Conditions and Terms of Work in Different
Factories

In terms of general conditions we noted from Table 7 that Metal Box was relatively less favourable than both K.C.C. and Cadbury Schweppes. The arrangement of shifts in Metal Box was awkward since it forced workers to go very early in the morning (in order to be on duty by 6 a.m.) and leave late at night (10 p.m.) and yet transport was not provided. In addition to this, workers never had a chance to enjoy the product of their labour since Metal Box makes tin containers for food industries, prints on them and does security printing (cheque books for banks). On the other hand workers in both K.C.C and Cadbury Schweppes were provided with transport when necessary and they were free to drink the products they processed whenever they so wished. Table 8 showed that K.C.C. had relatively lower salaries while Metal Box and Cadbury Schweppes were very close on this respect.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS OF THE FINDINGS

In the previous two chapters we described the three towns where we drew our samples by a number of important factors. In chapter two, on Methodology, we showed the variation of the three towns by size (in terms of population and area covered). In chapter three we indicated the variation in population diversity (in terms of racial and nationality backgrounds). We also showed the differences in availability of and exposure to mass media. In addition, we described our sample by two important modernization variables; education and age. A brief description of work sites and conditions was also given.

With the descriptive data in mind we will attempt in this chapter to determine whether there is any relationship between the three independent modernization variables, which Lerner, Rogers and Inkeles have identified, and modernization as we measured it (see appendix 1). These three variables are:

- (1) Urban environment
- (2) Education
- (3) Age

After determining the relationship between these independent variables and micro modernization as we measured it, we examine the relationship between modernization and industrial labour commitment as we measured it (see appendix 2).

Thirdly, we determine whether the same variables which influence modernization at the individual level also influence a worker's score on industrial labour commitment.

Fourthly, we examine two factors which we felt might have a strong positive relationship with industrial labour commitment. These factors are:

- (1) Satisfaction with salary
- (2) Worker's length of time in factory employment

Where necessary, we have computed χ^2 for the analytical tables and showed the level of statistical significance of the relationships indicated in the tables.

Table 9: Relationship between Town and Respondent's Level of Modernization

Town	% of Respondents with a high modernization score	% of Respondents with a low modernization score	Total
Nairobi	57%	43%	60 100%
Thika	55%	45%	60 100%
Kiganjo	30%	70%	60 100%

$X^2 = 8.13$ -- Level of significance = above 0.01

The computed X^2 only compares Nairobi and Kiganjo because Thika would tend to distort the scale (due to her closeness to Nairobi in terms of size, distance, and population diversity when compared to the gap between her and Kiganjo).

The above table indicates that urban environment had an effect on individual modernization. From this, we may agree with Lerner and Inkeles who argue that urban environment encourages and to a certain extent obliges the individual to adopt many new ways by exposing him to a variety of these new ways, ideas and opinions from different contacts. In our case the Nairobi factory worker is much more

exposed to mass media than his Kiganjo counterpart. For instance there are 16 cinema houses in Nairobi while there is none in Kiganjo. Circulation of magazines is also much more reliable in Nairobi than in Kiganjo which might encourage a person to read more. It is in Nairobi that we have the publishing houses and it is also in Nairobi that foreign literature reaches first and circulates more. This perhaps explains why respondents in Nairobi were higher on newspaper readership than in both Thika and Kiganjo inspite of the fact that newspapers were available in all three towns on a daily basis. It is very likely that Nairobi workers because of their greater exposure to literature of all types have developed a greater need to read than their counterparts in Kiganjo who are not so much exposed to literature.

In Nairobi, the population content is more diverse. There are many foreigners and literally you find that all the tribes in Kenya are represented. This exposes the Nairobi factory worker to diverse ways of life and ideas. Thika, besides being a relatively big town herself, had more educated respondents which further accounts for her being so close to Nairobi on respondents' level of modernization. We also note that the relationship in table 9 is statistically very significant.

Table 10.a.: Relationship Between Respondents'
Length of Residence in Big Towns
and their Modernization Level

Respondents' number of years in relatively big towns	% with a high modernization score	% with a low modernization score	Total
Less than 5 years	60%	40%	42 100%
5 - 15 years	45%	55%	88 100%
16 years	40%	60%	50 100%

$$x^2 = 27.16 \quad \text{Level of significance} = \text{above } 0.001$$

Relatively big towns for this table includes five of the biggest towns in Kenya (in terms of population size) which are Nairobi, Mombasa, Nakuru, Kisumu and Thika. The table shows that there is a negative relationship between length of residence in relatively big towns and respondents' score on modernization. This relationship as the computed x^2 indicates is statistically very significant and this makes it important to explain why this negative relationship is there. The most reasonable explanation here is that this relationship was caused by respondents' education since education is very significantly associated with modernization in a positive direction

(see table 11.a.). As table 10.b. shows it was among the newcomers to town, or among respondents who had spent the fewest years in big towns that we had the highest proportion of workers with secondary school education.

Table 10.b.: Description of the Sample by Length of Residence in Big Towns and Level of Education

Respondents' number of years in big towns	% with secondary school education	% with primary school education only	Total
Less than five years	81%	19%	42 100%
5 - 15 years	42%	58%	88 100%
16 years and over	20%	80%	50 100%

From table 10.b. we may reasonably suggest that the negative relationship between length of residence in big towns and respondents' levels of modernization is caused by education rather than length of residence in big towns per se.

We should also note that contact with urban environment has influence on a person's level of modernization only as long as he continues to reside

there. An individual who has lived and worked in Nairobi for 16 years or more will most likely change his attitudes and behaviour when he goes to live in a small town like Kiganjo. So long as residence in big towns continues to be transient, urban environment cannot be regarded as a very important factor in modernization at the micro level. It cannot for instance be compared to education which continues to influence an individual's behaviour and attitudes even after he has left school.

Table 11.a.: Relationship Between Respondents' Level of Education and Modernization

Level of Education	% with a high modernization score	% with a low modernization score	Total
Some primary or full primary	35%	65%	99 100%
Some secondary or full secondary	63%	37%	81 100%

$\chi^2 = 14.25$ Level of significance = above 0.001

Table 11.a. shows that there is a very significant positive relationship between education and modernization. This explains why Thika with a very high proportion of workers with secondary education (63%) was so close to Nairobi in respondents' level

of modernization - as we noted from table 9. Nairobi and Kiganjo were equal on their respondents' level of education (31% of the respondents in each of the two towns had had secondary school education). which led us to infer from table 9 that the size of town a worker was residing in at the time of interview had some influence on his level of modernization. This significant positive relationship between education and modernization also explains why there was an inverse relationship between length of residence in big towns and respondents' level of modernization as seen in table 10.a.. This, as we showed in table 10.b. was so because it was among the respondents who had lived in big towns for the shortest period that we found the highest proportion of respondents with secondary school education. The modernization theorists whom we have already referred to, Lerner, Rogers, Inkeles and others like Smelser agree that education plays a pre-eminent role in modernization process and especially where schools are secular. Schools in Kenya concentrate on secular matters and as such they are instrumental in micro level modernization. The role of education as a modernizing factor is even more appreciated when we consider that it continues to play that role even when an individual is residing in a small rural town like Kiganjo as the following tables show.

