# THE SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUNDS AND CAREER PATHS OF AFRICAN BUSINESS MANAGERS IN KENYA

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# DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis has been composed by myself and that the work is my own

M.J. Greaves

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Their help was invaluable; the mistakes remain mine.

# PREFACE

This study is concerned with managers in the current economic development of Kenya. From interviews with spokesmen of 39 sample business and parastatal organisations and 179 of their African managers the objective was to confirm the relevance of three hypotheses;

(i) that in the modernising sector managers would be selected and trained according to Western criteria thereby conforming to the Western image of a manager;

(ii) that on educational grounds managers would constitute part of the modernising elite; and,

(iii) that elitism, based on education and manifested through career progress, would exist within management.

These hypotheses were largely confirmed. Social origins exhibited broad similarities with those of managers in comparative Western studies. Social origins influenced educational attainment, subsequent job function, management training and career progress. Company selection and training policies were directed at the higher educated Africans and were therefore perpetuating the Western managerial image in the developmental context. Secondly, as managerial selection was based on educational attainment which was achieved mainly by the socially privileged, the social elite were maintaining their status through the educational and managerial medium, and managers constituted part of the modernising elite. Thirdly, elitism within management exists. Two separate career paths based on social background and educational level are shown to influence job function, career progress, management training and ultimate managerial status. Education is shown to be the main determining factor in this.

It is demonstrated that the socially and educationally underprivileged managers have been neglected in their training and development. They represent an untapped source of experienced talent which could be better exploited if the education-training relationship were to be redesigned. Earlier career commencement followed by managerial selection based on proven results could be followed by higher education as a reward rather than a right. Training would become more relevant and organisational stratification into demarcated status groups would be reduced.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Continued)

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Continued)

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Continued)

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Continued)

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Continued)

## LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF TABLES (Continued)

LIST OF TABLES (Continued)

LIST OF TABLES (Continued)

LIST OF TABLES (Continued)

LIST OF TABLES (Continued)

# CHAPTER I

## CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

### Introduction

This study of the background and development of industrial and commercial business managers in Kenya is an examination of just one aspect of the economic development of an African country in the 1970s. It takes as its focal point one detail of the modernisation process in a country that was, until comparatively recently, a traditional society virtually untouched by Western systems of politics, economics, technology and administration.

Commercialisation and industrialisation have been seen to be fundamental processes in the transformation of societies from traditionalism to modernity (Apter 1969), and the role of administrators and managers may be observed to be a crucial one in this context as they seek to implement developmental strategies within their specialised field. The focus of modernisation in this study is management, or, more accurately, the managers in the industrial and commercial sectors of the Kenyan business environment. The purpose of making an examination of the managers is to evaluate their role by means of an analysis of their backgrounds, their training, and their career structures. In this way it is hoped to be able to gauge the extent to which they fit a similar mould to Western-style (or, as some would have it, universal-style) managers, or whether they exhibit characteristics which identify them as a specifically Kenyan type.

The objective of this introduction to the study is to review some of the appropriate material on development theory, in particular that relating to the place of industrial management in economic development, that relating to the logic of industrialism (convergence theory), and to take note of the literature pertaining to the theories of the universality of management and managerial leadership. From such a review, it is hoped that an accurate evaluation of the significance which has been accorded management in development theory will be obtained, that the relevance of convergence theory in its application to management may be judged, and that the degree of support for universal management theories may be accurately set against that for situation-based management theory. In such a fashion, the ground may be prepared for a realistic assessment of the role of local Kenyan managers in the country's development, as well as for an evaluation of the extent to which they may be considered to be either Western managers, or Kenyan ones.

## Management and Economic Development

Management was chosen as the topic of the study because management is so overtly related to modernisation. Burns (1969) has noted that industry is the characteristic institution of modern advanced societies, so much so that the tendency is to speak of 'industrial' and 'non-industrial' societies rather than of 'civilised' and 'primitive' ones, or of those which are 'literate' or 'preliterate'. His five essential components, "machine technology, the marketing of men's labour, the concentration of workers so engaged in single enterprises, the existence of a specific social type (the entrepreneur), and lastly, the special condition of rapidly expanding markets" are, when taken together, a new phenomenon, producing far-reaching social, political, economic and technological effects. The manager is one of the people at the heart of the industrialisation process, and as such is one of the symbols of modernisation. The personal qualities required for overseeing and controlling large capital investments in plant, buildings, and inventories, for organising the material assets and the use to which they are put, and for communicating instructions to (sometimes very sizeable) groups of workers, set the manager apart from much of developing society, and link him with the professional civil servant and the military officer in terms of the collective power wielded and the potentially far-reaching effects of his decisions.

Management has been observed by a number of writers as fulfilling alternative roles. Some (Tawney 1921; Burnham 1941) have seen managers as a class, or an active minority enjoying power and privilege as members of an elite group. Others (Weber 1947; MacGregor 1960; Simon 1965) have seen management in terms of its authority role, that is, as a rule-making body with power over subordinate staff. Yet others (Marshall 1890; Lewis 1961) see management as an economic resource. Harbison and Myers (1959) have stated this explicitly: "Management is an economic resource, or a factor of production. In this respect it is similar to capital, labour, or natural resources and is combined with them in varying factor proportions in productive processes."[1] It is as an economic resource that it will be initially treated here.

Despite the fact that management's role in economic development was clearly stated by Marshall (1890) so many years ago, the managerial aspect of industrialisation seems to have been overlooked, both by the developing countries and the developed ones which made some

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1. Harbison and Myers. Management in the Industrial World. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959, p. 19.

of the resources available to them (Ginzberg 1971), as well as by many of the economists working in the field of development theory. Prasad and Negandhi (1968) have effectively pointed out this omission; "all the theories of economic development are ways of looking systematically at the general economic development process ... they all relate to the 'economics about development or growth' but do not constitute the 'economics *for* development'." They reason that technological deficiencies are responsible for some of the overall deficiencies in the implementation of economic development projects, but more importantly, managerial deficiencies must also take their share of the blame. Economists have tended to direct their efforts towards the planning process, and their neglect of the managerial function has probably contributed towards the failure of many plans.

Negandhi (1971) has further stated that; "A close examination of the various theories of economic development reveals that many economists either assume managers are efficient and capable of administering the planned industrial projects, or do not give sufficient importance to the managerial aspects of the developmental process." There seems to be merit in this, although it is not true to state that the economists have ignored management and the human factor completely. The subject has been treated, but not with the same attention or in the same depth as have topics such as capital and capital formation, the infrastructure of the economy, the availability of resources, and the like.

Perhaps the earliest reference to man's contribution to economic growth as he improves his skills and motivations (as opposed to his technical proficiency) is in Adam Smith; "The greatest improvement in the productive powers of labour, and the greater part of the skill, dexterity, and judgement, with which it is any where directed, or applied, seem to have been the effects of the division of labour." There follows the example of its application to pin manufacturing. Again;

> "The acquisition of such talents, by the maintenance of the acquirer during his education, study, or apprenticeship, always costs a real expense, which is a capital fixed and realised, as it were, in his person. Those talents, as they make a part of his fortune, so do they likewise of that of the society to which he belongs."

Alfred Marshall (1890), discussing the distribution of income, expressed the matter as follows;

> "The power to save depends on an excess of income over necessary expenditure; and this is greatest among the wealthy. *But ... the older economists took too little account of the fact that human faculties are as important a means of production as any other kind of capital;* and we may conclude, in opposition to them, that any change in the distribution of wealth which gives more to the wage receivers and less to the capitalists is likely, other things being equal, to hasten the increase of material production, and that it will not perceptibly retard the storing up of material wealth."

Kuznets (1961) also observed that for "the study of economic growth over long periods and among widely different societies - the concept of capital and capital formation should be broadened to include investment in health, education, and training of the population itself, that is, investment in human beings." Prior to this (1955) he had written, "The major capital stock of an industrially advanced country is not its physical equipment; it is the body of knowledge amassed from tested findings and discoveries of empirical science, *and the capacity and training of its population to use this knowledge effectively."* There is, of course, a self-reinforcing process at work here - investments in education and human resource development will contribute something to economic growth and development while this then makes it possible to invest further resources; as Weisner (1963) has said; "A good educational system may be the flower of economic development, but it is also the seed." McClelland (1966) has pointed out that there is a high correlation between level of education and national income, and it is assumed that one causes the other, although this is assuming what still needs to be proved.

Other economists have also made their contribution. For instance, Lewis (1961);

> "Economic development creates a very great demand for competent administrators, whether in business or public service ... what is deficient is not the spirit of enterprise, but the experience of administration. The economics of large-scale production make possible a considerable increase in income if only people can be found capable of managing large undertakings efficiently, including managing large numbers of men and great quantities of physical resources; and it is in knowledge and experience of the problems of large-scale administration that the deficiencies of these countries is most evident."

Meier (1964) notes the same problem, and puts it down to the same cause - lack of experience, but he additionally observes that managerial standards in underdeveloped countries must be judged in the context of the general shortage of managerial skill; in other words "One cannot expect the impossible."

A significant part of economic development thought is that which places an emphasis on the infrastructure of the economy; Hirschmann (1958) discusses it, Rostow (1969) advocates it - that is, the precondition of the existence of power and communications for the 'take-off' into rapid industrial growth. It is at Rostow's third level that management receives a reference; during the 'drive to maturity' the industrial process becomes differentiated with new leading sectors gathering momentum to supplant the older leading sectors whose deceleration has slowed up subsequent growth.

At this point, the structure and quality of the working force will change, as does the character of business leadership;

> "The take-off is usually managed by relatively modest, creative men with an insight as to how output in their sector can be radically expanded: the Boultons' and the Lowells'. In the drive to maturity men take over with more grandiose visions, with a more acute sense of scale and of power: although there are vast differences between post-Civil War United States and Stalin's Russia, there is, nevertheless, a distant family resemblance between some of the great entrepreneurs of the American drive to maturity and the men who administered the Five Year Plans between, say, 1929 and 1953. At maturity, however, the professional managers become more important: the nameless, comfortable, cautious committeemen who inherit and manage large sectors of the economy, while the society begins to seek objectives which include but transcend the application of modern technology to resources."

Hirschmann (op. cit) observes that complementary and competitive relationships of firms to each other help to create favourable conditions for the growth of ventures, but that these cannot be relied on exclusively or even primarily to set up effective pressures to perform within the individual firm; these must come from within the firm itself, but tend to be hampered by typical administrative shortcomings that are characteristic of many firms in under-developed countries. His list of such shortcomings includes excessive centralisation of decision-making, poor staff co-ordination, defective advance planning, defective cost accounting and financial control, poor maintenance, and neglect of personnel relations and morale. King (1967) takes a similar line, observing that in development projects the effectiveness of the managerial aspect is the most difficult to appraise, and the shortage of managerial experience and ability is one of the main difficulties standing in the way of economic development in many countries. A concluding note may be made of the discussion of Carlson's paper (1965) which emphasised the role of management in policy-making, during which Walker observed that "there must be broad principles common to the situation of the manager in both developed and under-developed countries", before going on to discuss a role for productivity groups in conjunction with managerial development as a means of injecting "realism and relevance into the (management development) programme and to maintain its effect after the initial impact."

It is possible, therefore, to find some limited reference to the presence and significance of management in economic development. What is perhaps surprising is that these references are few and far between, and even then only amount to a broad recognition of the fact that management is necessary; nowhere is there any attempt to treat management like the other input variables. Let Heller (1969) summarise;

> "It is said that the fate of developing countries depends primarily on the following factors: (i) the amount of capital and technical knowledge that can be obtained, (ii) the level of exports, (iii) a reasonable balance of payments and low rate of inflation, and (iv) the availability of a suitable network of communications, such as roads and airports (since this requires capital it brings us back to the first point). These are the standard prescriptions for the poorer countries, repeated again and again in lectures, in textbooks, and in voluminous public and confidential reports. The role of business and its managers in the process of development is hardly ever mentioned. Yet it can be shown that the first three of these four factors certainly depend to a very considerable extent on the effectiveness of individual businesses, their consequent capacity to save some of their resources, and their willingness to invest this saving for future growth".

Heller goes on to mention two of the newer approaches for speeding up development, the first being the 'human capital' theory, and the second the 'institutional approach';

> "Both theories are 'macro' in the sense that they propose large-scale changes, such as changes in the educational or taxation systems, which have to be initiated by governments and over which individual firms have little or no influence. Nevertheless, these human capital and institutional recommendations are very important in redressing the imbalance of the four key classical prescriptions mentioned above".

Perhaps two of the more well-known advocates of the latter approach are Harbison and Myers (1964) who go beyond mere recognition of the human factor, and focus upon human resources as the point of departure.

Their view is not an exclusively academic one. Kenya's First Development Plan for 1964-70 placed emphasis on the expansion of secondary education by increasing it two-and-a-half-fold. "This should have the greatest and the earliest effect on the capacity of Kenya's citizens to contribute to the nation's development and to benefit from it."[2] Likewise, a resolution passed by the Ministers of Education from seventeen Asian countries in 1962: "As an Asian intergovernmental meeting, we have seen for the first time that education is not only right for our peoples ... it is equally a factor which contributes to economic growth of our individual countries." Another conclusion relating more specifically to management as a human resource was provided by an ILO meeting on African managerial development;

> "No one group of people has such a strategic role to play in the development of the economic and social life of a nation and the raising of its standard of living than its managers, whether in industry or commerce, in the public sector or the private, in public administration or in managing their own enterprises. They are responsible for making the optimum utilisation of the major part of the nation's material and human resources. On their knowledge and skill, and the efficiency with which they

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2. "The Introduction to the Plan", Development Plan 1964-70.

> perform their duties, depend higher productivity and increased national wealth. They are directly responsible for a large part of the well-being of those who work under their control. It is therefore important that all those carrying out managerial functions, whatever their formal designations, should be well-trained in their profession and conscious of their wide responsibilities."

This preliminary discussion is neither exhaustive nor fully illustrative. It serves, nonetheless, to place some emphasis on the place of management and human resource development in economic development. Since this particular study is concerned with the educational background and training of Kenyan African managers, it is therefore relevant. Nevertheless, the *general* relevance of managers as a needed high-level resource for development has been accepted; the quantity required is an aspect to which manpower economists have devoted some thought, and the quality aspect is likewise meriting support. In deciding what sort of skilled people a country should make of its managers, it will have to take careful note of its economic and social objectives. On the one hand it will require educated people capable of absorbing experiences productively and learning from them, and it may need people who are capable of managing technology, systems, and large groups of people to maximum effect. On the other hand it will wish to retain at least some of its own values and culture so as not to surrender its individuality completely. This striking of the balance between what Roethlisberger and Dickson (1939) have called the 'logic of efficiency' and the 'logic of sentiment', that is between what is technologically efficient and what is most satisfying for human relationships and happiness, is when the manager in the developing country is most likely to be torn between the forces of two cultures. Such conflicts are not exclusively the prerogative of developing nations. They are still being experienced in the West as evidenced by Trist's (1963) conclusion that a compromise between superior technology with worsening human relations, and obsolescent technology with satisfactory human relationships may be the only acceptable solution in certain conditions.

Convergence Theory

A theory of industrialism which has received a certain amount of exposure in the last fifteen years or so is that of Kerr, et al. (1960). Their 'logic of industrialisation' maintains that societies start from different points, and travel along a variety of routes, but end up at a common destination or situation, that of industrialism. "Industrialization refers to the actual course of transition from the traditional society towards industrialism", and as nations industrialise they become more uniform in character, and move towards their common future of 'pluralistic industrialism', that is,

> "an industrial society which is governed neither by one all-powerful elite (the monistic model) nor by the impersonal interaction of innumerable small groups with relatively equal and fractionalized power (the atomistic model in economic theory). The complexity of the fully-developed industrial society requires, in the name of efficiency and initiative, a degree of centralization of control, particularly in the consumer goods and service trades industries; but it also requires a large measure of central control by the state and conduct of many operations by large-scale organizations."

The result is a uniform industrial culture which stamps its own patterns on pre-existing cultures, which in their turn merely serve as impediments to the process, but never prevent it. Management, say the authors, being a form of human capital which is necessary for successful industrial development, also demands certain universal traits as organisations become larger and more complex, as markets grow wider, as processes become more capital intensive, as the socio-political environment becomes more complex, and as the co-ordination of high talent managerial resources and specialists becomes more necessary. The professional manager, they say, comes into his own, and he has more in common with his colleague and his profession than he does with his cultural background or his national political regime.

Kerr and his partners treat the industrial countries of the world as examples of the phenomenon of industrialism and they commence their thesis with a counter proposition to that of Marx who envisaged a levelling of skills as capitalist production advanced, with the consequent transition of workers into machine operators and attendants. On the contrary, assert Kerr et al., 'Industrialization in fact develops and depends upon a concentrated, disciplined industrial work force - a work force with new skills and a wide variety of skills, with high skill levels and constantly changing skill requirements.'[3]

They suggest also that the labour force will be highly differentiated by occupation, with the development of a variety of job classifications, rights and duties, as a result of working at different levels of pay, authority, and status. They further see the development of rules and norms (relating to recruitment, commitment, advancement, welfare and retirement) governing their behaviour at work - rules and norms which are not to be found in non-industrialised societies. Their interpretation of these developments is

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3. Kerr et al. Industrialism and Industrial Man. Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, (1973 edn.), p. 44.

that of the emergence of a more open society, one characterised by higher social mobility and a growth of equality in the stratification system as achievement supercedes ascription.

Such a society, in their view, will be highly dependent upon an educational system 'functionally related to the skills and pro-professions imperative to its technology'[4] a system which will stress the natural sciences, the applied sciences and the administrative sciences, will be based on literacy and numeracy among the population at large, and will be flexible enough to adapt to new disciplines and fields of specialisation. Society will inevitably grow larger, and government will have to grow with it in order to supervise the provision and operation of a wide range of supportive facilities and activities, ranging from defence and international policy to the provision of transport and communications and a reliable system of commercial law.

Kerr and his colleagues predict that as countries become more industrialised so will traditional cultural identification decline and be replaced with generally accepted values of science and technology, of change and progress, education, mobility, competition, challenge to tradition, pluralism, materialism and the work ethic. As these values become more widely accepted with industrialism, so will worldwide conflict be reduced.

Goldthorpe (1964) has criticised the convergence thesis on three main grounds; that is, those of differentiation, consistency, and mobility. He challenges the likelihood of a decrease in the degree of differentiation in all stratification subsystems leading

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4. Kerr et. al. op. cit., (1973 edn.), p.47.

to what Kerr et. al. refer to as a diamond or octagonal shape rather than the more familiar stratification pyramid; instead of a levelling of this, he notes a lengthening process. Consistency between societies, which the convergence theorists see as being directly linked to technological and economic advance, leaves Goldthorpe sceptical because he is aware of sufficient evidence to indicate that social and cultural barriers are still in existence between working and middle class; "even in cases where material differences have now disappeared." Finally, he criticises the theory on the grounds of social mobility, noting not an ever-widening opportunity of movement from lower to higher levels in the occupational mobility ladder, but a reduction in the likelihood of shop floor workers being promoted to managerial levels because of the rising level of the educational qualifications needed for entry into management.

Criticism of convergence theory has centred to a certain extent upon the depoliticised society presented by the theorists, one in which ideologies diminish under technical necessity ... "there is one best technology, this affects economic relations, and economic relations affect political realities - but to a lesser extent and in different ways than Marx thought were written into the inexorable laws of the universe."[5]

In their postscript to the thesis, published ten years later (1971), Kerr and his colleagues reaffirm the central points of their analysis, but acknowledge that certain problems of industrialisation loomed larger than they had expected. In particular they note that rural development has often been neglected in favour of industrial

5. Kerr et. al. op. cit. (1973 edn.), p. 298.

development in the urban areas, and that until organisations have been developed and skills acquired for rural transformation then this problem will remain. At the same time, the urban areas have also suffered as a result of urban migration outpacing the demand for labour. The result has been rising unemployment, and increasing under-employment of human resources, made worse by the fact that many job seekers are educated.

The authors acknowledge that educational policies have been partly to blame;

> "this single-axis orientation of the educational systems of many industrializing countries overemphasizes preparation for entry into the modern sector enclaves. It tends to produce intellectuals who are often unemployable, and it creates expectations which are inconsistent with realistic opportunities provided by developing economies ... irrelevant education can waste human and financial resources which otherwise might be channelled into more productive activities."[6]

A further problem has been a slow rate of development towards efficiency, especially in government ministries. Their effectiveness has been hindered by managerial skill deficiencies, rivalries, and in-fighting, and corruption and laziness, all of which have helped to create what they describe as an 'organizational power failure.'

Finally, the problem of increasing population, creating as it does a burden on public services and contributing as it does to unemployment and underemployment, is touched upon. The authors fear that, unless checked, it may halt the progress towards industrialization in many countries.

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6. Kerr et. al. (1973 postscript) pp. 279-306.

However, for all its various shortcomings, convergence theory does pay fairly considerable attention to the function of management and the role of the managers. Part of its theme has been a concern for the development of a managerial cadre in the industrialising nations, and the point is made that this is best achieved through the provision of engineering universities, technological institutes and special programmes for the training of administrators. Two other points advanced by the theorists are that as nations industrialise, objective competence supercedes personal connections as the means of access into managerial ranks, and that management will become increasingly more of a profession than a 'pre-ordained calling';

> "The universal imperative - the need for competent, professionalized management - prevails. While both the stage and pace of industrialization affect the position and policies of enterprise management, the similarities of enterprise management in all advanced industrializing societies are far greater than their differences."[7]

The convergence theme, that management is becoming a professsionalised occupation, and as such is developing a similarity of technique and application, is one which has relevance to all developing societies. It raises the question as to whether management is a universal profession or occupation, or whether it is subject to local and cultural variation.

Robinson (1965) criticised the economists for failing to allow for the "need to adapt traditional social values and institutions, so that they promote economic growth, and to adapt modern

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7. Kerr et al. <u>op. cit.</u> (1973 edn.), p. 171.

industrial organization so that it fits into and works in non-European cultural settings", such cultural settings usually being regarded as barriers to economic growth. Robinson's point is that if these cultural aspects can be utilised and set to work *for* development, such local values and institutions would put more weight behind the developmental process than the imported capital and institutions which were basically designed for Western settings.

Management and Culture

The philosophy and practice of management may be considered to be an institution exported by the developed countries to the developing ones as a result of its effectiveness in the Western setting, but not until recently thought to be subject to cultural influence and modification. It is, however, accurate to say that Western-style management theory is quite firmly rooted in Western beliefs in individualism and liberal democracy, and that any transference of Western management to cultures based on other beliefs will be subject to adaptational difficulties into the local values and culture.

Management in Africa was for many years practised almost exclusively by men from the colonising nations who had confidence in the rightness of their methods, and the backing of often repressive or discriminatory colonial legislation which gave them a firm hold over labour. The spread of independence movements in the post-Second World War period, and the granting of first self-government, and then independence to most colonial territories in the late 1950s and early 1960s, meant the relaxation of labour codes, an increase in unionised labour, and the commencement of the development of an African managerial cadre. Management in Africa is now becoming, subject to some extent to the controls from multi-national company head offices, typically a case of Africans managing Africans, and a doubt may be raised as to whether North American and European methods are (or indeed ever were) the wholly appropriate ones for the job at hand. Are African managers becoming carbon copies of their Western counterparts? Would this, assuming it to be true, be a desirable state of affairs? There is evidence from Nigeria (Onyemelukwe 1973) that Western companies and training institutions are trying to make African managers in a Western mould, and the legitimate query would be to what extent is this right for the Africans themselves?

In recent years a certain amount of interest has centred on the practice of management in non-Western cultures in an endeavour to ascertain the 'universality' of managerial functions. Some of this work bears closer examination.

## The Universality of Management

Before making an examination of the variations in managerial practice in cross-cultural situations that have been documented, it seems pertinent to follow up just how much support for the universality of management there seems to be. Kerr and his convergence theory colleagues (1960) have been quoted in this respect, but they are worth another mention; "As the society reaches the more advanced stages of industrialization, management is more likely to have the universal common markings which have already been described. As industrialization proceeds, the elements of unity tend to overshadow the elements of diversity in the development of management."

Harbison and Myers (1959) in a study of management development practices in twenty-three countries offer generalisations about management and management development which suggest that there are few fundamental differences between its practice in various locations. Koontz and O'Donnell (1964), in an introductory management text, state their basic thesis that "management is essentially the same process in all forms of enterprise and at all levels of the organization, although the goals and environment of management may differ considerably." A similar viewpoint is offered by Merrill (1963); "Management is management wherever practised, a universal profession whose principles can be applied in every organized form of human activity." Negandhi (1971), on the basis of research carried out in Taiwan, endorses this; he asserts that various elements of management practice and effectiveness seem to be under the overall purview of managerial control. The level of development of managerial practices (policies, personnel department organisation, job evaluation and training schemes, selection and promotion criteria) between U.S. business subsidiaries, Japanese subsidiaries, and local Taiwanese firms, showed strong correlations against managerial effectiveness (morale, turnover, productivity, absenteeism, sales growth, and others). Negandhi accepts that social forces are important in management, but that their influence might be exaggerated, and suggests that American advanced managerial know-how may not be as dysfunctional as has sometimes been suggested.

The weight of opinion against the universal line of thinking is, however, becoming substantial, and is backed up by an increasing amount of detailed research. Gonsalez and McMillan (1961), after spending some time in Brazil as consultants in management training, concluded that management philosophies are highly culture-bound, and that the "American philosophy of management is not universally applicable." They use the term 'philosophy' interchangeably with the term 'practice'.

Farmer and Richman (1964), who have suggested a model for research into comparative management, note that virtually all management theories

> "approach the problem of management as an internal problem within a productive enterprise. External factors, if considered at all, are assumed to be constant in most formulations .... In effect, most studies of management have taken place within a 'black box' labelled *management*, without much concern for the external factors in which the form may operate. As long as this external environment is about the same for all firms, the approach is valid; however, in cases where the environment differs significantly, present theory is inadequate to explain comparative differentials in efficiency."

They present a list of managerial constraints in the spheres of education, sociology, politics and the legal environment, and the economic situation in societies which they consider are relevant to the issue. Their list is not dissimilar to that of Skinner (1964) (below, Figure 1.1), except that Skinner has combined sociology and education into 'culture', and he introduces a technical system which Farmer and Richman do not count as being external.

Winston Oberg (1963) has looked at cross-cultural perspectives on management practices in Brazil and the U.S.A. and has stated that,

> "My own experience in international management leads me to believe that cultural differences from one country to another are more significant than many writers now appear to recognise. For example, the skills that lead to managerial success in the U.S. may not be the skills that lead to managerial success in Brazil ...."

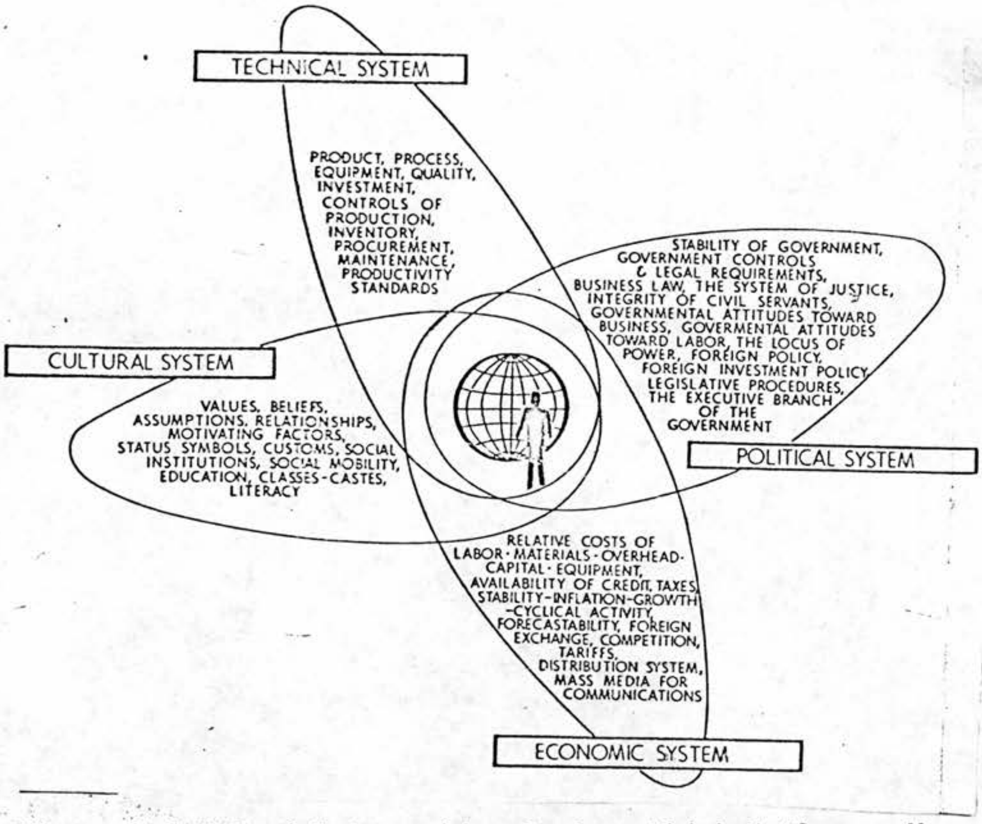


Figure 1.1 - Four Intermeshing Systems Which Influence Managerial Philosophy and Practice (Source: Skinner, 1964)

Oberg argues that the ground rules for business in the two countries are very different, such that, "If universal principles do indeed exist they must stand up to rigorous testing in cross-cultural studies ..... If management principles are to be truly universal, it is clear that they must face up to the challenge of other cultures and other business climates." In a specific area, French (1960) has shown that Norwegians react less well than Americans to democratic participative practices in industry. In a similar study, Williams and Whyte (1966) have demonstrated that Peruvians, whom they found to be more distrustful of people than Americans are, preferred close supervision, while Americans did not, and Haire, Ghiselli and Porter (1966) noted that managers in fourteen nations (of which three were developing nations) shared many similar attitudes and motivations, but the managers from the three developing countries attached more importance to security, social needs, esteem, autonomy, and self-actualisation needs than did managers from elsewhere, and they rated esteem as being particularly important. McCann (1964 and 1970) considers that management in America is based on the scientific method, whereas in Latin America it is considered to be an art; he develops this theme in a series of contrasts between management in the Anglo-American culture and the Mexican one by comparing differences in attitudes towards work, decision-making, authority, participation and communications, all of which he observed to be substantial. Again, McClelland (1961) notes that American business executives differ considerably from executives in four other less-developed countries in their needs for achievement (n Achievement)(i.e. they are higher), and are significantly higher in their needs for power over others, but are lower than managers from three of the four countries in their needs to affiliate with others.

All of these studies, which represent a selection from an increasing amount of work being carried out in the field of comparative management, are serving to demonstrate that there are substantial differences in the outlook and motivations of workers (and of managers) in different countries and cultures, that managerial styles are subject to variations caused by local business problems, and that the practice of management is not identical in different situations. Even Richman and Copen (1972), who conclude that many of the managerial practices and techniques developed in America can be transferred and applied to developing nations, state that some of them will have to be discarded and others modified in order to take the local environment into account.

The implications for management and its theorists are far-reaching. While the Western writers have searched for universal principles, the evidence seems to indicate that this is misdirected effort, and better results would come of an inquiry into how the existing know-how may best be applied in individual situations. If the need for this is accepted, it is tantamount to an acceptance of the fact that there are no longer any universal principles. This is the conclusion of Gonsalez and McMillan (1961):

> "We tend to strive for a unified, universally valid philosophy by reference to which management action is appropriate and meaningful. Professor R.C. Davis, in discussing a management philosophy, suggests that a philosophy can and should be scientific in that it is based upon and derived from valid tenets and is applicable to the solution of managerial problems anywhere. But if the resultant philosophy is appropriate and valid only for a given economic-cultural framework, it cannot be universal."

Thus, like the qualities of leadership, management may eventually be accepted as being situationally determined. It is no accident that the management-leadership analogy is made here. The manager, by virtue of his authority position in the organisation, is a leader. Now that the social scientists have abandoned their quest for universal *traits* of leadership (Gouldner 1950), because they accept that environmental constraints call for different qualities in different situations, they have also accepted that the *style* of leadership will also vary from situation to situation. Management principles and their application are an integral part of leadership style in the business situation, and their claim to universality seems to stand or fall with that of leadership traits. As the claim for leadership trait universality is demolished, so also is that for managerial principles.

Managerial Leadership Styles

Gonsalez and McMillan (1961) have claimed that there is a lack of universality in current American managerial practice, in particular in the areas of inter-personal relationships, including those between management and workers, management and suppliers, management and the customer, the community, competition and the government. Although all these areas are relevant to the total concept of managerial practice, the area receiving the most attention from scholars has been that of management-employee relations, and studies previously quoted form no exception to this. A primary concern of management, in its relations with workers, is to establish, legitimate and maintain its authority as a rule-making and resource allocating body. The range of leadership styles available in the exercise of this authority are generally considered to be about four (Likert 1967), although they are perhaps better expressed as points on a continuum (Tannenbaum and Schmidt 1958). Likert's four classifications are those of exploitive autocracy, benevolent autocracy, participation, and democracy.

Early managerial practice was characterised by a reliance on authority (Taylor 1911, Fayol 1916), which later, in the light of the American Hawthorne Studies (Mayo 1933, Roethlisberger and Dickson 1939) gave rise to a more enlightened but still somewhat paternalistic human relations approach. The spread of democracy and education has led to an increase in influence from the lower ranks and has provided evidence of a willingness by some management to share certain aspects of its decision-making role with subordinates (MacGregor 1961, Coch and French 1948, Morse and Reimer

1956). Such a development has given rise to experimentation with participative management, particularly in America, and although some workers in Europe are gaining greater influence in policy issues, there has not yet been any general movement towards the Yugoslavian system of industrial democracy in which many workers actually elect their managers.

However, it is probably fair to say that the managerial or leadership style in the West has been influenced by the situational factors of rising educational standards and increasing political awareness. Ohmann (1957) has observed that modern managers are facing continuous changes that affect their role and the way in which they perform their job; he cites changing motivations among the staff, an authority base that is being undermined by trade unions and centralised government, the complex interrelations between business firms, and the increasing influence of public opinion and pressure groups. European managers face similar challenges, although the pace at which they have been able to adapt to them is partly dictated by the nature and attitudes of the managers themselves. Thus, Rosemary Stewart (1965) was able to observe of British management:

> "There has been a substantial change in the nature of management authority, and the ways in which it is exercised, during the course of Britain's industrial history. The general trend is away from the more authoritarian type of leadership. A variety of reasons are responsible for this: the more democratic nature of society as a whole; the high level of education; the growth of trade unions and full employment. In very few companies, however, could the leadership be described as democratic though it is now true to say that management can only manage successfully with the goodwill of labour."

Miss Stewart is saying that British managers are not democratic in the Yugoslavian sense but in the American one, that is they are not yet truly participative. Probable explanations for the more traditional approach of British management to leadership may be found in a succession of studies of British managers (Copeman 1955, Acton Society Trust 1956, Clements 1958, Lupton and Wilson 1959, Clark 1966) in which it has been shown that the top managers in British industry tend to come from a small but privileged social and educational elite. This has involved education at a public school, followed if possible by a degree from Oxford or Cambridge Universities. Clements has proposed that the reason for this reliance by the privileged classes on the public schools is the expertise of the schools in cultivating habits of responsibility, the exercising of initiative, the appreciation of teamwork and the power of leadership, all of which have been considered to be essential in the running of a business.

The concept of managers as leaders, exercising authority over others in the pursuit of business goals, needs to be examined from two points of view before comment is made on them in terms of a class. Firstly, further evidence on the backgrounds of managers needs to be presented, and secondly the nature of managerial authority has to be examined. It may then be possible to comment on just how much the existence of a managerial class seems to be accurate, and to what extent the backgrounds of managers affect their leadership style and the way that they manage.

Managers as a Class

Managerial authority has been variously thought to be based on acceptance (Barnard 1938), expertise (Urwick 1947, MacGregor

1967), and the legitimacy of the organisation (Weber 1947). The question that arises at this point is that, given that managers do exercise authority, does the exercise of this authority through the job by the kind of people who become managers make them into a social class?

The managerial job came into existence as a result of the rise of joint-stock ownership, increasing organisational size, the separation of management from ownership, technological development and complexity, and task specialisation. Accompanying these developments was the evolution of a philosophy linked to the management concept and practice. From Taylor (1911), came the divorce of planning activities from operating ones and the notion of a separate managerial job. In the process, the rationale for the subsequent elitism was created (Drucker 1953). As planning techniques have become more sophisticated, so have the qualifications deemed to be desirable for management risen steadily to higher levels. Management in the West has become largely the preserve of those classes (mainly middle) who have developed the educational backgrounds suitable for job performance, and who then are privileged to enjoy suitably rewarding terms and conditions of work which provide them with more intrinsic job satisfactions than those achieved by most non-managerial staff.

Managers in Western countries tend to have similar backgrounds after allowing for the individual historical and cultural differences between the countries. From studies in the USA, Europe and Britain, to which reference will later be made, it will be observed that these managers are normally from the middle and upper-middle classes, that their fathers typically have professional and white-collar backgrounds, and that the managers themselves have usually received a better education than the bulk of the population. They hold similar sets of values and attitudes, and are often considered (Bottomore 1967) to be part of the elite in the sense that they are an important functional group which has high prestige and takes important economic decisions.

Both Berle (1932) and Burnham (1941) have been concerned with the role of managers and their rise to power as they have become more independent of shareholder control. Berle predicted that shareholder control of large private corporations would diminish and that managers would cease to act as agents for the owners; they would eventually develop policies of their own and consequently emerge as a neutral managerial elite. Burnham was more concerned with state enterprise, and he saw managers as a class;

> "through changes in the technique of production, the functions of management become more distinctive, more complex, more specialized, and more crucial to the whole process of production, thus serving to set off those who perform these functions as a separate group or class in society; and at the same time those who formerly carried out what functions there were of management, the *bourgeoisie*, themselves withdraw from management, so the difference in function becomes also a difference in the individuals who carry out the function."

Burnham's prediction was that a managerial revolution would bring managers into the role of ruling class, and that a managerial ideology, based on state planning, would take the place of capitalist ideology. He based this prediction on the assumption that managers would take over the economic power formerly held by capitalist owners, an assumption that has been challenged on three main grounds; (i) that managers are very often owners themselves, in that they often have substantial shareholdings in their companies, (ii) that they are often wealthy men irrespective of what shareholdings they may or may not have, and (iii) that the recruitment of managers is predominantly from the upper stratum of society. In addition, Dahrendorf (1957) argued that Burnham's definition of managers as those who are powerful is deficient; Nicholls (1969) stated that since Burnham was not specific about who the managers are it is difficult to support his proposition that they will become indispensable - he cites Weber's argument that if indispensability were the basis for class rule then slaves would be the masters. Bendix (1952) has further criticised Burnham for assuming that managers in the various sectors of industry, government and the unions constitute a ruling class simply because they are managers; the answer to this is clearly that they do not.

On these grounds Burnham's thesis has been sufficiently discredited to demolish the idea that managers constitute a new ruling class. However, *ruling* class or not, the question of class is still relevant, and Nicholls' examination (1969) of the class location of hired managers in Britain concluded that there was no evidence to support the proposition that managers fall into a managerial class while propertied directors fell into an entrepreneurial one. He stated that the separation of ownership and control was merely a part of a progressive division of labour within capitalist society; it had not led to any divergence between the managerial and entrepreneurial strata, but rather to a convergence since they both acted in shareholder interests; "Any assertion that the contemporary manager belongs to a different class than the contemporary owner-manager can probably only be substantiated if class is rigidly defined in economic terms. But even here the difference would seem to be one of degree."

It is the validity of these various arguments which leads Bottomore (1964) to conclude that managers *and* owners form a single social group, thus making a managerial revolution unlikely. Nevertheless, although the managerial group may not be a class in the sense that its members have a set of identical interests, they remain an important and powerful group within society.