Table 11.b.: Relationship Between Respondents' Level of Modernization and Education When One Has Controlled for Town of Residence

(i) Nairobi

Level of Education	% with a high score on modernization	% with a low score on modernization	Total
Some primary and full primary	48%	52%	41 100%
Some secondary or full secondary	73%	27%	19 100%

(ii) Thika

Level of Education	% with a high score on modernization	% with a low score on modernization	Total
Some primary and full primary	27%	73%	22% 100%
Some secondary or full secondary	71%	29%	38 100%

(iii) Kiganjo

Level of Education	% with a high score on modernization	% with a low score on modernization	Total
Some primary and full primary	19%	81%	41 100%
Some secondary or full secondary	58%	42%	19 100%

From tables 11.b. (i) and (iii) we note that education continues to influence an individual's level of modernization regardless of his town of residence. It is also important to note from the same tables that in Kiganjo, there is a higher proportion of respondents with secondary school education who scored low on modernization compared to both Nairobi and Thika. This confirms further that the town of residence at the time of interview had some influence on respondents' modernization scores as was indicated in table 9.

Table 12.a.: Relationship Between Age and Modernization

Respondents' age	% with a high modernization score	% with a low modernization score	Total
18 - 25 years	70%	30%	40 100%
26 - 35 years	55%	45%	77 100%
36 years and over	23%	77%	63 100%

$\chi^2 = 10.55$ Level of significance = above 0.01

Table 12.a. shows that there is an inverse relationship between age and modernization. This could be so because of two major reasons. One of these is that education and age are very closely related. As table 12.b. shows it is among the younger people that we had the greatest proportion of respondents with secondary school education. The second reason could be that the younger respondents have less responsibility in their rural homes and are therefore more free to respond to cosmopolite stimuli than their older counterparts who, because of their seniority in age, might have important social roles to play in their rural homes which would force them to remain closely attached to those rural homes both in sentiment and behaviour.

Table 12.b.: Description of the Sample by Age
and Education

Respondents' Age	% with secondary education	% with primary education only	Total
18-25 years	80%	20%	40 100%
26-35 years	50%	50%	77 100%
36 years and over	16%	84%	63 100%

Table 13.a.: Relationship Between Respondents' Level
of Modernization and their Industrial
Labour Commitment Score

Respondents modernization score	% with a high I.L.C.	% with a medium I.L.C.	% with a low I.L.C.	Total
High	31%	36%	33%	86 100%
Low	35%	35%	30%	94 100%

$\chi^2 = 0.19$ Level of significance = above 0.95

I.L.C. stands for industrial labour commitment (see appendix 2 for details on construction of this index).

The above table indicates that there is no relationship between modernization and industrial labour commitment. The slight negative relationship which the table shows is not statistically significant as the computed χ^2 and the indicated level of significance show. Even after controlling for factors like age and education, (see tables 13.b. and 13.c.) we find no clear relationship between modernization and industrial labour commitment though there is a slight tendency towards a negative relationship. This tendency is however not quite consistent and we are more inclined to conclude that there is no relationship

between modernization and industrial labour commitment. We believe that other factors like worker's satisfaction with salary and his length of employment in factories (we will examine their relationship with industrial labour commitment later) correlate more highly with industrial labour commitment.

Table 13.b.: Relationship Between Modernization and Industrial Labour Commitment After Controlling for Education

(i) Workers with primary education only

Respondents' score on modernization	% with a high I.L.C. score	% with a medium I.L.C. score	% with a low I.L.C. score	Total
High	40%	24%	36%	35 100%
Low	37%	39%	24%	64 100%

(ii) Workers with secondary education

Respondents' score on modernization	% with a high I.L.C. score	% with a medium I.L.C. score	% with a low I.L.C. score	Total
High	24%	45%	31%	51 100%
Low	30%	26%	44%	30 100%

Table 13.c.: Relationship Between Modernization and Industrial Labour Commitment After Controlling for Age

(i) Respondents who were between 18-25 years old

Respondents' score on modernization	% with a high I.L.C. score	% with a medium I.L.C. score	% with a low I.L.C. score	Total
High	33%	23%	44%	28 100%
Low	33%	58%	9%	12 100%

(ii) Respondents who were between 26-35 years old

Respondents' score on modernization	% with a high I.L.C. score	% with a medium I.L.C. score	% with a low I.L.C. score	Total
High	32%	38%	30%	43 100%
Low	26%	29%	45%	34 100%

(iii) Respondents who were 36 years and over

Respondents' score on modernization	% with a high I.L.C. score	% with a medium I.L.C. score	% with a low I.L.C. score	Total
High	26%	62%	12%	15 100%
Low	45%	31%	24%	48 100%

Table 13.b. and 13.c. show that there is no clear relationship between modernization and industrial labour commitment even after controlling for both education and age.

Table 14: Relationship Between Education and Industrial Labour Commitment

Respondents' level of education	% with a high score on I.L.C.	% with a medium score on I.L.C.	% with a low score on I.L.C.	Total
Some primary and full primary	39%	33%	28%	99 100%
Some secondary and full secondary	23%	43%	34%	81 100%

$$X^2 = 2.54 \quad \text{Level of significance} = \text{above } 0.30$$

From the table above we note that there is a weak negative relationship between education and industrial labour commitment. The relationship is however not very significant. A negative relationship between education and industrial labour commitment would nevertheless not be surprising since secondary school education raises a person's occupational and income aspirations. Secondary school leavers are exposed to mass media more since their ability to read and understand second languages like English is

higher than that of primary school leavers. This literature and movies usually centre interest on the cleanly dressed and suave white collar worker rather than manual workers in overalls. A higher level of aspirations among the more educated respondents was also noted when we asked them whether they would prefer an urban environment with all its social amenities to rural environment where they would own a shamba but not have easy access to the urban amenities like tap water, light and reliable transport. In response to this question 41% of respondents with secondary school education said they would prefer the urban area compared to 23% of workers with primary school education who responded similarly. As we will see later in table 16.b. it was among workers who preferred an urban environment where we had a higher proportion of respondents with a low level of industrial labour commitment (31% among workers who were satisfied with salary and 50% among those who were dissatisfied with salary) than among workers who preferred rural environment (18% for those who were satisfied with salary and 39% for those who were dissatisfied).

Table 15: Relationship Between Age and Industrial Labour Commitment

Respondents' Age	% with a high I.L.C. score	% with a medium I.L.C. score	% with a low I.L.C. score	Total
18 - 25	33%	33%	34%	40 100%
26 - 35	30%	35%	35%	77 100%
36 years and over	39%	36%	25%	63 100%

$$X^2 = 2.67 \quad \text{Level of significance} = 0.70$$

The above table indicates a slight positive relationship between age and industrial labour commitment. However the level of statistical significance for this relationship is too low and our feeling is that there is no relationship between age and industrial labour commitment but the relationship indicated by the table is caused by the inverse relationship between education and industrial labour commitment since education is very closely related to age (see table 12.b.)