Management in Kenya

If Nicholls' conclusion is accepted, i.e. that managers and entrepreneurs would merely appear to be sub-groups of the same class, then there would also appear to be significant implications for managerial development in Kenya. The first of these would be that the African managers developed in Kenya by their companies would be trained to manage in the interest of shareholders, and to this extent would most likely be selected on the basis of a privileged social and educational background that would give them this identity. The second implication is that since it was the British who provided the colonial administration in the country before independence, and who had initiated the original economic development of sorts, then the British firms operating in the country would have developed the African managers on the basis of British methods and ideals. A brief examination of this background development is necessary.

Ord (1962) has noted that it was Britain who led the way with investment into Kenya after 1945, and despite the later arrival of multi-national corporations from other countries, it was British multi-nationals who featured prominently among them (National Christian Council of Kenya 1968). British rule and British investment ensured, as Amsden (1971) has observed, an importation of British industrial relations. Trade unions in Kenya were illegal up to 1943, and subsequent suppression of political trade union activity was only relaxed when the authorities became convinced that there must be more enlightened methods of management than the authoritarian systems which had contributed to the creation of Mau Mau. The Association of Commercial and Industrial Employers (ACIE), later known as the Federation of Kenya Employers (FKE) was set up in 1956 to help "build up the whole broad future of industrial relations in East Africa."[8] Amsden notes that the ACIE was viewed as the agency to 'take the sting out' of labour cost competition, and in fact only encouraged the further growth of unions to reduce the chances of further political unrest by offering 'bread and butter' concessions. The personnel policies of the business firms in the area of labour management "relied on coercion as much as persuasion and economic incentives" (Henley 1976), although after the collapse of Mau Mau they become more paternalistic as employers tried to undermine any mobilisation of worker discontent behind the struggle for independence. The subsequent encouragement of multi-national business firms to set up in Kenya, and their self-imposed checks (Amsden 1971) on benevolence ensured that, in the absence of strong unions, the situation remained paternalistic both up to independence and after it.

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8. Sir Philip Rogers, "Presidential Address to ACIE," 11th February 1957, (FKE files).

It might be accurate to say, therefore, that British administrative control, British investment, and British industrial relations policies, imported as they were into Kenya, influenced subsequent Kenyan economic development to the extent that the local management created after independence was so heavily moulded to British or Western ideals and standards that it was unable to develop a style or character of its own.

It has been argued that managerial practice is situationally based, but in Kenya there is a case for maintaining that Kenyan management has never been allowed to develop its own style because of the historical reasons discussed, and because the policies of the post-colonial government with its reliance on Western capital maintained a strong degree of Western control over the economy. Such a comment would probably also have relevance to the wider African context (Onyemelukwe 1973).

Summary

Many of the writers on economic development have acknowledged the role of the human resource and the importance of management. Human resource development, or the development of human capital, is concerned with the betterment of the education, the skills and the productive capacities of people in a society, and is generally agreed to contribute towards economic growth and development.

However, despite the attention paid by experts to the industrialising process in developing countries, and the attention that they have also devoted to manpower planning, there has been scant emphasis on the role of management. Its place has been acknowledged, but its processes have been overlooked. What Prasad and

Negandhi call "managerialism" in the sense of a significant input in economic development strategies has until fairly recently been largely ignored.

A possible exception to this was the convergence theorists who did pay note to the role of management, but not in the sense of elucidating better developmental strategies. Their main theme was a futuristic view of society in which management was seen primarily as a professionalised body with a universal ethos which transcended local culture. Other writers on management have been divided in their approach to managerial practice, some claiming that management is consistent in its approach in different societies, others claiming that it is situationally based. The differences seem to arise according to which aspect of management happens to be emphasised. When it is viewed as an economic resource management is seen as a universal profession, and as a system with a consistent logic. Management viewed as a class is observed as being subject to cultural variation. Management as an authority system is observed as being affected by attitudes to authority, leadership, and social patterns.

Those writers, Burnham particularly, who have looked at management in terms of class have been largely discredited, and the point has been advanced that at the most it is merely a subclass, connected closely with the owning class.

In the Kenyan context of fairly recent independence and industrial development, the managerial group forms an interesting subject of study. To the extent that Kenya's pre-independence economic growth, and much of its post-independence growth too, has been linked to Britain and the Western capitalist countries, the development of her own managers in class terms may also have been influenced by these historical and economic factors. In turn, the background characteristics of the managers could well be influencing their leadership styles and their effectiveness as an economic resource. It therefore remains to examine the development of the Kenyan economy, and to note the effect of its socio-economic objectives upon the role of management.

# CHAPTER II

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE KENYAN ECONOMY

### Introduction

This chapter traces the development of Kenya from its initial associations with Europe through to independence and its aftermath. In particular, the examination of development policies since 1963 and their effect upon population, incomes and business development is designed to evaluate the extent to which Kenya may be considered to be economically independent, and to outline the environment within which local managers operate and are being developed.

### Historical Background

European contact with East Africa dates back to the 15th century and the voyage of Vasco da Gama from Western Europe around Southern and Eastern Africa to India in 1498. Portugese influence in the East African area lasted until 1740, the critical factor in its decline being the capture of Fort Jesus at Mombasa by the Arabs in 1698.

The middle of the 19th century saw imperial encroachment by Western European nations in the area, the first arrivals being British officials of the Egyptian Government who advanced up the Nile in 1857. The subsequent scramble for Africa saw the rival territorial claims of the Europeans settled by the Treaty of Berlin of 1885, and East Africa became divided between Great Britain and Germany. The Anglo-German agreement of 1886 resulted in Tanganyika being gained by Germany (later lost to Britain as a result of the 1914-1918 War), and in 1890 the Germans relinquished their claims on Zanzibar, Uganda and Kenya.

By the turn of the 19th century, conditions were sufficiently settled for Europeans to start entering the East African territories. One estimate put the number of Europeans and Eurasians in Kenya at 391 in 1897, and at 506 Europeans in 1901. A South African influx in 1904, the opening of the highland area west of the Rift Valley in 1908-1909, and the soldier-settler scheme of 1919-1921 increased the number over the years. The European element was overwhelmingly British, although it also comprised South Africans of Boer ancestry, Greeks, Italians, Scandinavians and Central Europeans.

The pioneers were usually farmers or administrators, but over the years they were joined by the professionals and other specialists necessary to serve an agricultural and later industrialising community. With their superior technical skills, better education, and capital at their disposal, they dominated the economic scene for many years, supported and upheld by Asians in clerical jobs and artisan trades, and by Africans who provided the unskilled labour.

The existence of the Asian labour force originated with the building of the Mombasa-Nairobi-Kampala railway line, a project for which they were specially imported from India. In Kenya in 1895 there were already over 13,000 Asians, most of them labourers recruited for the railway construction which was then just commencing. Of the 32,000 indentured, only 6,724 stayed on in Kenya (Yash Ghai and Dharam Ghai 1971), 16,132 returned to India, 2,493 died, and 6,454 were invalided home. The majority of the Asian community came later on their own initiative as ***dukawallas*** (shopowners), or as shop assistants, clerks and artisans. They ultimately moved into the lower ranks of the public services, as well as establishing themselves as traders and artisans, setting up in the process a stratification of labour in which they were below the Europeans but above the Africans. By carrying trade into the more remote parts of Kenya they formed an important link in the passage of African-produced crops from producer to African consumer, to the large wholesalers, or for export.

During the colonial era the European settlers became entrenched in the "White Highlands" and enjoyed dominant political influence thanks to government policies on land, labour, and the distribution of services, by which they were favoured at the expense of Africans and Asians. The latter were banned from managerial and administrative positions, and even by the time of *Uhuru* (Independence) in 1963 there were very few Asians holding significant managerial posts in the private sector. Colonial policies split the Kenyan economy by allowing the Europeans to occupy the top stratum of the income scale, the Asians the middle, and the Africans the bottom. This was accompanied by encouraging the entry of Europeans into farming, enabling extensive farming by them on the best land to generate inter-war economic growth, and resulting in wealth for themselves and income for the government. The Asians fulfilled their secondary role in trading, and the Africans, whose sole land ownership was confined to the reserves, supplied the labour to maintain the system. European economic dominance was maintained by legislation preventing Asians from owning land and Africans from growing cash crops. Thus the

European presence created a number of social and economic grievances which led the Africans, as early as the 1920s, to demand a share of the political power. The Kikuyu, the largest African tribe, felt the European impact the most strongly and suffered the most restrictions from their presence, and it was from this source that the militant "Mau Mau" movement originated in the early 1950s.

Although the British military campaign against the Mau Mau succeeded, the political victory was gained by the latter, and Independence was thus hastened. The Lyttleton Commission of 1954 provided for multi-racial government, although European leadership was still paramount, but the Lancaster House Conference of 1960 imposed the principle of majority rule and ultimate independence for Kenya. The nationalist movement which took the country to independence in December 1963 had overwhelming support, and the party of government ever since then has been the Kenya African National Union (KANU) under the leadership of Jomo Kenyatta.

## The People, Employment, and Incomes

The 1974-78 Development Plan (Government Printer, Nairobi, 1974) indicated that the population of Kenya was growing at about 3.5 per cent per year, and in 1974 it was estimated at approximately 12.9 millions. Apart from immigrants from Europe and the Indian sub-continent the peoples of Kenya belong to four of the linguistically-defined ethnic groups of Africa, though these are not always easy to isolate, nor are they confined to specific geographical regions. The Bantu are most numerous, and include the Kikuyu, the Baluhya, the Kisii and the Kamba, as well as several kindred ethnic groups of the plateau and the coastal region. The Nilotic Luo from Kisumu and Lake Victoria comprise several ethnic units of which the Luo are most well-known. The Nilo-Hamitic group includes the traditionally pastoral groups of the Masai in the south, Nandis, Kalenjin and Kipsigis of the Western Escarpment and Turkana in the north-west. The remaining group is made up of nomadic Hamitic Somalis. As will be seen from Table 2.1 the Africans made up 98.1 per cent of the population in 1969, and the non-Africans the remaining 1.9 per cent, of which the largest single group was the Asians who comprised 1.3 per cent.

TABLE 2.1

POPULATION OF KENYA FOR 1962 AND 1969
BY TRIBE AND RACE (IN '000s)

| Tribe and Race / Year | 1962 | 1969 |
|---|---|---|
| Kikuyu | 1,642 | 2,202 |
| Luo | 1,148 | 1,522 |
| Luhya | 1,086 | 1,453 |
| Kamba | 933 | 1,198 |
| Other | 3,557 | 4,358 |
| Total African/Somali | 8,366 | 10,733 |
| Asian | 176 | 139 |
| European | 56 | 41 |
| Arab | 34 | 28 |
| Other | 4 | 2 |
| Total non-African | 270 | 210 |
| Total Population | 8,636 | 10,943 |

Sources: 1962: 1962 Census and Annual Estimates
1969: 1969 Census

The majority of Africans have been traditionally engaged in subsistence agriculture, that is the form of agriculture which is not regarded as generating a cash market transaction. Since 1963 this situation has been changing as a result of land transfer programmes which have enabled Africans to buy up some of the former European mixed farms on smallholder settlement schemes. The urban-rural distribution of the population at the time of the 1962 Census was as shown in Table 2.2. In 1969 the urban population was 1,079,908, or 9.9 per cent of the total population, which means that it has been growing at a rate of about 7 per cent per annum against a rate of about 3 per cent per annum for the rural population.

TABLE 2.2

URBAN/RURAL POPULATION BY RACE (1962)

| Race \ Population | Urban | | Rural | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % |
| African-Somali | 491,739 | 5.3 | 7,924,203 | 94.7 |
| Asian | 164,992 | 93.4 | 11,621 | 6.6 |
| European | 34,865 | 62.5 | 20,894 | 37.5 |
| Arab | 26,030 | 76.5 | 8,018 | 28.5 |
| Other | 3,319 | 85.1 | 582 | 14.9 |
| Total | 670,945 | 7.8 | 7,965,318 | 92.2 |

Source : 1962 Census

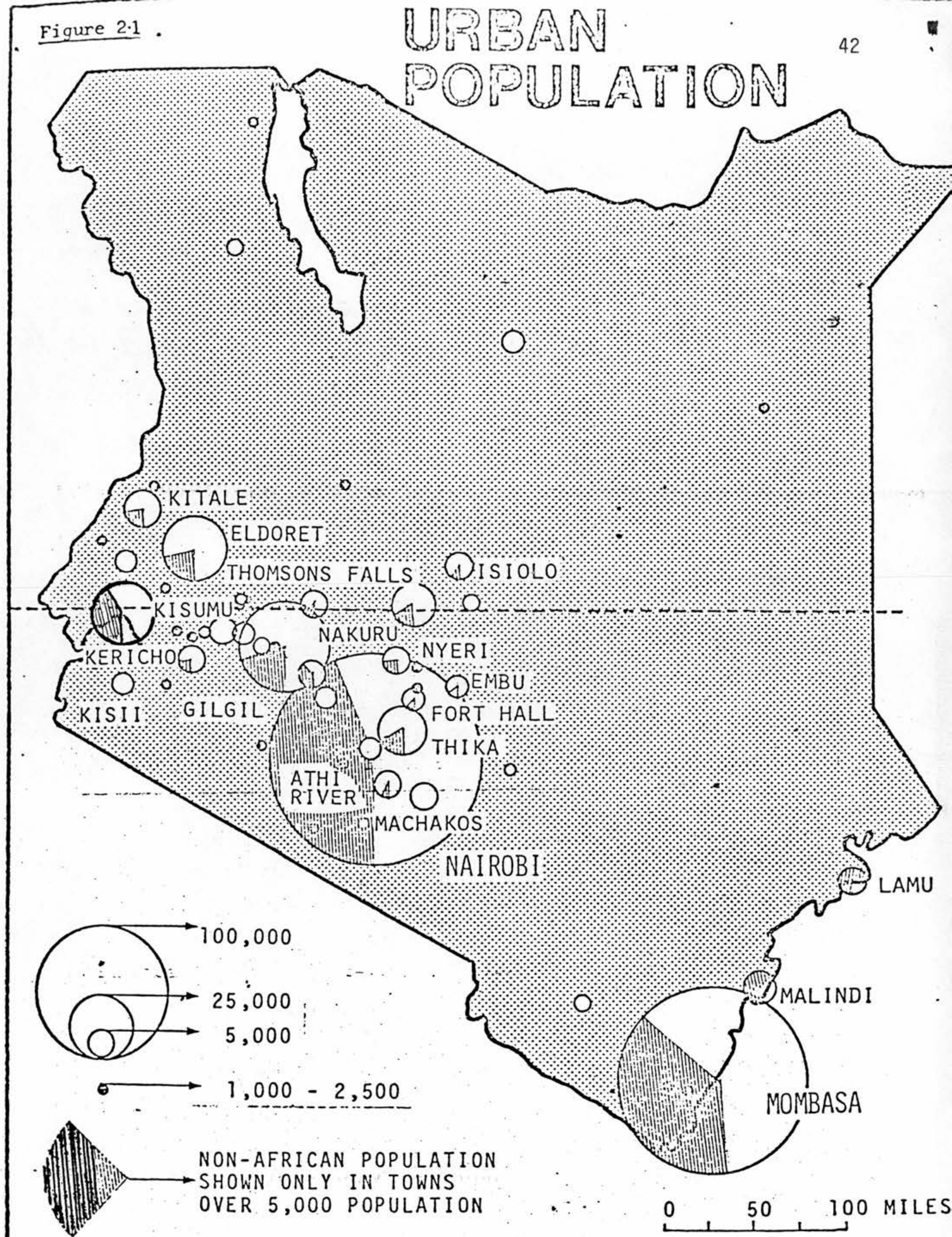
In addition to the rapid rate of population increase, urbanisation has also undergone changes in composition since 1948 when 71 per cent of the African population of Nairobi was adult males;

by 1962 this figure was down to 47 per cent, and it was estimated at 35 per cent in 1969 (ILO, Geneva, 1972, Table 13, p. 54). In 1962 the ratio of women and children to adult males had reached 1.06:1, in 1969 it was 1.84:1, and it is expected to grow progressively to meet the national average (for women and children in relation to males over 15 years) of 2.92:1. Thus the 7 per cent per annum rate of population increase can be partly attributed to the increasing size and permanence of the urban family as well as to rural-urban migration.

Geographically, apart from the coastal strip, the majority of urban centres in Kenya are concentrated in a region which is located north-westwards from Nairobi to Kisumu. The main urban centres of population as given by the Census of 1969 were Nairobi (about half a million people in the urban region), Mombasa (approximately a quarter of a million), and in descending order (with none of them comprising more than 50,000 inhabitants) Nakuru, Kisumu, Thika, Eldoret, Nanyuki, Kitale, Malindi, Kericho and Nyeri. As will be observed from the map (Figure 2.1) all these towns, with the exception of Mombasa on the coast, Thika (20 miles north-east of Nairobi), and Nyeri and Nankuyi (both north-east of Nairobi at about 100 miles), fall into this south-east to north-west region. The overwhelming importance of Nairobi in the highland region will be observed from the fact that it is ten times larger than the next largest town.

A growing problem has emerged in the urban areas as a result of the flow of job seekers exceeding the number of job opportunities available (the ILO Mission Report put the ratio of seekers to

Figure 2·1




FROM "THE GEOGRAPHY OF MODERNIZATION IN KENYA"
BY EDWARD SOJA

opportunities at 3:1, p. 49). The ILO Mission also classified employment in Kenyan urban areas into three categories - formal sector employment, informal sector employment,[1] and unemployment ... "the first has been enumerated, so that no further estimation is needed, By their nature, estimation of the latter two is very difficult." (ILO, Geneva, 1972, p. 5). Table 2.3 summarises some of the data on employment in the formal sector in urban areas from

TABLE 2.3

URBAN EMPLOYMENT IN THE FORMAL SECTOR
BY CITIZENSHIP AND RACE 1969 (IN '000s)

| Race / Town | African | | Asian | | European | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Kenyan | Non-Kenyan | Kenyan | Non-Kenyan | Kenyan | Non-Kenyan | |
| Nairobi | 132.2 | 1.1 | 5.4 | 14.2 | 0.6 | 10.1 | 163.6 |
| Mombasa | 51.0 | 0.5 | 2.5 | 2.3 | - | 0.9 | 57.2 |
| Nakuru | 13.0 | - | 0.2 | 0.8 | - | 0.3 | 14.3 |
| Kisumu | 12.1 | - | 0.4 | 0.6 | - | - | 13.1 |
| Eldoret | 8.8 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.3 | - | 0.2 | 9.5 |
| Thika | 5.9 | - | - | 0.1 | - | 0.1 | 6.1 |
| Nyeri | 5.1 | - | - | 0.1 | - | - | 5.2 |
| Other | 34.2 | - | - | 0.5 | - | 0.3 | 35.0 |
| Total | 262.3 | 1.7 | 8.6 | 18.9 | 0.6 | 11.9 | 304.0 |

Source: Statistical Abstract 1970 (Table 20b).

1. "Within the latter part of the informal sector are employed a variety of carpenters, masons, tailors and other tradesmen, as well as cooks and taxi-drivers, offering virtually the full-range of basic skills needed to provide goods and services for a large though often poor section of the population." The group also includes, "petty traders, street hawkers, shoe-shine boys and other groups 'under-employed'." (ILO, Geneva, Mission Report, 1972, p. 5).

which it will be observed that Nairobi and Mombasa together account for 70 per cent of the Africans, 89 per cent of the Asians, and 86 per cent of the Europeans in urban wage employment. Given this disproportionate position, it seems natural that these towns should be magnets for migration, attracting many people most of whom are subsequently absorbed into the informal sector, or into unemployment. The rate of growth of the leading towns will be seen in Table 2.4, and this illustrates the dramatic rise in the growth rate of Nairobi as well as the decline of the growth rate of most of the other towns.

TABLE 2.4

AVERAGE ANNUAL GROWTH RATE OF THE AFRICAN POPULATION IN THE MAIN TOWNS 1948/62 AND 1962/69

| Towns | 1948-1962 % Growth | 1962-1969[a] % Growth |
|---|---|---|
| Nairobi | 6.5 | 15.2 |
| Kisumu | 7.2 | 8.7 |
| Mombasa | 7.1 | 7.6 |
| Thika | 10.5 | 5.6 |
| Nyeri | 9.1 | 5.2 |
| Nakuru | 6.3 | 4.9 |
| Nanyuki | 8.0 | 3.0 |
| Eldoret | 7.6 | 0.4 |

Note: [a]Boundary changes have artificially inflated the figures for certain towns, particularly Nairobi which after adjustment for boundary annexations is actually about 10.5 per cent; also Mombasa and Kisumu which for the same reasons would be reduced to about 5 per cent each.

Source: Population Census 1969, Vol. III.

In the rural areas the employment problem is experienced most by the very small farmers and their families who live in areas which before independence were designated as African reserves. Because the population density in these areas is high in relation to the amount of good farming land available, such farmers lack the ability and/or opportunity to raise the productivity of this land. They therefore exist in extreme poverty unless they have some means of obtaining additional income. Those who have income remitted from the towns by family members working there,[2] or who manage to obtain some supplementary occupation will alleviate their conditions, but it is among this overall group that the employment, or underemployment, problems of Kenya exist.

Such problems are exacerbated by the seasonal nature of labour demand and supply in a climate where planting, weeding, and harvesting are determined by the climate, because at such times the labour normally available for this type of casual work will be busy on its own *shambas,* or smallholdings.

The structure of income distribution is shown in Table 2.5, which indicates that of an estimated 1.94 million households, nearly 1.5 million earn below K£120 per year (this is 77.1 per cent of the total), and that many of these are in the rural areas. A comparison of rural and urban areas is made in Table 2.6 in which it will be observed that the statutory minimum wages in urban areas were well above the incomes of all groups in the rural areas except for

2. The ILO Mission Report (p. 37) put this total remittance at K£18 million per year.

TABLE 2.5

AN INDICATIVE SIZE DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME AMONG HOUSEHOLDS, 1969

| Income Class (£ per year) | Group | Number of Households ('000) |
|---|---|---|
| Equal or less than £20 | Smallholders, pastoralists in arid and semi-arid areas; the unemployed and landless | 275 |
| £21 - 60 | Workers on smallholdings and rural non-agricultural enterprises, smallholders, employed and self-employed in informal sector | 945 |
| £61 - 120 | Employees on large farms, unskilled modern sector employees, some self-employed in rural non-agricultural activities | 275 |
| £121 - 200 | Unskilled workers in modern non-agricultural sector, many small-holders. Most owners of rural non-agricultural enterprises | 200 |
| £201 - 600 | Semi-skilled workers in formal sector, large number of small-holders, many owners of rural non-agricultural enterprises | 180 |
| £601 - 1,000 | Less prosperous large farmers, many middle-level manpower posts, some owners of modern sector enterprises | 40 |
| £1,001 and more | Large farmers, high level manpower, owners of larger enterprises, skilled workers | 25 |
| | | 1,940 |

Source: Development Plan 1974-1978, Table 3.4, p. 96.

the better-off smallholders and owners of non-agricultural rural enterprises. In addition, the average wage employment income in

TABLE 2.6

AVERAGE[1] INCOMES OF SELECTED GROUPS IN RURAL AND URBAN AREAS, 1969 (K£s PER ANNUM)

| | Adults | Men | Women |
|---|---|---|---|
| Rural | | | |
| Wage employment:[2] | | | |
| Large farms[3] | 68 | 73 | 46 |
| Small farms[3] | 38 | 41 | 34 |
| Non-agricultural enterprises[4] | 45 | 47 | 34 |
| Self-employment: | | | |
| Smallholders[3] | 113 | n/a | n/a |
| Owners of non-agricultural enterprises[4] | 130 | n/a | n/a |
| Urban | | | |
| Wage employment:[2] | | | |
| Formal Sector Nairobi[3] | 443 | 471 | 297 |
| (Statutory minimum wage in the formal sector, Nairobi)[3] | n/a | 106 | 84 |
| Informal Urban[5] | 40 | n/a | n/a |
| Self-employment: | | | |
| Informal urban[5] | 60 | n/a | n/a |

Notes: n/a = not available
(1) There are often wide variations in averages shown. This applies particularly to smallholders.
(2) Regular employees
(3) Source: Statistical Abstract and Economic Survey 1969 and 1970
(4) Source: Survey of non-agricultural rural enterprises 1969
(5) Mission's estimates

Source: ILO Mission Report (1972), p. 15.

TABLE 2.7

ESTIMATED EMPLOYMENT 1968-1974

| | Average Growth Rates 1968-1974 | | | Total Employment 000's | | Wage Employment (000's) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | GDP | Total Employment | Wage Employment | 1968 | 1974 | 1968 | 1974 |
| Forestry | 8.0 | 6.7 | 6.7 | 24.4 | 36.0 | 20.3 | 30.0 |
| Fishing | 7.9 | 5.0 | 4.8 | 14.3 | 19.0 | 6.4 | 8.5 |
| Mining | 6.9 | 4.0 | 4.5 | 6.1 | 8.0 | 4.6 | 6.0 |
| Manufacturing | 9.2 | 4.0 | 4.5 | 109.6 | 139.0 | 82.7 | 107.5 |
| Building and Construction | 9.7 | 10.0 | 10.0 | 37.1 | 66.0 | 34.4 | 61.0 |
| Electricity and Water | 8.2 | 1.8 | 1.9 | 6.1 | 7.0 | 5.8 | 6.5 |
| Transport | 9.8 | 8.2 | 8.2 | 56.7 | 91.0 | 55.0 | 88.0 |
| Trade | 6.4 | 3.2 | 4.0 | 113.3 | 137.0 | 56.9 | 72.0 |
| Building Insurance etc. | 9.0 | 7.0 | 7.2 | 9.2 | 14.0 | 8.9 | 13.5 |
| Sewers | 8.8 | 6.0 | 6.2 | 77.1 | 110.0 | 58.6 | 84.0 |
| Private Households | 6.6 | 5.0 | 5.0 | 37.6 | 50.0 | 37.6 | 50.0 |
| General Government | 8.0 | 5.0 | 5.0 | 129.1 | 173.0 | 129.1 | 173.0 |
| TOTAL NON-AGRICULTURAL ECONOMY | 7.7 | 5.1 | 5.8 | 620.6 | 850.0 | 500.3 | 700.0 |
| Agriculture | 5.2 | 2.7 | 4.5 | 3,679.4 | 4,300.0 | 556.6 | 725.0 |
| TOTAL ECONOMY | 6.7 | 3.1 | 5.1 | 4,300.0 | 5,150.0 | 1,056.9 | 1,425.0 |

Source: Development Plan 1970-1974, Table 4.1, p. 108.

urban areas was over four times the statutory minimum, though this must be offset by the higher cost of urban living and the fact that many rural employees can supplement their incomes by growing food on their own smallholdings. It will also be noted that the earnings of the urban self-employed were well above the earnings of all wage employees in the rural sector except employees on large farms.

The Kenyan government claimed to have plans to meet these problems, and it aimed to increase the number of wage paid jobs by the order of 375,000 during the period 1970-1974 (Development Plan 1970-1974, Government Printer, Nairobi, paras, 4.20-4.21, pp. 107-108); during the period 1972-1974, wage employment did grow by 106,500 to 826,300, but by 1975 it had dropped back to 809,400 (Economic Survey 1976, Table 5.2, p. 40). The target for agricultural jobs represented 175,000 of the 375,000. If plans were to have been achieved during this period, the total number of adult men and women working on the land would have been 4.4 millions by 1974. It was on the basis of these facts that the government claimed to have made the cornerstone of its strategy the development of the rural sector, and agriculture in particular. This was, indeed, little more than a claim. Its overall policies implied an urban bias rather than a rural one (see Leys, 1975, pp. 230-231), and in fact the Special Rural Development Programme of the late 1960's was abandoned in 1971. Table 2.7 shows the projected rates of growth in each industry compared to the projected growth rates of production. Table 2.8 shows the actual employment by 1972 and the estimates for 1978 in which it will be noted that the estimated total employment for 1974 (5.15 million above) was exceeded by 1972 (5.36 million). The target for 1978 has been put at 6.5 million working on an estimated annual rate of growth of 3.2 per cent.

TABLE 2.8

EMPLOYMENT 1972 AND PROJECTED 1978 ('000)

| Sector | Employment 1972 | Projected Employment 1978 | Annual Growth Rate 1971-78 % |
|---|---|---|---|
| Modern Sector: | | | |
| Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing | 245.9 | 281.6 | |
| Mining and Quarrying | 3.3 | 10.0 | |
| Construction | 35.5 | 51.3 | |
| Manufacturing | 103.9 | 158.5 | |
| Commerce | 63.5 | 88.7 | |
| Electricity, Gas and Water | 5.6 | 7.1 | |
| Transport | 46.2 | 69.3 | |
| Services | 81.5 | 104.4 | |
| General Government | 177.0 | 224.4 | |
| Total: Modern Sector | 762.4 | 995.3 | 4.5 |
| Rural Non-Agricultural Activities<br>Small Farms and Settlement Schemes | 222 | 288 | 4.4 |
| Other Wage Employment | 390 | 460 | 2.8 |
| Self-Employment and Family Workers | 3,875 | 4,570 | 2.8 |
| Urban Informal Sector | 108 | 166 | 7.5 |
| Total | 5,357 | 6,479 | |

Source: Development Plan 1974-78, Tables 3.2 and 3.3 pp. 94-95.

The Development of the Economy

Although Kenya has a government which, since independence, has made a public commitment to "African Socialism", it has nevertheless pursued policies which are manifestly capitalist. The tactics of this capitalist strategy have been seen by Sandbrook (1975) as four, viz. (i) maximisation of production in preference to social equality, (ii) reliance upon private property and the motivation of profit, (iii) reliance on foreign capital and expertise, and (iv) the official encouragement of indigenous entrepreneurship in urban and rural areas. This policy led to a substantial growth rate which between 1963 and 1968 averaged between 6.3 per cent and 6.9 per cent with an average annual increase of 6.3 per cent.[3] However, by 1975 this rate had slowed down, if constant (1972) price measurement is used (see Table 2.9), to 3.5 per cent, against a planned target of 7.4 per cent. The results obtained have been the result of the development of a dependent capitalism (Sandbrook 1975) in which Kenya has relied upon foreign capital and resources and has concentrated on trading with a few Western countries by supplying primary products (mainly tea and coffee) in return for manufactures. This dependent economy is largely the result of virtually unchanged policies developing from colonial times, and it is the colonial period which now merits some attention.

The colonial economy was built around the immigrant white settlers who were mainly based in the 'white highlands' where they bought land from the colonial administration at nominal prices,

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3. Development Plan 1970-1974, esp. Table 2.5, p. 29.

TABLE 2.9

GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT: PERCENTAGE RATES OF GROWTH AND THE PLAN TARGETS, 1972-1975

Percentages

| | CURRENT PRICES | | | | CONSTANT (1972) PRICES | | | | Plan Targets |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1972-1973 | 1973-1974 | 1974-1975* | 1972-1975 Cumulative | 1972-1973 | 1973-1974 | 1974-1975* | 1972-1975 Cumulative | |
| A. OUTSIDE MONETARY ECONOMY | | | | | | | | | |
| Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing | 4.4 | 13.3 | 31.0 | 15.7 | -0.4 | 3.1 | 0.5 | 1.0 | - |
| Building and Construction | 17.2 | 7.6 | 6.1 | 10.2 | 3.9 | 1.6 | 3.1 | 2.9 | - |
| Water | 3.2 | 2.3 | 4.4 | 3.2 | 1.6 | 1.4 | 1.9 | 1.6 | - |
| Ownership of Dwellings | 18.6 | 11.6 | 8.3 | 12.7 | 4.3 | 4.3 | 4.2 | 4.2 | - |
| TOTAL | 6.8 | 12.3 | 25.7 | 14.7 | 0.4 | 3.0 | 1.1 | 1.6 | 3.0 |
| B. MONETARY ECONOMY | | | | | | | | | |
| 1. Enterprises and Non-Profit Institutions | | | | | | | | | |
| Agriculture | 13.8 | 14.6 | 4.7 | 11.1 | 2.5 | -0.6 | -1.0 | 0.3 | 6.7 |
| Forestry | 20.3 | 26.9 | 5.5 | 17.2 | 11.5 | 12.4 | - | 7.7 | 9.0 |
| Fishing | 6.3 | 8.2 | 16.6 | 10.2 | -7.2 | -5.1 | 6.3 | -2.0 | 5.0 |
| Mining and Quarrying | 43.5 | -1.9 | 10.5 | 16.0 | 44.4 | -9.8 | 2.8 | 10.2 | 16.9 |
| Manufacturing | 19.2 | 28.7 | 18.5 | 22.1 | 13.4 | 5.8 | 4.0 | 7.7 | 10.2 |
| Electricity and Water | 4.6 | 11.7 | 17.4 | 11.1 | 3.4 | 9.4 | 10.4 | 7.7 | 9.0 |
| Building and Construction | 8.3 | 12.1 | 4.9 | 8.3 | -0.8 | -9.7 | -6.0 | -5.6 | 7.2 |
| Wholesale, Retail Trade, Restaurants and Hotels | 21.5 | 44.0 | 3.8 | 22.1 | 15.2 | 2.0 | -7.6 | 2.6 | 7.2 |
| Transport, Storage and Communications | 16.5 | 20.6 | 8.9 | 15.2 | 10.4 | -1.2 | -6.0 | 1.0 | 7.2 |
| Finance, Insurance, Real Estate and Business Services | 17.0 | 27.3 | 17.6 | 20.5 | 10.5 | 10.7 | 3.9 | 8.3 | |
| Ownership of Dwellings | 11.0 | 17.1 | 30.0 | 19.1 | 5.2 | 2.6 | 3.0 | 3.5 | 7.2 |
| Other Services | 17.8 | 28.0 | 12.8 | 19.4 | -0.9 | 15.7 | 1.0 | 5.1 | |
| TOTAL | 16.1 | 24.4 | 11.0 | 17.0 | 8.2 | 2.3 | -0.8 | 3.2 | - |
| 2. Private Households (Domestic Services) | 20.1 | 18.2 | 21.9 | 20.0 | 11.1 | 13.4 | 15.0 | 13.2 | 7.2 |
| 3. Producers of Government Services | | | | | | | | | |
| Public Administration | 1.2 | 15.4 | - | - | -1.9 | 5.3 | - | - | - |
| Defence | 5.8 | 31.0 | - | - | 4.1 | 20.4 | - | - | - |
| Education | 11.2 | 26.0 | - | - | 6.2 | 21.3 | - | - | - |
| Health | 3.1 | 15.7 | - | - | -1.1 | 5.4 | - | - | - |
| Agricultural Services | 3.4 | 11.1 | - | - | 0.5 | 4.1 | - | - | - |
| Other Services | 5.1 | 13.7 | - | - | 3.0 | 6.4 | - | - | - |
| TOTAL | 6.0 | 19.7 | 16.6 | 14.0 | 2.2 | 12.2 | 5.0 | 6.3 | 10.1 |
| TOTAL PRODUCT MONETARY ECONOMY | 14.1 | 23.5 | 12.2 | 16.5 | 7.0 | 4.4 | 0.6 | 3.8 | 8.4 |
| TOTAL GROSS PRODUCT AT FACTOR COST | 12.4 | 21.1 | 14.8 | 16.0 | 5.6 | 4.1 | 0.7 | 3.5 | 7.4 |
| GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT PER CAPITA | 8.7 | 17.1 | 10.6 | 12.1 | 2.0 | 0.6 | -3.0 | -0.1 | - |

*Provisional

Source: Economic Survey, 1976, Table 2.2, p. 14.

investing their capital and skills in return for the land and cheap labour. The Africans were compelled to provide the latter by colonial policies which forced them by taxation and the denial of good land or crops to work for Europeans, or alternatively to stay on their 'reserves' (Dilley 1966, Leys 1924, MacGregor Ross 1927). The result was a 'spectacular distortion' (Leys 1975) of the Kenyan economic structure which lasted until 1939, by which time African production had been reduced from accounting for 70 per cent of the exports in 1912-1913, to less than 20 per cent by 1928, and to progressively less than this as the populations of the 'reserves' concentrated on subsistence farming to support their increasing size.

The basis of the economy was one of monopolies (Leys 1975) although there was some limited competition between Indian importers and traders, Indian contractors and other small service businessmen, and European importers. Virtually everything else was monopolised - land, agricultural labour, government services, crops, banks and transportation (Leys 1975). Industrial growth remained limited as long as Britain continued to use Kenya as a market for home industries, although a few small factories in Nairobi and Mombasa produced some clothing, footware, furniture and aluminium holloware (Sandbrook 1975). There was an industrial expansion after 1945 when a few familiar overseas names like Portland Cement (1952), Whitbreads (who joined City Breweries in 1963), Allsops Breweries (1951, later taken over by Kenyan Breweries), British Oxygen (1946) and Metal Box (1948) joined some of the older concerns already established (these included East African Industries, part of Unilever, and Bata Shoe). Between 1946 and 1958 some 3,380 private companies were established in Kenya (van Zwanenberg and King 1975) valued at £120 millions, many of which were branches of foreign international industrial complexes.

The character of Kenyan industry changed over the years. Before 1939, industries were primarily those processing such agricultural products as coffee, tea and sisal, and manufacturing agricultural products for the domestic European market. After the mid-1950s there was considerable growth in those industries [illegible] manufacturing goods that were formerly imported;

> "All the major industrial sectors, including the food processing industries, the industries producing beverages, tobacco, textiles and chemicals, the industries processing wool and those processing metal, have been concerned with the local market. Even if one takes the chemical industries as being the most likely to fall outside the general pattern, the goods produced by them (they include matches, pharmaceuticals, fertilisers, glass, soap, wattle bark extract, paint, pyrethrum, cement and petroleum) have still been largely sold for domestic consumption. Nearly all foreign investment in industry has been concentrated on light manufacturing industries, consumer industries and on processing industries. What is missing is the development of any form of capital goods industry such as the machine tools industry. The capital goods industry not only makes the machines for the other industries and so stimulates further production - called forward linkages - but should also stimulate technical knowledge, the use of local raw materials and transport - called backward linkages." (van Zwanenberg and King 1975)

As van Zwanenberg has further argued, the policies of overseas-based concerns have not contributed to rapid industrial growth because, unless they are partially or fully indigenously owned, they are most likely to want to export some or all of their profits, import the necessary technology with little consideration for its suitability, import raw materials from other subsidiaries of the same parent if they are not locally available, and provide most of the top management and methods of company organisation. The consequences of this are an exacerbation of the inequalities between rich and poor, with a growth of wealth for the few while the mass remain in poverty.

Thus, the ILO Mission report (ILO, Geneva 1972) was able to comment that by 1960 "inequality was deeply embedded within the economy", with Europeans owning the best land, Europeans dominating production, and Europeans commanding vastly superior salaries to anyone else. They controlled urban development in their own favour, their overseas-based firms already had natural advantages as a result of both colonial government concessions and knowing the community in which they were operating, and they had made a considerable impact on Kenyan attitudes;

> "Kenyan attitudes and aspirations had perhaps been moulded more than was realised by the style and ethos of the divided economy, by the colonial experience of having to accomodate oneself and to work within the existing structure of the economy rather than to change it. Thus when national independence was achieved the political aim of taking over the economy became merged almost imperceptibly with national aspirations to take over the jobs, positions and life styles which the economy made possible."[4]

This was the situation which the government of Kenya inherited in 1963, and within which it had to choose an appropriate development strategy. The Sessional Paper No. 10 (1965) outlined a capitalist route, in which "growth ... is the first concern of planning" and in which the priority of growth was seen to take precedence over social equality.

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4. ILO, Geneva (1972), p. 87.