Table 16.a.: Relationship Between Salary Satisfaction and Industrial Labour Commitment

Satisfaction or dissatisfaction with salary	% with a high I.L.C. score	% with a medium I.L.C. score	% with a low I.L.C. score	Total
Satisfied respondents	41%	39%	20%	92 100%
Dissatisfied respondents	23%	35%	42%	88 100%

$\chi^2 = 10.51$ Level of significance = above 0.01

From table 16.a. we note that there is a clear and very significant relationship between satisfaction with salary and respondents' score on industrial labour commitment. A higher proportion of satisfied workers have a high score on industrial labour commitment compared to the proportion of dissatisfied workers who scored high on industrial labour commitment. On the other hand the proportion of workers with a low score on industrial labour commitment is higher among the dissatisfied workers. This is to be expected since the pay packet is a major motivating factor among workers and especially among the lower ranks of factory workers. Industrial Sociologists like Goldthorpe (1975) have noted that the pay packet is the principal aspiration which holds factory manual workers to the factory system since chances for personal involvement are absent and

the important thing for them as far as the management is concerned, is to obey rules and regulations and carry out their routine activities. Goldthorpe remarks on the naivety of management, which he says is puzzled and is contemptuous of the lower ranking workers' indifference to everything within their work situation except the pay packet, because the conditions which management designs for lower ranking workers make the pay packet the most important motivating factor. Our findings which show a significant positive relationship between satisfaction with salary and industrial labour commitment are a further confirmation of Goldthorpe's argument.

As table 16.b. will show this relationship remains clear even after controlling for respondents' preferred environment. As table 16.b. indicates, workers who prefer urban environment seem to include a higher proportion of workers who are dissatisfied with salary than workers who prefer a rural environment. Workers who prefer an urban environment most likely look upon the urban elite as their reference group while those who prefer rural environment most likely use the rural small scale farmers as their reference group - which would explain why the former have higher income aspirations than the latter.

Table 16.b.: Relationship Between Satisfaction with Salary and Industrial Labour Commitment after Controlling for Preferred Environment

(i) Workers who prefer Urban Environment

Satisfaction or dissatisfaction with salary	% with a high I.L.C. score	% with a medium I.L.C. score	% with a low I.L.C. score	Total
Satisfied respondents	44%	25%	31%	16 100%
Dissatisfied respondents	25%	25%	50%	20 100%

(ii) Workers who prefer Rural Environment

Satisfaction or dissatisfaction with salary	% with a high I.L.C. score	% with a medium I.L.C. score	% with a low I.L.C. score	Total
Satisfied respondents	40%	42%	18%	76 100%
Dissatisfied respondents	25%	36%	39%	68 100%

Table 16.b. indicates that the relationship between satisfaction with salary and industrial labour commitment remains clear even after controlling for respondent's preferred environment.

In table 17.a. and 17.b. which describe the factories which provided our sample by respondents' industrial labour commitment and satisfaction with

salary respectively, we aim at showing the importance of satisfaction with salary as a determinant of industrial labour commitment.

Table 17.a.: Description of the Factories by Workers' Score on Industrial Labour Commitment

Factories and Town of location	% with a high I.L.C. score	% with a medium I.L.C. score	% with a low I.L.C. score	Total
K.C.C. (Nairobi)	26%	37%	37%	30 100%
Cadbury Schweppes (Nairobi)	14%	40%	46%	30 100%
Metal Box (Thika)	40%	36%	24%	60 100%
K.C.C. (Kiganjo)	40%	34%	26%	60 100%

Table 17.b.: Description of the Factories by Workers' Satisfaction with Salary

Factory and town of location	% of Workers who were satisfied with salary	% of Workers who were not satisfied with salary	Total
K.C.C. (Nairobi)	56%	44%	30 100%
Cadbury Schweppes	40%	60%	30 100%
Metal Box (Thika)	66%	34%	60 100%
K.C.C. (Kiganjo)	64%	36%	60 100%

From Table 17.a. and 17.b. we note that industrial labour commitment is higher where satisfaction with salary is higher. However, this relationship is slightly affected by two factors - i.e. education and location of factory, which introduce differences in who a worker was comparing himself with when asked whether he thought his employers paid him well. For instance, both K.C.C. (Nairobi) and Cadbury Schweppes which are both in the same town vary on satisfaction with salary. Cadbury Schweppes workers are paid relatively more than K.C.C. workers, the lowest official salary in Cadbury Schweppes being Shs. 562/- and the highest being Shs. 1,090/- per month - Shs. 457/- as the lowest salary for K.C.C. workers and

Shs. 960/- as the highest salary per month. And yet it was in Cadbury Schweppes where we found a higher proportion of workers who were dissatisfied with their salaries as table 17.b. shows. The explanation for this discrepancy seems to be that Cadbury Schweppes had a relatively higher proportion of respondents with secondary school education (40%) compared to a corresponding proportion of 23% for Nairobi K.C.C. In addition to this Cadbury Schweppes is next door to B.A.T., Hoechst East Africa and Food Specialities which according to the Cadbury Schweppes workers are paid much higher than their company. We were only able to check the truth about these claims in Hoechst East Africa where we found that the lowest salary was Shs. 800/- per month. As we had noted earlier, persons with secondary education would tend to have higher income aspirations because of their higher exposure to mass media and what it introduces to them and also because of stratification in Kenya as a whole. The question that may arise with the above explanation is - why Thika with her higher level of education had a higher level of salary satisfaction than other factories where level of education was lower. The most reasonable explanation here is that Metal Box was the best paying factory in Thika town according to all respondents there. We did not attempt to verify that claim since such an exercise would have been too time consuming and might not have

been of much help since management even in factories where we collected our data were reluctant to talk about salaries. We therefore accepted what the workers claimed since what they believed in this respect is what affected their attitudes towards the salaries they received. The highest salary for Metal Box (Thika) was Shs. 976/- per month while the lowest was Shs. 631/- per month. The salary range seems relatively fairer than in the other factories and this coupled with the popular belief among the workers there that they were the best paid in the whole town must have acted to raise the proportion of workers who found their salaries satisfactory in spite of the relatively higher level of education among the workers (63% had some or full secondary school education) and the less favourable conditions of work like having to walk for long distances since no transport was provided.

The other factor which we found to be closely related to industrial labour commitment was the time that a worker had spent in factory employment. Workers who had spent the longest period as employees in factories showed a higher level of industrial labour commitment as table 18.a. indicates.

Table 18.a.: Relationship Between Time Spent in
Factory Labour and Industrial Labour
Commitment

Respondents' number of years in factories	% with a high I.L.C. score	% with a medium I.L.C. score	% with a low I.L.C. score	Total
5 years or less	26%	37%	37%	80 100%
6-15 years	30%	39%	31%	66 100%
16 years and over	57%	26%	17%	34 100%

$\chi^2 = 10.49$ Level of significance = above 0.05

Table 18.a. shows a clear positive relationship between number of years a respondent had spent in factory employment (in different factories or just one factory) and his score on industrial labour commitment. This was again to be expected since time acts to make a person accept something he might have thought unacceptable earlier. It is also likely that those who find factory employment unacceptable leave after some time. Besides, as a worker spends more time in factory employment he tries to assign some meaning to what might appear to us as purely routine and dull activities which the worker must do day in day out. Chinoy (1955) made this argument when he observed that factory workers:

"try to find some significance in the work they must do. Workers may take pride for example in executing skilfully even the routine tasks to which they are assigned".