In order to support economic growth, the government placed considerable emphasis on the inflow of foreign private investment, aid and skilled personnel. Despite a policy of resettling landless Africans on former European land (the Million Acre Scheme), foreign control of the large coffee, tea and sisal estates was still extensive. Leys has commented;

> "the boundaries between the old 'large-farm' sector and the 'African land units', the one expatriate and capitalist, the other African and - at least till the 1950s - not only 'peasant' but 'poor peasant', were swiftly obliterated. In their place arose a new rural structure, predominantly occupied by Africans, with foreign-owned plantations and ranches still operating, much less visibly, though still more profitably, on the side-lines."[5]

and he went on to make the point that the large African farm owners were linked 'professionally, socially and economically' to the foreign capitalist enclave through borrowings from foreign banks, purchases from foreign equipment suppliers, and directorships in foreign companies.

In the manufacturing sector the picture was hardly different. Since independence, growth up to 1968 averaged about 6 per cent per annum, and in 1966 foreign capital was providing 57 per cent of Kenya's GDP, 72 per cent of profits before taxation, and about 60 per cent of total manufacturing investment (ILO 1972). The government made some moves to take an interest in new investments so that it would have a share in the profitability of those enterprises which enjoyed a high measure of protection. In 1966 it set

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5. Leys (1975), pp. 115-116.

up the Development Finance Company of Kenya Ltd. (DFCK), and reorganised the Industrial Development Corporation which became known as the Industrial and Commercial Development Corporation (ICDC).

The DFCK is concerned primarily in attracting large private investments, and up to 1969 had invested or committed itself to invest a total of K£2.9 million in 24 projects of which sugar production, textile manufacture and hotels accounted for 60 per cent of the total, while the remaining 40 per cent were in flour milling, metal products manufacture, food processing, timber and wood processing, vehicle assembly, engineering and insurance. Although the authorised capital of the DFCK was K£4 million, this was intended to be increased during the 1970-1974 period.

The ICDC's role has been mainly in the promotion of African industrial and commercial enterprise through the development of rural and other small-scale industries; this has been primarily through the provision of financial assistance and management services. Other activities include investments in large industrial projects with the objective of transferring their shareholdings to Kenyan citizens, and the development of industrial estates. It was proposed, during the 1968-1970 period, to establish five industrial estates located at Nairobi, Mombasa, Nakuru, Kisumu and Eldoret, but the programme proved to be too ambitious, and it was cut back to the first phase of the Nairobi Estate only. The 1970-1974 Plan revived the schemes, and by 1971 the Nairobi Estate had been extended and the Nakuru one was under construction. As the programme was designed for small urban producers who are close to establishing links with the modern sector, it was estimated by the ILO Mission (1972) that on the completion of the Nakuru project there would be some 65 to 70 workshops available in total, 45 to 50 of them in Nairobi.

Besides finance from ICDC and DFCK, funds have also been made available for Kenyan industrial development from the East African Development Bank (which is required under the East African Treaty to allocate 22½ per cent of its resources to Kenya). Major projects have also been funded by the African Development Bank, the International Finance Corporation, and the World Bank. Other external sources of finance have been the result of bilateral agreements, e.g. with the Commonwealth Development Corporation, as well as foreign governments and lending institutions. Of course, investment on a large scale invariably carries with it economic power and influence over policy, and the CDC, for example, has pursued a policy of ensuring wherever possible that one of its staff is placed on the board of directors of a company to whom an investment has been committed.

Despite government policies in this area, foreign money has a great deal of influence and power in Kenya, and Leys (1975, p. 132) observes that in relation to the total manufacturing and large-scale commercial assets of companies in Kenya ("worth something between £150 million and £200 million") the government had established no more than a "toehold" in the private sector.

## Foreign Investment

Other investment has been made by foreign-owned companies, and has been encouraged by the government since independence. The

Foreign Investment Protection Act of 1964 provided liberal guarantees in the shape of freedom to repatriate profits (in proportion to the foreign share of the equity), interest and repayments on foreign loan capital, and also "the approved proportion of the net proceeds of sale" if the organisation should decide to withdraw part of its investment. However, companies had to have an "approved status certificate" issued by the Ministry of Finance, and profit repatriation had to receive the approval of the Central Bank. Under Kenyan law, foreign companies may be public companies incorporated in Kenya, private companies (with restrictions on the number of directors), or branches of foreign enterprises.

The structure of foreign enterprise is quite complex. There are many private companies in the estates sector which are owned by foreigners, and a number of subsidiaries of foreign enterprises have also been set up as private companies (their accounts not being made public). Larger subsidiaries, particularly those with government equity participation, are public companies, though they are not necessarily quoted on the Nairobi Stock Exchange. In addition, a number of large holding companies have also taken over local firms. Thus, by 1967 only 7 of the top decision-makers (directors) were Kenyans, and only 4 of these were Africans (NCCK 1968).

There has been a considerable amount of foreign investment in manufacturing in Kenya. An UNCTAD paper of 1970 (Needleman, et al.) estimated that private long-term inflows (share capital and long-term loans) accounted for 35 per cent of capital expenditure in manufacturing in 1966, 33 per cent in 1967, and 42 per cent in 1968. Herman (1971) suggests that in 1967 and 1968 the local capital invested by foreign enterprise accounted for 12.5 per cent and 15 per cent respectively of total manufacturing investment, and when these figures are added to the UNCTAD ones it will be observed that projects involving foreign investment in these years accounted for between 57 and 60 per cent of the total manufacturing investment, even though, as the ILO Mission qualifies, this might be a crude method of measurement.

Table 2.10 indicates the scale of the role of foreign enterprises in gross product and in net profits before tax in 1967; the table distinguishes between those enterprises mainly or wholly owned by African citizens, and those mainly or wholly-owned by non-citizens. It shows that foreign busineeses accounted for 57 per cent of the gross product in 1967, and the indications are that this will be even higher now since there have been a number of sizeable foreign investments in recent years. Foreign companies also account for a disproportionately high share of the profits (73 per cent). The explanations for this may vary, and it is possible to put the reason down to being connected with the traditional capital intensity of foreign enterprise, better product differentiation and marketing, monopolistic advantages, or (as the ILO Mission suggests) to the fact that "the foreign-owned enterprises may have slightly oligopolistic market conditions in some of these (manufacturing) sectors, mainly owing to high levels of effective protection" (ILO Mission Report, p. 446). However, the conclusion is straightforward - foreign business controls a large part of the gross product, and an even larger part of the surplus in the manufacturing sector.

TABLE 2.10

SHARE OF FOREIGN-OWNED ENTERPRISES IN THE GROSS PRODUCT AND PROFITS BEFORE TAX OF MANUFACTURING FIRMS EMPLOYING OVER 50 WORKERS, BY INDUSTRY, 1967

| Industry | Gross product (£000s) of | | Foreign share (percentages) of | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | foreign -owned firms[1] | locally owned firms[2] | gross product | profit before tax |
| Meat products | - | 699 | 0 | 0 |
| Dairy products | - | 925 | 0 | 0 |
| Canned fruit and vegetables | 123 | 111 | 52 | -[3] |
| Grain mill products | 77 | 1,158 | 0.6 | 5.4 |
| Bakery products | 294 | 263 | 52 | 61 |
| Sugar and confectionery | 576 | 53 | 92 | -[3] |
| Miscellaneous foods | 384 | 54 | 87 | 97 |
| Beer, malt and tobacco | 1,705 | 2,658 | 39 | 31 |
| Soft drinks | 347 | 184 | 65 | 76 |
| Textiles | 890 | 87 | 91 | -[3] |
| Cord, rope and twine | 640 | - | 100 | 100 |
| Footwear, clothing and made-up textiles | 815 | 160 | 83 | -[4] |
| Sawn timber | 492 | 322 | 60 | 52 |
| Furniture and fixtures | 112 | 77 | 59 | -[4] |
| Paper and paper products | 569 | 101 | 85 | 76 |
| Printing and publishing- | - | - | - | - |
| Leather and rubber | 310 | - | 100 | 100 |
| Basic industrial chemicals and petroleum | - | - | - | - |
| Paint | 163 | - | 100 | 100 |
| Soap | 661 | 192 | 78 | 88 |
| Miscellaneous chemicals | 372 | - | 100 | 100 |
| Clay and glass products | 405 | - | 100 | 100 |
| Cement | 1,791 | - | 100 | 100 |
| Other non-metallic minerals | 50 | 39 | 56 | 30 |

TABLE 2.10 (continued)

| Industry | Gross product (£000s) of | | Foreign share (percentages) of | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | foreign-owned firms[1] | locally owned firms[2] | gross product | profit before tax |
| Metal products | 1,560 | 505 | 75 | 75 |
| Non-electrical machinery | 259 | 225 | 53 | 65 |
| Electrical machinery | 60 | 1,655 | 4 | 57 |
| Shipbuilding and ship repairs | 382 | 222 | 63 | 100 |
| Railway rolling stock | - | 2,079 | 0 | 0 |
| Motor vehicle bodies | - | - | - | - |
| Motor vehicle repairs | - | - | - | - |
| Aircraft repairs | - | - | - | - |
| Miscellaneous manufacturers | 177 | 78 | 69 | 13 |
| All industries[5] | 19,399 | 14,836 | 57 | 73 |

Note:
1. Firms mainly or wholly owned by foreigners.
2. Firms mainly or wholly owned by Kenyans.
3. In these sectors foreign-owned firms made losses.
4. In these sectors locally owned firms made losses.
5. Totals do not tally with sectoral data, because of problems we had in analysing some of the sectors. The totals can be taken to be reliable, however.

Source: ILO Mission Report, Table 73, p. 443.

## Urban and Rural Industrial Development

The distribution of the locations of the manufacturing sector throughout Kenya is discontinuous, but it tends to follow the north-west to south-east belt from the Ugandan border to the Indian Ocean. Most manufacturing takes place in or around urban centres, so the seven largest towns accounted for just less than three-quarters

(73.06 per cent) of the industrial establishments located in the country in 1957, and just over three-quarters of them (77.61 per cent) in 1961. It is also worth noting that by 1967 these same seven towns accounted for 87.84 per cent of the reported employment bill in all towns, and 92.5 per cent of the wage bill in all towns (see Table 2.11). The continuing predominance of Nairobi, and to a lesser extent, Mombasa, will be observed.

Industrialisation in urban areas outside Nairobi and Mombasa has been based primarily on the processing of agricultural, livestock and forest produce, both for export and domestic consumption. Towns such as Nakuru, Kisumu and Eldoret grew up initially as distributive centres but then constituted a natural choice for the location of industries based on these raw materials. Nevertheless, as can be seen in Table 2.12, which shows the 1967 structure of industry in terms of rural and urban employment, the rural share of industrial employment exceeded 25 per cent in only four industries. The Nairobi-Mombasa dominance of the urban sector is also illustrated in that it will be noticed that employment in these two towns exceeded employment in other urban areas in all sectors except food and wood processing.

The 1970-1974 Development Plan showed the government's intention to locate industries to a greater extent in urban areas outside the main two, for which Eldoret, Embu, Kakamega, Kisumu, Nakaru, Nyeri and Thika were designated. Most of the planned growth of manufacturing during this time was expected to come from large-scale manufacturing, with the urban industries continuing to have a major share of this growth. However, the growth of industries

TABLE 2.11

NUMBER OF INDUSTRIAL ESTABLISHMENTS IN THE SEVEN MAJOR KENYAN TOWNS IN 1957 AND 1967 AND THE REPORTED EMPLOYMENT AND WAGE BILL IN TOWNS, 1967

| Towns | No. of Industrial Establishments | | | | No. Employed | | Est. Wage K£m | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1957 | % of Total | 1967 | % of Total | No. ('000s) | % of all towns | Total | % of all towns |
| Nairobi | 330 | 39.33 | 335 | 42.14 | 149.4 | 51.16 | 64.66 | 63.84 |
| Mombasa | 137 | 16.33 | 136 | 17.11 | 59.1 | 20.24 | 17.69 | 17.46 |
| Nakuru | 40 | 4.77 | 37 | 4.65 | 14.0 | 4.79 | 3.90 | 3.85 |
| Eldoret | 20 | 2.38 | 26 | 3.27 | 9.4 | 3.22 | 2.07 | 2.04 |
| Kitale | 17 | 2.03 | 14 | 1.76 | 3.6 | 1.23 | 0.73 | 0.72 |
| Thika | 21 | 2.50 | 20 | 2,52 | 6.0 | 2.05 | 1.26 | 1.24 |
| Kisumu | 48 | 5.72 | 49 | 6.16 | 15.0 | 5.14 | 3.39 | 3.35 |
| Total | 613 | 73.06 | 617 | 77.61 | 256.5 | 87.83 | 93.70 | 92.50 |
| NATIONAL TOTAL | 839 | 100.0 | 795 | 100.0 | 292.0[1] | 100.0 | 101.29[1] | 100.0 |

Note: 1. The total figures for employment and wages are those for all towns.

Source: S.H. Ominde, 'Land and Population Movements in Kenya', Statistical Abstract 1968, Table 186.

TABLE 2.12

URBAN AND RURAL INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYMENT IN URBAN AND LARGE SCALE INDUSTRY IN 1967

| | URBAN | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Nairobi | Mombasa | Other | Total | Rural | Total |
| Food processing | 24.6 | 8.7 | 40.1 | 73.4 | 26.6 | 100.0 |
| Beverages industries | 78.1 | 15.8 | 6.1 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 |
| Tobacco manufacturing | 86.7 | 0.0 | 11.2 | 97.9 | 2.1 | 100.0 |
| Textiles | 20.2 | 18.8 | 25.4 | 64.4 | 35.6 | 100.0 |
| Footwear and clothing | 37.4 | 17.9 | 13.6 | 68.9 | 31.1 | 100.0 |
| Wood except furniture | 15.4 | 3.4 | 31.2 | 50.0 | 50.0 | 100.0 |
| Furniture and fixtures | 65.8 | 16.4 | 13.5 | 95.7 | 4.3 | 100.0 |
| Paper and paper products | 42.0 | 51.1 | 6.9 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 |
| Printing and publishing | 80.8 | 7.3 | 10.6 | 98.7 | 1.3 | 100.0 |
| Leather and fur products | 65.1 | 0.0 | 34.9 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 |
| Rubber manufacturers | 91.5 | 2.6 | 5.9 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 |
| Chemicals | 47.9 | 11.5 | 32.2 | 91.6 | 8.4 | 100.0 |
| Petroleum | 0.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 |
| Non-metallic minerals | 28.8 | 50.9 | 8.4 | 88.1 | 11.9 | 100.0 |
| Metal products | 28.6 | 47.1 | 24.3 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 |
| Basic metals industries | 73.9 | 26.1 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 |
| Non-electrical machinery | 71.9 | 7.2 | 19.3 | 98.3 | 1.7 | 100.0 |
| Electric machinery | 77.5 | 3.2 | 18.7 | 99.4 | 0.6 | 100.0 |
| Transport equipment | 54.3 | 20.7 | 22.6 | 97.6 | 2.4 | 100.0 |
| Miscellaneous | 73.3 | 12.4 | 4.8 | 90.5 | 9.5 | 100.0 |
| TOTAL | 43.5 | 16.4 | 23.6 | 83.5 | 16.5 | 100.0 |

Source: Development Plan 1970-1974, Table 10.10, p. 325.

located in the rural areas, measured in terms of employment (40,000 in small rural non-agricultural enterprises in 1967, and expected to rise by more than 10,000 workers by 1974) was expected to be almost twice that of urban industries. Thus, total industrial employment was expected to grow at 3.7 per cent per annum while rural industrial employment was expected to grow by more than 6 per cent.

In the commercial sector, the 1966 statistical survey (see Development Plan, 1970-1974, p. 412) revealed that there were 6,660 firms in the urban areas employing 36,130 wage and salaried employees, and 8,310 self-employed persons. These firms had an estimated turnover of K£367 million in that year. The findings of a separate survey of the rural areas in 1967 indicated that there were about 24,250 wholesale and retail establishments employing 22,430 employees and 48.240 self-employed persons. These had an estimated turnover of K£18 millions. The total contribution to GDP in 1968 was K£45 millions, and it was estimated that the gross product of commerce would grow at about 7 per cent per annum during the 1970-1974 Plan period, with its contribution rising to about K£64 millions by 1974, thus maintaining its share of total domestic product at about 10 per cent.

However, between 1967 and 1970, salaried employment in commerce and miscellaneous services declined considerably (Table 2.13), although there was an increase in the growth of average earnings. This was particularly true of the wholesale and retail trade. Average earnings in the motor vehicle and machinery trade increased at the rate of 18.2 per cent per annum and employment declined at

TABLE 2.13

ANNUAL INCREASES IN OUTPUT AND EMPLOYMENT IN THE GOODS AND SERVICES SECTORS, 1967-70 (PERCENTAGES)

| Sector | Gross Domestic Product | Employment |
|---|---|---|
| Goods sectors | | |
| Mining and quarrying | 14.6 | 5.8 |
| Manufacturing and repair | 13.2 | 6.4 |
| Building and construction | 20.3 | 1.0 |
| Services sectors | | |
| Wholesale and retail trade | 9.8 | - 5.3 |
| Transport | 8.3 | - 1.5 |
| Banking, insurance and real estate | 14.2 | 10.1 |
| All services | 11.0 | 3.6 |

Note: These figures may not be entirely comparable. For one thing, employment refers only to "modern" employment. For services, especially, the gross domestic product figures may also take into account the contribution of persons who are not taken into account in the employment figures. This may partly explain the large productivity increases implicit in the figures given in the table. For government services, the valuation of output and productivity are not very meaningful: the value of wages and salaries paid by the Government is considered equal to output. Thus, a plan to raise output of the services sector in which the share of government is quite large might imply a policy of raising the salaries of teachers and civil servants - which could be self-defeating.

Sources: Annual enumeration of employees and Statistical abstracts.

the rate of 4.5 per cent. In the retail trade, the growth of average earnings at a rate of 5.3 per cent compared with a decline in employment of 5.2 per cent per annum (ILO Mission Report, 1972;

p. 483). The indications were, however, that the ratio of self-employed persons to wage labour employment had increased considerably in this sector, despite the decline in the rate of wage employment.

African Capitalism

Leys has observed that the Kenya government's control over foreign capital only existed to the extent that there was a certain amount of competition between foreign governments for the markets and resources of the country. At most, Kenya only exerted leverage and made its dependence more palatable; it could never excape it.[6]

However, pressure had been put on the government by small African businessmen to enable them to break into the profitable end of the non-agricultural private sector. Since the political regime depended on such people for support, and because many politicians had business interests, the government was willing to help (Leys 1975). As early as Sessional Paper No. 10 (1965) the government had committed itself to "establishing Africans in a firm position in the monetary sector by ensuring that a large share of the planned new expansion is African-owned and managed." A number of schemes were implemented. These included training schemes for African businessmen, technical and assistance schemes, ICDC loans, and other assistance in the form of certain categories of government contracts being reserved for Africans, the restriction of trading licenses for certain types of trade in favour of African businessmen, and the extension of a quasi-monopolistic position

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6. Leys, op. cit., (1975), p. 148.

to African businessmen in road transport, construction and certain types of trade (Leys 1973). A more detailed exposition of the Kenyanisation aspects of these policies is reserved for the next chapter.

Other African capitalists grew up in the agricultural sector on both the large and the small scale farms and in the top stream of the peasant producers (Leys 1975). They also grew up in a rentier class, largely composed of civil servants (Leys 1975), and formed a link with the political class in the process (Sandbrook, 1975); "The real result of African businessmen's political activities and of the government's policies was to foster the emergence of a small protected stratum of African capital-owners, a distinctive kind of auxiliary bourgeoisie". (Leys 1975).

Summary

The net result of Kenyan governmental strategy since independence has been to create a series of imbalances. These relate specifically to the location of industry, to capital intensity, to earnings, and to life-style.

The reasons for the first are relatively simple. Population and industries tend to be naturally attracted to urban centres, and Nairobi and Mombasa in particular have benefited from this. Whereas before 1939 processing industries were located all over the country, the growth of secondary industry has meant that the major towns have been increasing their population at a faster rate than the country at large (van Zwanenberg and King 1975). Availability of raw materials has contributed to this, with Nairobi as a convenient collection centre and Mombasa highly regarded as a point of entry. In addition, the available market is a major attraction, and in this respect Nairobi, as the capital city, has distinct advantages. The result has been the growing predominance of Nairobi and Mombasa in terms of population, the number of industrial establishments located there, and the size of the wage bill.

Foreign control is particularly pronounced in the modern sector, which, though limited in scale, is large in East African terms, and is both capital intensive and technologically sophisticated. Amsden (1971) has noted that it was the large firms who were the first to back Kenyanisation, through the Federation of Kenya Employers, and they were instrumental in encouraging the growth of 'responsible' trade unions and systematic collective bargaining, both policies that were prompted (argues van Zwanenberg) by the realisation that low-paid, short-term migratory labour was expensive in the long run. The firms that were set up in Kenya in the 1950s and 1960s were anxious to increase their profits in order to recover capital outlays in a potentially insecure environment. They consequently used their finances for equipment and the training of a small skilled labour force, rather than opting for longer term projects involving more staff at a lower level, The ILO (1972) estimated that the capital stock per worker in manufacturing was as high as K£2,000, varying by industry from cord, twine and bags at the bottom with K£500 to K£23,000 in tyres.

Leys (1975) sees this aspect of Kenyan industrial development as falling into a kind of classical underdeveloped model in which the existing pattern of demand in the periphery country is heavily influenced by the fact that local income distribution is largely determined by a small, partly expatriate section of the population. The mass of the population is unable to afford the products of the foreign businesses, thus the market is too small to bear more than one producing plant for each product type. The organisations which set themselves up in such situations are specialists in the sophisticated technology required for supplying mass markets (of which the high-consumption sectors of the population of the periphery companies form a part), and they have the further advantage of securing highly protected investments because they are engaged in producing what formerly used to be imported. Finally, the foreign firms have the advantage of the capital and the know-how required;

> "their employment of this technology, developed for advanced industrialised countries, means that the new manufacturing sector is capital-intensive, it does not generate large increases in employment but leads to the creation of a relatively small, semi-skilled labour force that is paid high wages (in relation to the incomes of the mass of the population) in order to reduce labour turnover[7] and secure compliance with management needs." (Leys 1975).

Incomes have been shown to be grossly unbalanced. Wages in the urban areas are considerably higher than those in the rural areas, and the ILO has commented that;

7. Alice Amsden has noted that, "the quit-rate in the large expatriate companies is now less than one per cent for African manual workers and slightly higher (because of the scarcity factor ) for technical and managerial staff."

> "among Africans, it seems that the spread between the top and the bottom and the share of incomes received by the top percentiles has increased, in large part as a direct consequence of Kenyans taking over jobs and land formerly held by expatriates ... while racial inequalities of income and wealth distribution have thus almost certainly diminished over the past decade, the overall personal distribution of income does not seem to have moved to any substantial degree in an egalitarian direction." (ILO 1972).

Finally, it has been pointed out (Leys 1975) that foreign capital was paying rapidly rising wages to a small labour force which was increasing at a slower rate than the remainder of the population, but tending to reinforce the existing pattern of demand.

The net result of the process has been a polarisation within Kenyan society between the rich and the poor, each being identified with different locations, different sectors of the economy, widely-separated income levels and different styles of life; "there are reasons to believe that such dynamic factors tending to perpetrate and intensify inequalities may be operative in the Kenyan economic and social system," argues the ILO (Mission Report, 1972).

Leys has identified the existence of three groups at the top end of the income scale whose wealth had drawn them apart from the mass of society. The first of these was the African bourgeois and petty-bourgeois strata made up of the land-owing farmers and commercial businessmen (many of whom owned land and farms) whose aspirations were focused largely on capturing a monopoly of small-scale businesses and establishing themselves as a landed gentry. The second was the middle-level salariate, usually earning over K£200 from clerical and office jobs in the public, private and parastatal sectors. They were concentrated in the urban areas, particularly Nairobi and Mombasa, and were distinguished by their education and their white-collar employment, their preoccupation with income and status, and a consciousness of their developmental role, in particular their identification with domestic and foreign capital. The third group was the higher bureaucracy, of whom Leys remarked that their importance was less due to their class origins or ambitions than to their special function in relation to the ruling alliance of classes and class strata. By working with expatriate experts and managers, the senior government officials and senior African company executives identified themselves as a policy-making and decision-making group which was defining Kenyan development, and defining it in alliance with Western capital. "Few senior officials saw any discrepancy between the aims of official economic policy, their own social and economic pattern, and the interests of the majority in the country-side and in the towns."[8]

Certainly there was evidence in Kenya of a crystallising stratification of society based on access to the scarce resources of land, capital and credit, and education (ILO 1972). The danger was that the existing barriers could become institutionalised, and that those groups of persons already holding such advantages would be able to consolidate them and pass them on to their children by the use of their power and incomes and the provision of high quality education. In contrast, the majority of the people, by virtue of their impoverishment, would find it difficult to break away from

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8. Leys, op. cit., 1975, p. 198.

their economic and social standing in the current environment.

The implications of Kenyan development policies and accompanying social and economic changes have significant implications for local management. The pursuit of foreign capital and investment has led to the growth of the multi-national, import-substituting, capital intensive concerns who pay high wages to a few skilled staff. The nature of these businesses, linked as they inevitably are to their head offices overseas, ensures that their identification and sentiments lie only superficially with the local environment. However, in order to meet some of the demands from unions and government for high-level career prospects they have turned their attention to the localisation of management posts. The nature of government policies, the private sector response to them, and the implications for management are examined in the next chapter.

# CHAPTER III

# KENYANISATION

## Introduction

The objective of this chapter on localisation, or Kenyanisation, is to examine the steps that have been taken by the Kenya government to bring control of the economy into its own hands through the placement of local staff into high-level manpower posts. The second objective is to observe to what extent Kenyanisation is achieving this purpose, given the government's reliance on foreign capital for much of its economic development.

## Government Policy and Practice

Since independence, the declared policy of the government in the manpower field has been one of correcting the racial imbalance in employment in favour of Kenyanisation, or Africanisation (Africanisation being the official term for the development of Kenyan citizens). Kenyanisation was first declared a policy by the Kenya African National Union Party (KANU) in an election manifesto prior to independence in which it was stated that;

> "proper apprenticeship schemes for local people must be expanded beyond the limited opportunities now available. Promotion prospects must not be endangered by the unnecessary immigration of expatriates on contract. The racial disbalance in the Civil Service, commerce and professions will be righted."

However, Sessional Paper No. 10 (1965), while advocating Africanisation throughout the economy and administration, freely admitted that the maintenance of rapid economic growth required a reliance on continuing foreign expertise. Sandbrook (1975) has commented upon the government's dilemma;

> "The power structure in colonial Kenya created and perpetuated a racial stratification of employment with Africans at the bottom. Most of the posts requiring special skills were officially or unofficially reserved for Europeans and Asians. Even the artisans and white-collar employees were mainly Asian prior to independence; Asians in fact enjoyed a virtual monopoly in some skilled trades, a monopoly maintained by the recruitment of apprentices from among their own people. Africans, having minimal educational opportunities and few chances to learn skills, generally played a subordinate part in economic activities. Kenya thus arrived at independence with very little skilled African manpower."[1]

The result was an increase in the number of foreign expatriate experts and advisors to some 3,700 by 1971 (ILO 1972), with some 20 per cent of the high-level Civil Service posts held by expatriates as late as 1969 and about 13 per cent in 1972 (Nellis 1973). By 1973, the number of expatriate technical assistance personnel had dropped to 2,800, however (Development Plan 1974-1978, Table 3.9).

Nevertheless, Kenyanisation, and particularly Africanisation, was the objective and the first Development Plan (1966-1970) noted the racial imbalances in the country, which it traced to two factors;

> "First, many of the economic opportunities that have existed in Kenya in the past have been denied to Africans. Second, many Africans have lacked the education, experience and resources to take full advantage of those limited opportunities open to them. In order to achieve increased African participation, the Government will ensure that economic opportunities are open to Africans and that Africans will have the education, training and resources to develop these opportunities fully and successfully."

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1. Sandbrook (1975), op. cit., p. 8.

The Plan went on to point out that the reasons for stimulating African participation in the country's economy went beyond mere equity and justice;

> "Such a policy will guarantee that the skills, education and training of the nation's limited reservoir of high-level manpower are utilised fully. Furthermore, by mobilising the inherent talents and abilities of the African population, the future scope for development in Kenya will be widened tremendously. Indeed, without greater African participation to broaden the base of the economy, little significant growth can take place."

In 1965 this policy was re-iterated in Sessional Paper No. 10, in which the shortage of trained, educated and experienced Kenyan manpower was duly noted, and guidelines developed for alleviating the situation;

> "Foreign enterprises will be informed that the aim of the Government is Africanisation of the economy, and they should therefore initiate or accelerate training and apprenticeship schemes so that Africanisation can be achieved rapidly in all sectors of the economy (if this policy does not secure the required co-operation, suitable legislation to enforce the policy will be considered). In promoting Africanisation, citizenship guarantees as outlined in the Constitution will be recognised and maintained, but without prejudice to correction of existing racial imbalances in various sectors of the economy." (Sessional Paper No. 10, p. 51)

Central government led the way in the implementation of Africanisation in the immediate post-independence years. Prior to this time the colonial government's policy had allegedly been one of non-discrimination, the only limitation on advancement being educational qualifications and proven ability. Nevertheless, it was only after the KANU election victory in 1961 that the colonial government commenced serious training of Kenyans for administrative positions in the Civil Service. It was true, of course, that the colonial system had spawned something of an African salaried middle class in governmental administration and the teaching profession from which development could commence.

The government's objectives in the public sector were virtually attained by 1965 when almost the entire administrative cadre consisted of Kenyan citizens (Report of the Commission of Enquiry, 1971). In 1967, only 59 per cent of *all* high and middle level manpower posts were held by citizens, although by 1972, 74 per cent of all such posts in these categories had been Kenyanised (see Table 3.1). In 1971, the Ndegwa Commission (Report of the Commission of Enquiry, 1971) was able to report that the Civil Service

TABLE 3.1

KENYANIZATION OF HIGH AND MIDDLE LEVEL OCCUPATIONS, 1972

| | Total | | Citizens | | Non-Citizens | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Managerial Occupations | 15,708 | 100 | 9,936 | 63 | 5,772 | 37 |
| Professional Occupations | 5,747 | 100 | 1,973 | 34 | 3,774 | 66 |
| Semi-Professional or Technical Occupations | 31,310 | 100 | 23,339 | 75 | 7,971 | 25 |
| Skilled Office and Clerical Occupations | 25,625 | 100 | 21,179 | 83 | 4,446 | 17 |
| Skilled Manual Occupations | 21,431 | 100 | 17,834 | 83 | 3,597 | 17 |
| TOTAL | 99,821 | 100 | 74,261 | 74 | 25,560 | 26 |

Source: Development Plan 1974-1978, (op. cit.), Table 3.1, p. 194.

was 95 per cent Africanised. The terms offered by the government during this period were attractive enough to ensure that a lot of talented personnel found their way into it. Certain problems did result, of course. There was a dilution of experience resulting in the over-burdening of relatively young and inexperienced officials at the top, and the creation of the inevitable promotion blockage caused by the existence of a young top-level group with many years to go before retirement. This was aggravated by the fact that the subsequently recruited junior officers were often better educated than their seniors, thus creating hierarchical and defensive attitudes, an avoidance of delegation at the top, and the breeding of frustration lower down the ranks. The recommendations of the Ndegwa Commission were aimed at overcoming these problems while ensuring that training for government servants be re-directed from its original post-independence objectives of Africanisation towards an improvement in performance at all levels of the Civil Service.

## The Agricultural Sector

The Africanisation of agriculture was pursued in a somewhat confused manner. Before independence, some 3 million hectares of land were reserved for Europeans, of which about 1.4 million hectares were in the mixed farming areas, and the other 1.6 million were set aside mainly for coffee, tea and sisal plantations, and ranching. As yet, the African population has not acquired any substantial holdings in either the plantations or the ranches owing to the large-scale investment required. However, quite a high proportion of the land formerly used by Europeans for large-scale farming has been taken over by Africans, thanks mainly to the One-Million Acre Settlement Scheme which moved about 32,000 families on to some

400,000 hectares of land, and the Squatter Settlement Programme which by 1968 had settled around 13,000 families on small-scale farms involving another 60,000 hectares.

Despite governmental provision for farm education and training for Africans, capital availability from such organisations as the Land Bank, the Agricultural Finance Corporation (AFC), the ICDC and the Marketing Boards, and the DFCK, the setting up of co-operatives, and various governmental partnerships with private capital for agricultural projects, the facts are[2] that the Africanisation policies in agriculture led to a polarisation of the system into a few large and wealthy undertakings, and the mass of poor, unsupported ones. The reasons for this are that the Land Bank and the AFC (the former merged with the latter in 1969) mainly lent to the large farmers, and the DFCK happened to be a partnership between the Kenya Government (25%) and the Commonwealth Development Corporation which mostly provided loan-capital for large-scale foreign investments. The small farmer did not get the support he needed, and though agricultural Africanisation statistics might appear impressive, and the President's farm 'handing-over' ceremonies might catch the public eye, the results are a dichotomy of agriculture into a few wealthy African farms, and the many poor Africanised farms at the other end of the scale, the latter having to make do with little or no capital and expertise, and a minimum of training and advice.

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2. See Leys 1975, Chapter IV, for full discussion.

<u>The Commercial Sector</u>

The Africanisation of commerce has proceeded in fits and starts, and has not been without its problems. This sector formed an integral part of the government's Africanisation plans, not least because retail trade has always been seen as the first sphere in which African entrepreneurship could be promoted - on account of its geographical extent, through the exploiting of customer goodwill for local traders, and because of the low capital costs involved. By 1960, however, when a total of between seventeen and nineteen thousand licensed traders were estimated to be doing about K£260 millions of business per year (Survey of Distribution, 1960, p. 15), the twelve to fourteen thousand African petty traders among this number had only K£9-12 millions of this turnover, leaving some 5,000 remaining traders of whom 3,452 were turning over K£76 millions per annum. Approximately K£50 millions of this was in the hands of 1,055 traders employing 5 or more people. Very few of the 5,000 larger traders were African, most being Asians, Thus, between twelve thousand and fourteen thousand African traders were accomplishing an average annual business turnover of less than K£1,000, and netting less than K£200 profit, and a further 2,400 (including probably a substantial number of Asians) were doing average business of around K£10,000 per annum with an average net profit of nearly K£2,000 (Leys 1973). The government quite naturally had its eye on this sector, which had the dual advantages of being mainly Asian (racially imbalanced) and profitable.

Governmental programmes for capital assistance to African traders go back to the 1950's, and two loan schemes in particular were designed to help bring Africans away from the unprofitable fringes of commerce. Under the first of these, the District Trade Development Joint Loan Board's small loan scheme concentrated on businessmen in small towns and rural areas whose monthly turnover was less than K£500 per year. By 1970-1971 the central government and local authorities had lent some K£1.2 millions in small loans (K£200-300) to about 5,000 traders. The second scheme was operated by ICDC which, between 1965 and 1970 lent another K£1.2 millions in loans of approximately K£1,700 to some 700 traders.

The Trade Licensing Act of 1968 was designed to help the aspiring African traders by excluding non-citizens from trading in rural areas and the non-central areas of towns, as well as from handling certain types of merchandise. In addition, the government took the power progressively to withdraw trade licenses from non-citizen traders within the areas where they were still free to trade. The Africans were thereby becoming protected from non-citizen competition, but they still faced the expertise and business acumen of those established Asian traders who had become Kenyan citizens. They also faced competition from large numbers of fellow Africans since there was no machinery to limit or regulate the number of trade licenses issued to Africans.

There were problems of a different character with the Kenya National Trading Corporation (Kenatco), which had been set up in 1965 with the objective of taking over a major share of the import-export trade, as well as being charged with the development of a Kenyan participation in the export trade, principally in primary agricultural products. It had begun by taking over all sugar imports and distributing them through African agents working on credit. The snag was that by 1969 it had K£800,000 of bad debts (speech by the Minister of Commerce and Industry, reported on 10th February, 1970). An estimate given to the ILO Mission (Mission Report, 1972),[3] inidcated that at the end of 1970, 10 per cent of the Kenatco distributors had 'disappeared' and between another 10 and 20 per cent had gone bankrupt.

Such situations presented obstacles to governmental ambition. There were others. One was that the technology of foreign investment demanded equivalent technology in large sectors of trade, which meant in the short run that beyond a certain point it was not possible to Africanise the 'modern' sector of trade without risking serious constraints on the rate of foreign investment, and given the government's attitudes to the latter, this presented a potentially embarrassing situation. In 1971, the Minister of Commerce and Industry made the admission that it was difficult to find Africans to replace the Asians displaced by the Trade Licensing Act, and that in Nairobi and Mombasa (where 262 shops had been given quit notices) only 63 Africans had applied for licences (East African Standard, 14th August, 1971). The problems lay in the specialised know-how required, which it was difficult for the Africans to acquire in the medium-term. Meanwhile the needs of foreign commercial and industrial development required that the efficiency of the more sophisticated trading sectors should not be too greatly affected.

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3. ILO Mission Report, 1972, op. cit., p. 205.

The 1970-1974 Development Plan acknowledged the importance of providing new businessmen with the basic knowledge with which to operate efficiently. District Trade Officers started to run basic business courses, and bodies like the Institute of Adult Studies at the University of Nairobi as well as the chambers of commerce organised seminars and courses in various parts of the country. Since the Report of the Training Review Committee (1972) under the chairmanship of W.N. Wamalwa, the joint Government/ILO Management Training and Advisory Centre commenced concentrating its efforts on the provision of training for African entrepreneurs (rather than on managers, for whom it previously catered), and further funds were made available to the Centre with this in mind. This emphasis was later shifted back to management.

Trade does not exhaust the field of African enterprise, even though to date (despite its problems) it is one of the more significant aspects of the Africanisation programme. Other areas of activity were in building, road transport, small-scale manufacturing, repairs, dry-cleaning, bars, small hotels, charcoal making, as well as others. Most were incorporated into the various programmes of governmental assistance already discussed. According to the Reports of the Registrar-General (quoted in Leys, 1975, pp. 166-167) there were by 1969, 6,932 limited-liability companies on the register, of which perhaps 900 were African-owned although these included farm enterprises. Of a further 40,000 firms registered under business names, perhaps 6,000 were African-owned non-farm enterprises.

The Private Sector

Africanisation of the private sector presented considerably more problems than the Civil Service (controlled by the government), agriculture or commerce. A paper on manpower requirements published in 1965 by the East African Institute noted that the private sector was made up of a large number of establishments which differed widely in size, purpose, form of ownership, management, staffing structures and so on. There was no common direction and management to these bodies, yet because the larger private sector organisations were in the high-level manpower market it was towards them that an Africanisation programme needed to be directed.

The paper noted that more qualified Africans would be coming on the market during the next six years (i.e. to 1970) to take up higher posts, and that there were two ways of initiating and sustaining a common course of action in the private sector, one of which was to enlist voluntary action through the employer organisations. By means of this, the private sector could come up with its own plan for Africanisation;

> "This plan would, as a minimum, include procedures for;
>
> (1) Orderly planning of an Africanisation programme with individual private establishments, including training.
>
> (2) Establishing operation machinery which would act as a clearing house, offering both a classified supply of all or a majority of Africans (with a secondary or higher education) who seek opportunity in the private sector, and a central point in each community where employers could place their requests for this educated/trained supply. (Agreement by all employer association members to use such a central clearing house, and agreement by the Ministry of Labour's employment service to supply specialised services would be necessary.

In this way, all transactions would be a matter of record to the ultimate benefit of those firms co-operating).

(3) Making periodic appraisals of progress in the programme."

(The East African Institute Press, 1965, pp. 35-36.)