(Ibid., pp. 130-1)

Workers who are new in factory employment are less likely to succeed in doing this than workers who have done the tasks for a longer period. They are also more likely to find obedience of rules and regulations a nuisance than the workers who have had to obey rules and regulations for longer periods and are used to them.

As table 18.b. shows the relationship between time spent in factories and industrial labour commitment remains clear even after controlling for age.

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Minimum	Maximum
Age	35.2	10.5	18	65
Years in factory	12.8	8.2	0	45
Industrial labour commitment	4.5	1.2	1	7

Table 18.b.: Relationship between Workers' Time in Factories and Industrial Labour Commitment After Controlling for Age

(i) Workers who were 18-25 years old

Workers' Time in Factories	% with a high I.L.C. score	% with a medium I.L.C. score	% with a low I.L.C. score	Total
5 years or less	30%	32%	38%	38 100%
6-15 years	100%	-	-	2 100%
16 years and over	-	-	-	-

NB. Some of the cells in this table have(-) because only very few of the workers who were between 18-25 years old could have worked for a period of 6-15 years and obviously none could have worked for over 16 years.

(ii) Workers who were between 26-35 years

Workers' Time in Factories	% with a high I.L.C. score	% with a medium I.L.C. score	% with a low I.L.C. score	Total
5 years or less	25%	42%	33%	39 100%
6-15 years	32%	33%	35%	31 100%
16 years and over	61%	26%	13%	7 100%

(iii) Workers who were 36 years and over

Workers' Time in Factories	% with a high I.L.C. score	% with a medium I.L.C. score	% with a low I.L.C. score	Total
5 years or less	33%	33%	33%	3 100%
6-15 years	25%	50%	25%	32 100%
16 years and over	55%	25%	20%	27 100%

The above tables 18.b. (i), (ii) and (iii) indicate that the relationship between industrial labour commitment and length of employment in factories hold even after controlling for age.

DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS(I) Determinants of Modernization Among our Respondents(a) Urban Environment

From table 9 we noted that current exposure to urban environment influenced an individual's level of modernization. Respondents who were residing in Nairobi at the time of interview were observed to score higher on modernization than respondents who were residing in Kiganjo. There was only a very slight difference between Nairobi and Thika

respondents on modernization scores because Thika, as we mentioned earlier, is itself a relatively big town being among the five largest towns in Kenya. Thika however is not well provided with some mass media items like cinemas and other entertainment facilities like night clubs and as such she might have been much lower on respondents' scores on modernization if she was not much higher than Nairobi on the most important determinant of modernization - i.e. education.

With regard to urban environment as a modernizing factor at the micro level, we also remarked that it is rendered less important by the fact that urban residence has not gained permanence and as we saw, from table 10.a. workers were likely to change their behaviour and attitudes once they moved from the most urbanized environment to a less urbanized environment. Respondents who had lived in relatively big towns for the longest period in the past did not necessarily score high on modernization. Indeed, they seemed to score lower than those who had just migrated into towns. This was so because the newer migrants into town were likely to be younger and more educated and both education and age were seen to be influential in determining a person's level of modernization. Urban environment was only important as a modernizing factor so long

as a person was currently exposed to it. Exposure to urban environment did not seem to have a lasting impact on an individual's behaviour and attitudes.

(b) Education

We noted a significant positive relationship between education and modernization at the micro level in table 11.a. This, as we mentioned, agrees with the observations of modernization theorists like Lerner, Rogers, Inkeles and Smelser. Education must therefore be seen as the major modernizing factor in our case. Unlike urban environment, the imprint that formal education has on an individual's behaviour and attitudes defies time and space. Respondents who had had secondary school education scored relatively much higher than those who had had primary school education only in spite of the fact that they were no longer in school. The same applied to those respondents who were living in Kigianjo at the time of the interview but had had secondary school education, a higher proportion of them scored high on modernization compared to respondents in Nairobi at the time of interview who had had primary school education only. Table 11.b. (i) and (iii) show this clearly.

Education becomes important as a modernizing factor because of a number of reasons:

- (i) It introduces new ideas, ways of life and places to a person who can read.
- (ii) Formal education reduces parental role in socialization which enables and encourages a person with more education to indulge in different attitudes and practices from those held by his parents and elders as "right".
- (iii) Mass media become very important as a means of gathering news and ideas which means a person is exposed to a wider spectrum of cultures and opinions.
- (iv) Formal education also raises a person's aspirations making him more elitist (and elites are urban based in our case) and thus making a person prefer an urban environment to a rural one. Urban environment exposes him to more new ways of life and opinions either through contact with diverse populations or more exposure to mass media.

(c) Age

As table 12.a. indicated, there was a significant inverse relationship between age and modernization. We noted that this was due to two reasons:

- (i) Age and education were closely related to each other (see table 12.b.). It was the younger respondents who provided the greater proportion of workers with secondary school education. Education, as we have seen, was positively related to modernization.
- (ii) Another reason is that the younger respondents have less responsibility in their rural homes and are therefore more free to keep only weak ties with their rural areas which would encourage and enable them to respond more to cosmopolite stimuli than their older counterparts.

(II) Relationship Between Modernization and Industrial Labour Commitment

From table 13.a., we noted that there was no relationship between modernization and industrial labour commitment. Though the table showed a slight tendency towards a negative relationship, this was found to be statistically insignificant. We controlled for factors like age and education in tables 13.b. and 13.c. but still we came up with no clear relationship between modernization and industrial labour commitment. Our feeling was that other factors like satisfaction with salary and the time workers had spent in factories were much more important

for explaining levels of industrial labour commitment among our respondents.

(III) Relationship Between Town of Residence and Industrial Labour Commitment

Relating our argument to Hoselitz's ideas, we had hypothesized that industrial labour commitment would be positively related to size of town of residence for the respondents. If this was empirically valid, Nairobi should have had the highest proportion of workers who scored high on industrial labour commitment. This was not the case since both Thika and Kiganjo had 40% of their respective respondents scoring high on industrial labour commitment while 24% and 26% respectively scored low compared to corresponding proportions of 26% (for those who scored high) and 37% for those who scored low in Nairobi. Respondents in smaller towns are therefore more likely to score high on industrial labour commitment as we measured it. However, as we have already said, other factors like satisfaction with salary and length of time in factory labour were considered to be more significant in explaining a worker's score on industrial labour commitment. (See Table 16.a. and 18.a.).

(IV) Relationship Between Education and Industrial Labour Commitment

From table 14 we noted a negative relationship between education and industrial labour commitment which was significant at above the 0.30 level. Although the relationship was not very significant it is very likely that such a relationship exists since education plays a very important role in raising a person's occupational and income aspirations. It must be remembered that the type of jobs our respondents were engaged in are basically manual. Connor (1975) has remarked ^{on} the massive problems which face post colonial states because of the popularity of "unrealistic" desires for white-collar jobs. He sees the issue at the micro level as being one of management of expectations and aspirations.