The alternative to this voluntary programme would have been one of legislation related to hiring practices, with a system of government inspection and enforcement to back it up. The Report, however, opted for the voluntary method in the first instance, although subsequent inaction by the private sector led to a hardening of the government's attitude and policy. In a debate in the House of Representatives on 3rd June 1966 on a motion which urged the government, "in view of the slow Africanisation policy in the commercial and business firms and companies in this country ... to take urgent measures, including legislation where necessary to ensure that Kenya citizens are given first priority in employment, training and promotion in such firms", the Minister of Commerce and Industry admitted that the voluntary programme had proved ineffective. In an official survey of company Africanisation programmes, only about half of the companies had replied, and of these only about twenty per cent had any effective Africanisation development programmes.[4]

The government's response was to publish its official policy document on the matter in 1967 (Kenyanisation of Personnel in the Private Sector) which required companies in the private sector to

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4. House of Representatives Official Report, 3rd June 1966, Cols. 360-384.

replace their expatriate personnel with qualified Kenyans immediately. It pledged its commitment to the training of citizens to equip them with the necessary skills, and directed the private sector to establish internal training schemes to meet their internal needs, thus supplementing the efforts of the government. The 1967 paper could point to a number of forces giving credence to its tougher policy;

> "the output of secondary schools is increasing substantially" ... "in collaboration with the United Nations Development Programme and the International Labour Office, the Ministry of Labour has set up the Management Training and Advisory Centre whose primary objectives are to promote efficient management in Kenya at all levels and to help both new and established industries and organisations to solve their management problems" ...
>
> ... "the Kenya Polytechnic with the support of a number of national and international institutions is expanding its facilities to provide sandwich day release and evening courses for upgrading employed workers" ...
> ..."the Ministry of Education is expanding the number of technical secondary schools and is introducing commercial subjects into the curriculum of other secondary schools", and then,
>
> ..."the Government is not pursuing Kenyanisation for its own sake. A truly Kenyan national prosperity cannot be built if management of key commercial and industrial concerns remains in the hands of non-citizens. Kenyans must participate and be involved in the policy-making and its execution in all sectors. Kenyans must be given genuine responsibility and authority including opportunity for advancement and self-improvement. Window-dressing must not do, and will not be tolerated."

Two sets of action were implemented to back up the policy. On 1st December 1967, the Immigration Act came into force, restricting the issue of work permits according to certain categories of work and employment. At this time, the Vice-President (who was also the Minister for Home Affairs) felt obliged to issue a statement explaining that;

> "As Kenyanisation of personnel in the public sector is almost completed, the Government's attention is directed primarily towards the private sector, in which many jobs which could easily be performed by citizens are still held by non-citizens. In the newly-introduced Immigration Act there is provision for employers to seek 'work permits' for non-citizens who are currently holding jobs, or required to fill jobs for which there are no suitably qualified and experienced citizens. Such permits will be initially issued for a period not exceeding five years ...." (Republic of Kenya, February, 1968)

In 1967 also, the Kenyanisation of Personnel Bureau was established with the objective of acting as a clearing-house between citizens requiring jobs and employers seeking staff, in order to hasten Kenyanisation. By keeping a register of all citizens with qualifications above the Cambridge School Certificate who were available for employment, the Bureau was to be in a position to advise the Immigration Department on the issue of work permits to foreigners. When a suitable Kenyan was available for a vacancy, the Bureau referred him to the prospective employer, and advised the Immigration Department not to issue a work permit for that position.

The situation by 1967 is shown in Table 3.2; the figures are taken from the Manpower Survey of 1967, but the categorisation of jobs (A, B, C, and D) comes from an earlier Survey (1964) which had defined high and middle-level skills and employments as those which required a minimum educational standard of twelve years' formal education or two years' full time vocational training after leaving the educational system. In order to facilitate educational

TABLE 3.2

EMPLOYMENT OF HIGH AND MIDDLE LEVEL MANPOWER
BY CATEGORY, BY CITIZENSHIP AND BY SECTOR, 1967

| Sector and Category | Employ-ment | Citizens | Non-Citizens | Citizens as per cent of Total | Non-Citizens as per cent of Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Public Sector: | | | | | |
| A | 6,539 | 2,965 | 3,574 | 45.3 | 54.7 |
| B | 10,179 | 7,478 | 2,701 | 73.5 | 26.5 |
| C | 4,539 | 3,277 | 1,262 | 72.8 | 27.8 |
| D | 16,196 | 13,570 | 2,626 | 83.8 | 16.2 |
| TOTAL PUBLIC SECTOR | 37,453 | 27,290 | 10,163 | 72.9 | 27.1 |
| Private Sector: | | | | | |
| A | 11,093 | 3,128 | 7,965 | 28.2 | 71.8 |
| B | 16,287 | 7,610 | 8,677 | 46.7 | 53.3 |
| C | 11,119 | 5,255 | 5,864 | 47.3 | 52.7 |
| D | 38,105 | 24,512 | 13,593 | 64.3 | 35.7 |
| TOTAL PRIVATE SECTOR | 76,604 | 40,505 | 36,099 | 52.9 | 47.1 |
| Public and Private Sector: | | | | | |
| A | 17,632 | 6,093 | 11,539 | 34.6 | 65.4 |
| B | 26,466 | 15,088 | 11,378 | 57.0 | 43.0 |
| C | 15,658 | 8,532 | 7,126 | 54.5 | 45.5 |
| D | 54,301 | 38,082 | 16,219 | 70.1 | 29.9 |
| TOTAL PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTORS | 114,057[1] | 67,795 | 46,262 | 59.4 | 40.6 |

Source: Manpower Survey, 1967.

Note: 1. The total employment estimates shown in this table refer only to employment in those occupations covered by the survey. Also, within each occupation only those jobs are considered which require the equivalent in formal education training and experience of a Form IV education. Finally, users of these data should be warned that the information contained in the table was not derived from an enumeration of employment, but from a sample survey of firms in the private sector and from a comprehensive survey of public institutions.

and training planning, the requirements and supply information on all the occupations were grouped into four broad categories;

Category A - jobs normally requiring a university degree.

Category B - jobs normally requiring between one and three years of formal post-secondary (Form IV) education/training.

Category C - jobs normally requiring a secondary school education for standard performance; this category included skilled office workers and skilled manual workers in modern crafts involving precision metal working, electricity and electrical machinery.

Category D - jobs requiring a fairly high degree of manual skills, but not requiring the more extensive educational base called for by the modern crafts.

By the time of the 1970-1974 Development Plan these had been slightly regraded in that Category A referred to professional occupations requiring university or higher education, Category B referred to sub-professional and technical occupations requiring Form IV or Form VI education with two or more years of training and experience, Category C covered occupations requiring roughly Form IV education and three or more years of experience, and Category D occupations were those requiring a minimum of Form II education and two or more years of training and experience. (See Development Plan 1970-1974, p. 23).

Table 3.2 indicates that more than 40 per cent of all high and middle-level posts (in the public and private sectors combined) were occupied by non-citizens, although in the public sector the non-citizens formed only just over 27 per cent, compared to over 47 per cent in the private sector. The Development Plan (1970-1974) commented;

> "An examination of high and middle-level employment by race yields similarly interesting information. For example, while Africans constituted more than 97 per cent of Kenya's population, they held 51 per cent of all high and middle-level jobs. Asians constituted about 1.8 per cent of the population and occupied 35 er cent of such posts. Europeans constituted less than half of one per cent of the population and occupied nearly 17 per cent of all high and middle-level posts."[5]

The implications were fairly straightforward, and government was keen to see more practical effort geared up towards Africanisation. However, it was probably aware of the fact that Africanisation was proceeding more slowly at the top (Category A), and knew the reasons why, i.e. that the more senior posts required longer periods of preparation. Thus, only 22.7 per cent of the Category A jobs in 1967 were held by Africans (though this represented an annual rate of increase of 40 per cent from 1961, when the African figure had been 5.6 per cent), compared to 15.7 per cent in Category B, 45.6 per cent in Category C, and 81.5 per cent in Category D.

Africanisation was found to be progressing more rapidly in the public sector than was the case in the private one, where only

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5. Development Plan, 1970-1974, p. 23.

patchy results were being achieved. For instance, in one sample of large firms it was found that the extent of Africanisation of Category A occupations varied from nil to 63 per cent. The motor firms had only 1.07 per cent of their Category A posts filled by Africans, and the leading banks only one per cent.

However, the 1967 Manpower Survey estimated that by 1970 the total supply of Category A manpower would be sufficient to meet minimum needs, even though the composition of that supply might be uneven, with shortages in some areas and surpluses in others. In Category B, an overall shortfall of 20 per cent was forecast, and deficiencies were also expected in Categories C and D. Smith (1968) was more pessimistic in his estimates than this, suggesting that both to fill the new jobs created through development as well as supplying those made vacant by natural wastage, the Kenyan educational system would have to produce an output of skilled Kenyans equal to about half the existing highly-skilled labour force over the initial five-year period, and an output equal to about one and a quarter times the present skilled labour force within a decade. His conclusion was that the stock of appropriately-qualified Kenyans would have to rise five and a half fold over the ten year period.

By 1972, government figures (Manpower Survey, 1972) indicated that the shortage of high and middle level manpower was still a problem, particularly in respect of management. Although the percentage of non-citizen managers had dropped from 68.4 (Development Plan 1970-1974, Tables 4.4 and 4.5) to 33.9 (see Table 3.3 below) the forecasted demand for additional citizen managers over the

1972-1978 period was over 19,000. This meant an effective doubling of the number of managers employed in 1972. The optimism of the Manpower Survey of 1967 may have been justified to a certain extent in that in the private sector the number and percentage of non-citizens were 5,732 and 37.4 respectively (see Table 7.1 in Chapter VII of this thesis).

TABLE 3.3

EXISTING SUPPLY AND PROJECTED ADDITIONAL DEMAND FOR MANAGERS, 1972-1978

| | Number of Managers 1972 | Number of non Citizens 1972 | Additional Number of Citizens Required 1972–78 Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| General Managers | 1,214 | 894 | 1,800 |
| Production Managers | 177 | 116 | 300 |
| Specialized Managers | 254 | 150 | 450 |
| Farm Managers and Supervisors | 4,273 | 490 | 1,400 |
| Managers n.e.c. and Working Proprietors | 9,590 | 4,122 | 10,000 |
| Clerical and Other Administrative Supervisors | 2,306 | 588 | 1,900 |
| Production Supervisors and General Foremen | 3,152 | 744 | 3,200 |
| TOTAL | 20,966 | 7,104 | 19,050 |

Source: Development Plan 1974-1978, Table 3.7, p. 106.

However, in 1967 the situation was giving rise to governmental concern, and the National Assembly passed a motion on 7th July of that year, "That, in view of the declared policy of positive Africanisation, both in Government and Private Companies, this

House resolves to appoint a Select Committee to investigate the possibilities of outright Africanisation in all fields." Under the chairmanship of Mr. Martin Shikuku, and including such distinguished and experienced politicans as Mr. Tom Mboya and Mr. Mwai Kibaki, the Committee interviewed representatives from private concerns, officials of the Federation of Kenya Employers, the Director of Personnel, the Director of the Kenyanisation Bureau, the Principal Immigration Officer, and representatives from various statutory bodies. In addition, it collected written memoranda and breakdown figures of staff by race from various government offices and private companies.

In its Report (tabled in the National Assembly on February 19th, 1969), the Committee made it clear that the term 'Africanisation' was the official one for 'Kenya citizen', and while it praised the government for its efforts in its own domain, it was far from satisfied with the pace of progress in all fields. It found that most executive posts in the private sector and in the statutory bodies were still held by non-Africans, that a large number of companies were reluctant to organise training programmes and Africanise their top posts, that discrimination in salary structures was practised in favour of expatriates, and that there was widespread use of 'window-dressing', or giving sophisticated job titles to Africans who did not hold the authority that their titles implied.

The Committee recommended that all companies whose top executive and managerial posts were not held by Africans should institute crash programmes to train Africans for them in the shortest possible period. It also recommended that expatriate executives with African understudies should, after one year, revert to the position of advisor to the African who should then take over the executive job. It further recommended that overseas exchange programmes be implemented in the international organisations so that Africans would gain wider experience. It was critical of the Kenyanisation Bureau and the Immigration Department, feeling that both needed more powers in order to be effective.

Although the Committee's report succeeded in focussing some of the nation's attention on to the theme of Africanisation in 1969 no immediate results were achieved. By the time of this research project, in 1970 and 1971, the organisations in the sample were dealing with training for Africanisation in their own individual fashions which varied from the committed and sophisticated to the uncommitted and unplanned. And yet, given growth in employment, growth in GDP, capital expansion, and increasing foreign investment, it was clear that some at least of the political aspirations for Africanisation would have to be satisfied. The government therefore had to maintain a sort of balancing-act stance by which it could meet some of the popular concessions demanded on Africanisation without alienating the interests of foreign capital to which it appeared to be firmly committed. As early as 1965 the Minister of Economic Planning and Development had said;

> "It is in the Federation's view very much in the country's interest that the process of Kenyanisation is completed in a manner calculated to preserve Kenya's high international standard, bearing in mind that any acts of xenophobia tend to worsen the investment climate which is a critical factor in the development of employment opportunities." (Hansard, 1965, pp. 1376-77).

This statement is a fair summary of what has actually happened in the years since then; foreign capital has been attracted to a country with economic opportunities and political stability, and token concessions have been made to the aspirations of the *wananchi* (sons of the soil) with a degree of Africanisation that they have been able to witness but have not been able to share since the recipients have been mainly the educated elite and the emerging bourgeoisie. The main progress in Africanisation since independence has been at the lower levels of employment, but not a great deal of success has been achieved at the level of ownership or control of firms (except in agriculture and the retail trade), and virtually nothing has been accomplished at the strategic level of the economy, which has been described as "externally oriented, in part through the continued influence and control ... by multi-national corporations." (Jorgensen 1975).

Leys (1975) has also remarked upon the fact that the Africanisation of jobs and shareholdings, although intended as devices to control foreign capital, became a means whereby the government and the Civil Services identified with it, and both he and Jorgensen have noted the growing existence of a political and commercial African elite which was acquiring sufficient material satisfactions from its contacts with foreign capital to prevent it from being motivated to change the system.

Control of the Economy

The government's policy in agriculture and industry was to side with western capital which, in alliance with an African auxiliary bourgeoisie, ensured that a lot of Kenya's economic expansion was linked to foreign ownership and control. Leys (1975) summarised Kenya's situation as being one at the periphery of the capitalist system, and Sandbrook (1975) has observed that there seemed to have been little desire on the part of government to pursue policies independent of those foreign interests which only served to benefit a minority of the population.

Jorgensen (1975) presented a three-level analytical framework for examining indigenisation and de-indigenisation in the Kenyan economy;

(i) The Economic Structure; this includes the inter-sectoral integration, as well as the integration of the entire economy within the vertical international division of labour. This would be measured by input-output analysis, inter-sector relationships and the composition of external trade as between raw materials and processed goods.

(ii) Ownership of Business; including the control of units of production and distribution within the economic sectors and sub-sectors. Measurement may be obtained by finding out the racial identity of owners of individual firms within the sectors and sub-sectors.

(iii) Racial nature of employment; including the division of labour by race within individual firms, and measured by the racial identity of employees in high-level positions within each firm, especially those in management, selling, accounting and technical positions.

Jorgensen maintained that since independence the government of Kenya has pursued an Africanisation policy which has been limited to (iii) above, i.e. the racial division of labour between firms, and to a lesser extent (ii) above, the Africanisation of ownership. Category (i), he claims, has been largely ignored, as production has been geared to external rather than internal needs, as technology has been imported rather than indigenously developed, and as the various sectors and sub-sectors of the economy have not been fully integrated. Leys, Sandbrook, and van Zwanenberg have all made similar points. The result has been an economy geared to a small urban elite rather than one which has been re-oriented for the benefit of the African majority.

In category (ii) above, which in Leys' terminology becomes Africanisation of the equity, there were some movements by the government to go into partnership with foreign capital; this was largely in the "strategic" industries such as oil refining, banking and electricity supply. Leys was not convinced that any significant increase in Kenyan control resulted from such partnerships. Most of the expatriate management was retained, and because the government continued to accept the remainder of the foreign-owned private enterprise system, his point is probably justified.

The World Bank (1975) also accepted that Kenya's controls over foreign investment have always been ambivilent as it tried to balance between the inflow of skills and funds on the one hand, and the active participation of Kenyan citizens in management and ownership on the other. It noted that the government was attempting to take in new equity in enterprises through the Industrial and

Commercial Development Corporation in the belief that this would increase its control over foreign firms, but Leys claimed that this exercise was pursued in too half-hearted a fashion. The ICDC had K£1.8 millions in shares and loans in seventeen mainly foreign companies in 1969-1970, with an average shareholding of between 10 and 20 per cent in the larger ones and between 40 and 50 per cent in the smaller ones. The Development Finance Company of Kenya (DFCK) had interests of K£2.4 millions, mainly in loans, in twenty-seven foreign concerns. Neither of these, argued Leys, caused the government to have more than a "toehold" in the private sector, the reason being that its minority holdings in most of these partnerships (the exceptions were the oil-refining, banking and electricity supply already mentioned) did not give it a controlling interest. Neither did they allow it to exercise any influence over the crucial areas of investment policy and pricing.

As for Jorgensen's category (iii), the Civil Service was almost completely Africanised by 1965, but the private sector, despite the work permit scheme, continued to lag, and window-dressing was almost always a means around it (Nzomo 1971);

> "When all is said and done, it is difficult to know what can be expected from Africanisation of management of large companies anyway. There may be some tendency for wage settlements and fringe benefits to become more liberal, and for the style of management to change in some respects, but it can hardly lead to a disregard of profitability or of capital growth, and it is not very likely that the foreign owners will allow local management to determine the fundamental issue of the use of company profits in the long term .... The public service had changed little in essentials as a result of being fully Africanised, and there seemed little reason to expect things to be different in the private sector."[6]

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6. Leys (1975), op. cit., p. 124.

Summary

It has been observed that Kenya's development strategy has led to a strengthening of dependent or peripheral capitalism in the country, and it now remains to evaluate the impact of the process upon local management.

Undoubtedly, Africanisation did accelerate in the years after independence as the government sought to redress some of the inherited racial imbalances. A degree of success was achieved in the development of African businessmen, partly as a support for foreign capital by helping to provide it with political protection in return for a share in the profits (Leys 1975). Other successes were achieved in the Civil Service and in the middle levels of business management. However, governmental policies ensured that the foreign capital interests maintained their prime importance, and that industrial relations were kept stable for their benefit.[7]

Africanisation had not resulted in a strengthening of control by Kenya over foreign capital, but instead bred something of a partnership between the overlapping top elite of politicians, businessmen and civil servants, and the foreign interests. The results of this have been noted already in terms of the widening economic and social gap between the more privileged few and the less privileged many. The results for local management may now be summed up.

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7. This was largely due to the influence of the FKE (which represented the bureaucracy of the larger foreign companies and the State-owned commercial corporations) with the Ministry of Labour. (Leys 1975).

The key area of analysis in this respect is the organisational structure of the business firms themselves, because it is this structure and the relationships defined within it which help to characterise the style of management practised (Weinshall 1971). The organisation structure itself has been observed by Woodward (1965) to be dependent upon the sophistication of the technology used, by Burns and Stalker (1966) to be dependent upon the market and the innovative environment, and by Trist et al. (1963) to be subject to manipulation within the constraints of the technological and social organisations.

The nature of industrial investment in Kenya in recent years has been characterised by the involvement of foreign capital and by capital intensive technology. The paradox of capital intensiveness in a country where wages are relatively low has been explained by van Zwanenberg (1975) who has argued that the case with which foreign concerns can raise large capital amounts, allied with government-granted investment tax allowances and the familiarity of European management with sophisticated technology, has meant that foreign concerns have decided that in Kenyan conditions a few skilled and semi-skilled staff are more profitable than large numbers of unskilled workers. The technical machinery, the organisation that goes with it, and the top men necessary for its administration have been imported from abroad, and bearing in mind that foreign firms are primarily concerned with making a profit on their investment before political conditions change they have ensured that they continue to maintain managerial control over company operations. This may be illustrated by the nature of the organisation structures in the concerns observed by Leys (1975) in which;

> "Even companies which had gone a long way in Africanizing senior posts were unlikely to relinquish control entirely to Africans. The Financial Director would tend to remain expatriate 'to protect the investment'; in 1971 even in the most Africanized companies two or three of the principal operations managers also tended to be expatriate, with Africans typically occupying senior posts in sales, personal management and public relations. In the case of some international companies decision-making was in any case often highly centralized, leaving very little discretion to the local management."[8]

Thus the point to note is that the technical nature of the operation as well as its overseas location ensured that overseas control would be paramount and that the top decision-makers would be expatriate. This has been confirmed by the National Christian Council of Kenya (1968). A device used by many foreign companies has been that of window-dressing, in which the Africans held the nominal job titles but not the authority (see also Nzomo 1971). The result has been a largely centralised management system with the important decisions being taken at the top. In the absence of dynamic marketing or innovative conditions in Kenya, at least while most of the market research and product innovation is carried out from abroad, local management is mainly financial and technical, and these areas are constrained in a foreign-designed straight-jacket.

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8. Leys (1975) op. cit., p. 125.

It was in this context of a foreign-dominated economy that the 1971 research project was implemented. The repercussions of the economic structure have been shown to have affected Kenyan management by reducing its scope for control through the creation of centralised organisation structures with few Africans in "main-line" jobs. Although the number of African managers was on the increase, it is doubtful whether the same was true of the power they held. It now remains to be seen what sort of people these managers are, and the extent to which they conform to their Western counterparts.

# CHAPTER IV

## RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY

### Introduction

Two surveys were carried out more or less concurrently in 1971. The first one, which was directed at industrial and commercial companies as well as statutory corporations, had as its objective the collection and interpretation of material related to company and institution-directed management education and training in Kenya. The purpose was to evaluate what methods, if any, were being adopted to facilitate managerial Africanisation. The second survey was directed at the same organisations, but included only those who were actually employing African managerial staff at the time. Its purpose was to survey a sample of the Kenyan managers in order to find out more about their personal backgrounds, careers and training, with the objective of evaluating these and ultimately comparing them with the results of similar surveys of managers carried out in industrialised countries.

It was hoped that the data collected would yield sufficient information to be able to confirm or deny a number of hypotheses in different, though related, areas. The first of these was that, given the nature of Kenya's economic development in the post-independence years and its reliance upon Western capital investment, the Kenyan managers produced by the system would conform to Western standards of social background and education, and would in effect be similar to their industrialised counterparts in these respects. Any evidence confirming this would also confirm the continuation of Western-style managerial practices in the Kenyan business environment since it is posed that if the developed countries are providing the investment capital, not only will they want local managers to be cast in what is to them a satisfactory image, they will also ensure that their subsequent training develops a managerial style that conforms to Western philosophy. Although the research brief stopped short at training, and did not investigate the styles of management practised by the Kenyan managers, it was felt that the information gathered would at least go some way towards confirming or denying the existence of a Kenyan management style by providing a profile of the managers which specified their backgrounds, education, training and career patterns.

A second objective was to study the managers in terms of their qualifications for elitism and to see to what extent they conformed with previously held notions on the subject. For this purpose a detailed examination of their backgrounds, both social and educational, was necessary. Evidence gathered from managers in Britain (Clements 1958, Clark 1966), in Europe (Hall, de Bettignies and Amado-Fischgrund 1969, Linz and de Miguel 1974, Beckers and Frere 1974), and in America (Warner and Abegglen 1955, Mills 1956, Newcomer 1961, Collins 1963) has indicated that Western managers tend to come from privileged social and (therefore) educational backgrounds. This is manifested by a preponderance of managers originating from the small and privileged minority at the top of the social hierarchy. Such social origins are usually sufficiently favourable to ensure a better than average education for the children of these classes at the best schools, and increased opportunities for subsequent further education at higher institutions of learning. In this manner, Western managers have been prepared for authority and responsibility at an early age by virtue of their birth and education, by their early acceptance of leadership expectation, and by educational and training programmes which confirm these expectations. Their entry into management, and their subsequent acquisition of power and authority, ensures that similar standards of background and educational entry qualifications will be applied to the recruitment and selection of future candidates for management. The evidence in Britain (Clark 1966) is that such a process is being maintained, and that management is not only remaining the prerogative of the middle classes, but that the middle classes are actually increasing their hold over managerial authority. In the context of the development of Kenya as a peripheral capitalist economy, it was thought that Western-oriented reference standards would ensure that Kenyan managers would also originate from the small but powerful top income group in the country, and that they would also have been sent to those schools with a reputation for providing the best education. As a result, they would be expected to be well-educated and to have received a certain amount of management training in preparation for the assumption of their responsibilities. It was therefore felt that the data obtained would indicate whether the relatively new role of management in the Kenyan economy was sufficiently institutionalised and developed to have formed the managers into an elite or class.

Continuing this theme of elitism, this time narrowed down from society at large, a third objective was to enable some form of conclusion to be reached on whether any elitism existed *between* managers. Clements' British study identified the existence of elitism within the managerial group, an elitism based mainly on background and the form of management training received, and which was manifested not only in the amount of seniority and status subsequently achieved but was typified by the kind of job functions through which careers had developed. Thus he was able to show that production or works managers were often from lower social backgrounds, had been less well educated, had usually risen from the bottom rungs of the organisational ladder, and had generally taken longer to reach less senior posts than managers in the higher-status commercial functions. The Kenyan research, in posing the hypothesis that career momentum is usually provided by education, set out to examine the pace of career progress among the managers in order to establish whether there were in fact any significant differences between managers in different areas of work, and whether these differences (if they existed) could be identified with critical background factors of an educational or social nature. If differences were found to exist it was thought that they would most probably be akin to those in Britain since the main stay of Kenyan industrial development both pre- and post-independence has been Britain; it was thus thought likely that British values and status differentials would be most likely to have been those adopted.

Secondary and more specific objectives were related to the evaluation of company policies and practices for Kenyanisation. This meant an identification of recruitment policies, especially in respect of the type of local personnel preferred by the companies, and the level of educational, technical and professional qualifications sought. Allied to this was an assessment of the personnel who had actually been recruited and trained by the organisations, and the extent to which these personnel were found to measure up to the desired ideal and standards. It was thought that, given the size and nature of most of the companies in the sample, there would be a preference for the recruitment of staff with an 'acceptably high' level of education who could then be trained both within and outside the companies in a standard managerial fashion. The type and amount of training provided by the organisations was therefore observed in order to confirm or deny this, and further information for the same purpose was obtained from the Kenyan managers within the companies.

The Samples

An attempt was made to ensure that the companies included in the first sample were statistically representative of modern business and industry in Kenya. Because it was felt that the presence of a managerial hierarchy in an organisation is largely a function of the number of staff employed, the firms selected for inclusion were only those employing over 150 personnel. Several Western writers on management have seen the practical span of managerial control as being somewhere around 10 or so subordinates, and so those firms with 150 staff were thought to be the smallest to qualify for inclusion on the grounds that they would most likely have something of the order of between 12 and 15 supervisory personnel with perhaps 2 or 3 managers above them. The cut-off point for firms entering the sampling frame was therefore 150 employees.

Further details of the source of the material for the company population are in Appendix A, but the main source document used was the 1968 membership list of the Federation of Kenya Employers (F.K.E.) which contained details by numbers employed of most large commercial and industrial companies and statutory corporations operating in the country. From the F.K.E. data, a comprehensive list was drawn up of all the organisations employing over 150 staff in all sectors and industries, with the exception of Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing, and Mining and Quarrying, all of which were deemed to be outside the limits of an industrial-commercial research project. Also, by virtue of their location outside the main urban and industrial areas, these organisations would have been more difficult to contact, particularly in view of the limited finance, research assistance and time available.

The F.K.E. list yielded the names of 134 concerns of the type required. This list was arranged according to size of firms (number of staff), location, and industry. The firms were classified by size as follows; large concerns were those employing 1000 or more staff, medium-sized ones were those with between 250 and 999 employees, and the small ones were those employing between 150 and 249 personnel. Each size list was then arranged on the basis of location, this being defined by the location of the head office or the main site of the organisation; the locations were arranged by descending size order of each city or town as given by the provisional population census results of 1969.[1] Thus, enterprises in Nairobi preceded those based in Mombasa, which in turn preceded those from Nakuru, and so on. Finally, the location sub-lists

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1. East African Standard, 16th December, 1969, press handout from the Ministry of Economic Planning and Development

were arranged according to the nature of the industry in which the appropriate firms happened to be placed; the industrial classification used was taken from the Statistical Abstract of 1968[2] which gave a list of the number of firms in each industry, based on the Revised International Standard Industrial Classification of 1958. At this point, each firm in the list was allocated a number, starting with 1 for the largest firm based in Nairobi with the earliest industrial classification, and working through consecutively to 134, which was a small-sized firm in the smallest location with a late-order industrial classification. As it was thought desirable that at least 50 companies should, if possible, participate in the research, it was decided to select half of the 134, and so a coin was spun to decide whether these should be the odd-numbered firms or the even-numbered ones. The choice came down on odd numbers, and so these 67 formed the sample.

The 67 concerns (see Appendix B for details) were then contacted by letter so that the research objectives could be outlined and an appointment made for an interview on company training policies and practices. A subsequent appointment was made for interviews with some of the Kenyan managers working for the firms in the sample.

Of the 67 organisations in the sample, it was only possible to interview representatives or spokesmen of 61 of them; one firm had gone out of business, two never responded either to the letter or subsequent telephone calls, and three were so far off the

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2. Government Printer, Nairobi. See Table 66(a), Size Distribution of Firms, 1968.

beaten track outside Nairobi that it never became possible to arrange an interview at a mutually convenient time. Nine of the 61 firms contacted did not employ any African staff in managerial positions, leaving 52 organisations with African managers, of which 39 were contacted again so that some of their African managers could be interviewed (see Appendix B for details). The information in the first sample of 52 companies has been written up by Whitlock (1972), but care has been taken to avoid duplication in this work by restricting the material relating to the companies to the same 39 organisations employing the Africans interviewed in the second sample.

The second interview schedule was administered to 179 African managers from the above-mentioned 39 organisations. It was primarily the time constraint which accounted for only 39 companies being contacted the second time round, and not the complete 52. However, the 179 managers who were seen represented an overall sample percentage of 29.3 of the African managers employed by the total 52 concerns, and this proportion held good by sub-division into size-groups and locational sub-groups. It was never the intention to interview all the 611 African managers employed at the time by the 52 concerns because time would have prevented it. The intention was rather to interview about one-third of these, from different functions and levels of seniority, and this objective was met.

Given the nature of the companies selected for interview, and in particular the size constraint, and given the nature of the managerial sample, it could be queried how representative of Kenyan business and management this research is. It is believed that the results do reflect what exists at a certain level in the Kenyan industrial scene; that is, in the modern industrialised business sector. That this is only part of the Kenyan story is accepted, but the intention was only to look at what was fairly directly comparable elsewhere, and it seemed that the larger companies (in overall Kenyan terms) and the managers who worked in them were the ones best suited to this purpose.

The organisations in the first (company) sample represented a wide spread of Kenyan industrial and commercial activity; included were companies from the electrical supply industry, building and construction, the wholesale and retail trade, banks, the transportation industry, textiles, food, footwear, wood products and saw-milling, printing and publishing, petroleum distribution, hotels, communications, metal industries, and other miscellaneous manufacturing and services companies. The African managers interviewed in the second sample came from all the above industries with the exception of building and construction, and the metal industries.

The method used for the collection of the data was interviewing. Although questionnaires had been prepared, it was felt that more reliable information would be gained by the personal administration of them in the form of an interview. The interviews were carried out by the writer or Professor N. C. Hunt of Edinburgh University (with some assistance from a postgraduate research student) in the case of the company spokesmen, and by the writer (with some limited assistance at one point from a research student at the University of Nairobi) in the case of the African managers. In deciding upon the personal interview method it was felt that any questions which held ambiguities could be further explained, any doubts or uncertainties concerning the objectives or the nature of the research could be allayed, and more detailed results could be obtained than would have been the case with a postal questionnaire. The personal contact element was also felt to be important from the point of view of the response rate, and this was borne out in practice, since, once contacted, no organisation refused to co-operate eventually, and only two African managers felt that they had sufficient reservations about the project to finally refuse to participate.

A broad definition of who and what a manager was had been prepared in advance, but it was found in practice to be of greater value to discuss management with each individual organisation, understand their acceptance of the term, and arrive at a local definition of who was and was not managerial staff. The original definition, which served as a starting point in such discussions, was that a manager is "a person engaged in an industrial firm or statutory corporation, who holds a grade above that of first-line foreman or supervisor, and whose functions include the leadership and control of other personnel, and/or the planning and organisation of work and resources. A salary guide of K£800 per annum minimum will be used, but will not be regarded as binding."

The African managers seen ranged from those at the very top of their organisations in a policy-making as well as an administrative capacity, through the levels of departmental senior management (where the managers held responsibility for a line or senior staff department), down to the middle levels of departmental assistants and section managers, and finally the lower levels of junior and trainee managerial staff with limited authority and lower-grade responsibilities. They also ranged widely according to the function performed, with some managers in line functions such as production, marketing, and finance, and others in the more advisory and service functions of personnel, engineering, legal aspects, and the like. For a list of job titles given by the managers, see Appendix G.

Data and Analysis

The data collected from the 39 organisations were much less amenable to detailed statistical analysis than the material collected from the 179 managers. From the company spokesmen, information was requested on the total number of managerial personnel employed as well as on the number of Africans in managerial posts. The companies were also asked about their main recruitment methods for African managerial staff, and the types of educational background that were preferred. In addition, where it was possible (and usually it was), they were asked to supply figures on the number of African managers who had undergone training within the organisation during the previous three years, what educational backgrounds these trainees came from, and which methods of training had been used; these latter ranged from fully comprehensive on-the-job training schemes to attendance on various types of management training courses, mainly around Nairobi. Questions were also asked on the value attached to these courses by the companies, and on the level of satisfaction expressed for managers of different educational backgrounds, Information was sought on which management appraisal schemes were in use so that an effort could be made to identify the degree of commitment held by the organisations to the concept and practice of management development for Africanisation. Finally, they were asked about the strengths and weaknesses of their African managers on the basis of their experience, and about their evaluations of their companies' training methods and the management training facilities available in Kenya.

It is accepted that these subjective evaluative questions are open to bias, and no attempt is made to deny this. Most (32) of the 39 company spokesmen were Europeans, only 4 were Africans, 2 were East African Asians, and one was Japanese. It is their figures and responses which are referred to and quoted in this work, and although one could occasionally detect a cynical or jaundiced point of view, it was felt that their responses typified the Kenyan situation.

The information obtained from the 179 African managers can be broadly classified into four main divisions. First of all, there was basic data relating to the age, sex, marital status, occupation and education of spouse, and number of children, if any. This was followed by information on social backgrounds; religion, tribe, place of birth, number of brothers and sisters, fathers' and mothers' education, and fathers' occupation. Thirdly, there were the data on their educational backgrounds; the standard reached, the school attended, any post-secondary education pursued, and details of any further education undertaken, whether for professional or technical qualifications or not. Included in this section was material relating to any in-company training and managerial courses attended, together with the participants' evaluations of this training and education and its relevance to their current work and future career. Finally, details of the careers of the managers were obtained by means of questions on the age at which they started work, the first full-time job they held, the organisations for whom they had been employed, the various jobs they had held within their current firm, their present position and responsibilities and how long they had held them, details of to whom it was they reported, their salary levels, what they thought about management as a career and why they had taken it up in the first place, and what alternative career they would opt for if they had the choice.

Much of the material obtained was numerical, or could be presented in numerical terms so that computer analysis was feasible. This was also desirable considering the number of cases in the African manager sample and the amount of material in each case. The analysis was achieved mainly by the cross tabulation of certain representative main variables (e.g. level of education, seniority, etc.) relating to the type of employing organisation, social background, educational background, and career with the other variables. Chi-square significance tests were applied to these results, and where relevant the tables and their significance levels are reproduced in the text; certain other tables relating to the material are in the Appendix under their appropriate social, educational, career, and organisational groupings. Other statistical methods used included multiple regression analysis where it was thought to be of value to assess the relative importance of certain dependent variables upon independent ones.

The principal emphasis of this work lies with the social, educational, training, and career backgrounds of the 179 managers interviewed. The data have therefore been classified under these four headings as individual chapters in the text. Social background and class are complex topics of which the rudiments have to be dealt with here in order to help understand the situation of the modern Kenyan industrial man in terms of what he is developing from, as well as what he is developing to. A certain amount of work on backgrounds and classes has been carried out in Europe and the West, where the meaning of class tends to be clearer in its historical context and economic usage than it does in Africa. Measurements of income, job status, standard of living, type of school attended, and standard of education achieved, plus others, have been employed in the Western context in order to help pinpoint the place in the social stratification league held by individuals or members of various occupational groups. In Africa, the traditional society was not so highly structured. The term 'African Socialism' has been coined to described the blend of traditional stability and modern aspiration towards which African nations should strive as they develop. In a study of modern management in Africa, one is concerned with one part of the current transition from traditionalism to modernism, and in an examination of the social backgrounds of the managers one is attempting to define those origins against which the extent of progress is being measured.

Basically, the measurements of social origin employed in this study are of the type that have been used in other studies, but they make concessions to Kenyan society where necessary. Indigenous ethnic affiliation is one of the areas where no comparisons of a direct nature are possible with the West, unless they be with ethnic groups of some kind in the USA or with immigrants in

Britain. However, it was not anticipated that ethnicity at the level of management being studied in Kenya would be of much significance. Urban or rural background is another, but at the time that many of the managers in this sample were children Kenya was a predominantly rural society anyway, as in many respects it still is, so that little of real use was derived from this either. The size of the manager's original family (i.e. during his childhood) was felt to be important, particularly the birth-order and his placement in it, though once again it was hypothesised that there would not be too much of significance in this. More important were those variables relating to the education and occupation of the managers' fathers, and to the type of school that the managers attended.

Each sample member was asked about the main occupation of his father, and what position he was holding either at the time of the interview or alternatively at retirement; a more realistic framing of this question would have been related to the nature of the father's job at the time of the manager's childhood, since this would probably have been more directly related to the amount of family income available for schooling expenses, but it was thought that the information would be difficult to obtain accurately, so the question remained in its original form, the reasoning being that the answer would still reflect the social status and aspirations of the family. The rankings of the fathers' occupations was carried out on the basic of their socio-economic class as defined by the type of job they held and its income level. Fathers' educational level was classified simply according to the highest level they had reached, and this meant a breakdown into those with no education, those who had received primary education only, and those who had received some secondary schooling.

The categorisation of the secondary schools attended by the managers was based on groupings used by the Kenyan Ministry of Education[3] as follows:

(i) National Low-Cost Schools, including Alliance High School for Boys, Alliance High School for Girls, Maseno, and St. Mary's at Yala, all of which were mission-founded and had built up a considerable educational reputation.

(ii) Local Catchment Schools, which were those secondary high schools usually associated with a particular district or area, and which were government-founded and usually of good quality. They included Kakamega High School, Machakos High School and others of similar ilk.

(iii) Other Secondary Schools; often of a private or independent nature, and including Kangema, Kenya High School at Mombasa and Sharda at Nairobi.

(iv) Primary Schools; these had to be put in a separate category because a number of managers had not received any education beyond this level. For purposes of analysis, groups (iii) and (iv) were later combined.

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3. Careers Information Booklet (Republic of Kenya, Ministry of Education; Government Printer, Nairobi 1971).

No attempt has been made to evaluate the current social status of the managers since this would have entailed further detailed questioning pertaining to patterns of living which the author did not feel qualified to undertake. However, it is accepted that there are differences and distinctions between the managers based on their seniority levels, the types of job they were in, and the organisations for which they worked. The managers in the sample were therefore classified according to their current seniority status, and were assigned to groups labelled top, senior, middle and junior on the basis of salary, responsibilities, and other criteria; as some of these groups were subsequently found to be too small for effective analysis, the top and senior groups were eventually combined.

The educational levels[4] of the managers were split according to:

(i) those who had not achieved School Certificate,

(ii) those who had obtained School Certificate or Higher School Certificate, and

(iii) those who were graduates.