In absence of any mechanism for carrying out such checks, secondary school leavers continue to aspire for white-collar jobs which the economy in our case is unable to provide given that access to secondary school education has increased at a very rapid rate. The I.L.O. report (1972) for Kenya made similar remarks on the school leavers problem and also raised some important questions. In citing the rapid increase in secondary school leavers, the I.L.O. report noted that between 1965 and 1970 the number of pupils leaving after form IV more than

tripled while total secondary enrolments (forms I-IV) increased from 46,000 in 1965 to 122,000 in 1970. This rapid increase has continued. The I.L.O. report did not however see the problem as being one of a simple excess of school leavers each year over number of new jobs requiring school qualifications, but that the opportunities available were not attractive. From our research, we found that though the secondary school leaver would prefer a job in town to the boredom of rural labour he is likely to be more dissatisfied than his less educated counterpart if the job he holds is manual (see table 14).

The question which I.L.O. report asked and left unanswered was whether our secondary school leavers would soon accept and move into a new range of jobs once they sized up the situation or whether they had reached a level of education which would make them permanently dissatisfied with anything less than a white collar job.

Our feeling is that secondary school leavers will most likely find it possible to accept non-white collar jobs once secondary school education becomes so widespread that all workers engaged in the type of jobs my respondents were doing will have had at least some secondary school education. When we for instance

asked the workers whether they thought the level of education constituted a fair way of judging what workers should be paid, all respondents with secondary school education answered 'yes' and were always quick to add "but our employers disregard education - there are some people here who went up to standard one or standard two in primary who are getting more than us with secondary school education". Among respondents with just primary education, only 37% felt that level of education was a fair way of deciding what employers should give to their workers. The rest thought that a person's experience on the job should be the criterion for deciding what he should get in terms of salary.

From this, we felt that the more educated workers were not only frustrated by the fact that they were doing jobs which were manual rather than white-collar, but also, and more so, because they were doing them together with other workers who were less educated and were getting equal pay if not more.

(V) Relationship Between Age and Industrial Labour Commitment

From table 15, we noted that there was a positive relationship between age and industrial labour commitment which was not statistically significant. This relationship most likely occurred due to the inverse relationship between education and industrial labour commitment. As we pointed out, most of the respondents who had secondary school education were below 36 years old which explains why the proportion of respondents who scored high on industrial labour commitment came from the older respondents.

(VI) Relationship Between Satisfaction with Salary and Industrial Labour Commitment

Tables 16.a. and 16.b. showed a clear positive relationship between satisfaction with salary and industrial labour commitment. As we pointed out, satisfaction with salary must be seen as a major explanatory factor of industrial labour commitment among low ranking workers in factories who have no chances and no incentives for realisation of "moral involvement" in their jobs. In absence of such chances and incentives satisfaction with the pay packet becomes very important for determining their level of industrial labour commitment. The strong positive relationship between satisfaction with

salary and industrial labour commitment was seen to persist even after controlling for respondents' preferred environment (rural/urban) as table 16.b. showed. Tables 17.a. and 17.b. which were descriptive also showed the strong relationship between satisfaction with salary and industrial labour commitment.

(VII) Relationship Between the Time Workers had Spent in Factory Labour and Industrial Labour Commitment

The other factor which we felt was important for determining workers' score on industrial labour commitment was the length of time they had spent in factory labour. Table 18.a. showed a significant positive relationship between the time workers had spent in factory labour and their score on industrial labour commitment. This, as we pointed out, was not a surprise finding since time makes it possible for people to accept things or practices which they initially find unacceptable. In addition to this, it is also likely that those people who find the jobs unacceptable leave after some time.

(VIII) Relationship Between Landlessness and Industrial Labour Commitment

We had expected to find a relationship between landlessness and industrial labour commitment but as table 19 indicates there was none.

Table 19: Relationship Between Landlessness and Industrial Labour Commitment

Amount of Land Owned	% with a High I.L.C. Score	% with a Medium I.L.C. Score	% with a Low I.L.C. Score	Total
Workers with no land	17%	34%	49%	65 100%
Workers with 1½ acres or less	17%	26%	57%	23 100%
Workers with 2-5 acres	18%	48%	34%	53 100%
Workers with 6 acres + over	15%	62%	23%	39 100%

The lack of relationship between landlessness and industrial labour commitment which the above table indicates was most likely due to the negative relationship between education and industrial labour commitment and the important role that satisfaction with salary played in creating industrial labour commitment. It

is more likely for people with supplementary means of earning a livelihood to find the salary from a job more satisfactory than those who wholly depend on their salary. In addition to this the greater numbers of the secondary educated young workers had no land but on the other hand they had fewer responsibilities than the older workers who had land. but also had many children to support. These factors might have blurred the possible relationship between landlessness and industrial labour commitment.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

DETERMINANTS OF MODERNIZATION

From the foregoing analysis and discussion we identified three major determinants of modernization. These were education, urban environment and age.

As we mentioned, education must be seen as the most important factor in the modernization process at the micro level. Education seemed to have a lasting impact on a person's behaviour and attitudes regardless of where he was residing at the time of interview. It is through education that an individual is mentally exposed to the new ideas, opinions and ways of life. As a result he starts to think in a different way and aspire for new things which his uneducated counterparts do not necessarily aspire for. Education also opens an individual to the powerful influences of mass media.

We also noted and discussed how urban environment is rendered less significant as a modernizing factor because of its temporary status in our Kenyan case. Urban environment only acted as a modernizing factor if an individual was currently exposed to it. Once an individual moved from a

big urban centre to a small rural town, his modernization level did not necessarily remain high. Respondents who had lived in big towns for the longest period did not therefore score higher on modernization than individuals who had lived in big towns for the shortest period since their stay in big towns was not permanent and respondents regarded it as such. From this we find it reasonable to suggest that urban environment as a modernizing factor in our case is less important when compared to education.

Age was seen as the third major determinant of modernization levels among our respondents. As we also noted, age was made more important as a modernizing factor because of its close relationship with education. The greater proportion of respondents with secondary school education was found among the younger workers. In addition to this, we remarked that the younger respondents had fewer responsibilities at their rural homes which encouraged and enabled them to respond to cosmopolite stimuli more than their older counterparts.

Relationship Between Modernization and Industrial
Labour Commitment

From our analysis, we feel more inclined to conclude that there is no relationship between modernization and industrial labour commitment. We suggest that these are two unrelated processes which are influenced by different factors. As we saw from our analysis, and discussion the three major determinants of modernization do not influence respondents' level of industrial labour commitment in a similar direction. Indeed it was only education which seemed to be negatively related to industrial labour commitment.

The size of town of residence at the time of interview was in no way related to workers' level of industrial labour commitment. Nairobi certainly did not have the highest proportion of workers who demonstrated the highest level of industrial labour commitment. From this finding we feel justified to refute Hoselitz's suggestion that committed workers are more likely to be found in big towns or cities. Our findings do not in any way support the suggestion.

Relationship Between Education and Industrial Labour
Commitment

We noted a negative relationship between education and industrial labour commitment. Though

the relationship was not statistically very significant, we felt that it deserved some attention since Rempel (1974) and the I.L.O. report (1972) had noted a similar trend among school leavers who showed reluctance in accepting manual jobs. It is because of this that we felt it was necessary to devote some lengthy discussion to this particular relationship which emerged from our analysis. Our conclusion here is that the factory manual workers with secondary school education are not so much frustrated by the fact that they are engaged in jobs which are below their aspirations but more so because they are doing them together with workers with next to no formal education and getting similar pay. In answer to the question that I.L.O. report left unanswered, i.e. whether secondary school leavers are more likely to adjust to the situation in future and regard manual work more positively, or whether they will remain frustrated for ever, we would like to suggest that secondary school leavers are likely to adjust themselves once secondary education is more widespread and they find that the majority of secondary school leavers are engaged in manual jobs rather than in white-collar jobs. Once all factory manual workers can claim to have had secondary school education, then the frustration that is felt by the few manual workers with secondary school education will be reduced if not completely diluted.

DETERMINANTS OF INDUSTRIAL LABOUR COMMITMENT

We noted that there were two factors which significantly influenced industrial labour commitment among our respondents. These were satisfaction with salary and the period of time a worker had spent in factories.

Satisfaction with salary must be seen as the most important factor for motivating workers of the ranks we were interested in. As we noted, in relation to Metal Box, where general conditions of work were unfavourable but the pay packet was considered to be very attractive by the workers, a higher proportion of respondents demonstrated a higher level of industrial labour commitment than in a factory like Cadbury Schweppes where general conditions were favourable but pay packet considered to be too small. We suggest that low rank workers are more likely to overlook other conditions of work if the salary is attractive. This is most likely why employers always add a few shillings on top of their workers' wages whenever they find themselves in trouble with the unions. Adding ten shillings or less to a worker's pay packet will most likely enable an employer to get away with other unfavourable conditions within the work sites. It is however important to remember that satisfaction with salary does not always depend on how much a

worker is getting but also on who a worker is comparing himself with.

The other factor which we felt was important in determining a worker's level of industrial labour commitment was the time he had spent as a factory worker. As we pointed out time is important in making people accept practices or attitudes which might have appeared unacceptable at the beginning. It is also possible that workers who fail to adjust or accept factory manual jobs leave and try to earn a living through other means like self-employment in the informal sector.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

- (1) It would be interesting to carry out research in future among Africans who will have become permanent town dwellers in our big towns to identify the real impact of urban environment on these peoples' behaviour and attitudes when compared to those of persons living in the rural areas where these town dwellers could trace their roots to. To do this one would of course have to control for factors like education and age which as we saw were significant determinants in the modernization process. For instance, it would be interesting to find out how a Turkana born and brought up in Nairobi but with no formal education would differ in behaviour and attitudes from a Turkana of the same age and with no education living near Lake Turkana (or traditional home area for the Turkanas). This type of research would certainly take much time and money because the sample would be scattered but we feel it could be most rewarding.

- (2) More research should be done among low income factory workers and indeed, all urban wage workers to find out how their occupations could provide more security for the future of these workers since with increasing population figures landlessness is likely to be more widespread and retired workers will have no rural homes to turn to. The Social Security Fund is not quite adequate and neither is the pension scheme since the money a worker in the low ranks receives is too little.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR EMPLOYERS

- (1) To check on frustration among low income manual workers with secondary school education, employers should make a point of offering chances for training and first priority, whenever need for further training occurs, should be given to the more educated.
- (2) Tasks within factories should be closely reviewed by employers to see which ones need more intelligence and these should be assigned to the more educated which would make it reasonable for them to be paid more than their less educated colleagues.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PLANNING PURPOSES

- (1) The government should come up with a policy that would make it possible for industrial workers to buy shares in the companies they work for. This would provide the workers with added security and would increase commitment towards their work.
- (2) Employers in towns should as a matter of policy provide housing for their workers during their working years. This would not only solve the housing problems for the workers but would also reduce the rate of uncontrolled urban settlement which mostly caters for urban dwellers with very low incomes.
- (3) Government should establish centres for industrial training where school leavers can go for a period of one year before they are recruited into factory labour. This would make it possible for them to enter factory employment on a higher level in terms of job allocation and salary than their counterparts who have no formal schooling.

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Appendix IMODERNIZATION INDEX

The following twelve questions were used for constructing our modernization index and scores were attached to various responses as shown. Numbers given against questions refer to the number of question in our questionnaire schedule.

Question 7 - Part I

Considering the type of life you have led and the type you are leading now would you call yourself urban or rural?

<u>Responses</u>	<u>Scores</u>
1. Urban	2
2. Rural	0
3. A mixture of both	1

Question 9 - Part I

If you managed to save some of your earnings after paying school fees, rent, and meeting you other day to day needs, what would you spend that money on?

<u>Responses</u>	<u>Scores</u>
1. Buy a house in town)	
2. Buy a plot in town)	4
3. Start some business in town)	
4. Buy a car	3
5. Either start some business in town or in the rural area	2
6. Buy some land)	
7. Build a house on my shamba)	0
8. Develop my shamba)	

Question 10

If you did not own any land and you obtained some somewhere, where there are no urban amenities like light, ready transport, tap water, would you prefer to go and live there to working and living in a town where you have access to those amenities?

<u>Responses</u>	<u>Scores</u>
1. I would prefer the urban area	4
2. I would go to the rural area	0

Both questions 9 and 10 are weighed heavily since they measure 'cosmopolitaness' which Rogers (1969) defined as "the degree to which an individual is oriented outside his immediate social system"

(ibid., pp. 148). The immediate social system for our respondents is considered to be their rural social systems since they are not permanent city dwellers. Like Lerner (1958) Rogers says that cosmopolitanism plays an important role in the modernization process since it enables a person to maintain and increase his interest in modernizing ideas. In addition to this the national elites who are champions of modernization in our case mostly live in the urban area and a person who prefers to live in the urban area is most likely using elites as his reference group.

Question 11

Thinking of your traditional way of life, do you think the kinship obligations like looking after your neighbours and relatives if sick, giving them food and clothing if they are not in a position to provide for themselves constitutes a better way of life compared to nuclear family system with no kinship obligations.

<u>Responses</u>	<u>Scores</u>
1. Traditional way of life is better	0
2. Nuclear family system is better	2

Question 13

Thinking of how you became friends with your ten best friends what would you say brought you together and what do you think keeps you close?

<u>Responses</u>	<u>Scores</u>
1. Have no friends	2
2. Having similar interests	2
3. Belonging to the same sports club	2
4. Being neighbours and helping each other	1
5. Belonging to the same tribe)	0
6. Coming from the same rural area)	

Having no friends has been given a high score since it is a new development. Traditionally having no friends was regarded to be anti-social since people were expected to depend on each other and especially on friends at the time of need. Also territorial, kinship ties and tribal ties were important for defining associational patterns. Associational patterns based on interests and social clubs are theoretically supposed to be new.

Question 14

Among your ten best friends how many come from the same tribe as you?

<u>Responses</u>	<u>Scores</u>
1. None	2
2. 1-5	1
3. 6-10	0

Question 20

How often do you read a newspaper?

<u>Responses</u>	<u>Scores</u>
1. Everyday or six days a week	4
2. 3-5 days a week	3
3. 2-1 days a week	2
4. Once a month or never	0

Question 21

How do you mostly gather news or find out what is happening in the country?