As a number of managers had also undertaken some further studies it was felt that they should be examined, and the sample was divided into two sub-groups for this purpose. The first of these included those who had undergone some form of serious study of a full-time

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4. It should be pointed out that Primary School education embraced Standards I to VII (approximate ages 6-14 years), and that Secondary Education was from Form I to Form VI (approximate age 14-22 years). Ordinary School Certificate would be taken at Form IV, and Higher School Certificate at Form VI. Students would normally be expected to enter University at between 20 and 23 years of age.

or part-time nature, and had passed some examinations in the process; the second sub-group comprised those who had not undertaken any further education at all, or if they had, had not yet achieved intermediate status.

The type of organisational job function performed by the managers was felt to be an important variable for classification purposes, partly for attempting to evaluate the relative status of different kinds of work, but also for the purpose of examining the differences existing between managers in different functions. For analysis, the functions were reduced to five main groupings as follows:

(i) Production; all managers directly engaged in the manufacture or fabrication of products, or in the provision of the essential service of the business (e.g. Front of House Manager in an hotel); it also included those managers whose jobs were directly related to the production function or came under its authority, such as stores management, purchasing, warehouse management, and so on.

(ii) Marketing; managers in consumer relations, advertising, dispatch, product supply, export selling, and the like.

(iii) Personnel; managers directly engaged in the commonly accepted aspects of the personnel function, such as industrial relations, training, employment and record keeping, and public relations.

(iv) Finance and Accounting; managers in company secretarial work, credit control, those in the finance function in banks, as well as those whose work was mainly accounting for aspects of expenditure such as stores, works costs, and budget controlling.

(v) Other; the residual category for all those managers who could not be conveniently allocated to other groups; some were technical staff, others were top managers with general policy-making and administrative responsibilities, others were in research and development, technical librarianship, office administration and so on.

Other aspects of the managers' careers were considered worthy of attention. These included the age at which they had commenced work, their first job, and the length of their career experience; this latter could be broken down into non-managerial and managerial sub-divisions. From these details it was expected that a time-table of career progress could be made for the purpose of analysis.

Factors of career mobility were considered relevant. These were related to the amount of movement between companies and also to the amount of movement between different job functions. The speed and extent of mobility between organisations and functions was thought to be capable of analysis according to social origin, educational background, current function, managerial status, and type of employing organisation. In those cases where a manager had been seconded from his employing organisation to an overseas concern (either owned by the same parent or by arrangement with it), such a movement was not counted as a job move, although if it involved experience of a new function then it was counted as a functional move. No attempt was made to analyse the managers by the specific types of career pattern used by Clements (1958)[5] since these were not thought to be relevant in the Kenyan context.

Since this study is concerned with the process of Africanisation in management, and the training and development procedures which accompany it, another important set of variables were those relating to the amount and type of training received by the managers. The intention was to look at these against the facts and opinions given by the company spokesmen, and to see to what extent organisational policies and practices were confirmed by the experiences of the managers. Career development depends not only upon the practical training which is given on each job, but also upon the degree of attention given by employers to broadening the outlook and sharpening the expertise of their managers by sending them on courses and conferences aimed at consolidating the experiential aspect, and this form of training is often used to prepare managers for future responsibilities at a higher organisational level.

In-company training was analysed according to whether it was on-the-job, coursework training, or both. There were some managers in the sample who had attended courses in management but had not received any conscious on-the-job training to complement it; this is why coursework training had to be included as a separate category. Some of this was company-sponsored, either by the current concern or a previous one, and it included technical courses of various kinds, programmes in general management and supervision, courses in functional aspects of management such as marketing,

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5. These were based on managers' origins within the firm, i.e. Crown Prince, Managerial Trainee, Professional Expert, Special Entrant, and those who had risen from bottom.

production control, work study, stores management and so on. These courses were classified according to their nature, and were analysed by the types of managers attending them, by the amount of time spent on them, and by the number attended. Because it was desired to see the extent of support for locally run management training courses, information was also collected on where they were held. The managers were also asked to evaluate the training they had received, and to state the preferences for future training and development they considered to be useful to them.

Finally, in order to assess whether there were any significant differences between the types of managers employed by different categories of organisation, some of the information was analysed according to organisation type. The material relating to the educational backgrounds of the managers was therefore useful for comparison with the information the companies had given on the same topic, and so the organisational preferences and managerial facts were compared according to the size groupings of the firms, their ownership status, and their public or private sector classification. It was not possible to make any inter-industry comparisons, because although most industries were represented in the sample, the number in some of the categories was too small for effective comparison. Size groupings were based on the staff numbers mentioned above; i.e. the Large organisations were those employing over 1000 staff, the Medium-sized employed between 250 and 999, and the Small concerns had between 150 and 249 on their payrolls. Ownership status included those companies who were Multi-national, those who were Subsidiaries of smaller overseas concerns and were locally-registered, and those concerns which were locally-owned.

Summary

The information presented in the chapters that follow is that collected from the 39 companies and the 179 managers working for them, classified and analysed according to the methods described. It is presented in such a way as to try and give a picture of the development of one modernising aspect of the Kenyan economy, and the Africans who are involved in it.

## CHAPTER V

## COMPANY POLICIES AND PRACTICES

### Introduction

In the light of the Kenya government's declaration on managerial Africanisation one might expect the topic to form the basis of the major part of business policies adopted by enterprises in the country. The object of this chapter is to examine the thirty-nine sample organisations in detail to find out how far Africanisation has progressed at the managerial level, what policies are being pursued to expedite it, and what the attitudes of the companies are towards the performance of their African managers.

Before discussing Africanisation, some features of the sample must be reiterated; the sampling frame was based on large companies only (that is, only those employing more than 150 staff), and of the original 67 in the sample the 39 forming the basis of this research were companies who were committed to Africanisation to the extent that they had at least one managerial post Africanised. Thus, the Africanisation level in this sample is weighted upwards compared to the country at large. Also, the majority of the companies (33 out of 39) had some links with foreign capital, which gives their policies and attitudes a particular flavour which is presumably not representative of those of the total business community. The flavour in question is that of overseas connections, and some degree of commitment to an overall business philosophy which is foreign in origin, and not African. In a sample situation in which 7 organisations were multi-national, 15 were subsidiaries of overseas concerns, and more than half of the 17 local firms had originally been set up with expatriate capital and management, one would expect this to be the case.

The implication here is that the sample is biased towards Western interests, either directly or through historical and family connections. To this extent, then, it would be expected that the companies concerned will be oriented toward the Western managerial 'style', and would be most likely to recruit, train, and evaluate their African managers in accordance with Western methods and techniques, irrespective of whether or not they happened to be appropriate.

Africanisation in management is easy to measure numerically in that one notes the percentage of African managers to total managers. Unfortunately this method is incomplete, because unless an in-depth study is made of each organisation the extent of 'window-dressing' will be overlooked and the number of genuine managers overstated. Despite this admitted drawback, circumstances prevented the use of any other measurement than the straight numerical one, although it was suspected that on the basis of their stated authority and responsibilities between 10 and 15 per cent of the managers may have been victims of window-dressing.

The second area of study in this chapter is that associated with the recruitment sources and educational selection standards used, and the amount and nature of the training being provided to African management. Given that there are practical difficulties associated with the fairly rapid Kenyanisation of high-level jobs then systematic and planned development programmes would appear to be the best means of overcoming them. It was expected that these practical difficulties would relate to the relatively low educational standards of managerial aspirants, a shortage of staff with professional and technical qualifications, and a lack of much practical experience among managers in general. A commitment to management development as evidenced by practical programmes combining the planning, execution and evaluation of training would appear to be called for in Kenya. In view of what has been said about the nature of the sample organisations and their Western-connections it was thought that the companies viewing the problem most seriously and therefore undertaking management development solutions would be those associated with Western capitalism, in other words, the large companies and the multi-nationals.

Finally, the attitudes of the 39 company spokesmen toward the performance and potential of their African managers is treated here. The obvious relevance of this material lies in the use to which an analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of the managers can be put in order to improve their training and development in the future. In addition, the material may be used to provide evidence of a commitment to the Western managerial philosophy if the African managers are compared to Western ideals of management. This is because 32 of the company spokesmen were Europeans, 4 were Africans, 3 were Indian Asians, and one was Japanese. Thus there was a considerable European majority, which if anything was guaranteed to provide a Western viewpoint, and this was entirely consistent with the nature of the sample concerns.

Africanisation

Table 5.1 shows the quantitative extent of Kenyan Africanisation in management in the thirty-nine companies at the time the survey was held; these figures have been presented to show the comparisons by size group, sector, and ownership. This analysis does not pretend to give the proportion of management Africanisation in Kenya as a whole, but merely presents the picture as it existed in the sample organisations in 1971. It must also be noted that these figures make no attempt to judge the quality of Africanisation in that they take no account of the seniority and managerial authority exercised. Also, the data do not show the extent of the effort being made by individual companies in this regard, but merely present an instantaneous 'photograph' at one point in time. A number of companies, for instance, had made significant progress in training more African managers than they could possibly retain, while others had adopted the expedient method of appointing already trained personnel into managerial vacancies without bothering to develop the training resources that would have given them 'home grown' ones.

The first point to note is that the overall percentage of managerial Africanisation was 41.1 per cent. It is perhaps surprising to observe that the large companies, who most certainly have the greatest resources at their disposal for the training and development of managers, should show up with the smallest figure (35 per cent) according to size groups. However, the number of firms in this group was small (7), and the average conceals wide variations from 4 per cent to 68 per cent. If the organisation

TABLE 5,1

MANAGERIAL AFRICANISATION IN THE SAMPLE COMPANIES
ACCORDING TO THEIR SIZE, SECTOR, AND OWNERSHIP

| | Size Group | | | | | | Sector | | | | | | | Ownership | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No of Cos | No of Emps (000) | No of Mgrs | Mgrs to Emps % | Af Mgrs | Afs to Total % | | No of Cos | No of Emps (000) | No of Mgrs | Mgrs to Emps % | Af Mgrs | Afs to Total % | | No of Cos | No of Emps (000) | No of Mgrs | Mgrs to Emps % | Af Mgrs | Afs to Total % |
| L | 7 | 34.6 | 485 | 1.4 | 170 | 35.0 | PU | 4 | 28.2 | 210 | 0.7 | 92 | 43.8 | MN | 7 | 4.5 | 294 | 6.5 | 150 | 51.0 |
| M | 20 | 10.4 | 538 | 5.2 | 251 | 46.6 | PR | 35 | 19.2 | 976 | 5.1 | 396 | 40.6 | SUB | 15 | 6.8 | 358 | 5.3 | 111 | 31.0 |
| S | 12 | 2.3 | 163 | 7.1 | 67 | 41.1 | | | | | | | | LOC | 17 | 36.0 | 534 | 1.5 | 227 | 42.5 |
| Total | 39 | 47.3 | 1186 | 2.5 | 488 | 41.1 | | 39 | 47.3 | 1186 | 2.5 | 488 | 41.1 | | 39 | 47.3 | 1186 | 2.5 | 488 | 41.1 |

Note: One large public corporation (EARC) which is also classified as Local had 25,300 staff in 1968 (Source; Ndegwa Report), but gave its managerial strength as being only 32. This figure relates to top Kenya Region staff, but the ratios of Managers to Staff for Large, Public and Local concerns are distorted by this.

Key:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Cos = Companies | L = Large | MN = Multi-national |
| Emps = Employees | M = Medium | SUB = Subsidiary |
| Mgrs = Managers | S = Small | LOC = Local |
| Af = Africans | PU = Public | |
| Afs = Africanisation | PR = Private | |

with only 4 per cent Africanisation were to have been excluded, the percentage for the remainder would have been 39.7, a figure that is consistent with the sample as a whole.

The higher degree of Africanisation in the medium-sized companies can perhaps be largely explained by the presence of 3 highly Africanised multi-national concerns in the group, without which the percentage would have fallen from 46.6 to 40.6.

The smallest concerns had a figure exactly the same as that for the sample as a whole (41.4 per cent), and considering that their problems in this area were more pressing in that they had a higher ratio of managers to employees (7.1 per cent were management, as compared to 5.2 per cent in the medium companies, and 1.4 in the large ones), and that their sub-sample included a number of family businesses with Asian owner-managers, they seem to have done well to achieve that level.

The extent of Africanisation in the public corporations (which was nearly 44 per cent), as opposed to that of the companies in the private sector (nearly 41 per cent), is more easily explained. The annual report for one public corporation in 1970 included a statement by the Chairman that

> "our training efforts are aimed at a complete Kenyanisation of the Industry ... altogether 281 personnel received training in various fields throughout the year ... the number of university graduates sponsored by the Company increased from 7 in 1969 to 14 in 1970. A further 17 Company-sponsored students are receiving advanced accounting training. By the end of the year the percentage of Kenya citizens in the Company had risen to 92.7."

The public sector is more closely identified with Africanisation as a matter of policy, and it has had to take steps to put the policy into effect, as can again be observed in the press supplement sponsored by another statutory body which noted the emphasis being given to supervisory training as well as to technical training at its training establishment. "Training in this section deals with four main skills of supervision, handling of staff and good working relationships, passing of communications and instructions, organisation and methods study and prevention of accidents." A third corporation, in a 1970 press handout, pointed out that

> "already 95 per cent Africanisation has been achieved, and in the one department still substantially run by Expatriate staff, the Engineering Department, more than 15 African engineers are being groomed to take over ... in spite of the rapid Africanisation programme, there had been no breakdowns or complaints about the efficiency of the company and this bore witness to the success of the operation."

As the state corporations in this sample are mainly technically-biased in their operations, and have therefore had to rely more on the technical skills of expatriate managers than their private commercial counterparts, their progress in the degree of Africanisation achieved is highly laudable, mainly due to their commitment to the fulfilment of governmental policies.

Localisation is at its highest level (51.0 per cent) in the multi-national concerns. These are usually the wealthiest organisations operating in many countries in terms of their overall assets, and given in many cases that they support operations on a virtually world-wide scale, they have adopted policies aimed at strengthening their identities in these countries. Thus they have an incentive to Africanise, it is expected of them, they have the means to do it, and they are consequently making more progress than other types of organisation.

Local companies showed an Africanisation percentage (42.5 per cent) close to the average figure, but the subsidiaries of foreign concerns fell well below at 31.0 per cent. Perhaps this can be best explained by noting their intermediary status - they have neither the immense resources of the multi-nationals nor the close identification with local policies and problems of the local concerns.

It would be interesting to note the rate at which Africanisation has been progressing, but it is impossible to draw conclusions on this from the data. However, the 39 companies stated that they had trained a total of 460 Africans on the job (see Appendix R) over the past three years, and this gives some indication of the scale of effort being applied. It does not mean, of course, that three years previously there had only been 28 African managers (488 in the 39 companies as shown in Table 5.1, less the 460 trained on-the-job in the intervening time), since there must have been considerable movement from one company to another and from the private to the public sector (the sample data revealed that a manager moved companies about once in six years).

It may be unreasonable to expect anything like 100 per cent Africanisation in management at this stage, but it is still manifestly clear that much has yet to be done to raise it, especially when the growth in the economy is also taken into account. There is also the need to examine and improve the standards of managerial competence. Both quantitatively and qualitatively Africanisation has much farther to go, and given the absence of an outright drive by the government (which presumably implies its continuing commitment to expatriate managers) the importance of a high degree of individual company commitment is still important for the satisfaction of some national aspirations.

## Commitment Towards Africanisation

Any attempt to define the extent of the commitment to management development and therefore to Africanisation must take account of management development in its context as a desirable, if not essential, tool for the job in hand. A genuine attempt at developing new managers in Kenya should be an attempt at developing African ones. In this research, data were obtained on both Africanisation in its context as a national policy (usually expressed as Kenyanisation) as well as on the company policies and programmes for putting management development into effect.

The company interview schedule contained no direct question asking for opinions on Africanisation as a part of government policy, but quite naturally, since the essence of the entire project was precisely this, it could not fail to be brought up at some point in discussion. In these discussions no direct criticism of Africanisation for management as a general objective was revealed; most of the companies concerned seemed to have accepted that it was a governmental objective towards which effort had to be made, and the only scope for manoeuvre lay in the timetabling of progress and its achievement. This was the area in which criticisms were made; many organisations resented the feeling of pressure they had to operate under whenever the government decided to bring it to bear upon them, whereas the other main criticism was concerned with the means of effecting Africanisation. 'Pressure' in the form of governmental checks by the Kenya Bureau of Personnel, questions in the National Assembly, correspondence, and press statements all seemingly designed to give the impression that not enough was being done were resented in several quarters. One manager may be quoted as saying that for many Africans, "the process of Africanisation represents an immediate leap into the twentieth century", and several spokesmen stated that they thought the learning of management was necessarily a lengthy job. They felt, therefore, that the harassing tactics of the government, and the constant emphasis on numerical Africanisation achieved hindered their accomplishment of an effective job in this respect. The shortage of immediately qualified people exacerbated the situation, and the training that was being given was often reduced in effectiveness because it had to be rushed.

Regarding the provision of training for Africanisation there was also quite a lot of comment, some of it critical, other constructive. Some companies were bitter over the wrangling that was inevitably involved with the government when it had to be convinced that no Africans were qualified for a particular job in order that a two-year work-permit could therefore be obtained for an expatriate. "Because expatriates do not have any security," said one executive, "they have no interest in training up Africans for managerial positions." Other spokesmen mentioned the vested interest that an expatriate would have in holding on to his job as long as possible, so he could hardly be expected to train up an African to take his place, and thus work himself out of a job.

Lack of the necessary basic educational qualifications in the population was also seen as an effective obstacle to wider Africanisation in the short run, as was the lack of apprenticeship schemes which have often helped to produce a number of managers 'from the bottom'.[1] One spokesman declared that he would like to see a group of training consultants attached to government and made available to the smaller and medium sized companies who could not afford their own management training facilities - an idea that will be taken up again later.

A number of companies had failed to give any positive thought to development for Africanisation, and merely saw the process as a kind of game in which the objective was to keep one jump ahead of the Kenya Bureau of Personnel by ensuring that the paper Africanisation figure was sufficiently suitable to avoid any awkward questions being asked. The Bureau was several times criticised as being insensitive to the needs of management in respect of the quality of management trainees, nor was it observed to undertake any liaison between the firms and the various training centres to ensure an adequate supply of trainable candidates. The government was also criticised for failing to give any credit to those organisations which had made progress under what they themselves thought to be difficult circumstances.

Nevertheless, no outright disagreement with the concept of Africanisation was expressed, though it is possible it may have

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1. D.G. Clark, in a 1965 study noted that 17.5 per cent of the managers in his British sample survey had started their careers as apprentices, and 16.9 per cent as technicians or draughtsmen.

been felt in certain instances. Certainly all 39 companies and organisations had made at least a concession to it as they all had one or more African managers on their books. The more relevant point at this stage was how much they were doing about ensuring a future supply of such managers through management development schemes.

Commitment Towards Management Development

Various writers (Bridgman 1959; Houston 1961; Humble 1970; Markwell and Roberts 1971) have summarised some of the various elements that should be present in a truly comprehensive programme of management development. A synthesis of these various elements would produce the following criteria, which were used to examine the sample organisations (see Table 5.2);

1. The existence of strategic company objectives and plans in all areas of the business, and this includes managerial succession and development.
2. Continuous analysis and assessment of training needs, so that training objectives are clearly expressed.
3. Continuous evaluation of training methods and programmes, and a feedback of results to line management.
4. Feedback of performance in training to trainees and managers.
5. Systematic and regular appraisal of performance based on defined standards of performance.
6. Systematic setting and checking of standards of performance (see 5 above), otherwise known as managerial objectives.

TABLE 5.2

METHODS AND EXTENT OF MANAGEMENT DEVELOPMENT PRACTISED IN THE 39 SAMPLE COMPANIES

| Company No. | Size | Sector | Owner-ship | Company Develop-ment Plan | Train-ing Assess-ment | Train-ing Evalua-tion and Feedback | Feedback to Managers | Perform-ance Apprais-al | Manager-ial Object-ives | Off-Job Training (Last 3 years) | | On Job Training and Job Rotation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | | | Total Managers Trained | No. of Managers on Courses | |
| 1 | L | PU | LOC | √ | √ | √ | √ | √ | √ | 68 | 40 | √ |
| 2 | L | PR | LOC | | | | | √ | | 7 | 4 | √ |
| 3 | L | PR | MNC | | | | √ | √ | √ | 31 | 9 | √ |
| 4 | L | PU | LOC | | √ | √ | √ | √ | | 21 | 5 | √ |
| 5 | L | PR | SUB | | | | | / | | 24 | 16 | √ |
| 6 | L | PR | LOC | | | | | | | 9 | 0 | √ |
| 7 | L | PR | MNC | √ | √ | √ | √ | √ | √ | 51 | 25 | √ |
| 8 | M | PR | LOC | | | | | | | 15 | 13 | √ |
| 9 | M | PR | LOC | | | | | | | 8 | 5 | √ |
| 10 | M | PR | LOC | | | | | √ | | 8 | 19 | √ |
| 11 | M | PR | LOC | | | | | | | 5 | 4 | √ |
| 12 | M | PR | SUB | | | | | | | 4 | 4 | √ |
| 13 | M | PR | MNC | √ | √ | √ | √ | √ | √ | 55 | 53 | √ |

TABLE 5.2 (Continued)

| Company No. | Size | Sector | Ownership | Company Development Plan | Training Assessment | Training Evaluation and Feedback | Feedback to Managers | Performance Appraisal | Managerial Objectives | Off-Job Training (Last 3 years) | | On Job Training and Job Rotation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | | | Total Managers Trained | No. of Managers on Courses | |
| 14 | M | PR | MNC | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | 15 | 37 | ✓ |
| 15 | M | PR | SUB | | | | | ✓ | | 20 | 26 | ✓ |
| 16 | M | PR | SUB | | | | | | | 10 | 20 | ✓ |
| 17 | M | PR | SUB | | | | | | | 3 | 1 | ✓ |
| 18 | M | PR | SUB | | | | | | | 11 | 10 | ✓ |
| 19 | M | PU | LOC | | | | | | | 3 | 12 | ✓ |
| 20 | M | PR | LOC | | | | | | | 24 | 6 | ✓ |
| 21 | M | PR | MNC | | | | | ✓ | | 7 | 12 | ✓ |
| 22 | M | PR | SUB | | | | | | | 18 | 4 | ✓ |
| 23 | M | PR | SUB | | | | | | | 1 | 0 | ✓ |
| 24 | M | PR | LOC | | | | | | | 1 | 3 | ✓ |
| 25 | M | PR | SUB | | | | | | | 3 | 5 | ✓ |
| 26 | M | PR | SUB | | | | | | | 4 | 4 | ✓ |
| 27 | M | PR | LOC | | | | | | | 5 | 3 | ✓ |

TABLE 5.2 (Continued)

| Company No. | Size | Sector | Ownership | Company Development Plan | Training Assessment | Training Evaluation and Feedback | Feedback to Managers | Performance Appraisal | Managerial Objectives | Off-Job Training (Last 3 years) Total Managers Trained | Off-Job Training (Last 3 years) No. of Managers on Courses | On Job Training and Job Rotation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 28 | S | PR | LOC | | | | | | | 3 | 2 | ✓ |
| 29 | S | PR | SUB | | | | | | | 6 | 2 | ✓ |
| 30 | S | PR | SUB | | | | | ✓ | | 3 | 14 | ✓ |
| 31 | S | PR | MNC | | | | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | 8 | 18 | ✓ |
| 32 | S | PR | LOC | | | | | | | 2 | 0 | ✓ |
| 33 | S | PR | SUB | | | | | | | 3 | 0 | ✓ |
| 34 | S | PU | LOC | | | | | | | 11 | 9 | ✓ |
| 35 | S | PR | LOC | | | | | | | 18 | 9 | ✓ |
| 36 | S | PR | LOC | | | | | | | 3 | 2 | ✓ |
| 37 | S | PR | SUB | | | | | | | 1 | 0 | ✓ |
| 38 | S | PR | MNC | | | | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | 1 | 3 | ✓ |
| 39 | S | PR | SUB | | | | | ✓ | | 4 | 2 | ✓ |

KEY: L = Large, M = Medium, S = Small; PU = Public, PR = Private; LOC = Local, MNC = Multi-national company, SUB = Subsidiary

TABLE 5.2 (Continued)

BREAKDOWN OF COMPANIES BY (i) SIZE (ii) SECTOR (iii) OWNERSHIP

| | No. of Companies | Company Develop-ment Plan | Train-ing Assess-ment | Train-ing Evalua-tion | Feedback to Managers | Perform-ance Apprais-al | Manager-ial Object-ives | Off-Job Training | | | On Job Training |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | Companies | Total Managers Employed | Managers on Courses | |
| (i) | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Large | 7 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 3 | 6 | 211 | 99 | 7 |
| Medium | 20 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 5 | 2 | 19 | 220 | 241 | 20 |
| Small | 12 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 9 | 63 | 61 | 12 |
| (ii) | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Public | 4 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 103 | 66 | 4 |
| Private | 35 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 6 | 13 | 6 | 30 | 391 | 335 | 35 |
| (iii) | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Multi-National | 7 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 6 | 7 | 6 | 7 | 168 | 157 | 7 |
| Subsidiary | 15 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 12 | 115 | 108 | 15 |
| Local | 17 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 15 | 211 | 136 | 17 |
| TOTAL | 39 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 8 | 15 | 7 | 34 | 494 | 401 | 39 |

7. Systematic off-the-job training (courses).
8. The placing of effort into systematic and planned on-the-job training and job rotation.

Management Development according to the size of the Organisation

Most of the large companies in the sample possessed some idea of management development, ranging in sophistication from little more than an awareness of what it was about at one extreme, to conscious and well thought-out plans at the other. There was one notable exception however of a large concern which had made only a nominal gesture to Africanisation, and had taken no steps further than a rough and ready on-the-job training mainly geared up to the clerical and lower technical levels only.

Three large organisations (see Table 5.2, company numbers 1, 4 and 7) operated highly sophisticated schemes commencing with detailed long-range plans which were translated into managerial manpower forecasts, and included budgetary allocations for recruitment and training as well as planned career development schemes for existing managerial staff. In one of these companies a Training Committee composed of departmental heads met bi-monthly to review training against operational requirements, and a Field Training Officer was employed to maintain a feedback from operations to the Training Department. In two of the organisations, managers were either promoted into their jobs, or recruited as graduates for specialised management training. Full-scale assessment of training needs was carried out regularly, with results reported to higher management, and there was also systematic objective-setting, performance appraisal and counselling at six-monthly intervals, as well as feedback on progress to the managers and trainees.

Three other companies incorporated some of the desired methods (company numbers 2, 3 and 5) and one firm (company number 6) restricted itself solely to on-the-job training and job rotation.

Only two of the medium-sized organisations possessed sophisticated management development policies (company numbers 13 and 14) and these were both multi-nationals. Most firms relied on on-the-job training and the sending of managers on outside courses. What this meant in practice was that while some aspects of management development were incorporated into a specific plan, others were ignored or only partially exploited, and even then this was usually on a haphazard basis. A characteristic of many of the medium-sized concerns was the "appraisal on results" approach, indicating that while a developed system of objective-setting was not practised, top management felt that it could identify performance on the basis of what was happening in the organisation at large. One spokesman's comment adequately typifies this approach, "there is no systematic assessment procedure or management by objective programme. Managers are judged pragmatically and there is no conscious feedback to the training programme."

Other medium-sized companies showed evidence of assessment procedures, but they were often on a qualitative and intuitive basis (leadership, personality, etc.), or were based on performance against budgets, customer complaints, industrial relations records, technical breakdowns and so on, without identification of individual performance standards, key results areas and appraisal based on objective measurements.

Only two organisations of the twelve in the small size subgroup could be classed as being fairly highly committed to management development (company numbers 31 and 38), whereas eight relied only on some form of performance appraisal supplemented by outside coursework and on-the-job training. Obviously, limited resources play no small part in their apparent lack of enthusiasm, but another associated problem was staff wastage which was not necessarily exclusive to small firms, though it hit them harder. The comments of two spokesmen (both Managing Directors) serve to summarise feelings on the subject,

> "We cannot afford to train people for higher positions when it is almost certain that they will leave us afterwards." "Five years ago, we took on five African management trainees, and now we have only one left, and he is not proving to be very good. The others were attracted by higher salaries to other companies."

<u>Management Development according to the Ownership of Organisation.</u>

It was the multi-national corporations who put the most convincing-looking effort into management development, an effort which was reflected in their higher Africanisation figure of 51 per cent. Of the seven MNCs, three (numbers 7, 13 and 14) had developed very sophisticated practices, while three others (numbers 3, 31 and 38) were fairly highly committed in that they practised regular objective-setting, performance appraisal and feedback to the managers. Three of the committed organisations operated Management by Objectives and performance appraisal. In the words of one spokesman,

> "We have an integrated system, including task delegation, annual staff reporting, discussion of reports with staff, job rotation, special assignments and training courses, and regular appraisal of performance.

> In this appraisal, special attention is paid to evaluation of training received, assessment of needs, and recommendations for training .... Training is regarded as the total development of a man towards meeting his present and future assignments - a broader approach than that of just classroom training and instruction. Training involves putting a man on the job, giving him the tools to do that job, delegating authority to him, rewarding him, planning his future, working out job rotation and other relevant assignments, promoting him, and sending him on the appropriate courses. In other words, total development."

The MNCs as a whole do tend to have greater resources available for training, policies which lend emphasis to the development of local management, and a sophisticated machinery for putting these into effect. Together, they account for the results achieved by the sub-group in this respect.

The subsidiaries of overseas organisations showed unimpressive results. There were fifteen of them and not one indicated that they had manpower development plans, assessment of training needs, evaluation of training, managerial objective-setting, or feedback to management of training results. Only four used regular performance appraisal. Despite the fact that twelve of these organisations had sent 108 managers on management courses during the previous three years, their indifference towards management development is hard to explain adequately, since only five of the concerns were small.

Neither had the local organisations distinguished themselves to any significant extent. Of the seventeen only two (numbers 1 and 4), both of which were large statutory corporations, had shown a determined approach in meeting the development criteria. The remainder relied upon sending a few managers on occasional outside courses, and some form of on-the-job training and job rotation.

## Management Development according to the Sector of the Organisations

A breakdown of the companies by sector reveals that there seemed to be more effort being put into management development by the public corporations than was the case in the private sector. However, there were only four public corporations in the sample, and their results were heavily weighted by the two large concerns previously referred to above (numbers 1 and 4). The private sector contained the bulk of the medium and small organisations, neither of which, on the whole, have been shown to possess a strong practical commitment to management development. Nevertheless, previous reference has been made to a determined commitment towards Africanisation by the statutory bodies, and this undoubtedly exerts a strong pull on their efforts.

## Summary of Management Development Effort

The majority of concerns of all sizes and types recognised the importance of identifying the skills needed to carry out managerial work effectively. Most, however, relied on experience and trial and error rather than on systematic job analysis and description. It seems that a lack of the latter is a deficiency which should be remedied so that training needs may be properly identified.

All organisations relied on on-the-job training; it appears that this is a method that even the smallest concerns can afford and make use of, usually by means of job rotation. However, it was often lacking in an overall plan, although certain of the larger and/or multi-national concerns did provide planned and relevant training of this nature. One such organisation recruited a high proportion of its African managers at School Certificate level, gave them experience in a major department, and followed this with an appointment at first supervisory level and later at junior managerial level if they warranted it. This process would be assisted by job rotation through various departments in order that trainees would develop more than a narrow outlook on the organisations as a whole. Such rotational training can provide a better basis for later entry into general management.

The use of external training facilities (to be discussed in more detail shortly) was quite varied. Most large and medium-sized companies used them quite extensively (although there was one significant exception), whereas only about one-third of the small concerns did so. The large concerns and the multi-nationals, who were more likely to have their own training schools, used these as well as other outside local institutions, and also sent staff overseas on cross-postings or to overseas educational establishments. Smaller firms, when they did use outside training facilities, relied mainly on the Kenya Institute of Management (KIM) or the Management Training and Advisory Centre (MTAC).

Just under half of the large and medium-sized establishments set objectives for management, but only seven had a functioning Management by Objectives system. The normal objectives used seemed to be based on existing budgeted targets, and the lack of a clear system again seems to identify another area in which more conscious planning would be of benefit.

Less than half of the organisations practised a formal system of performance appraisal, though many used less systematic methods.

Limited data were obtained on the extent to which appraisal results were fed back to managers for the purpose of improvement counselling. The exceptions were the organisations practising Management by Objectives who made a considered attempt to keep staff informed of their progress. One of these firms had only been doing this for twelve months.

Few companies had made any serious attempt to diagnose their training needs. The majority admitted that their training methods were not perfect, but did not show evidence of effort directed towards correcting their deficiencies. Many company spokesmen seemed to think that "there isn't anything better," and left it at that. Similarly, there was little evaluation of training save in the case of some of the larger organisations or multi-nationals where there was evidence of an attempt to relate training to job requirements.

The overall picture was one showing a general lack of practical commitment towards achieving the objectives of Africanisation through systematic management development policies and procedures.

## Recruitment Policy and Practice

Company spokesmen were asked to specify their order of preference for recruitment sources used in Kenya. The overall results are shown in Table 5.3 which indicates the rank order of preference, and compares it with the rank order obtained from actual recruitment sources of the second sample of 179 African managers. Promotion from within was the most popular "source" of managerial staff, for which there may be very good reasons. Where companies provide training and experience at lower levels, then those staff who remain

TABLE 5.3

ORDER OF PREFERENCE FOR SOURCES OF AFRICAN MANAGERS, COMPARED TO ACTUAL RECRUITMENT SOURCES FOR MANAGERS IN THE SECOND SAMPLE

| | Company Preferences | | | Managers | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total Points (a) | Average Points per Company | Rank | Number recruited | Rank |
| Internal Promotion | 96 | 2.5 | 1 | 86 | 1 |
| Advertisement | 123 | 3.2 | 2 | 47 | 2 |
| Educational Institutions | 153 | 3.9 | 3 | 16 | 4 |
| Informal Contacts | 153 | 3.9 | 3 | 17 | 3 |
| Government | 178 | 4.6 | 5 | 2 | 6 |
| Other Sources | 179 | 4.6 | 6 | 11 | 5 |

$r_s = 0.914$

Note: (a) Points were allocated on the basis of 1 for first preferences, 2 for second, etc., for each of the 39 sample organisations and were then totalled.

with the organisation may often ultimately be suitable for higher authority and responsibilities. Added to this is the fact that such people are usually "known quantities" within their firms, and many sample organisations obviously placed more reliance upon their own evaluation of potential on the basis of proven results than they did in their selection methods.

Advertising for outside staff was the second most preferred method, with educational institutions and informal contacts an equal third. Government sources, such as the Kenyanisation of Personnel Bureau and the Ministry of Labour, were not rated highly, and neither was there much recourse to "other sources", which in this case usually meant outside selection agencies run by management consultants.

The preferences expressed by the company spokesmen were observed to have been supported in practice when the African manager results were compared. The 179 managers from the second sample fell into a similar rank order, with the correlation coefficient between the two rank orders being 0.914. The largest group of managers was the 86 who had come into management through internal promotion, followed by the 47 who had been selected after answering advertisements. There were also 17 from informal contacts and 16 from educational institutions.

The details of recruitment preferences and practices are shown by breakdown of organisational types in Appendix S with full tables and correlation co-efficients.

It it clear from this analysis that, of the six sources of recruitment listed for local African management staff, internal promotion was by far the most favoured and practised not only in the sample overall, but also among the various sub-groups of size, sector and ownership. The only exceptions to this were the multi-national organisations, and the concerns in the public sector, the former of which had placed internal promotion as second preference, while the latter made more use of advertising.

Advertising for staff was ranked as second in preference and practice by the group overall, and again, no major deviations from this were revealed in the breakdown. This would seem to suggest that all types of company placed a certain amount of reliance on the "poaching" of some trained staff from other organisations.

Educational institutions were not as highly ranked as might have been expected, given that management is sometimes accepted as being a profession for the educated. Although institutions of higher learning were placed in third place for overall preference, major deviations were indicated in practice with the small companies, local concerns, subsidiary concerns and private sector organisations all ranking them lower than this. On the other hand, the large organisations and the multi-nationals both ranked educational institutions first in preference, a preference that was not backed up in practice in either case.

Informal contacts as a means of acquiring managerial staff were not ranked highly in general, although the small and medium companies, the subsidiaries, the local concerns and the private sector in general tended to show them some favour and make more use of them. As these were the same groups that did not give a high ranking to the educational institutions, it is probably the case that informal contacts provided them with a relatively cheap and reliable method of finding satisfactory managerial staff.

Other sources, primarily the Ashby-Pearce Selection Agency and the government (notably the Kenyanisation of Personnel Bureau) were not rated as significant at all.

The evidence shows that a high proportion of managers came from within the organisations, and underscores the point that a systematic approach by the various enterprises to management development is essential. Only through a development of the will and skill to identify potential and train it up themselves will companies be able to develop the management they need for the future.

Recruitment and Educational Levels

The company spokesmen were asked to indicate which level of educational attainment and background their companies sought in their African managers. No request for a rank order of preference was made, merely that they should indicate whether university degrees were required or preferred, or professional and technical qualifications, or Higher School Certificate (HSC) or School Certificate (SC), or indeed, whether there was no educational requirement *per se*, but merely a preference for potential or experience irrespective of qualifications.

The results varied according to the level and type of managers required, with some organisations indicating that university degrees were desirable for higher posts, that professional and technical qualifications were necessary for certain specialist management positions, and that for junior and trainee appointments lower standards were acceptable. Some spokesmen made the point that although their companies would have preferred to recruit according to specific qualifications, practical considerations relating to salaries and terms of appointment and the general availability of qualified people meant that they often had to waive such considerations and recruit the best staff available, irrespective of educational background.

Some companies, therefore, showed a preference for more than one standard, while others indicated only one choice. Table 5.4 shows the overall preferences mentioned by the 39 companies according to the number of times a particular qualification or level was listed. These figures may be compared with the weighted preferences in the second column, and to those in the third column which shows the actual number of managers trained by the companies over the three previous years. It will be observed that both sets of preferences fall into the same rank order, whereas the actual numbers trained fall into an almost exactly reversed order, showing a correlation coefficient of -0.6.

The preference most often quoted by the company spokesmen was that their African managers should either have a degree or a professsional or technical qualification of some kind. University degrees were, in fact, thought to be a strong requirement by 15 out of the 39 firms. They were usually associated with higher level posts, but some of the multi-national organisations saw degrees as the normal requirement for intake into executive training.

On the other hand, some firms were equally definite in their preference for non-university qualifications, seeing graduates

TABLE 5.4

PREFERENCES FOR EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AND QUALIFICATIONS EXPRESSED BY COMPANIES COMPARED WITH ACTUAL LEVELS AND QUALIFICATIONS OF AFRICAN MANAGERS TRAINED IN THE PREVIOUS 3 YEARS

| | Preference (Number of times mentioned) (i) | | | Weighted Preference (ii) | | | Actual Numbers Trained (3 years) | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | Rank | No. | % | Rank | No. | % | Rank |
| Degree and/or Professional/ Technical Qualification | 37 | 49.3 | 1 | 12.8 | 32.9 | 1 | 102 | 19.5 | 3 |
| Higher School Certificate | 19 | 25.3 | 2 | 11.3 | 29.1 | 2 | 79 | 15.2 | 4 |
| School Certificate | 6 | 8.0 | 4 | 3.6 | 9.2 | 4 | 154 | 29.6 | 2 |
| No particular level | 13 | 17.3 | 3 | 11.3 | 28.8 | 3 | 186 | 35.7 | 1 |
| Total | 75 | | | 39 | | | 521 | | |
| $r_s$ (Preferred and actual) | - 0.6 | | | | | | | | |

Note: (i) The number of preferences mentioned from 39 companies was 75 because several company spokesmen indicated more than one, e.g. degrees for higher posts and HSC for more junior positions.