<u>Responses</u>	<u>Scores</u>
1. By reading newspaper	3
2. By watching Tv	2
3. By listening to the radio	1
4. From friends at work or in the bar	0

Both questions 20 and 21 are weighed relatively high since mass media is regarded as a central factor in the modernization process by theorists like Lerner, Rogers, Inkeles and Smelser. All agree that mass media is the most effective method of spreading new ideas, opinions and ways of life. They also note that newspapers are especially effective in this respect because they cover a wide range of topics and reading and looking is more likely to force a person to concentrate and absorb more than listening.

Question 22

How do you spend most of your leisure time?

<u>Responses</u>	<u>Scores</u>
1. Attending a cinema	2
2. Watching Tv in the social hall	2
3. Doing some professional courses	2
4. Drinking in the bar	1
5. Going to church	1
6. Resting in the house	0

Question 23

How much money do you spend on entertainment per month?

<u>Responses</u>	<u>Scores</u>
1. Over 300/-	2
2. 160/- - 300/-	1½
3. 50/- - 150/-	1
4. Less than 50/-	½
5. I spend nothing	0

Question 20 - Part II

Do you feel that it would make any difference to your employers if you failed to turn up for work one day?

<u>Responses</u>	<u>Scores</u>
1. Yes	2
2. No	0
3. I don't know	0

This question was used to measure empathy which Lerner at one time has defined as "the capacity to see oneself in the other fellow's situation" (1958, pp. 50). I was here asking the workers at a short notice to see themselves as the employers. Workers who answered "yes" to the question showed an ability to identify with their employers' role while those who answered "No" and those who answered

"I don't know" admitted their inability to empathize in this respect while those who answered "No" were actually unable to empathize, since no employer would be indifferent to workers' absence from duty even for one hour, but did not admit this inability.

Question 3 - Part III

What would you prefer your son to be - a rich farmer or a rich landless manager of some business firm with property in town given that the income would be the same?

<u>Responses</u>	<u>Scores</u>
1. Manager	2
2. Either	1
3. Farmer	0

The highest score that a respondent could have had on modernization index was 31 points, but our respondents scores were distributed between 3 and 21 points. The greatest number of respondents scored between 8 and 12 points (85 respondents) while 52 respondents scored 7 or less and 43 scored 13 points and over. Because of the high concentration of respondents in what could have been our medium

category of modernization scores we decided to dichotomise between those who scored 11 and over (high) and those who scored 10 and less than 10 points (low). This gave us almost equal numbers of respondents on either side.

Appendix 2INDUSTRIAL LABOUR COMMITMENT INDEX

The following seven questions which mostly come from Part II of the questionnaire were used to construct an industrial labour commitment index.

Question 6 - Part II

When a person does something the way it should be done - for instance when a mechanic repairs a car satisfactorily or when a woman cleans a house and people admire it (etc.) a kind of pride is derived from that type of achievement, does your job give you chances for such personal achievement and experience of such pride?

<u>Responses</u>	<u>Scores</u>
1. Yes	2
2. No	0

Question 9

Would you like to continue in this job? (Explain why).

<u>Responses</u>	<u>Scores</u>
1. Yes, because I like it	4
2. Yes, because I do not have an alternative	1
3. No, because I do not like it at all.	0

Question 15

Do you think it is wrong to fail to obey the regulations of your work?

<u>Responses</u>	<u>Scores</u>
1. Yes	4
2. No, if one is sick or a member of the family is sick	2
3. No, if one is tired	0
4. No	0

Responses 2 and 3 are differentiated because response 2 is accepted by management as a valid reason for failing to turn up for work while response³ is not accepted.

Question 17

If the person who gives you your orders or supervises you is transferred, would it affect your feelings towards your job?

<u>Responses</u>	<u>Scores</u>
1. No, because if I am good in my job I could work under anybody	2
2. Yes, because I am used to the present one	0
3. Yes, because I like my present supervisor	0

- | | | |
|----|--|---|
| 4. | Yes, because the present one is good and does not pick on anybody | 0 |
| 5. | I would be happier since I dislike the present one | 0 |
| 6. | I would be happier if some were transferred and unhappy if others were transferred | 0 |
| 7. | No since I am indifferent to him | 1 |

Responses which scored 0 are those which indicated personal feelings towards supervisors since this is considered to be negative in work situations.

Question 19

Do you feel like you contribute much to the success of your employer and if so, does that make you happy or do you think it is unfair?

<u>Responses</u>	<u>Scores</u>
1. Yes, I contribute much and it makes me happy	2
2. Yes, I contribute much and I am indifferent	1
3. Yes, I contribute much and I think it is unfair	0

Question 22

Among your ten best friends how many are your workmates?

<u>Responses</u>	<u>Scores</u>
1. 6-10	2
2. 1-5	1
3. None	0

This question was aimed at finding out the extent of workers' integration into his industrial unit as a community.

Question 5 - Part III

If you had enough land producing enough to meet your needs, would you work in it full time or would you still want to keep your job?

<u>Responses</u>	<u>Scores</u>
1. Would still keep my job	4
2. Would work on the shamba fulltime	0

Questions 8 and 15 in Part II and question 5 in Part III are weighed more heavily because they are considered to be more important in measuring a workers' level of acceptance of their

occupation than the other questions.

The maximum score that a respondent could have had on this index was 18. The scores were well spread among our respondents. Those who scored 6 points or less were considered to have a low level of industrial labour commitment while those who scored between 7-12 points were considered to have a medium level of industrial labour commitment and those with 13 points or more were considered to have a high score of industrial labour commitment.

QUESTIONNAIRE

Name of Respondent:

Age: Sex:

Place of work:

Place of Birth:

Marital Status: Number of Wives:

Number of Children:

Part I

1. Which part of the country do you come from?
District: Division:

2. Where is your present home and how long have you lived there?
District: Division:
Location (town):

3. Where else have you lived and for how long?

	<u>Names of Places lived in</u>	<u>Period of Time</u>
1.
2.
3.
4.
5.

4. If the place you call home is your respective rural area, do you have a house there of your own or a place where you could build?

Yes, I have a place

No, I have no house but have a place where I could build

I have neither

5. If you do not live in your rural home, how often do you visit if you do?

Twice a year or less often

Three times a year

Four times a year or more often

6. Would you wish to visit your rural home more often than you do?

Yes No

If no, explain why?

.....

If yes, say why you do not pay as many visits as you would wish.

.....

7. Considering the type of life you have led and the type of life you are leading now, would you consider yourself urban or rural?

Urban.... Rural (Explain your answer)

.....

8. What do you hope to do when you retire?

.....

9. If you managed to save some of your earnings after paying school fees, rent, and meeting your other day to day needs, what would you spend that saving on?

.....

10. If you did not own land and you obtained some land somewhere where there are no urban amenities like light, ready transport, tap water, would you prefer to go and live there to working and living in town where you have access to these amenities?

Would prefer the rural area

Would prefer the urban area

Other reactions

11. Thinking of your traditional way of life, do you think the kinship obligations like looking after your neighbours and relatives if sick, giving them food, clothing if they are not in a position to provide for themselves, constitutes a better way of life compared to nuclear family system with no kinship obligations?