(ii) The weighted preference was found by giving each of the 39 companies an allocation of 1.00, thus allowing every stated preference to be a proportion of this figure. Thus, a a company indicating two preferences would have them allocated 0.5 each; a company indicating three preferences would have them allocated 0.33 each, etc.

collectively as a group who placed too much emphasis on high status and rewards. One spokesman said that graduates thought that they knew all the answers, whereas in reality they did not, and as far as his organisation was concerned they preferred "doers" to "tellers". Another placed more value on personal recommendations and proven ability than on educational attainments. Yet a third emphasised qualities of leadership rather than academic qualifications. Such comments tended to be typical of the love-hate relationship existing between some companies and Kenyan graduates; many firms would have liked to employ them but hesitated to do so for reasons of salary demands and problems of status. Although most, if not all, spokesmen accepted that graduates had more potential than aspirants from other groups, some of them complained that they had already had their fingers burned by losing graduates after they had invested in their training, or had become alienated from them as a result of their unpalatable or intolerable attitudes.

The professional and technical qualifications referred to as the other high level qualification included engineering associateships, accountancy associateships, and specific qualifications relating to a particular industry, such as membership of the Institute of Bankers in the case of banking staff, the Institute of Transport where relevant, the Institute of Hotel Management, etc.

However, of the actual number of African managers trained by the companies over the previous three years, only 102 out of 521 (19.5 per cent) fell into this overall category of degree or qualification holders. The shortfall indicated presumably goes some way towards explaining the attitudes of which the companies complained.

Higher School Certificate was the second highest ranked qualification. Many of the spokesmen who mentioned it expressed other preferences as well, but HSC seemed to justify its place as a requirement for the younger trainee managers, or as an additional requirement along with a technical or professional qualification.

Generally speaking, managerial preferences had not been realised in practice, as Table 5.4 indicates. Over one-third (186) of the 521 managers trained in the previous three years were those who had no recognised educational qualifications; that is, they were below School Certificate level. In addition, the higher educated and qualified group (those with degrees and/or professional and technical qualifications) and the HSC group, which were the first and second preferences, were third and fourth in fact, with 102 and 79 managers trained respectively.

In Appendix T there are detailed breakdowns of the same data according to size, ownership and sector of the sample concerns. The analyses show that all types of sub-group expressed preferences for the higher qualified staff which they had been unable to fulfil in practice. In every case, School Certificate candidates had been recruited to make up for the shortfall of graduates and other qualified staff. In addition, there was a shortage of candidates with HSC qualifications. The chief victims of the situation were the large and medium-sized concerns and the multinationals (most of which were large or medium-sized anyway), all of which had high demands in terms of the numbers of managers required.

At this point, a query may be raised as to how realistic these preferences were, and whether or not the organisations were perhaps setting their sights too high in terms of what was currently available in the country. It is not known whether the companies were aware of the number of graduates and HSC candidates entering the job market each year, or of the opportunities for further study leading to recognised qualifications in the areas specified. Certainly, one is entitled to wonder if they were not expecting too much, competing as they were with one another for such staff. In one sense, it appears that they were, particularly when the Appendix T figures are taken at face value. However, it must be remembered that these figures are only preferences and not facts, and that they represent an ideal situation which the spokesmen would have dearly loved to apply. It is even possible that they were not true preferences at all, but merely responses that the spokesmen thought likely a university-based researcher would like to hear. Or again, that the spokesmen, instead of being realistic, were indulging their fancies, since most companies would presumably prefer graduates if they could afford them. Perhaps the key factor, although there is no evidence to substantiate it, is that, being successful themselves, the spokesmen viewed their own types of background and experience as being desirable in others.

It may be, therefore, that given previously expressed reservations about graduates, the companies were following their genuine choices by recruiting and training School Certificate holders and the other lesser qualified personnel. In the meantime, faced with the reality of a current shortage of qualified candidates for management, they were putting in some additional effort to overcome the immediate problem by providing training for the lesser qualified personnel in the hope that a reasonable number of suitable managers could be developed from them.

Examination of Appendix T reveals that the multi-national corporations had trained the highest proportion of graduates and professionals and the local companies had trained the least. With those managers of lesser (School Certificate) or no qualifications, the trend was reversed in that they made up three quarters of the managers trained, in the subsidiary organisations 54.7 per cent and in the multi-national organisations 54.6 per cent. It seems that the multi-nationals and subsidiaries were training most of the educated and qualified managers, although again not as many as they would have preferred.

Multi-national organisations and local concerns trained a high proportion of their managers at their training institutions in Kenya (three out of every five, and two out of every five respectively). The local KIM and MTAC courses were not used extensively by the multi-nationals, although 39 subsidiary company managers (over a third of those trained), and 54 of the managers in local concerns (one quarter of those trained) had used the MTAC (see Appendix R).

The only significant difference between the educational qualifications of the managers trained in the public and private sector organisations was at the lower educational levels (see Appendix T). It will be observed that the proportions of higher educated or qualified managers trained in the two sectors were about equal at just over one-third. However, School Certificate managers formed nearly 44 per cent of those trained by public corporations and only a quarter of those trained by private concerns. Managers with no qualifications formed over 40 per cent of those trained in the private sector.

Public sector organisations had trained over half their managers in their own Kenyan training institutions (this was true of just over 41 per cent of the private sector managers). The MTAC was more popular with public concerns (nearly a quarter of their trained managers had been there) than it was with private ones (only one in six managers). However, the private sector was more likely to send its managers abroad for training.

The fact that 460 managers had been trained on-the-job, and over 500 had attended courses or received similar attention from their companies would appear to say quite a lot in favour of the attention being given to this aspect of management development by the sample organisations. However, as there was little evidence that in most cases this was systematic training with an adequate opportunity for self development consistent with the abilities of the individuals concerned, then it would seem that the numbers might not be as impressive as they appear. In many instances, firms sent men on courses without adequate thought as to how they were intended to benefit from them.

Management Training

It has previously been noted that systematic off-the-job management training courses coupled with planned on-the-job training and job rotation are two important aspects of management development. It was observed that, although these methods were widely used, they appeared in most cases to lack the system and planning that is essential to develop trainees into managerial jobs. However, it is worth making a brief examination of the numbers of managers stated to have been trained in this fashion and then to comment upon the value of the training as the companies saw it.

The thirty-nine sample concerns stated that they had trained 521 (see Table 5.4) managers over the previous three years by sending them on management courses. However, a further figure obtained in answer to a different question revealed that the number was 567 of whom 460 had received on-the-job training. The discrepancy may presumably be explained by marginal deficiencies in company records, although 521 is close to 567.

The breakdown of the number of managers trained (in Appendix T, section (c)) by the different types of organisation shows that for size groups, the proportion of graduate and professionally-qualified managers was smallest in the large concerns and highest in the small ones. The same was true of HSC managers, and the trends were in the reverse direction with the lesser qualified managers. It is of interest to note that the large establishments had trained smaller proportions of the higher qualified managers, but higher ones of the less well-educated and qualified. This would seem to imply that the large concerns were providing a kind of service for the industrial community by training more "raw" staff. Whether this was a question of policy is open to debate since previous discussion has indicated that their preference was for better educated and qualified staff.

The training given by the companies was varied, and according to their figures was given to 567 managers. A detailed breakdown is shown in Appendix R. Aside from on-the-job training, two thirds of the 253 large company managers trained had received training courses within their companies in Kenya, a figure far in excess of the medium organisations (just over a quarter of 250 managers) and the small ones (just over a sixth of 64 managers). This method accounted for the highest proportions of managers from large and medium-sized concerns, whereas small companies relied more upon local Nairobi-based training institutions (KIM and MTAC) which between them accounted for the training given to over half of their managers.

It is hardly surprising that evaluations by the organisations (see Table 5.5) indicated that they thought more highly of internal (or self-provided) training than external programmes, no matter what form the latter took. The table shows the number of companies contributing to the ratings for each type of training, together with their weighted ratings (allowing the extent of their experience with each form of training to be taken into account), and the results show the two to be quite close together.

The preference for their own internal training is apparent from the table. If the above 'average' ratings (i.e. 'very high' and 'high') are summed, the following two groups emerge clearly;

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | (a) | On-the-job training | approximately 90% of the ratings above average |
| | (b) | Company training institutions in Kenya | |

TABLE 5.5

Company Evaluations of the Alternative Training Institutions and Methods Used
(for managers trained in previous 3 years)

| Scale | On-the-Job | | | | Company Training Institutions (Kenya) | | | | Company Training Institutions (Abroad) | | | | Kenya Institute of Management | | | | Management Training and Advisory Centre | | | | Overseas (not within company) | | | | Other | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Unweighted | | Weighted | | Unweighted | | Weighted | | Unweighted | | Weighted | | Unweighted | | Weighted | | Unweighted | | Weighted | | Unweighted | | Weighted | | Unweighted | | Weighted | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Very High | 18 | 47.3 | 35 | 53.9 | 3 | 23.1 | 8 | 24.2 | 5 | 50.0 | 5 | 50.0 | 0 | - | 0 | - | 2 | 9.5 | 2 | 8.7 | 3 | 30.0 | 3 | 30.0 | 5 | 38.5 | 5 | 38.5 |
| High | 17 | 44.7 | 27 | 41.5 | 9 | 69.2 | 21 | 63.6 | 2 | 20.0 | 2 | 20.0 | 8 | 61.5 | 11 | 68.8 | 11 | 52.4 | 13 | 56.5 | 5 | 50.0 | 5 | 50.0 | 4 | 30.7 | 4 | 30.7 |
| Average | 3 | 7.9 | 3 | 4.6 | 1 | 7.7 | 4 | 12.1 | 2 | 20.0 | 2 | 20.0 | 3 | 23.1 | 3 | 18.7 | 4 | 19.0 | 4 | 17.4 | 2 | 20.0 | 2 | 20.0 | 3 | 23.1 | 3 | 23.1 |
| Low | 0 | - | 0 | - | 0 | - | 0 | - | 1 | 10.0 | 1 | 10.0 | 2 | 15.4 | 2 | 12.5 | 4 | 19.0 | 4 | 17.4 | 0 | - | 0 | - | 0 | - | 0 | - |
| Very Low | 0 | - | 0 | - | 0 | - | 0 | - | 0 | - | 0 | - | 0 | - | 0 | - | 0 | - | 0 | - | 0 | - | 0 | - | 1 | 7.7 | 1 | 7.7 |
| No. of Companies Responding | 38 | | | | 13 | | | | 10 | | | | 13 | | | | 21 | | | | 10 | | | | 13 | | | |
| No. of Managers Trained by Responding Companies | 442 | | | | 247 | | | | 33 | | | | 71 | | | | 103 | | | | 33 | | | | 50 | | | |

Note: The weighting factor was determined from the scale below which takes into account the number of managers trained by each company. Thus, the 18 organisations which valued On-the-Job training as being 'very high' were allocated a weighting point from the scale below according to how many managers they had actually trained of the 442. The total number of points for these 18 organisations totalled 35 which is the figure shown in the weighted column.

| No. of Managers Trained | Weighting |
|---|---|
| 0 - 10 | 1 |
| 11 - 20 | 2 |
| 21 - 30 | 3 |
| 31 - 40 | 4 |

| No. of Managers Trained | Weighting |
|---|---|
| 41 - 50 | 5 |
| 51 - 60 | 6 |
| 61 - 70 | 7 |
| 71 - 80 | 8 |

(2) (a) Overseas training
(b) Company training outside Kenya
(c) Other
(d) Management Training and Advisory Centre
(e) Kenya Institute of Management

) 61.5% - 80.0% of the ratings above average

From an analysis of the research results, the views of the companies regarding Kenya's main training institutions may be summarised. The KIM was generally considered to be of high value, despite the fact that it had to "go it alone without government support."

The Management Training and Advisory Centre was also considered to be of high value, although there was more critical comment here than there was of the KIM. Much of this related to the inexperience of the staff teaching courses at the MTAC, and certainly it had difficulty in holding qualified local staff who were easily attracted into the private sector once they had been trained.

The East African Staff College had only been used by 5 of the companies in the sample who had sent 10 managers only on courses there in the previous three years. The evaluations, however, were very high, and the firms using the EASC had virtually nothing but praise for its courses, although it was accepted that they were geared up mainly to the senior end of the managerial hierarchy rather than the middle or junior ranges. One criticism that did arise was that it was "too government-oriented", and Table 5.6 reveals the basis of this criticism. It will be noted

TABLE 5.6

BREAKDOWN OF PARTICIPANTS ON EAST AFRICAN STAFF COLLEGE COURSES NOS I - XVII (1964-1970)

| | Ministries, Departments, and Local Government | | Boards and Corporations | | Commerce and Industry | | Co-operatives and Banks | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. |
| Kenya | 53 | 55.8 | 15 | 15.8 | 22 | 23.1 | 5 | 5.3 | 95 |
| Tanzania | 84 | 64.1 | 16 | 12.2 | 14 | 10.7 | 17 | 13.0 | 131 |
| Uganda | 63 | 71.6 | 9 | 10.2 | 13 | 14.8 | 3 | 3.4 | 88 |
| East African Community | 16 | 32.0 | 34 | 68.0 | - | - | - | - | 50 |
| Other | 17 | 100.0 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 17 |
| Total | 233 | 61.2 | 74 | 19.4 | 49 | 12.9 | 25 | 6.5 | 381 |

Source: Information provided by the Director of the College that overall, commerce and industry had provided less than 13 per cent of the total participants on Staff College courses between 1964 and 1970. If co-operatives and banks are classed as commercial institutions, the figure rises to just less than 20 per cent. Because the College was located in Nairobi, it is perhaps acceptable that Kenyan business should make more use of local facilities than Tanzanian or Ugandan firms, but even after acknowledging this it is still a fact that Kenyan firms only provided 22 of Kenya's 95 participants, a figure that rises to 27 when the banks and co-operatives were included. The Wamalwa Report (1972) made the following observation with respect to the Staff College; "there is a good demand for places on Staff College Courses which comes, as far as Kenya is concerned, almost entirely from the public sector."

The Kenya Institute of Administration at Kabete near Nairobi also came in for criticism of a similar nature. Only 17 managers from 6 organisations had attended its courses in the previous three years, and a number of firms thought that the Institute was "too identified with the public sector." This is not a surprising point of view considering that the Acting Director of the Institute in 1971 revealed that its objectives were concerned with the provision of training facilities primarily to meet the needs of the public sector. The Acting Director was highly committed to the ethos of the public sector, and seemed critical of that of the private sector. He was only prepared to accept students from the latter if their companies were prepared to accept the Institute as it was, and he felt unwilling to orient KIA's activities away from the needs of the public sector. No figures were available from him on the numbers of public and private sector managers attending the Institute's courses.

African Managerial Performance

The effective achievement of Africanisation in management depends partly upon the identification of the quantitative need for manpower, and partly upon an assessment of the qualitative needs to be met. Only through an effective review of the desirable qualities of effective managers can suitable management development programmes be designed to produce them.

Drucker, writing in 1955, saw the tasks of 'tomorrow's managers' as being the ability to manage by objectives, to take more risks, to take strategic decisions, to build integrated teams, to communicate information clearly, to know the whole business, and to relate their business and industry to the wider environment. In terms of the necessary qualities required, these areas of activity would demand managerial knowledge and ability of a high order, not only intelligence of above-average level but the attainment of an intellectual threshold below which the manager could carry out his function effectively. Needless to say, such a high level of natural ability would have to be accompanied by vigorous mental energy and a constant level of effort.

In addition, the managerial job demands specialist and technical skills; most modern managers are specialists, and are necessarily so in the modern work situation which needs them to understand and work with teams of specialists. On the other hand, managers should not be prisoners of their own environment and background technicalities to the extent that they are unable to communicate with others, but they should be able to examine critically all aspects of their work in their function of integrators. Finally, there are other special aptitudes which should be possessed - numeracy is an oft-mentioned qualification in the modern quantitative environment, but since managerial authority also rests on the ability to communicate with others a sense of literacy is needed too. Drucker (1955) has observed in this context that;

> "It can be said with little exaggeration that of the common college courses being taught today the ones most nearly 'vocational' as preparation for management are the writing of poetry and short stories. For these two courses teach a man how to express himself, teach him words and their meaning, and, above all, give him practice in writing."

Such qualititative skills are most important to the development of good management, and effective Africanisation at managerial level depends on their acquisition by local staff. The design of training programmes for management development in Kenya must allow for a clear understanding of those skills which are deemed to be necessary. Only an analysis of current managerial defects can provide the requisite information that will allow for the design, pedagogy and methodology of the training programmes to be related to those skills which require emphasis and development.

Very little is currently known about the new African manager. Early research into management development needs in Kenya has concentrated largely upon the identification of the need to develop functional training for specialist areas; "Effective training facilities in the functions of financial management and accounting, in production management and industrial engineering, and to a lesser extent, in marketing and sales management are increasingly proving quite inadequate to meet the needs of most countries," comments the International Labour Organisation (1965). Later acknowledgement has been given to the importance of social and cultural variables in devising effective managerial training courses, and a meeting of ILO experts in 1965 produced a list of factors of cultural understanding which would need to be taken into account in order to gauge their effect on working practices and thus lead to the design of more effective management development programmes. These included the following;

(i) Group and Personal Relations and Loyalties; including group loyalties, importance of the family, attitudes to friendship, extent to which working relationships may be personalised, sense of individuality.

(ii) Attitudes to Authority and Responsibility; respect for age, expectations of authoritarian behaviour, attitudes to making of decisions and delegation.

(iii) Educational and Intellectual traditions; extent of scientific tradition, attitudes to new ideas and innovation generally.

(iv) Status and Prestige; of industrial employment, of privileges attached to wealth and power, of willingness to accept advice.

(v) Concepts of Justice; critical in matters of discipline.

(vi) Attitudes; to work i.e. whether it is seen as an evil and an obligation, or as a source of satisfaction; to property and possessions; to women; to public authorities.

> "The meeting agreed that most, if not all, of the social and cultural factors mentioned above were susceptible to change through education or changes in the surrounding social, economic or political conditions .... The important thing was for all those concerned in management and the development of managerial personnel to understand the nature of these factors and the manner of dealing with them, so as to achieve the greatest advantage to the individual enterprise and to the society as a whole." (ILO 1966).

In many organisations managerial recruitment and promotion have been traditionally based on education and/or technical competence without prior reference to the interpersonal and managerial skills of the individuals concerned. Such organisations run a higher risk of acquiring less than satisfactory managerial staff or having to invest more heavily in training programmes to develop such skills at a later date, and it is hardly surprising that a number of organisations in the sample spoke of Africanisation as a costly process, partly in terms of training costs[2] but also because of the wastage element involved when trained staff departed for other firms shortly after the completion of their training.

Studies of the Performance of African Managers in Other Countries

A Nigerian study published in 1968 (Yesufu 1968) gives some indication of the type of skills lacking in the African managers of the time; these are reproduced here in Table 5.7, and they do not merely underline the importance of managerial training, but

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2. Dr. B.A.N. Collins quotes an East African Railways Corporation Report as saying that between 1965 and 1969 East Africanisation cost the Corporation 26 million shillings (EA£1.3 million). See Collins (1972).

TABLE 5.7

BASIC FACTORS RETARDING MANAGERIAL PERFORMANCE IN NIGERIA

| MAJOR FACTORS | Degree of Importance % |
|---|---|
| 1. Inadequate managerial training | 30.4 |
| 2. Poor quality subordinate employees | 26.1 |
| 3. Lack of team spirit among managers | 8.7 |
| 4. Poor relations with workers | 8.7 |
| 5. Unco-operative or difficult employees union | 4.4 |
| 6. Miscellaneous | 21.7 |
| All factors | 100.0 |

Source: T.M. Yesufu (1968), Table 13.

indicate some of the areas to which such training might be directed. Poor selection is highlighted, as well as lack of team spirit and co-operation with both co-workers and union members. The same study reported an analysis of the major character weaknesses of Nigerian managers, with an attempt at quantification from figures supplied by the employing establishments. These figures are given in Table 5.8 which illustrates that 13.6 per cent were considered to have inadequate educational or professional backgrounds for their jobs, while nearly 34 per cent were thought to exhibit a lack of confidence in themselves through their inability to demonstrate initiative and take decisions. Problems of prestige and status, notably an undue concern with both of them, a reluctance

TABLE 5.8

DEFICIENCY RATING OF INDIGENOUS NIGERIAN MANAGERS

| MAIN DEFICIENCIES | Degree of Importance % |
|---|---|
| Lack of Initiative | 20.3 |
| Inadequate professional or educational background | 13.6 |
| Unwillingness or reluctance to take decisions | 13.6 |
| Reluctance to do manual work | 13.6 |
| Undue concern with personal prestige | 11.9 |
| Tendency to be desk or office-bound | 10.2 |
| Insufficient loyalty to enterprise | 10.2 |
| Too anxious to please subordinates | 3.4 |
| Miscellaneous | 3.4 |
| All deficiencies | 100.0 |

Source: T.M. Yesufu (1968), Table 15.

to do manual work when necessary, and a tendency to remain desk or office bound accounted for 36.1 per cent of the deficiencies quoted.

An Ethiopian study carried out in the years 1969-1971 (Doty, 1972) emphasised similar findings. In this case, senior managers were asked to identify major managerial weaknesses of their subordinates, and the following deficiencies were pin-pointed;

1. A reluctance to assume more authority and responsibility.
2. An unwillingness to take risks and take appropriate managerial decisions.

3. Lack of initiative and aggressiveness.
4. Lack of work commitment, and low need for achievement.
5. Poor communications, both formally and informally.
6. Unwillingness to delegate, as well as being poor at planning and setting goals.
7. Inadequate knowledge of general business practice, and lack of interest at working with figures.
8. Lack of confidence in themselves, and the avoidance of direct criticism however constructive and well-intentioned.

Although these deficiencies referred to middle managers who had been evaluated by their seniors and therefore reflect some of the general weaknesses of middle management as a whole, nevertheless they do point out the lack of preparation by the Ethiopians for their managerial role. Their lack of confidence, their inability to show initiative and take decisions, and their poor communicative abilities rendered them unable to manage effectively. A certain amount of guidance, assistance, and inter-personal development would be needed before they could be said to be effective agents of Ethiopianisation.

## Kenyan Managerial Performance

These various studies may well have some relevance for the Kenyan situation. Despite the fact that the weaknesses identified are not perhaps dissimilar to those found among managers in the West, they do at least indicate that what is needed is not so much further detailed training in technical and specialist departmental skills, important though these may be, but more a development of the interpersonal skills that will enable the new African manager to function effectively alongside his fellow managers, with his subordinate workers, and with his superiors, so that a genuine sense of team spirit and co-operation can be achieved.

The Kenyan study included some material on local managerial deficiencies. Some of this corresponds to the categories used in the Nigerian and Ethiopian work, but for the purpose of current analysis it has been classified under two main headings, with appropriate sub-headings as indicated in Table 5.9. The table shows the breakdown of listed deficiencies between graduate and non-graduate managers.

It will be observed that non-graduates were rated as possessing the bulk of the deficiencies, both overall (108 out of 143) and also by subdivision into personal and managerial defects. Of those problems associated with graduates, most were either status problems (8 out of 35) or a lack of business background and experience (7 out of 35). Graduates were perceived as lacking in lower-level experience, a criticism that hardly applied to non-graduate managers.

Taken overall, it will be observed that problems of status and prestige and a lack of company loyalty emerged most often, the former manifesting themselves in a reluctance to carry out routine work, the exhibition of undue concern with status symbols, intolerance and superior attitudes towards subordinates, and a desire to indulge in classroom training rather than to learn by experience. This latter resulted in unresponsiveness to much of the training provided. Lack of company loyalty was quoted as being more a state

TABLE 5.9

RELATIVE DEFICIENCIES OF KENYAN MANAGERS ACCORDING TO GRADUATE OR NON-GRADUATE STATUS

| Major Factors Mentioned | Number of Times Mentioned | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Graduates | Non-Graduates | Number of Times Mentioned | % |
| (A) Personal and Social | | | | |
| Problems of Status and Prestige | 8 | 10 | 18 | 12.6 |
| Lack of Loyalty to Organisation | 4 | 9 | 13 | 9.1 |
| Impatience with Career Progress | 2 | 8 | 10 | 7.0 |
| Tribalism | 1 | 7 | 8 | 5.6 |
| Extended Family Pressures | 0 | 7 | 7 | 4.9 |
| Lack of Self-confidence | 0 | 6 | 6 | 4.2 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 | 7 | 8 | 5.6 |
| Sub-total, Number | 16 | 54 | 70 | 49.0 |
| Sub-total, % | 23.9 | 77.1 | | |
| (B) Business and Managerial | | | | |
| Lack of Business background and experience | 7 | 13 | 20 | 14.0 |
| Inability to handle Authority and Responsibility | 3 | 9 | 12 | 8.4 |
| Lack of decision-making initiative | 2 | 9 | 11 | 7.7 |
| Lack of communications skills and effective direction | 0 | 8 | 8 | 5.6 |
| Lack of basic lower-level experience | 5 | 1 | 6 | 4.2 |
| Lack of planning ability | 0 | 5 | 5 | 3.5 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 | 9 | 11 | 7.7 |
| Sub-total, Number | 19 | 54 | 73 | 51.1 |
| Sub-total, % | 26.0 | 74.0 | | |
| TOTAL Number | 35 | 108 | 143 | 100.1 |
| TOTAL % | 24.5 | 75.5 | | |

of mind than a specific drawback to performance, although it showed up as staff wastage when trained staff departed elsewhere immediately on completion of training. Career impatience, or "wanting to get on too fast" was third most often mentioned in the personal deficiencies section, and was shown up as "wanting too much too soon", "dissatisfaction with the rate of promotion", and "wanting to get rich quick". This may be partly explained by the expectations of the business world held by some managers who had seen fellow Africans reach top positions quickly and at an early age. They were in a hurry to achieve similar rank themselves, and in a society where managerial talent was in high demand, their attitudes were not too surprising. "Tribalism", which was mentioned as a deficiency by 7 company spokesmen, was (perhaps typically) left unspecified in three cases, although other companies did quote examples of what they thought exhibited the worst aspects of this concept; these included discriminatory behaviour against members of other tribes (as in employment selection where a Personnel administrator may have been biased on the basis of the tribal background of applicants, and also in instances of normal day-to-day supervision). Problems of the extended family, although not widely quoted, are worth a mention in that they raise questions of financial manipulation and conflicting loyalties. The pressures working on Africans earning high salaries to support a number of relatives over and above the immediate nuclear unit of wife and children was observed in four cases to have detrimental effects on the behaviour of certain individuals, leading to "irresponsibility with cash", "extra demands for bonuses", a "tendency towards drink" (?), and "an occasional liability (with up-country branch managers) to fiddle themselves some extra money because of the African pressures to support the wider family". Kerr, Dunlop, et al. (1960) have noted the weakening effect of the extended family on industrialisation; "Working members are expected to pool their earnings for the benefit of everyone; individual saving is discouraged", and the subsequent effect is to reduce the momentum of "industrial incentives to work, save, and invest". To this might be added "and manage", though there is perhaps evidence that many African managers are sufficiently motivated towards professional achievement to be overcoming this in Kenya. Finally, lack of self-confidence is mentioned as a local managerial deficiency, but not significantly.

The leading deficiencies in managerial performance originate partly in lack of self-confidence, and therefore initiative, as mentioned above, leading to inadequate decision-making, and partly in the lack of business background, experience, and tradition. This latter takes more than one form, according to the research data - it results in "a lacking of business expertise and sophistication", "a reliance on book-learning", and its outcome is "poor financial appreciation", "no idea of costs", and a "lack of dedication". In second place, under the business and managerial sub-heading, is an inability to accept authority and responsibility, usually expressed as "reluctance", and resulting in the need for "tight supervision and control".

It would appear that after allowing for any racial bias from the spokesmen, the conclusions to be drawn from this material in respect of managerial training, development and performance, point to the necessity for much greater effort and attention to be devoted to interpersonal deficiencies. In addition, more effort and attention should be directed at non-graduates for their improvement, while at the same time maintaining the intake of graduates into managerial positions.

What the previous studies of African managers have not attempted, and neither did this study consider it in any great degree, is an evaluation of the relationship between the social and personal deficiencies of the managers and the quality of their work performance. Kiggundu (1974) has summarised some of the previous studies on the topic, and concludes that they point out a lack of intrapersonal and interpersonal skills which must be corrected by new methods of training which are "situationally based" for Kenyan and other new African managers. Before this can be done, of course, the causes and effects will have to be conclusively linked, and while one may summarise with reasonable confidence that a better business background in managers will breed more self-confidence in their own performance, and that this will in turn lead to more effective decision-making, this will have to be proved.

Similarly, before any further points are established on this topic, a balance will have to be struck between the deficiencies already discussed and the advantages and credit side of African managerial performance.

It might be expected, and it is indeed the case, that the strengths of the managers fall into a different set of categories than those of their weaknesses. Table 5.10 notes their strengths under the three main categories relating to personal, educational, and managerial advantages; the educational aspect was barely mentioned during the research interviews as a deficiency, but emerged clearly as a major point in the discussion of advantages. In the overall column in Table 5.10, it will be noted that the majority of strengths are listed as personal ones (50.6 per cent), with educational ones (29.9 per cent) second, and managerial strengths third with 11.5 per cent. The balance is made up of general miscellaneous ones (8 per cent). In the personal category, loyalty to the organisation was mentioned by 9 company spokesmen in achieving a percentage figure of 14.9; this may be interpreted as a cancelling out of the previous deficiency comments regarding lack of loyalty to the company already quoted. However, this loyalty to the organisation was mentioned solely for non-graduates whereas the previous lack of loyalty was stated as existing in both graduates and non-graduates in the ratio of 4 to 9. It may just be possible from this to discern a slightly weightier degree of confidence in non-graduates as company men. Good relations with subordinate staff - "Africans dealing with Africans" - also counted highly (12.6 per cent), although again the lack of support for graduates in this respect may imply something of a barrier between them and their less educated subordinate staff, a barrier that exists to a much lesser degree between non-graduates and their staff.

As should be expected, the graduates received a better review than non-graduates when educational strengths were discussed,

TABLE 5.10

A SUMMARY OF THE STRENGTHS AND ADVANTAGES OF KENYAN MANAGERS AS SEEN BY EMPLOYERS

| Major Factors Mentioned | Number of Companies Mentioning | Number of Times Mentioned | | Overall Times Mentioned | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Graduates | Non-Graduates | | |
| (A) Personal | | | | | |
| Loyalty to Organisation | 9 | 0 | 13 | 13 | 14.9 |
| Good with Subordin tes | 10 | 1 | 10 | 11 | 12.6 |
| Motivation and Ambition | 5 | 3 | 4 | 7 | 8.1 |
| Hard working | 5 | 0 | 5 | 5 | 5.8 |
| Leadership and Maturity | 2 | 3 | 0 | 3 | 3.4 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 | 1 | 4 | 5 | 5.8 |
| Sub-total: No. | | 8 | 36 | 44 | 50.6 |
| Sub-total: % | | 18.2 | 81.8 | | |
| (B) Educational | | | | | |
| Possession of potential | 6 | 7 | 5 | 12 | 13.8 |
| Intelligence | 4 | 4 | 5 | 9 | 10.3 |
| Miscellaneous | 4 | 4 | 1 | 5 | 5.8 |
| Sub-total: No. | | 15 | 11 | 26 | 29.9 |
| Sub-total: % | | 57.7 | 42.3 | | |
| (C) Managerial | | | | | |
| Good at problem-solving and decision-making | 2 | 3 | 0 | 3 | 3.4 |
| Good at delegation | 1 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 2.3 |
| Willing to accept responsibility | 2 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 2.3 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 3.4 |
| Sub-total: No. | | 9 | 1 | 10 | 11.5 |
| Sub-total: % | | 90.0 | 10.0 | | |
| (D) General Miscellaneous | 5 | 0 | 7 | 7 | 8.0 |
| TOTAL No. | | 32 | 55 | 87 | 100.0 |
| % | | 36.8 | 63.2 | | |

although not to a vastly great extent (15 total mentions for graduates against 11 for the others). The possession of development potential was most widely quoted in this context (12 mentions, with graduates getting 7 of them), with intelligence second (though graduates only got 4 out of 9 mentions here), but it must be pointed out that at this stage the research discussion was open-ended, and the respondees may have overlooked this point as being obvious.

Graduates were certainly more highly thought of than non-graduates in terms of their managerial abilities, but as these only came to a total of 10 (out of 87 favourable mentions) not too much significance may be attached. Nevertheless, the difference between the university-educated managers and the others is too distinctive to avoid comment altogether. On no occasion were the non-graduates referred to regarding their ability to take decisions and solve problems, nor were they mentioned in terms of being effective delegators or willing acceptors of responsibility; the only point scored in their favour at this juncture was when one company spokesmen referred to their "efficiency", and he was speaking of internally promoted managers of no specific educational level.

Obviously, for all their relative lack of deficiencies seen in Table 5.9 the graduates were not thought of as having overcome what weaknesses they did have with sufficient corresponding strengths to be superior overall. A good manager possesses few defects and has several strengths in general; in this case, one sees that graduates were not quoted extensively for their defects (24.5 per cent in Table 5.9) but on the other hand they did not appear to have overcome these with their strengths (36.8 per cent in Table 5.10).

The full significance of these findings will be taken up more extensively in Chapter X when a prospective view is taken of managerial development and training in the Kenyan context. For the present, the main points to note are the types of strengths and weaknesses already observed, both at the interpersonal and the professional levels, and to conclude that these two areas do represent aspects that must be given close attention. Special reference must be made to the development of interpersonal skills - those of confidence-building and background, communications skills, and the elimination of enervating feelings of superior status which impede positive relations between African managers and their subordinate staff. It is posed that the interpersonal deficiencies and their correction rate an equal priority in training to the accepted managerial skills of planning, control and effective decision-making.

## Summary

The overall findings from the 39 sample companies indicate that the level of managerial Africanisation in 1971 was 41.1 per cent. There was little difference in this when companies were analysed according to size group, nor was there any appreciable difference between the public sector and the private sector, although the former did possess a marginal lead. The largest differentials showed up when Africanisation was classified according to the ownership of the organisations, and here the multinational companies were well ahead, probably due to their greater resources and localisation policies. The subsidiary concerns had achieved the lowest Africanisation level, falling as they did between the extremes of the multinationals on the one hand with their resources and level of commitment, and the local concerns on the other with their full commitment to governmental policy.

The degree of commitment to Africanisation is, of course, encouraging, but there were criticisms of the policy from some quarters, usually in respect of the lack of time being allowed for implementation, and from a feeling that government pressure was trying to produce paper results, irrespective of the subsequent quality of African management thus produced. As a matter of interest, such comments were not the exclusive property of the lesser-Africanised organisations, but were common to all levels, with the exception of the multinationals who had less to say on the matter.

Commitment to management development in terms of the actual training and development programmes provided was largely disappointing. The information presented in Table 5.2 indicates that this is well below the level it could be. As expected, it is the multinationals which appear to be most geared up to providing comprehensive staff development schemes, but the large companies showed up well in general, as did the public sector. There were no means of establishing any correlations between what was being done about management development, and the actual levels of Africanisation achieved, but it is worth recording that some of the companies with a reasonable commitment to management development had lost many of their trained managers to other organisations, while other firms showing a good Africanisation figure on paper had provided little themselves in the way of training and developing such staff.

The evidence acquired related to staff recruitment underscores the necessity for systematic managerial development policies in the sample organisations. Their overall order of preference for sources of managerial staff showed for all groups a consistent preference for internal promotees, followed by the use of advertising, and then educational institutions, informal contacts, government agencies, and others. This smacks of a realistic approach to the exigencies of the local situation, since their preferences tended to be consistent with practice, as the co-efficient of correlation of 0.91 between preferences and practices indicates. Trained managers did not appear to be readily available on the general market in Kenya, so policies of internal promotion were unanimously preferred and practised. The will to develop good programmes should follow from this, but the skill in doing so has already been examined and found wanting.

The preferences for the type of manager required, and those actually hired and trained were far removed, in fact reversed. All classes of company preferred more graduates and professional or technical managers than they could actually get, and the same lack of availability was evident with HSC qualified staff. This meant that organisations were forced to recruit lower grade and lesser-qualified personnel of either School Certificate standard, or even those of no formal qualification. Again, given this educational shortfall, the importance of suitable development programmes becomes paramount.

The management training actually provided varied between on-the-job schemes, and off-the-job training courses. All companies stated that they were providing on-the-job training, but the scale of this varied widely. It was the larger and/or multinational firms which possessed better facilities for carrying it out in a more sophisticated manner. The medium-sized and small concerns, the subsidiaries, and the local organisations all relied more heavily on external facilities, usually those available in Nairobi. Internal training was considered by virtually all organisations to be most relevant to their needs, and therefore most valuable, and although the most widely-used training institutions in Kenya (the KIM and the MTAC) received high evaluations they also came in for a certain amount of criticism. The same was true of the lesser-used institutions, the Staff College and the Kenya Institute of Administration, a mood which lends support to the idea of some form of reorganisation of training and training institutions for Kenya.

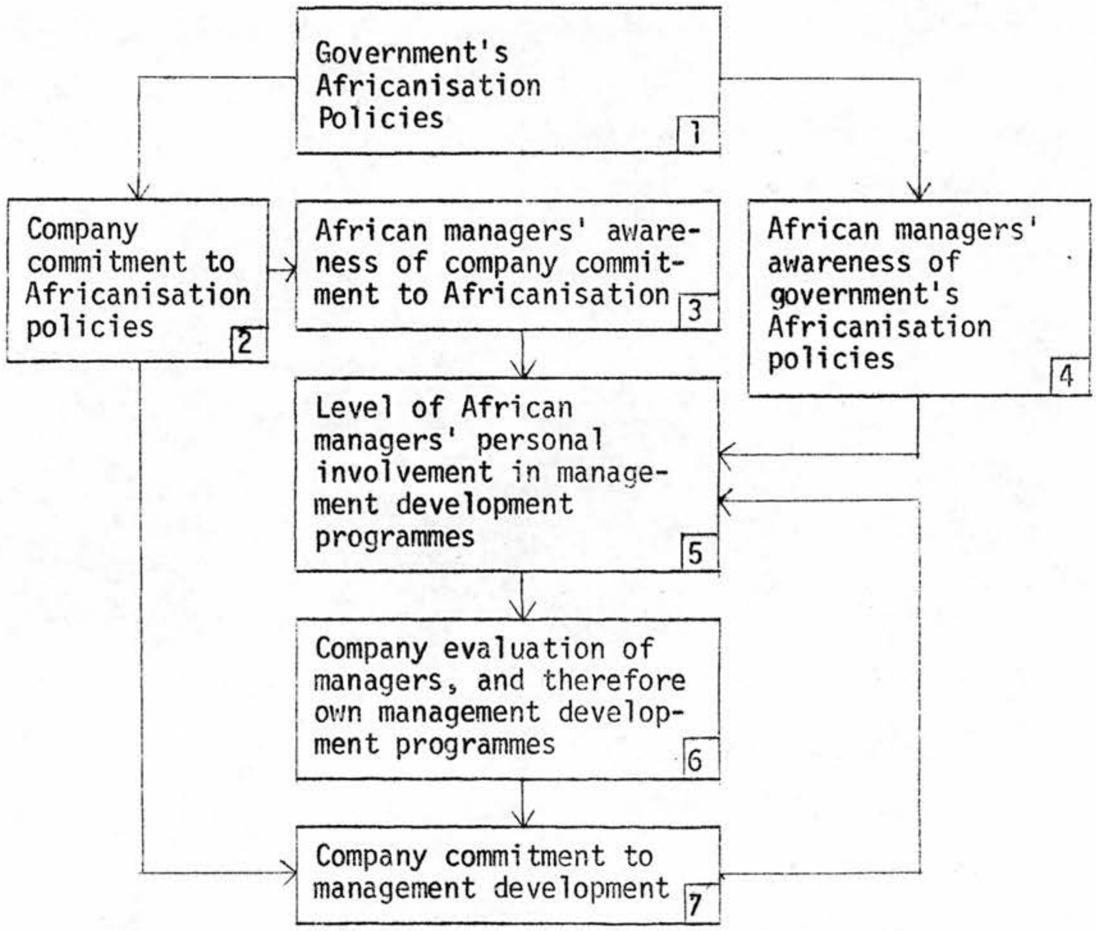
Any improvement in management development and training programmes should preferably be based on the identified needs for management. Managerial deficiencies quoted in the research stressed a number of personality and interpersonal defects in African management, as well as a number of areas of professional management incompetence. The interpersonal defects related mainly to problems of status, impatience, and lack of company loyalty. Managerial defects occurred as a result of lack of business background, and resulted in an inability to handle authority and responsibility and to make confident decisions. Such defects were more marked among non-graduates than they were among graduates.

Other deficiencies, notably lack of loyalty, became largely cancelled out when strengths were mentioned, though this did not seem to apply to the graduates who were not evaluated very highly on their strengths. Perhaps expatriate spokesmen felt threatened by graduates, but whether or not this was so their advantages were recognised in terms of intelligence, development potential, and certain managerial skills, particularly decision-making, delegatory skill and willingness to accept responsibility.

These overall findings emphasise the lacking commitment to management development in practice, the necessity for better programmes to train up the less well educated and qualified staff who were having to be recruited, and the development of programmes emphasising the improvement of personal skills and characteristics.

However, perhaps the most crucial aspect of the complete process has been pin-pointed by R.J. Hacon (1966), who stated that for management development to be truly effective "the man himself must be personally involved". Given that some of the company spokesmen in this Kenyan sample hinted at or stated aloud that governmental pressures for Africanisation were too severe (and this seemed to be the general feeling), then how committed were the majority of companies to a strategy which they felt was being forced upon them? Not very deeply, perhaps, and it is possible that their African managers may have sensed their resentment to provide training and development schemes which they would rather have avoided, or at least pursued at more leisure. It is also probably true to state that the evaluations given by company spokesmen of their African managers were really judgements of their own managerial development schemes. A diagrammatic representation of these relationships may be seen in Figure 1 below;

FIGURE 5.1




Company commitment to management development (7) is seen as being directly influenced by the level of its commitment to governmental Africanisation policies (2) and its evaluation of the worth of its own African managers (6) (*a fortiori* its own management development programmes). This evaluation is a function of the level of personal involvement (5) (or motivation) of the African managers towards training and development, which in turn is affected by their awareness of their organisation's commitment to government policy (3) and to management development (7), and their own awareness of the government's policies (4).

This may be illustrated as follows; suppose an organisation shows a high level of approval for the objectives of Africanisation policy and the means of implementing it. It is likely that such a firm would want to develop its own managers in order to assist the policy, and so its commitment to management development would be high. The African managers in that firm would soon be aware of this commitment as it reveals itself in managerial attitudes and actions, and this awareness would lead to more personal involvement (or motivation) by them in management development programmes. High involvement in management training and development would lead to favourable evaluations by the firm of its African management (and by implication its own development programmes), which helps to strengthen its own commitment to management development. A high company commitment to management development will reinforce the personal involvement and motivation level of the African managers themselves.

Therefore, it is suggested that company commitment to management development will be directly governed by commitment to Africanisation policy, as well as indirectly influenced by the level of support and enthusiasm for development from the African managers which itself reinforces the level of company commitment.

The evidence elicited from the company sample, showing as it does just over 40 per cent Africanisation achieved, a qualified commitment to the implementation of government policy, a disappointing commitment to management development, and reservations about certain aspects of African managerial qualities, merely hints at the plausibility of the relationships expressed in Figure 5.1, it does not prove them. Yet the conclusion is that commitment to management development must be strengthened in order for Africanisation to be pursued more thoroughly.

# CHAPTER VI

## SOCIAL BACKGROUNDS

### Introduction

The view taken by Kerr et al. (1960) of management is that it is "a class into which access is limited." They note that only a few gain access to managerial ranks and that these incumbents, in their turn, look at potential newcomers for qualities of loyalty, obedience, and the evidence of acceptable attitudes so as to ensure that future managers will reflect those criteria which govern admittance to the group. Other qualities that are sought in 'professional management' are bureaucratic ones - "technical ability, experience, education, knowledge of the organization, and ability to impress people who made decisions." The picture that they draw of management for industrialising society is one of a self-perpetuating group[1] which maintains its position by virtue of controlling the inflow into its membership.

Whether this makes managers a class as such is open to question. Marx's views on social class relate to work, which he saw as man's basic form of self-realisation, something without which he cannot survive, and it was this interpretation which

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1. "When it is asked of the top corporate men: 'But didn't they have to have *something* to get up there?' The answer is, 'Yes, they did.' By definition, they had 'what it takes'. The real question accordingly is; what does it take? And the only answer one can find anywhere is; the sound judgement, as gauged by the men of sound judgement who select them .... To be compatible with the top men is to act like them, to look like them, to think like them - or at least to display oneself to them in such a way as to create that impression." (C. Wright Mills, "The Power Elite", N.Y., Oxford University Press, 1956, p. 141).

caused Marx to deduce that the way in which man works in society will provide the clue to human nature. In his terms a social class is an aggregate of persons who perform the same function in the organisation of production (Bendix and Lipset, 1966). Schumpeter (1951) takes a harder line; "the concept of class ... becomes a matter of classifying certain things according to certain chosen characteristics. Viewed in this sense, class is a creation of the researcher, owes its existence to his organizing touch." In seeking a characteristic which will enable one to recognise and distinguish a social class, he noted,

> "Class is something more than an aggregation of class members. A class is aware of its identity as a whole, subordinates itself as such, has its own peculiar life and characteristic 'spirit' ... class members behave toward one another in a fashion characteristically different from their conduct toward members of other classes. They are in closer association with one another; they understand one another better; they work more readily in concert; they close ranks and erect barriers against the outside; they look into the same segment of the world, with the same ideas, from the same viewpoint, in the same direction."[2]

Nevertheless, Marx's thinking did extend beyond the 'aggregate' to specify other class characteristics like common conditions (a class enemy), the acceptance of common interests, and some form of association for the pursuit of common aims. Weber (1947) saw classes as being groups of people who find themselves in the same 'class situation', this being defined as being a situation in which people have in common a supply of goods, external living conditions, and personal life experiences, over which they have the power (or the lack of it) to dispose of goods or skills for the sake of income in a given economic order.

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2. Schumpeter, Joseph, 'The Problem of Classes", Imperialism and Social Classes, 1951, pp, 137-147, 209-211; quoted in Bendix and Lipset, "Class, Status and Power", N.Y. Free Press, 1966.

Are, then, managers a class? Burnham (1941) thought that they were;

> "through changes in the technique of production, the functions of management become more distinctive, more complex, more specialized, and more crucial to the whole process of production, thus serving to set off those who perform these functions as a separate group or class in society; and at the same time those who formerly carried out what functions there were of management, the *bourgeoisie*, themselves withdraw from management, so the difference in function becomes also a difference in the individuals who carry out the function."

Burnham's prediction was that a managerial revolution would bring managers into the role of ruling class, and that a managerial ideology, based on state planning, would take the place of capitalist ideology. He based his prediction on the assumption that managers would take over the economic power formerly held by capitalist owners, an assumption that has been challenged on three main grounds; (i) that managers are very often owners themselves in that they often have substantial shareholdings in their companies, (ii) that they are often wealthy men irrespective of what shareholdings they may or may not have, and (iii) that the recruitment of managers is predominantly from the upper stratum of society. It is the validity of these points which leads Bottomore (1964) to conclude that managers *and* owners form a single social group, thus making a managerial revolution unlikely. Nevertheless, although the managers may not be a class in the sense that they have a set of identical interests, they are still an important and powerful group within society.

Studies in America and Europe, to which reference will shortly be made, have indicated that managers as a group are not made up of members from a wide range of strata within society, but tend to come from the top stratum only. Given the significance of their economic role, and the fact that they usually come from the top of the social scale, they may be considered an elite, particularly in the West (Bottomore 1964), and possibly in Eastern European countries too (Inkeles 1950). The supposition that they are an elite rests on the acceptance of a split between what Pareto and Mosca understood by the term, and how it has later developed. Both of them (Pareto 1935; Mosca 1939) were interested in elites as groups who either exercised power directly or were in a position to influence the exercise of it. Modern usage of the term has developed into a concern with elites as functional or occupational groups (Bottomore 1964) who have high status in society, while the term 'political class' is saved for the groups exercising political power or influence. Bottomore sees managers as part of the elite.

Would this conclusion be good for Africa too? The best means of answering is by investigating the backgrounds of industrial and commercial managers in Kenya and seeing the extent to which they match up with those of their counterparts in the West. Three sets of factors are relevant to this. In the first place, the background and beginnings of managers can be studied to see if they bear any resemblance to those of Western managers. Secondly, the progress and pattern of their careers can be compared for the same reason; this includes type and length of training received, experience gathered, speed of movement up the promotional ladder, and the extent of mobility between job functions and organisations. Thirdly, the extent of their power and influence should be desirably known and compared.

The data in the research project are of value in dealing with the first two of these points. Unfortunately, however, the Kenyan survey did not go so far as to collect material relating to the managerial role in the contemporary Kenyan power web. Others, notably Leys (1975), have commented on this, and Leys has pointed out that managerial Africanisation in Kenya in terms of its economic power and control has been effectively circumvented in two ways. The first of these has been the centralisation of decision-making in many organisations in order to keep foreign managers in control, and the other has been a determined effort to socialise the African executives into their new role of foreign company managers through the medium of lengthy training (often overseas), and increasing experience within their own organisations. The result has been that they have 'thoroughly absorbed' their companies' philosophy (i.e. Western) and style. Besides this there is also the consideration that the Kenyan economy is heavily committed to foreign investment,[3] notably to the type of multi-national organisation and foreign-owned subsidiary which form such a significant proportion of this research sample. It is unlikely that these sort of companies, given the size of their investments in Kenya, are going to hand over immediate (or perhaps even long term) control of their concerns to African executives when fundamental decisions relating to the use of company profits are at stake. The economic

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3. See Chapter II, Table 2.9 which shows that in 1967 foreign enterprises accounted for 57 per cent of the Kenyan G. P. and 73 per cent of the profits. Total private foreign investment was projected for 1970-1974 at £140 millions. (<u>ILO Mission Report, 1972</u>, p. 280.)

power resides not with the African managers but in the foreign board rooms and the offices of their contact men in the Kenyan political ruling elite.

The African managers are therefore something of a diminished elite from the outset. Whether or not they demonstrate the other relevant characteristics now remains to be seen, and they will be discussed in this chapter and the following three. The current chapter examines social beginnings and backgrounds, the following one looks at educational qualifications and attainments, Chapter VIII provides an examination of the training received by the managers, and Chapter IX is a study of their career development.

Bottomore (1964) has observed that one reason why the study of elites may be fruitful is that it helps distinguish between different types of society and to account for changes in their social structure; one of the means of doing this is by examining the nature of recruitment of their members and the degree of social mobility that this implies. The purpose of gathering the Kenyan African managerial material is likewise to help place the managers in contemporary Kenyan society. It is of value, for instance, to know from which ethnic groups they are drawn, if only to help call the bluff of those who are convinced that one or two tribes only dominate virtually all aspects and levels of society and power; and to know something of their family origins in order to see how far they progressed against what kind of competition and pressures from within and without the family. From such a study, it may be possible to gauge something of the influence of social origins on the direction and success of managerial careers. At the very least, it will provide some indication of the degree of social movement being achieved by the present African managerial cadre. A comparison with Western studies may reveal further points of similarity or difference.

Previous studies of managers in other countries have laid emphasis on the significance of social backgrounds. Clements (1958) examined the careers of 646 British managers in the hope of giving more concreteness to the discussion of the problems of management; because he felt that managerial principles neglected the significance of family background on structure and practice he saw his study of social backgrounds, education and career patterns as being "the straw with which to make the bricks that may make it possible to construct useful theories." He observed that variations in social origin were linked to career success and seniority levels subsequently achieved. He also noted that the type of career path followed by his managers ranged widely according to their backgrounds - from the successor-designates (or Crown Princes) whose fathers had most likely themselves held high-ranking professional or administrative jobs, down to the men who had hauled themselves up from the botton rungs of the ladder and whose fathers had more than likely held low grade supervisory jobs or even manual ones. Clark (1966) made a later study, also of British managers, in an attempt to find clues which might indicate from which sections of society future managers would be drawn. He concluded that the middle class was providing more and more of the growing managerial membership, and that the educational system introduced by the Education Act of 1944 had not produced any noticeable increase of managers with working class origins despite its enshrinement of secondary education for all. This view was endorsed by a British

Royal Commission on the Distribution of Income and Wealth (HMSO 1976) which, on the basis of various British managerial surveys (including those of Clements and Clark), noted, "a strong association between the holding of top managerial jobs and educational advantages in childhood", and also that "the children of parents in social classes I and II, as defined for example in the Registrar-General's Classification of Occupations, are likely to do better in their careers and are therefore more likely to be among the higher income earners with whom this reference is concerned than are the children of other parents".

A comparative study by Hall, de Bettignies and Amado-Fischgrund (October 1969) revealed that the upper classes ('those chief executives whose fathers were either business owners, senior executives or professional men such as lawyers, doctors, and university professors') in six European countries provided the majority of chief executives in their samples. Across the Atlantic, Mills (1956) pointed out that the top executives in the big corporations were a 'quite uniform type which has had exceptional advantages of origins and training', although de Bettignies (1970) noted an increasing trend toward egalitarianism in the USA in which the sons of less privileged families were gaining access to top business positions, a movement confirmed by the researches of Newcomer (1961), Warner and Abegglen (1955) and Collins (1964). Further references to such studies will be made when comparisons are drawn between the Western managers and the Kenyan African ones.

In all these studies, the criteria used for determining social background are very similar; they include the occupations of the fathers, family wealth, educational standards achieved by the managers, and the age at which they first started work. Such factors are often used to measure class origins. This is reasonable in a European context where the history of class-consciousness is strong and where society is more highly structured, and where social stratification is traditionally measured and defined according to the manner in which income, wealth, occupation, education, power and skill are distributed in the population. But the extent to which all of these factors are valid in Africa where traditional society has been modelled along different social and economic lines is perhaps open to question. However, the education and occupations of the fathers have been found to be meaningful in this context, as have the type of school attended by the managers, and the level of education that they subsequently achieved.

A discussion of the extent to which the Kenyan managerial group may be considered an elite is left for a later chapter, when all social, educational, training and career factors have been discussed. For the present, the purpose is to make an immediate examination of the general social backgrounds, compare the Kenyan with Western managers, and then note the influence of social background upon schooling, job function, and seniority.

General Social Backgrounds

The average age of the 179 managers interviewed was 34.3 years, with the youngest manager being aged 22 years, and the oldest 59. Just over half (93, or 52 per cent) fell into the 30-39 years age bracket, with slightly more than a quarter (47, or 26 per cent) in their twenties, and just less than a quarter (39, or 22 per cent) being over 40 years of age.

The origins of the managers, in terms of where they had been born, varied widely over Kenya, but 75 (over 40 per cent) came from the districts of Central Province, and another 53 (almost 30 per cent) were from Nyanza and Western Provinces. Most of the sample (148, or nearly four-fifths) had been born in rural areas. The Kikuyu were the most numerous ethnic group in terms of numbers interviewed (86) and on the basis of this sample they appear to dominate what might be described as Kenyan middle management; there were also 29 Luos and 25 Abaluyha. Other groups represented included Kamba, Kisii, Swahili, Taita, Embu, Meru and Masai.

A profile of the social and family background of the managers can be drawn by using some of the mean responses to the background questions. For instance, in their families they had an average of slightly more than three brothers and slightly less than three sisters each - an overall family size (including themselves) of seven. Of these brothers and sisters, two on average were older than the interviewees. However, 50 managers, or 28 per cent of the total, were the eldest child in their family, and 82 (46 per cent) were the oldest boy. Perhaps this family seniority led to some of the managers gaining their first advantages and opportunities, for only 18 out of the 82 had not progressed beyond primary-level education, and as many as 41 of the total sample (almost a quarter) had achieved some level or degree of post-secondary or further education; 35 of these latter were university graduates, of whom 2 had obtained higher degrees.

Table 6.1 gives a breakdown of the educational levels of the managers' parents in which it can be clearly seen that the fathers were better educated than the mothers, and that a large percentage of both had received no formal education. It must be remembered that as the average age of the managers in the sample was just over

34 years, then their parents would be some twenty years older, many of them having been born between 1910 and 1920 and being of school age during the 1920s. Educational opportunities at that time for Africans were comparatively rare, so it comes as no great surprise that such high proportions of the managers' parents were formally uneducated; what is surprising, perhaps, is that as many as slightly more than one in ten of the fathers should have proceeded as far as secondary level.

TABLE 6.1

EDUCATIONAL LEVELS OF THE MANAGERS' PARENTS

| Parents / Education | Father | | Mother | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % |
| None | 79 | 44.1 | 114 | 63.7 |
| Primary | 79 | 44.1 | 64 | 35.7 |
| Secondary | 20 | 11.2 | 0 | 0.0 |
| No information | 1 | 0.6 | 1 | 0.6 |
| Total | 179 | 100.0 | 179 | 100.0 |

Table 6.2 provides an analysis of the occupations[4] of the managers' fathers classified according to their socio-economic class. It will be seen that nearly 9 per cent (16) of the managers had fathers who had been in, or were still in, Class AB (top administrative and managerial) positions, and that almost one-third (56)

4. A complete list of fathers' occupations is in Appendix F.

of the sample had fathers in Class $C_1$ (Supervisory and skilled manual) occupations. However, 83 managers (nearly half of the sample) came from families where the fathers' main occupation was more traditional, usually farming a *shamba*,[5] and this does not include those whose fathers had retired to a *shamba* after a career in the modern sector.

TABLE 6.2

OCCUPATIONAL CLASS OF MANAGERS' FATHERS

| | Socio-Economic Class | No. | % |
|---|---|---|---|
| AB | Top Administrative, Managerial, Executive | 16 | 8.9 |
| $C_1$ | Supervisory, Skilled Manual | 56 | 31.3 |
| $C_2$ | Routine non-Manual, semi-skilled Manual | 16 | 8.9 |
| D | Routine Manual | 8 | 4.5 |
| E | Traditional, Peasant | 83 | 46.4 |
| | Total | 179 | 100.0 |

It might be expected, and Table 6.3 confirms this, that the educational and occupational backgrounds of the fathers are related. Most of those fathers with traditional and blue-collar occupations had received no formal education, while all of the high administrative, executive and managerial fathers had received either primary or secondary education.

5. Traditional peasant farming refers to the farming of a *shamba*, or small-holding of between 3 and 25 acres approximately. Others in this category (3 only) were village elders and chiefs who had been local village administrators in colonial times.

TABLE 6.3

FATHERS' OCCUPATIONAL CLASS AND EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

| Class / Education | AB | | $C_1$ | | $C_2$ | | D E | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % | No | % |
| None | 0 | 0.0 | 16 | 28.6 | 4 | 26.7 | 59 | 64.8 | 79 | 44.4 |
| Primary | 8 | 50.0 | 31 | 55.3 | 10 | 66.7 | 30 | 33.0 | 79 | 44.4 |
| Secondary | 8 | 50.0 | 9 | 16.1 | 1 | 6.6 | 2 | 2.2 | 20 | 11.2 |
| Total | 16 | 100.0 | 56 | 100.0 | 15 | 100.0 | 91 | 100.0 | 178 | 100.0 |

Note: For Class breakdown details, see Table 6.2
Chi-square = 55.34 with 6 degrees of freedom

Well over half of both the $C_1$ and $C_2$ classes had received primary education, but secondary education is observed to be proportionally less represented in each lower class group. The association between the two is very strong (well beyond .001 on the chi-square test), and future references to social backgrounds based on fathers' occupational status will make acknowledgement to this.

The religious backgrounds of the managers was observed to be fairly conventional. There were 55 Roman Catholic managers, 36 Anglicans, 22 members of the Presbyterian Church of East Africa (PCEA), and 18 were non-denominational. Only 6 were Muslims, and 10 specifically described themselves as "non-practising Christians", although several others had made it quite clear that they did not attend church regularly. However, an element of religious influence would have entered into the lives of many of the managers through the schools that they had attended. A total of 20 managers had formerly been pupils at the Alliance High School for Boys at Kikuyu near Nairobi, and 2 of the 3 female managers had attended Alliance High School for Girls. These two schools, along with Mangu High School, Maseno, and St. Mary's at Yala, were all founded before the Second World War as a result of Christian missionary influence in Kenya (Anderson, 1970). Altogether 52 of the 179 managers had been pupils at one or another of these schools, and a further 16 had attended some of the less well-known mission schools.

The general social backgrounds of the managers can be summed up as being largely rural in origin, with little or no urban contact until schooling had been completed. Generally speaking, they were a fairly young group who came from what are, by contemporary European standards, large families, though they would not be viewed as such in local terms. However, a high proportion of them were either the eldest child, or at least the oldest boy in the family, and this may well have influenced educational opportunities and attainments. Certainly many of them had been to good schools, and a number had achieved high educational qualifications and standing. In some cases this may have been due to home influence, as when their fathers' educational standing had led to the sons continuing an educational tradition.

It is reasonable to suppose that the age groupings of the managers would have social backgrounds reflected in them; for instance, considering that the difference between the birth dates between the youngest and oldest managers in the sample was 37 years, and considering the changes that had taken in place in Kenya between 1912 and 1949, then their home environments could have been, and probably were, quite different. The results of data analysis do reveal some interesting differences in the backgrounds of the respective age groups, although they are not, perhaps, as great as might have been expected. It is the next thirty-seven years which could be the significant ones as further changes develop. However, Table 6.4(a) presents the managers according to age group, and compares the differences in family background according to these groupings.

TABLE 6.4(a)

THE AVERAGE NUMBER OF BROTHERS AND SISTERS AND ELDER BROTHERS AND SISTERS, AGAINST MANAGERS' AGE GROUPING

| Age | Average No. of Brothers | Average No. of Sisters | Average No. of Brothers and Sisters | Average No. of Elder Brothers | Average No. of Elder Sisters |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 20-29 years | 3.7 | 2.8 | 6.5 | 1.2 | 2.1 |
| 30-39 years | 2.9 | 2.9 | 5.8 | 1.2 | 2.2 |
| 40 years and over | 3.4 | 3.2 | 6.6 | 0.9 | 1.9 |
| Overall Averages | 3.5 | 3.0 | 6.5 | 1.1 | 2.1 |

TABLE 6.4(b)

NUMBERS WHO WERE ELDEST CHILDREN, AGAINST MANAGERS' AGE GROUPINGS

| Age | No. in Sample | No. who were Eldest Sons | | No. who were Eldest Children | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 20-29 years | 47 | 25 | 53% | 16 | 34% |
| 30-39 years | 91 | 35 | 38% | 17 | 19% |
| 40 years and over | 39 | 22 | 56% | 17 | 44% |
| Overall | 177 | 82 | 46% | 50 | 28% |

It does show that the older managers came from slightly larger families than the other groups, but not conclusively so, and that they were more likely to have been the eldest son or the eldest child. However, there were no distinctive trends to be observed here, and no firm conclusions could be drawn from this data.

Any notions that the younger managers had better-educated fathers in better jobs than the managers in the middle and younger age groups are dispelled by Tables 6.5(a) and 6.5(b). In Table 6.5(a) it will be observed that the proportion of secondary-educated fathers in the three age groups is almost the same, ranging only from 10.6 per cent in the oldest group to 14.9 per

TABLE 6.5(a)

AGE GROUPING OF MANAGERS AND FATHERS' EDUCATION

| Age / Education | 20-29 years | | 30-39 years | | Over 40 years | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| None | 23 | 48.9 | 39 | 41.9 | 17 | 44.7 | 79 | 44.4 |
| Primary | 17 | 36.2 | 45 | 48.4 | 17. | 44.7 | 79 | 44.4 |
| Secondary | 7 | 14.9 | 9 | 9.7 | 4 | 10.6 | 20 | 11.2 |
| Total | 47 | 100.0 | 93 | 100.0 | 38 | 100.0 | 178 | 100.0 |
| Mean | 0.81 | | 0.77 | | 0.76 | | 0.78 | |

Note: In Table 6.5(a) there were only 178 respondees giving details of their fathers' education.

The mean score was calculated by allocating an arbitrary figure to each level of education achieved, i.e. 0 for no education, 1 for Primary level, and 3 for Secondary level. The total achieved for each age group was then divided by the number in the group.

cent in the youngest, without any clear trend. Also, and perhaps rather surprisingly at face value, it was the youngest group which showed the highest percentage of uneducated fathers (48.9 per cent, or nearly half), although they also showed the highest percentage of secondary-educated fathers too (14.9 per cent). Certainly, a comparison of the mean scores for each age group reveals only the slightest of differences between them, although there is a vague trend towards better educated fathers among the younger managers.

In Table 6.5(b) the only clear trends were the higher representation of the top classes (AB and $C_1$) towards the younger age groupings, and a corresponding proportional increase of the lower-income classes ($C_2$, DE) towards the older age groupings. This may

TABLE 6.5(b)

AGE GROUPING OF MANAGERS
AND FATHERS' OCCUPATIONAL CLASS

| Age / Class | 20-29 years | | 30-39 years | | Over 40 years | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| AB | 6 | 12.8 | 6 | 6.4 | 4 | 10.3 | 16 | 8.9 |
| $C_1$ | 23 | 48.9 | 26 | 28.0 | 7 | 17.9 | 56 | 31.3 |
| $C_2$ | 1 | 2.1 | 8 | 8.6 | 7 | 17.9 | 16 | 8.9 |
| DE | 17 | 36.2 | 53 | 57.0 | 21 | 53.9 | 91 | 50.9 |
| | 47 | 100.0 | 93 | 100.0 | 39 | 100.0 | 179 | 100.0 |

or may not be an observation of shifting family backgrounds in Kenya as a whole, but it is certainly an indication that the younger managers are coming from different backgrounds than used to be the case. In colonial times, for a Kenyan African to acquire the opportunity for education and the limited benefits that might accrue from it, he usually had to be lucky. If he lived in an area adjacent to European settlement there was an increased chance that he might be able to attend school if one of the missions had established one within reasonable distance of his home. If neither was the case, his chances were almost nil. By the time of decolonisation, when there was not only an expansion of educational opportunities, but a growing demand for educated Africans in high-level occupations, there was a greater chance that the Kenyan African could get both an education and then a job in the modernising sector. The younger managers represent this element of social and educational change, although there are signs now of a relative decrease in the ratio of available opportunities to educated school leavers, and perhaps an element of increasing elitism which shows preference for certain secondary schools only. In this respect, the situation may now be reverting back to a reliance on some of the same chance factors as before, although the location may be changing from the few isolated former mission schools to the now Africanised National High-Cost schools in Nairobi.

The representation of indigenous ethnic groups in the sample was not significant by age groupings, although the Luo and the Abaluhya were slightly more represented in the oldest group than in the youngest one (see Appendix H). The 'Other' groups showed almost 13 per cent representation in the oldest age group, but over one-third representation in the youngest one. These figures may be an indication that management as a career is now being favoured by a wider selection of Africans than used to be case, although the decrease in the proportion from the western provinces may be less easy to account for. It may be that it bears some relation to the decline in influence of the colonially-favoured Luo and Luhya, and a shift in the political balance following the end of the Emergency.

The conclusion that must be drawn here is that neither in respect of family seniority, home background or ethnic affiliation has there been any startling alteration among managerial membership with the passing of the years.

Comparison with Other Studies

Previous reference has been made to a number of manager studies carried out in Europe and the United States of America. A feature of some of these surveys is the analysis of the social origins of the managers, usually measured by the occupation of the father. In this Kenyan study, the education of the father has been used as the representative social background variable in most cases because it showed greater significance against subsequent career variables than did that of occupational class, but nevertheless a comparison of the Kenyan and other surveys is of value, and is made in Table 6.6.

Table 6.6 shows the level of management surveyed, the average ages of the managers in the various samples, and rounded percentage figures for the proportion of managers whose fathers fall into a five-point occupational scale. Some account must be taken of the fact that these studies have a year of origin range from 1952 to 1971, a difference that may more than likely date some of the earlier ones by now.

TABLE 6.6

THE OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF MANAGERS' FATHERS IN THE PRESENT STUDY, AND FOUR OTHERS

| Author | Greaves | Clements | Clark | Warner & Abegglan | Hall and de Bettignies |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Country | Kenya | Britain | Britain | U.S.A. | France |
| Year | 1971 | 1958 | 1966 | 1952 | 1968 |
| Managerial level | All | All | All | Top | Top |
| Average age of managers (years) | 34 | 46 | 46 | - | 57 |
| Occupational status of fathers (a) | % | % | % | % | % |
| I. Professional (b) | 1 | 20 | 8 | 37 | 60 |
| II. Managerial/Supervisory | 27 | 27 | 35 | 37 | 15 |
| III. Skilled Manual/Routine non-Manual | 20 | 45 | 44 | 9 | 25 |
| IV. Semi-skilled | 1 | 6 | 11 | - | - |
| V. Unskilled/Traditional (c) | 51 | 2 | 2 | 17 | - |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Number in sample | 179 | 646 | 804 | 8562 | 159 |

Notes: (a) The grades used here are those used by Clark, and are based on the U.K. Registrar-General's classification of occupations.

(b) The Professional category includes business owners.

(c) There is no parallel in the Registrar-General's classification for traditional small farmers. These have been bracketed with those fathers who are listed as unskilled.

The Kenyan managers are the youngest group overall. Any age comparison with the French sample would be invalid as this study was of chief executives whom one would naturally expect to be older. However, the Kenyan managers are 12 years younger on average than those in the two British samples, a fact which reflects the later development of Kenya and the opportunities that exist for educated personnel who tend to be younger in the developing countries. There are further obvious differences. The Kenyan managers are more likely to have come from traditional backgrounds, an origin which is less likely to be found in the countries which have been industrialised longer. However, it has already been pointed out (Table 6.5(b)) that the percentage of younger Kenyan managers from such backgrounds is less than that of the older group. The other obvious difference is that all the other studies, Clark's excepted, show at least a fifth of the managers coming from Grade I backgrounds, in which their fathers were professional men, business owners, top managers, and the like. Only 1 per cent of the Kenyan sample had such a background because such jobs were reserved for Europeans in their fathers' day. In the middle occupational ranges the differences are less obvious. A large percentage (47) of the Kenyan sample came from Grades II and III backgrounds, a similar proportion to that found in the studies of Warner and Abegglan (46) and Hall and de Bettignies (40), but somewhat less than the Clements and Clark British samples (72 and 79 per cent respectively). It is clear that in the Western studies generally, more managers come from upper class backgrounds than is the case in Kenya, where, owing to later development, and previous discriminatory colonial practices, there is no directly comparable class structure anyway. The earlier industrialised nations produce a lot of their managers from the higher strata of society, a fact confirmed by two more studies, in Spain (Linz and de Miguel 1963) and Belgium (Beckers and Frère 1972). The Spanish sample was based on businessmen who were mainly founders and heirs, and the ratio of managers with non-business backgrounds to those with business backgrounds was 16:21; in other words, some 44 per cent of the managers were sons of businessmen themselves. The Belgian sample showed that 2 out of 5 top middle managers were the sons of top managers.

Kenya has not had a long enough industrialised history and does not possess a sufficiently formalised and stratified social structure to show very many of its managers coming from comparable beginnings. At the time that many of their fathers were pursuing their active working careers, if such they can be called, industrialised development and commercial enterprise were both in a relative infancy, and there was certainly minimal scope for them to have worked their way up to top positions either as owners or managers. This accounts for the almost equal split between Kenyan managers from traditional-rural backgrounds (Grade V) and those from the managerial-supervisory-skilled origins (Grades II and III), whereas the Americans and Europeans show an approximately similar proportional split between Grade I, and Grades II and III.

Despite the distinctions between the top and the traditional levels in the managerial backgrounds there is a fairly strong overlap in the middle between the Kenyans and the others, and it is interesting to note such a broad area of common ground between the two.

Social Backgrounds and the Type of School

A close examination of the detailed educational factors is reserved for the next chapter, but it is difficult to discuss social backgrounds without making some reference to education. The fact is that in many countries the educational system is the agency by which social origins transmit their influence on to subsequent career development. In Kenya this is manifested by educated fathers having the resources and money to send their sons to schools with a good academic reputation, thus helping to ensure that the sons receive an education of a better standard than that enjoyed by the bulk of the population. This education is often of positive assistance in later career progress. The evidence in this section indicates that tribe and family seniority have had little or no influence in determining the type of school attended, but that religious affiliation, and fathers' education and occupation, do show a direct relationship with this variable.

The type of school attended by the managers has been examined in this section because in several countries schools have a link with social class and they have been shown to be of significance in subsequent career development. The (perhaps slightly fading) importance of the 'old school tie' in Britain springs to mind here. As recently as 1959 Wilson and Lupton (see Rothschild (ed.) 1971) observed that 230 out of 529 (over 43 per cent) of Britain's then Cabinet Ministers, top civil servants, and directors of big banks, city firms and insurance companies had been to only six public schools, and a majority of the 230 were, in fact, from Eton College. Of course, one is aware that Kenya does not have its Etons, Harrows and Winchesters, although there was once an attempt to create something like them. Nevertheless, it does have different stratas of schools, some of which are now able, in somewhat the same fashion as Eton, to boast that they are the character moulders of the present and future Kenya, owing to the impressive number of politicians, civil servants, and other top people who have passed through their halls.

The first mission secondary school to be founded in Kenya was the Alliance High School for Boys, formed in 1926 at Kikuyu, fifteen miles from Nairobi. It was followed by Kabaa (later called Mangu High School), Maseno, and St. Mary's at Yala. "Thus all four secondary schools founded before the Second World War grew from the Christian missionary tradition", wrote Anderson (1970), who went on to discuss the "training in service through leadership" provided at Alliance, and which was moulded strongly on the British public and grammar school tradition.

It has been said that missionary secondary education created an elite in Kenya because of this tradition; Anderson noted that it was the group from these schools which was active in pressing for independence, and having got it was then able to administer the country afterwards. Although these former mission schools are now integrated into the state educational system as elite national schools, some of their aura and tradition remain, and if they still do have a ring of elitism to their names then one would be justified in expecting that a significant proportion of Kenya's business managers, particularly some of the more senior ones, would be wearing these particular old school ties.

For the purposes of analysis the schools were grouped originally into the four classifications mentioned in Chapter IV, namely National Low-Cost, Local Catchment, other Private schools, and Primary schools; these last two sub-groups were subsequently combined for more convenient analysis. Although more than half of the managers (95, or 53 per cent) had attended Local Catchment schools, 52 (almost 30 per cent) were former pupils of the four National Low-Cost schools,[6] indicating that they, although few in number, have been supplying a significant proportion of the managerial cadre to date.

No managers in the sample had been educated at the National High-Cost schools,[7] which at the time that most of the managers in this sample were being educated were not open to Africans. Only by 1971 had they been effectively Africanised, and their impact on the country is no doubt still to be felt.

Although ethnic affiliation of the managerial sample showed little relationship to the type of school they had attended (see Appendix K), and the same was true of religious affiliation (see Appendix K), there were interesting conclusions to be drawn from cross tabulations of the type of school against other social background variables, particularly those relating to age grouping, and the fathers' education and socio-economic occupational class.

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6. Two of the three female managers had been educated at Alliance High School for Girls, which although a separate institution from the Boys' School, was founded by the same mission.

7. These included Lenana High School, and Nairobi High School.

Table 6.7 helps place the role of the school in the contemporary scene. A definite trend in the significance of the high-status schools can be seen here. For the managers aged 40 years and over there had been, at the time of their secondary schooling, very little secondary education available except in schools such as these for which the competition was keen; this may account for the fact that 18 out of the 39 (over 46 per cent) of the older group had attended them. In the thirties age-group, the proportion of high-status school managers decreased to just less than one-quarter, and in the youngest age group it was 23.4 per cent. The percentage of managers from Local Catchment schools rises from nearly 36 in the oldest group to just over 55 in the youngest group, with a slight peak in the thirties age group of 59.2; a sub-division of this middle group into the over-35 year olds and the under-35 year olds reveals that more of the younger sub-group than the older sub-group (39 of the younger and 16 of the older)

TABLE 6.7

TYPE OF SCHOOL ATTENDED BY AGE GROUP

| School \ Age | 20-29 years | | 30-39 years | | 40 years and over | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Primary & Other | 10 | 21.3 | 15 | 16.1 | 7 | 17.9 | 32 | 17.9 |
| Local Catchment | 26 | 55.3 | 55 | 59.2 | 14 | 35.9 | 95 | 53.1 |
| National Low-Cost | 11 | 23.4 | 23 | 24.7 | 18 | 46.2 | 52 | 29.0 |
| Total | 47 | 100.0 | 93 | 100.0 | 39 | 100.0 | 179 | 100.0 |

had attended Local Catchment schools, so the trend does exist. There is limited evidence, therefore, that the educational backgrounds of the managers are becoming somewhat more "democratic" as the representation from the privileged schools decreases at the expense of that from the Local Catchment schools. However, this may be only a short-term effect as a result of an expansion of opportunities following decolonisation, and it may well be that a subsequent tightening up following a slow-down in economic growth at the end of the "Kenyanisation" boom will shift the emphasis back to those with a privileged school background.

Table 6.8 shows the type of school attended and the education of the managers' fathers. There is a clear-cut relationship between the two. Of the 31 managers who had themselves attended Primary or Other schools 19 (over 61 per cent) had uneducated

TABLE 6.8

TYPE OF SCHOOL ATTENDED BY THE MANAGERS, AND THE EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF THEIR FATHERS

| School / Fathers' Education | Primary & Other | | Local Catchment | | National Low-Cost | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| None | 19 | 61.2 | 42 | 44.2 | 18 | 34.6 | 79 | 44.4 |
| Primary | 10 | 32.3 | 43 | 45.3 | 26 | 50.0 | 79 | 44.4 |
| Secondary | 2 | 6.5 | 10 | 10.5 | 8 | 15.4 | 20 | 11.2 |
| Total | 31 | 100.0 | 95 | 100.0 | 52 | 100.0 | 178 | 100.0 |

Note: Only 178 respondees gave details of their fathers' education.

Chi-square = 5.998 with 4 degrees of freedom.

fathers, whereas the uneducated fathers only accounted for just over 44 per cent of the Local Catchment school managers, and less than 35 per cent of those from the National Low-Cost schools. At the other end of the scale, the managers whose fathers had received secondary education were more likely to have attended the highest grade of school (over 15 per cent of the National Low-Cost school managers had fathers with secondary education) than the lowest (only 6.5 per cent of the Primary and Other school managers had secondary educated fathers). The chi-square reading is only significant at the .20 per cent level, but the trend indicated in the figures is meaningful enough; the better-educated fathers were sending their sons to the better schools.

Table 6.9 illustrates the type of school attended against the socio-economic occupational classification of the fathers. Again,

TABLE 6.9

TYPE OF SCHOOL ATTENDED BY THE MANAGERS AND THE OCCUPATIONAL CLASS OF THEIR FATHERS

| Class \ School | Primary & Other | | Local Catchment | | National Low-Cost | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| AB | 0 | - | 10 | 10.5 | 6 | 11.5 | 16 | 8.9 |
| $C_1$ | 9 | 28.1 | 28 | 29.5 | 19 | 36.5 | 56 | 31.3 |
| $C_2$ | 3 | 9.4 | 6 | 6.3 | 7 | 13.5 | 16 | 8.9 |
| DE | 20 | 62.5 | 51 | 53.7 | 20 | 38.5 | 91 | 50.9 |
| Total | 32 | 100.0 | 95 | 100.0 | 52 | 100.0 | 179 | 100.0 |

Note: see Table 6.2 for details of occupational classification.