Yes No.....

There is no difference

Other reactions

12. Among your ten best friends, how many of these are your neighbours?

.....

13. Thinking of how you became friends with your ten best friends what would you say brought you together and what do you think keeps you close to each other?

What brought you together

What keeps you close

14. Among your ten best friends, how many come from the same ethnic group as you?

.....

15. Among these ten friends how many of these are your workmates or have similar jobs to yours in other industries?

.....

16. If you find yourself jobless and urgently needed some help in cash or kind (like food, etc.), whom would you go to?

Name four people you would approach first and give your relationship with them (friend/relatives, etc.)

Name

Relationship

1.

.....

2.

.....

3.

.....

4.

.....

17. If a member of your family is sick and you urgently need some cash whom would you approach to lend you such cash? Also give your relationship with the first two people you would go to.

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Relationship</u>
1.
2.

18. How far did you go in school?
 1-4 years primary education
 4-7 years primary education
 1-2 secondary education
 Some form of training or adult education (specify)

19. Do you have a radio in your house?
 Yes No.....
 If yes, what programmes do you listen to?

20. How often do you read a newspaper, if you do?
 Everyday Once 3-4 days Once a week
 Once a month or less often

21. How do you mostly gather news or find out what is happening in the country?
 From listening to the radio at home
 From listening to the radio or watching a television in the social hall
 From friends at work.... From reading newspapers....
 From friends in the bar

22. How do you spend most of your leisure time?
 Drinking in the bar.... Going to cinemas.....
 Going to social hall and talking with friends...
 Visiting friends and talking with them....
 Other reactions

23. Which of these figures is closest to the part of your salary which you spend on entertainment (drinking, dances, cinema, etc.)

$\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{12}$, $\frac{1}{16}$, $\frac{1}{20}$

I do not spend any money on entertainment

24. If you drink, how much money do you think you use on beer per month?

.....

25. About how much money do you think you use on food per month?

.....

26. Which of these figures is closest to the part of your salary which you spend on food per month?

$\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{3}{4}$

27. If you didn't have any money to buy food one day, would you have to go without food or could you get it from someone?

Would go without it

Could get it from someone (name person and give relationship)

28. Did you find it easy to get this job? Yes... No...

Explain your answer:

29. If you lost this job, do you think you would have difficulties in getting a similar or a better job elsewhere?

Yes..... No....

30. Give a list of things that you think or know would lead to a worker loosing his job in your industry?

.....

31. How many workers have lost jobs here since you joined this industry?

.....

32. Why did they loose their jobs?

.....

Part II

1. Give a list of the types of jobs you have done, where you did them and period of time spent in a job.

<u>Type of Job</u>	<u>Place (Name of Town, etc.)</u>	<u>Period</u>
.....
.....

2. When you think of all these jobs you have done which would you say were full time jobs-- that is when you went to work in the morning and came back in the evening.

.....

3. How does your present job compare with the other jobs you have done?

.....

4. How long have you been in this particular job?

.....

5. Which one of these statements comes closest to your describing how you feel about your present job?

- My job is interesting nearly all the time.....
- There are some dull stretches now and then
- It is pretty dull
- My job is pretty dull and monotonous

6. When a person does something the way it should be done - for instance when a mechanic repairs a car satisfactorily or when a woman cleans a house and people admire it (etc.), a kind of pride is derived from that type of achievement. Does your job give you chances for such personal achievement and pride? Yes No ...

7. Does absence or presence of such chances in the type of job you do affect your performance in any way?

.....

8. Would you like to continue in this job?

Yes... No..... (Explain your answer)

.....

9. Do you think you can have this job as long as you want except for temporary lay-offs or do you think there is a good chance that the job won't last as long as you want it to?

Can have it as long as I want

Job may end any time.....

10. If this factory was moved to another area e.g. to a bigger town or smaller town, do you think you would feel the same towards your job?

.....

11. How do you compare yourself to people working in industries in bigger or smaller towns than the location of this industry?

To people working in smaller towns

To people working in larger towns

12. Do you find it a strain to keep to the working hours as defined by your employer?

Yes No

Other reactions

13. Do you sometimes turn up late for work or take longer breaks than those allowed by management?

Yes No

If yes, under what circumstances does this happen?

.....

14. Would you say that absence from duty and lateness are common practices among workers in this industry?

Yes No.....

15. Do you think it is wrong to fail to obey the regulation of your work?

Yes No.....

Sometimes (specify when)

Other reactions

16. How do you feel about the person from whom you receive orders?

I like him I dislike him

I am indifferent Other reactions.....

17. If this person who gives you orders or supervises you is transferred, would it affect your feelings towards your job?

Yes No.....

Explain your answer

18. How did you get this job?

.....

19. Do you feel like you contribute much to the success of your employer and if so, does that make you happy or do you think it is unfair?

Yes, I feel I contribute much and it makes me happy

Yes, I feel I contribute much and it is unfair ...

Yes, I feel I contribute much and I am indifferent

No, I don't contribute much and it makes me unhappy.....

Other reactions

20. Do you feel that it would make any difference to your employers if you failed to turn up for work one day?

Yes..... No

Don't know (explain your answer)

21. Do you think it would affect your fellow-employees if you failed to turn up for work some day?

Yes No.....

Don't know (explain your answer)

22. Among your ten best friends, how many of those are your workmates?

.....

23. To what extent would you "say" your relationship with your fellow-workers makes your work interesting?

Very great effect Very little effect

Some effect No effect

24. Do you have a union in your place of work and if it is there, do you belong to it.

There is no union

Yes, there is a union and I belong to it

Yes, there is and I don't belong to it

25. If you belong to it, how would you rate your participation in it?

Above average Average

Below average

Explain why you rate yourself the way you do (what your contributions are, and what they could be, etc.)

26. Do you think your labour union is important?

Yes..... No.....

Explain your answer

27. If you do not have a union, do you think you should have one?

Yes..... No.....

Explain your answer

28. Do you feel that having a job like this one you have now is the only way or not the only way you could support yourself and your family?

Yes..... No.....

If no, what other things could you do to support yourself and your family?

29. Why do you prefer doing this job to taking the alternatives if there are any?

.....

30. Do you think the salaries here are fair

Yes..... No...

Other reactions.....

31. Do you think the level of education and training constitute a fair way of deciding what salaries employers should give to workers?

Yes..... No.....

If no, what do you think the best criteria should be

Part III

1. Do you have any shamba?

Yes..... No.....

If yes, give an estimate of its size:

1 acre or less.... 2-5 acres.... 6-10 acres....

2. Do you think it is necessary to own land?

Yes..... No.....

Explain your answer

3. What would you prefer your son to be - a rich farmer or rich landless manager of some business firm with property in the town given that the income would be the same?

Manager..... Other reactions

4. Why do you prefer doing your present job to working in your shamba if you have one?

.....

5. If you had enough land producing enough to meet your needs, would you work in it full time or would you still keep your job?

Would work in the shamba

Would still want to keep my job

Give reasons for your preference

6. If you have a shamba, who looks after it?

.....

7. How do you compare your present type of work to working in a little shamba of your own and getting the same income?

.....