Chi-square 8.681 with 6 degrees of freedom.

although the chi-square reading shows a low significance at below the .10 per cent level, the percentage movements are worthy of comment. Most (over 62 per cent, or nearly two-thirds) of the managers from Primary and Other schools had fathers with low-graded occupations, whereas no fathers in the highest (AB) class had had sons at these schools. In fact, the proportion of managers in the progressively higher classifications of schools rises with the high-occupation fathers (from 0 per cent in the Primary and Other schools to 11.5 per cent in the National Low-Cost), and drops with the low-status fathers (from 62.5 per cent in the Primary and Other schools to 38.5 per cent in the National Low-Cost schools). It would appear again that social background exercises some determination upon the type of schools attended by the managers, with the better-off fathers tending to send their sons to higher-status schools.

There was a slight indication that the managers who had been either the eldest child in the family, or at least the eldest son, had also gained certain advantages in their schooling. Table 6.10 shows that nearly one-third (26, or 31.7 per cent) of the eldest brothers had attended National Low-Cost schools, but that this was only true of about one in four (24, or 25.3 per cent) of those managers who were younger brothers. A slightly higher percentage of younger brothers (20 per cent) had been schooled at Primary and Other schools then was the case with the eldest brothers (less than 16 per cent). The chi-square reading showed less than a .30 per cent probability.

Similarly, although the chi-square reading was again low, at between .30 and .20 per cent significance, more than one-third

TABLE 6.10

TYPE OF SCHOOL ATTENDED, ACCORDING TO WHETHER MANAGERS WERE ELDEST OR YOUNGER BROTHERS, AND ELDEST OR YOUNGER CHILDREN IN THEIR FAMILY

| Eldest/Younger — School | Eldest Brother | | Younger Brother | | Eldest Child | | Younger Child | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Primary or Other | 13 | 15.9 | 19 | 20.0 | 8 | 16.0 | 24 | 18.9 | 32 | 18.1 |
| Local Catchment | 43 | 52.4 | 52 | 54.7 | 24 | 48.0 | 71 | 55.9 | 95 | 53.7 |
| National Low-Cost | 26 | 31.7 | 24 | 25.3 | 18 | 36.0 | 32 | 25.2 | 50 | 28.2 |
| Total | 82 | 100.0 | 95 | 100.0 | 50 | 100.0 | 127 | 100.0 | 177 | 100.0 |

Chi-square (Eldest or Younger Brother) = 1.099 with 2 degrees of freedom.

Chi-square (Eldest Child or Younger Child) = 2.074 with 2 degrees of freedom.

(18, or 36 per cent) of the managers who had been the eldest child in the family had attended the National Low-Cost schools, but only a quarter (32 out of 127) of the younger sibling managers had received this advantage. A slightly higher percentage of siblings had received their education at Primary and Other schools (18.9 per cent) than was the case with those managers who had been the eldest child (16 per cent).

These figures may not be conclusive but they give some indications that the eldest brothers or the eldest children had received a slightly better start in life by being sent to the prestigious schools in more cases than the younger brothers or siblings.

## Social Backgrounds and Present Job Function

In order to evaluate whether social background had any meaningful effect upon career, it is relevant to examine the background variables against the current job functions performed by the managers at the time of the study, the intention being to establish which, if any, of the variables had been instrumental in any way in influencing the type of work they were performing.

A complete list of job titles held by the managers is given in Appendix G, but for analytical purposes the managers were classified into five functional groups as follows; Production, Marketing, Personnel, Finance and Accounting, and Other (see Chapter IV). The social background variables thought to be the most appropriate for comparison were those of age, religion, ethnic affiliation, fathers' education, fathers' occupation, and the type of school attended by the managers. Of these six, three (age, religion, and ethnic affiliation) showed no significance on chi-square tests when cross-tabulated with job function. The remaining three variables (fathers' education, fathers' occupation, and the type of school attended) showed varying degrees of significance, and most of the following comment is based upon these.

There was found to be no statistical relationship between job function and tribe, and further comment is unnecessary. Nor was there a significant reading between job function and age, although close examination of Table 6.11 reveals some points worthy of note. In the first place, the proportion of both the Production managers and the Personnel managers rises in the higher age groups; in the case of the Production managers this is an increase from 23.4 per cent in the youngest group, through 28 per cent, to 30.8 per cent

TABLE 6.11

PRESENT JOB FUNCTION OF MANAGERS AND THEIR AGE GROUPS

| Age / Function | Average Age (years) | 20-29 years | | 30-39 years | | 40 years and over | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Production | 35.8 | 11 | 23.4 | 26 | 28.0 | 12 | 30.8 | 49 | 27.4 |
| Marketing | 33.6 | 8 | 17.0 | 18 | 19.4 | 6 | 15.4 | 32 | 17.9 |
| Personnel | 35.6 | 4 | 8.5 | 11 | 11.8 | 7 | 17.9 | 22 | 12.3 |
| Finance and Accounting | 32.9 | 14 | 29.8 | 15 | 16.1 | 7 | 17.9 | 36 | 20.1 |
| Other | 33.7 | 10 | 21.3 | 23 | 24.7 | 7 | 17.9 | 40 | 22.3 |
| Total | 34.3 | 47 | 100.0 | 93 | 100.0 | 39 | 99.9 | 179 | 100.0 |

in the oldest group; for Personnel the figures are percentages of 8.5, 11.8 and 17.9 respectively. In the oldest age group, these two functions account for nearly half of those interviewed, whereas in the youngest group they are less than one-third. However, and secondly, the trend is in the opposite direction for managers in Finance and Accounting, with nearly 30 per cent of the youngest group being employed there, and about half that figure in the middle and older age groups. Although it is accepted that this sample is not representative of Kenya as a whole, there are still a number of inferences to be drawn. For instance, that careers in Finance and Accounting do seem to be opening up for the younger entrants into management, and that Personnel (one of the first functions to be Africanised) now seems to be virtually 'blocked', and remains the province of the older managers who got there first. This also appears to be the case with Production, though for perhaps different reasons. Here it is the older managers, often the ones with less formal education, who have accrued their practical experience and worked their way up into management within the area over a number of years, while the younger and better-educated managers have become increasingly attracted into the higher status commercial functions, rather than into Production, with its 'shop floor' image.

Table 6.12 shows the relationship between the function of the managers and the education of their fathers. The chi-square reading from this table is significant beyond the .5 level. The reason for this are, (i) the higher than expected proportion of Production managers whose fathers had no formal education, (ii) the correspondingly low number and percentage of Production

TABLE 6.12

JOB FUNCTION AND EDUCATION OF FATHERS

| Fathers' Education / Function | None | | Primary | | Secondary | | Total | | Arith Mean (a) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | |
| Production | 30 | 38.0 | 17 | 21.5 | 1 | 5.0 | 48 | 27.0 | 0.42 |
| Marketing | 9 | 11.4 | 19 | 24.1 | 4 | 20.0 | 32 | 18.0 | 0.97 |
| Personnel | 11 | 13.9 | 8 | 10.1 | 3 | 15.0 | 22 | 12.3 | 0.77 |
| Finance and Accounting | 16 | 20.2 | 14 | 17.7 | 6 | 30.0 | 36 | 20.2 | 0.89 |
| Other | 13 | 16.5 | 21 | 26.6 | 6 | 30.0 | 40 | 22.5 | 0.98 |
| Total | 79 | 100.0 | 79 | 100.0 | 20 | 100.0 | 178 | 100.0 | 0.78 |

Note: (a) Mean score for fathers based on 0 for no education; 1 for primary education; 3 for secondary education

Chi-square = 15.684 with 8 degrees of freedom

managers whose fathers had been educated up to secondary level, (iii) the high proportion of Marketing managers whose fathers had been educated up to primary level, and (iv) the fact that nearly one-third of those managers whose fathers were secondary educated were in Finance and Accounting. Using the previous scoring method of determining the mean, it will be seen that the Production managers come from the least educated families, and that the managers from the rest of the functions have almost identical backgrounds in this respect, their fathers being generally better educated.

Table 6.13 shows the occupational status of the fathers compared with the job functions of the managers, and this further emphasises the polarisation between the Production function and

TABLE 6.13

JOB FUNCTION AND FATHERS' SOCIO-ECONOMIC OCCUPATIONAL CLASS

| Class / Function | AB | | $C_1$ | | $C_2$ | | D E | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Production | 1 | 6.2 | 7 | 12.5 | 6 | 37.5 | 35 | 38.5 | 49 | 27.4 |
| Marketing | 4 | 25.0 | 10 | 17.9 | 3 | 18.8 | 15 | 16.5 | 32 | 17.9 |
| Personnel | 2 | 12.5 | 5 | 8.9 | 0 | 0.0 | 15 | 16.5 | 22 | 12.3 |
| Finance and Accounting | 3 | 18.8 | 15 | 26.8 | 5 | 31.2 | 13 | 14.3 | 36 | 20.1 |
| Other | 6 | 37.5 | 19 | 33.9 | 2 | 12.5 | 13 | 14.2 | 40 | 22.3 |
| Total | 16 | 100.0 | 56 | 100.0 | 16 | 100.0 | 91 | 100.0 | 179 | 100.0 |

the commercial ones. The percentage of class AB managers in Production is just over 6 while all other functions are at least twice that, and Marketing is 25 per cent. The proportion of Production managers also rises in each successive lower class, whereas in Marketing it declines, and the others are variable. Yet further evidence of Production's association with a lower "class image" is to be found in Table 6.14. The degree of association shown by a chi-square test is significant almost to .01. More than half (18) of the managers from the Primary and Other schools were in Production jobs, but this was true of only a quarter (13) of those from National Low-Cost schools. On the other hand, there was significantly higher representation from the higher-status schools in Marketing, Personnel, and Finance and Accounting than there was from the lower-status ones.

TABLE 6.14

TYPE OF SCHOOL ATTENDED AND MANAGERS' JOB FUNCTIONS

| School / Function | Primary & Other | | Local Catchment | | National Low-Cost | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Production | 18 | 56.2 | 18 | 18.9 | 13 | 25.0 | 49 | 27.4 |
| Marketing | 3 | 9.4 | 22 | 23.2 | 7 | 13.5 | 32 | 17.9 |
| Personnel | 2 | 6.3 | 12 | 12.6 | 8 | 15.4 | 22 | 12.3 |
| Finance and Accounting | 4 | 12.5 | 19 | 20.0 | 13 | 25.0 | 36 | 20.1 |
| Other | 5 | 15.6 | 24 | 25.3 | 11 | 21.1 | 40 | 22.3 |
| Total | 32 | 100.0 | 95 | 100.0 | 52 | 100.0 | 179 | 100.0 |

Chi-square = 19.614 with 8 degrees of freedom.

It would appear that the educational and occupational status of the managers' fathers, together with the type of school they were sent to (and there is an association between these, as Tables 6.8 and 6.9 have shown), play a determining role in the managers' preference for career function. The managers with the lower-status backgrounds often seem to end up in Production jobs, and those with a better start in life opt for, or are offered, positions in the commercial functions. It is probable that the actual educational level achieved at school may be more important than the background of individuals, but discussion of this is saved for the next chapter.

Social Backgrounds and Managerial Status

A second means of verifying Clements' hypothesis that social backgrounds and subsequent career progress are linked is to measure the social variables against the current status levels of the managers in their organisational hierarchies, the expectation being that if Clements is correct then the managers with the advantageous backgrounds will be more senior than their less fortunate colleagues. Under conditions of economic and bureaucratic rationality, social background would be a non-factor in career progress. If competence and merit are the criteria (and qualifications might be something of a guide to these), then a manager would be able to rise up the organisational hierarchy as far and as fast as his ability and job opportunities allowed him to do. Time is an element in this process, of course, since a manager is not normally given additional authority and responsibilities until he has proved himself capable of assuming them, and this will normally require learning and experience gathered over a period of time. Thus the acquisition of managerial authority is a function of experience, learning ability, competence and opportunity.

If, however, business conditions were not purely rational, and the interpretation of individual merit happened to be judged by other, and more subjective, factors such as race, religion, skin colour, school, regiment and the rest, one might observe these factors being used as appraisal and selection and promotion criteria instead of the objective ones. It is not uncommon in many walks of life for such non-rational standards to be used, and this applies as much in business as anywhere else. One is reminded of

Lord Kindersley's remarks to the British Bank Rate Tribunal (see Rothschild (ed.) 1971),[8] which serve as an appropriate example of shared social backgrounds at work in a business situation.

The purpose of this aspect of the research was therefore to investigate current managerial status and social background, and to see if the socio-economic variables (religion, tribe, school, fathers' background) were more important in relating to the managers' current status standing than their current age.

Age and status level were, as expected, found to be closely related, and the chi-square result for Table 6.15 is significant well beyond the .01 level. The senior managers were proportionally under-represented in the below 30 year age group, which is not at all surprising, but of the ones who were there, half had degrees which partly explains their presence at all. A third of the middle age group managers were at the senior level,[9] and nearly 40 per cent of the older age group were of the same rank. The opposite result was to be observed among the junior managers, with the highest proportion being in the youngest age group, and less in the successive older ones.

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8. The evidence of Lord Kindersley and others revealed that many decisions in London's City firms were taken, not so much on the basis of lengthy analyses, but because colleagues knew about and relied upon each other's beliefs and attitudes which were based on their backgrounds. Lord Kindersley remarked at one point that "there is some lack of understanding as to the way my firm works," and later said, "I consider it perfectly natural that I should be allowed to go and talk to a colleague on the Bank of England ... I do not think that Lord Bicester would find it in the least surprising that I should come to him and say to him: "Look here, Rufie, is it too late to stop this business or not?"

9. Top and senior managers were grouped together for the analysis. There were 12 top managers (Company Secretaries, Personnel Managers, etc.) and 40 senior managers, usually with responsibility for a major department.

TABLE 6.15

MANAGERIAL STATUS AND AGE GROUPING

| Status \ Age | 20-29 years | | 30-39 years | | 40 years and over | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Senior | 6 | 12.7 | 31 | 33.3 | 15 | 38.4 | 52 | 29.0 |
| Middle | 28 | 59.6 | 49 | 52.7 | 23 | 59.0 | 100 | 55.9 |
| Junior | 13 | 27.7 | 13 | 14.0 | 1 | 2.6 | 27 | 15.1 |
| Total | 47 | 100.0 | 93 | 100.0 | 39 | 100.0 | 179 | 100.0 |

Chi-square = 14.916 with 4 degrees of freedom.

The relationships between status and religion, and seniority and tribe were not found to be statistically significant (the same social variables were not related to job function, it will be remembered), and neither was there any identity between the managers' status and that of the occupations of their fathers.

There was limited significance in the cross-tabulation between seniority and the education of the fathers which showed up on a chi-square test at almost .05, but it is worthy of one comment. Only 16 out of the 79 managers with uneducated fathers (see Table 6.16) had made it to senior managerial level (just 20 per cent against a total sample percentage of less than 30), whereas of the 99 fathers with education, 36 of their sons were top or senior managers. The middle management group were slightly biased towards fathers with no education, and the junior managers were about evenly split and fell close to the overall sample proportions.

TABLE 6.16

MANAGERIAL STATUS AND FATHERS' EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

| Status \ Education | None | | Primary/ Secondary | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Senior | 16 | 20.2 | 36 | 36.4 | 52 | 29.2 |
| Middle | 50 | 63.3 | 49 | 49.5 | 99 | 55.6 |
| Junior | 13 | 16.5 | 14 | 14.1 | 27 | 15.2 |
| Total | 79 | 100.0 | 99 | 100.0 | 178 | 100.0 |

Chi-square = 5.115 with 2 degrees of freedom.

Most relevant of all is the relationship between status and the type of school attended. Table 6.17 illustrates this. The reading is significant beyond the .005 level, for two main reasons; firstly, that only 4 of the managers from Primary and Other schools

TABLE 6.17

TYPE OF SCHOOL ATTENDED BY MANAGERS AND THEIR CURRENT MANAGERIAL STATUS

| Status \ School | Primary and Other | | Local Catchment | | National Low-Cost | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Junior | 9 | 28.1 | 14 | 14.7 | 4 | 7.7 | 27 | 15.0 |
| Middle | 19 | 59.4 | 57 | 60.0 | 24 | 46.2 | 100 | 55.9 |
| Senior | 4 | 12.5 | 24 | 25.3 | 24 | 46.1 | 52 | 29.1 |
| Total | 32 | 100.0 | 95 | 100.0 | 52 | 100.0 | 179 | 100.0 |

Chi-square = 15.447 with 4 degrees of freedom.

were in the top seniority bracket (12.5 per cent, or less than half the proportion of the overall sample), and secondly, that 24 of the 52 National Low-Cost school managers were at the top, almost half of the group. In the third place, 9 of the Primary and Other school managers (over a quarter) were junior level managers, whereas this was the case with only 4 of the high-status school managers, all of whom were under 30 years of age anyway, and presumably at an early stage in their career development. There is, therefore, a convincing indication that social background is important in determining managerial status in Kenya, probably through the medium of the level of education attained from the various types of school, attendance at which is partly determined by the fathers' education and occupational status.

## Summary

In this chapter, material relating to the social backgrounds of the managers has been presented in an attempt to elucidate the extent to which managers in Kenya originate from privileged backgrounds, and how much these backgrounds have been an influencing factor upon subsequent aspects of their careers. Unfortunately there is no reliable information on the social origins of the general population of Kenya which would allow for an estimate to be made of the chances of people from different backgrounds becoming managers. Neither is there information on the proportions of each social class in the country who went into industrial jobs and subsequently left them, so there can be no comparison between the chances of achieving managerial status for members of the higher and lower social groups. All comparisons are therefore made within this sample only, and do not necessarily apply to the wider managerial population of Kenya.

A comparison between the Africans in Kenya and managers in other countries does point out certain differences between the Kenyans and the others. These differences relate partly to the fact that the Kenyan social environment is less structured than Western ones at its current stage of development; they do not indicate too many fundamental distinctions between the Africans and the rest. A higher proportion of Western managers, for instance, have more favoured backgrounds than the Kenyan ones, in that more of their fathers had been in top professional and executive positions. However, 40 per cent of the Kenyans came from managerial and executive backgrounds themselves, and a further 12 per cent from industrial backgrounds at a lower level, giving about half the sample a modern background as opposed to a traditional one. Certainly, the overall population of Kenya is not split according to similar proportions, on recent research evidence.

A population breakdown of Kenyan Africans by the Research Bureau of East Africa (1974) recorded a breakdown according to class based on income, and this is compared to the social backgrounds of the managerial sample in Table 6.18. Over 40 per cent of the managers came from less than 4 per cent of the population, and although the 1974 figures make such a comparison a crude one, nevertheless they are perhaps a more accurate reflection than equivalent figures for 1950 (had they existed) would have been. At that time, when the sample managers would have been thirteen years old on average, their parents were artificially suppressed by the colonial system into the lowest income group. It is

TABLE 6.18

THE SOCIAL CLASS OF KENYAN AFRICANS (1974) AND
THE REPRESENTATION OF SOCIAL CLASS AMONG MANAGERS

| Class | K£ p.a. | African Population | | Managers | | Representation | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | No. (000s) | % | No. | % | Managers/ Population | % |
| AB | +£1200 | 124.8 | 0.98 | 16 | 8.9 | 8.9/ 0.98 | 9.1 |
| $C_1$ | 720-1199 | 366.9 | 2.88 | 56 | 31.3 | 31.3/ 2.88 | 10.9 |
| $C_2$ | 300- 719 | 827.3 | 6.50 | 16 | 8.9 | 8.9/ 6.50 | 1.4 |
| D | 120- 299 | 2580.0 | 20.25 | 8 | 4.5 | 4.5/20.25 | 0.2 |
| E | 0- 199 | 8840.0 | 69.39 | 83 | 46.4 | 46.4/69.39 | 0.7 |

interesting to note that Clark's British sample showed that 42.5 per cent of his managers came from just less than 3 per cent of the population.

The fact that the Kenyan sample evidence pointed out that less of the younger managers came from traditional backgrounds than did the older ones should also be considered. This may be an indication that social backgrounds among Kenyan managers are moving towards a closer identity with those of Western managers. There would appear to be both a cause and an effect involved here; as the business firms look primarily for people with high educational standards (although they are not always able to get them in the quantity they want; see the previous chapter), so the educational standards may be dependent upon social background, a point to be taken up in the next chapter. If this were shown to be the case, then, as the numbers and proportions of educated, high-status managers increase so are the chances of the creation of a middle-class managerial elite also enhanced, and men with similar domestic and educational backgrounds, attitudes and values will take over the middle, and ultimately senior, levels of Kenyan management. If this did happen, it would hardly be a new phenomenon, but merely a replication of what has happened in the West.

The association between the type of school attended and social background is quite convincing, and its effects are even more enlightening. The sample data show, for example, that it is the managers from the lower-status school backgrounds who go into the production management side of business, while those from the higher-status schools opt on the whole for the white-collar functions of Marketing, Finance and Accounting, and Personnel. In terms of career progress, it is the better-schooled who have achieved the more senior positions and who are earning the higher salaries, while the managers from lower-grade schools are at junior and middle levels with commensurate lower salaries. In both these cases of function and status, the school and the social origins are consistently related; elite schooling, for instance, is associated with a higher level social background.

This can best be illustrated by means of data presented in the final table in this chapter (Table 6.19). Bearing in mind that the crucial background variables dealt with have been fathers' education, fathers' occupational class, and the type of school attended, the table illustrates the importance of the school. Of those managers who had similar social backgrounds (in terms of fathers' education), those who had attended the high-status schools had done consistently better in terms of current status and salary. The percentage of senior managers, for example, declines from a

TABLE 6.19

MANAGERIAL STATUS BY TYPE OF SCHOOL ATTENDED
AND EDUCATION OF FATHER

| School and Fathers' Education / Status | Local Catchment, and Primary and Other Schools | | | | National Low-Cost Schools | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Uneducated | | Educated | | Uneducated | | Educated | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Junior | 11 | 18 | 12 | 19 | 2 | 11 | 2 | 6 |
| Middle | 41 | 67 | 34 | 52 | 9 | 50 | 15 | 44 |
| Senior | 9 | 15 | 19 | 29 | 7 | 39 | 17 | 50 |
| Total | 61 | 100 | 65 | 100 | 18 | 100 | 34 | 100 |
| Average salary p.a.(K£ s) | 1455 | | 1738 | | 1875 | | 2191 | |
| Average age (years) | 33.7 | | 32.8 | | 38.1 | | 35.9 | |

high point of 50 for those with educated fathers and high-status schools, through 39 for those with uneducated fathers and lower-status schools, to 29 for those with educated fathers and lower-status schools, to 15 for those with uneducated fathers and lower-status schools. The proportion of middle and junior managers rise more or less consistently through the same declining social background, and average annual salary falls. This is another way of saying that if a manager has an educated father and has been to a good school, he will do better than the manager from a poorer school with an educated father.

Clements (1958) observed a perpetuating class system within the managerial hierarchy of his British sample, with the top jobs being filled by men of higher social origin who were specially trained for their responsibilities, and the inferior posts being filled by men of lower origins who expected no more than lower management jobs. This can be seen in the age distributions in Clements' sample where the socially higher managers were, on average, four to five years younger than those from the lower social backgrounds, yet were more represented at the top level. This result was found to be similar to that of the Kenyan sample, although not having directly comparable evidence available it is impossible to confirm the perpetuating class hypothesis.

The age result was not confirmed in the Kenyan sample although the relationship of higher managerial status to better fathers' education was. Certainly, for all ranks of managerial status, and for both elite and non-elite schools attended, the managers whose fathers were educated were younger than those whose fathers were uneducated (Table 6.19). Clements' conclusion can neither be confirmed nor denied, but from a comparison with Clark the indications are that at the top there is about the same limited social and career mobility in Kenya at present as there is in Britain, with the Kenyans coming from a similarly narrow social spectrum as they do in Britain. There is also an indication that they are perhaps later grouped into high potential and low potential streams on the basis of their education. The implication is that social background, and perhaps educational background too, may be an important determinant on career development, a point that will be more thoroughly investigated.

## CHAPTER VII

## EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUNDS

### Introduction

There is no shortage of material linking education with economic development. Like certain other requirements for economic growth, education is not a natural resource (although the human resource upon which it operates, is), and as such it requires savings and investment for its financing. Schultz (1961) has called for the treatment of human resources as a form of capital, and Kuznets (1959) has described the measurement of capital formation based on fixed capital as deficient, omitting as it does expenditures for education, non-profit research, health, recreation and the like, which "contribute to economic growth by increasing the efficiency of a complex productive system." It does this by enabling increases in the quality of the main factors of production to be obtained, and the benefits of economies of scale realised.

In this chapter, consideration will first be given to the manpower economics theories which provided the impetus for the educational development of the new nations in the 1950s and 1960s, and this will be followed by an up to date assessment of their results and a review of educational development in Kenya. The material relating to the educational backgrounds of the Kenyan managers will then be presented and compared with that of managers in other studies, before being analysed in an attempt to show its relationship to social background, job function, managerial status, and the type of company for which the managers worked.

Educational Development

In the past, many economic development planners have only given educational investment in human resources little more than a passing glance, recognising that some of this investment is economic in the sense that it promotes growth, but that other of it is a social investment. There are accepted difficulties in calculating financial returns from educational investments, and there is a good case for advocating that education should not always be considered in strictly economic terms alone, but in human ones since it may be considered to be a human right. Harbison and Myers (1964) see no inherent conflict between the economists and the humanists;

> "If one of the major goals of nearly all societies today is rapid economic growth, then programs of human resource development must be designed to provide the knowledge, the skills, and the incentives required by a productive economy. If one rejects the notion that investments in education must be productive, then he should be prepared also to reject the goal of rapid economic progress. But if he accepts the goal of rapid economic growth and the idea that education must be oriented in significant respects to promote it, he need not thereby reject a humanitarian concept of the role of education. The development of man for himself may still be considered the ultimate end, but economic progress can also be one of the principal means of attaining it."

Human resource development, which commences from an educational base and goes on to build up through on-the-job training, adult education, informal education and individual self-development is essential to economic development. Harbison and Myers (1965) develop the theme;

> "In the final analysis, the wealth of a country is based upon its power to develop and to effectively utilize the innate capacities of its people. The economic development of nations, therefore, is ultimately the result of

> human effort. It takes skilled human agents to discover and exploit natural resources, to mobilise capital, to develop technology, to produce goods, and to carry on trade."

Until fairly recently, it was widely thought that education was essential for economic development, and many nations invested heavily in it at all levels. An educated society is perhaps better situated to undertake complex technical work, to accomplish specialised tasks which are best carried out by qualified personnel, to undertake research and produce new knowledge, and to educate and train the younger generation up to and beyond the existing levels.

The role of education in a developing society becomes a dual one. That is, it becomes a task of initially creating the conditions necessary for socio-economic development by means of changing entrenched social values, beliefs and attitudes which would otherwise resist it, and secondly of providing the type and quality of high-level human resources which are required by modernisation.

It has been pointed out (Hunt, 1966) that it was not education alone which created the modern industrial society; "relatively few of the entrepreneurs and inventors in the early days of the industrial revolution were university graduates and even basic literacy was far from universal", but rather that industrial innovation made demands of education which were later to advance the pace of technological progress. Frost (see Hunt, 1966) states that it is relatively easy to absorb a higher education, although to have the capacity to succeed is rare, but yet it is this motivation to want to change the existing order which is the dynamic force behind modernisation and change, and not just the presence of educated people alone. To quote Hunt again; "Development requires educated manpower, but provision of educated manpower does not necessarily lead to development."

Education is initially required in the battle against traditional values and beliefs and the substitution of an achievement and innovation-oriented society. Often, although not exclusively so, the bastion of traditionalism has been religion, which in different parts of the world and at different times has felt itself competent to pronounce on issues ranging from man's place and duty to the ethics of trading, investment and profit. It is not the type of religion which has been at fault here, but rather the values associated with the religion, whether it be Islam, Hinduism, or Roman Catholicism, which have at times hindered and inhibited development for modernisation.

No matter who makes the initial challenge to tradition, the impetus subsequently has to be maintained by an educational system which is capable of handing down practical knowledge on the one hand, and stimulating intellectual development and a spirit of inquiry on the other. In traditional societies in the past, the role of education has been mainly to maintain the heritage and traditions of the established culture with all its skills and knowledge. However, with the increasing impact of Western cultural influence and industrialisation, the role of education, for better or for worse, becomes geared up to change as well. "It is not enough to offer a change or an improvement", says Margaret Mead (1953), "it is necessary to teach a dissatisfaction ...; only in this way can it be demonstrated that traditional society will benefit when it questions rather than accepts, when it understands that doing is better than being."

The second objective of education in the modernising societies is equally as significant as the first, yet probably more immediate and short-term in its impact, and it is that of fulfilling the demand for skilled staff in the many and varied new occupations that development creates. Industrialised society is intent on bestowing the benefits of technological culture wherever they can be sewn (usually at a price to the receiver, and at some benefit to the giver), but the demands so made in terms of new skills and requisite qualifications are almost overwhelming in their effects. Practically all of the developing nations are in need of teachers, lecturers, doctors, engineers, veterinary specialists, agronomists, managers and administrators of various sorts, in short, of specialists of almost every kind. Further down the ladder at artisan level, a similar problem exists. The role of education is to help alleviate these shortages so that an educated population can man the steel-rolling mills, design the highways, care for and cure the sick, organise enterprise efficiently, and so on. But there are problems, as Harbison (1962) points out;

> "Most modernising economies are confronted simultaneously with two persistent yet seemingly diverse manpower problems: *the shortage of persons with critical skills* in the modernising sector, and *surplus labour* in both the modernizing and traditional sectors."

The only likely solution to that problem, he goes on to say, is through the building of appropriate incentives into society to encourage people to opt for certain of the high-level jobs without which expenditure on education will be wasted. Accepting, then, that an educational system may be able to change, or at least redirect, some of society's values to accord technological jobs the status they need, training must then take over at this point to ensure the further development of the required skills.

However, as the World Bank has pointed out (1974);

> "In recent years, there has been wide discussion ... about the lack of consistency between educational policies and systems and the development objectives they are assumed to serve. In almost all cases, it has been assumed that it was the educational policy that was irrelevant. In many respects, it seems that educational policies were simply keeping company with overall development objectives which were themselves irrelevant to the societies and conditions of developing countries."

It was found, towards the end of the 1970s, that the educational policies of the 1950s and 1960s which had been designed to benefit the political, social, cultural and economic modernisation of developing countries, partly by supplying the necessary skills and thus jobs, did not in fact form the base that they were expected to provide. This was because the educational planners had based their strategies on what the World Bank described as "often crude and superficial" manpower studies which over-emphasised secondary and higher education and over-produced graduates in low-priority fields with no readily employable skills. A self-perpetuating mechanism was thus brought into being in which wages and wage employment were based on the level of education held by the individual rather than on that demanded by the job. As school enrolments increased, so did competition for jobs and so did demand for even more education; employers selected on the basis of the best educated, and job seekers in turn demanded even more educational opportunities. The upward push of demand tended to ensure that each level of education was merely preparation for the next, instead of being preparation for the needs of society. The result of the process has been that mental and theoretical skills have been emphasised over attitudes, and manual, social and leadership skills have often been ignored.

The managerial job is one such occupation requiring personnel who are equipped with the necessary personal and technical skills. The functions of planning, organising, staffing, directing and controlling involve the development of expertise on both the structural and interpersonal planes. These requirements in managers become more apparent as industrialisation advances, and organisations increase in size (with more staff to be administered), as markets become wider and detailed information for decision and control becomes essential, as capital-intensity increases and specialisation calls for greater co-ordination, and as the pace of innovation increases, justifying the management of change in products, processes, skills and personnel.

The requirements for management development have been noted in Chapter V. Although management development programmes deal essentially with the training and development of existing managers they also presuppose a supply of sufficiently well-educated staff who are able to undertake such programmes. Drucker (1953) observed that future managers would have to develop many of their own tools for the job - yardsticks for performance, economic tools for meaningful decisions, and tools for the decision-making process;

> "The manager of tomorrow will not be able to remain an intuitive manager. He will have to master system and method, will have to conceive patterns and synthesize elements into wholes, will have to formulate general concepts and to apply general principles. Otherwise he will fail. In small business and in large, in general management and in functional management, a manager will have to be equipped for the Practice of Management."

These requirements for the managerial process demand both personal and acquired characteristics, and education can help to provide the latter; the ability to express oneself and to communicate with others, the understanding of logic and mathematical tools, the understanding of scientific method, and the understanding of economic processes can all be aided by a good general education.

## Educational Development in Kenya

That the companies in the Kenyan research sample attached premium importance to educational background was noted in Chapter V.[1] Their requirements make sense for the kind of companies they are, that is, Western-oriented or connected, usually technically advanced, and in competition with one another for the limited markets, available money, and trainable managerial staff.

Kenya, like most developing countries, has been committed to a sweeping educational programme. The First Development Plan, for the 1964-70 period, carried in its Introduction (by Jomo Kenyatta, then Prime Minister), the words;

> "We must provide education and training to prepare Africans to take advantage of new opportunities and to prepare new generations of responsible, active citizens. Our Plan places particular emphasis on the expansion of secondary education. This should

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1. See Table 5.4 which shows that nearly 50 per cent of the stated preferences was for graduates, and a further 25 per cent was for candidates with Higher School Certificate.

> have the greatest and the earliest effect on the capacity of Kenya's citizens to contribute to the nation's development and to benefit from it; we plan to have two-and-a-half times the number of Form IV school leavers in 1970 that we had in 1963."

This target figure was, in fact, 11,600[2] but by 1968 the number of Form IV leavers was 14,565,[3] almost 3000 over the target two years before the due date. There is a marked difference between these figures and the Form IV enrolment in 1946, when it stood at 145 (Ominde).

The Kenyan emphasis has not been exclusively devoted to primary and secondary education, although it might be noted to passing that development expenditure on secondary education has gone up from K£492,800 in 1968/69 to K£1,358,700 in 1973/74 (Economic Survey 1975).

At University level the number of Kenyan students has risen from a total of 1105 at the University of Nairobi in 1969/70 to 3946 in 1974/75, with a surge of development expenditure being spent by the Government on higher education between 1969 and 1973. Neither has the vocational element been neglected. Sessional Paper No. 10 (1965) called attention to three critical resource shortages for schoolchildren in the country, of which 'trained, educated and experienced manpower' was one. A subsequent Government Report (1965) projected the total number of replacements in employment categories A and B jobs by 1970 to be 29,425 with a shortfall of 5,813 (ibid. p. i). The Development Plan of 1970-74

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2. Republic of Kenya: Development Plan 1964-70, Table 17.
3. Republic of Kenya: Development Plan 1970-74, Table 2.4.

(p. 121) recognised, in its turn, that "Kenya will continue to be heavily dependent upon non-citizens to occupy middle and high-level posts during the Plan period", and identified specialists such as doctors, architects, engineers, librarians, accountants, economists and statisticians among others. In 1967, although Africans made up more than 97 per cent of Kenya's population, they only held half of the middle and high-level jobs while Europeans, who were less than half of one per cent of the population, occupied nearly 17 per cent of these same posts.[4] The degree of Kenya's dependence on non-citizens is clear.

Managers form a sizeable proportion of the high-level manpower group. The Manpower Survey of 1972 quoted the number of managers in Kenya as being 15,708 of which 63.3 per cent were citizens (see Table 7.1). In the private sector, the number of Kenyan citizens who were managers was 9,596 (62.6 per cent) and in the public sector it was 340 (89.5 per cent). In 1965 the proportion of Africans among the citizen managers was 46 per cent,[5] so it might be expected in 1972 that about half of the 9,936 citizen managers would also be Africans, i.e. around 5,000. This means theoretically, some 10,000 managerial posts could be available for Africanisation, a target which under any circumstances would be a difficult one to achieve quickly and effectively, and one that the government, given its commitment to foreign capital, seems to be moving towards cautiously rather than rashly.

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4. See Manpower Survey 1967, quoted in the Development Plan 1964-70, p. 118.

5. Development Plan 1970-74 (ibid.), Table 03/27, Table 1, p. 1.

TABLE 7.1

DEGREE OF KENYANISATION IN MANAGEMENT IN THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTORS

| Sectors / Managers | All Sectors | | | Private | | | Public | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | Citizen | Non-Citizen | Total | Citizen | Non-Citizen | Total | Citizen | Non-Citizen |
| Numbers of Managers | 15,708 | 9,936 | 5,772 | 15,328 | 9,596 | 5,732 | 380 | 340 | 40 |
| Percentage of Managers | 100 | 66.3 | 36.7 | 100 | 62.6 | 37.4 | 100 | 89.5 | 10.5 |

Source: Manpower Survey 1972. (See Kenya Statistical Digest, Quarterly Economic Report, December 1972, Vol. X, No. 4, Table 4).

It is therefore of value to examine the educational backgrounds of this sample of contemporary African managers. Accepting that a well-educated managerial cadre and workforce are necessary for large-scale industrial development, an examination of a sample of the current managerial group will enable some sort of evaluation to be made of how far Kenya is progressing towards the target, as well as assisting in building up a picture of the nature of Kenyan management.

The educational backgrounds of the managers in the sample have been analysed in various ways in order to give, firstly, an overview of their educational backgrounds and attainments as well as an indication of any differences between the age groups. Secondly, educational levels have been compared to social backgrounds in an endeavour to ascertain the degree of association between the two. Third, examination by job function shows up any differences in educational standards for the different types of careers pursued. Fourth, analysis by levels of managerial status continues a theme advanced in the last chapter, that educational qualifications increase the probability of attaining a senior managerial rank and at an earlier age than those without such qualifications. Finally, an examination of the managers by the types of companies they worked for shows how certain types of organisation are more successful than others in attracting the higher qualified staff.

## General Educational Backgrounds

The 179 managers in the sample were questionned on their educational backgrounds in order that details might be obtained on what level of educational achievement they reached, what further or higher education they undertook subsequently, and what, if any, further qualifications they obtained, and by what method. The purpose of this part of the enquiry was to learn something about the influence of education on the shaping of careers.

The value of some aspects of social background has already been shown to exist in their effect upon job function and managerial status. The evidence would seem to imply that the managers with the better home backgrounds have been given more opportunity to succeed in their careers, or alternatively, their home backgrounds, environment and experience have given them the additional motivation to develop and improve their life style and material conditions through education and career success. Or perhaps it is a bit of both.

The educational classifications used in the data analysis were those of graduate, School Certificate holder, and non-School Certificate holder, and the distinction between them is important for a valid discussion of what they mean in career terms. The 1964 Manpower Survey defined manpower skills according to categories A, B, C and D, of which A and C took 25 per cent and 75 per cent respectively of the directors, administrators and working proprietors. The justification for this was that of the total requirements for these personnel during 1964-70, "about 25% of the posts will call for a university degree and have thus been included in Category A. The remaining 1,140 are in Category C."[6] Category

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6. Republic of Kenya, Ministry of Economic Planning & Development, High Level Manpower Requirements and Resources in Kenya, 1964-70, 1965, p. 18.

A jobs were those requiring a degree, those in Category B were mainly governmental specialised ones requiring post School Certificate education and/or training, Category C jobs included skilled office and manual jobs requiring School Certificate and were a potential source of management, and Category D jobs were fairly high in manual skill, but did not call for an 'extensive educational base' (i.e. School Certificate) such as would be required for Category C. In terms of what education meant to the pupils, Anderson (1973) noted (from a national sample pilot project) that Form IV pupils in the mid-1960s used their education as a base for continuing on to Higher School Certificate (about 25 per cent), for going on to University (about 1 per cent), for undergoing public sector or private sector training (over 20 per cent), or going into public sector or private sector employment (about 35 per cent). Many were looking for further education and training wherever possible before taking up full-time work, and according to Koff (1967) primary school children in Kenya saw education primarily as a vehicle for the attainment of personal mobility through a job, status and prestige. The companies in the Kenyan management sample, for their part, said they were looking for graduates when they could get them and when they could afford them, but would settle for School Certificate leavers if they had to, or for certain lower-grade jobs with ultimate managerial status in mind (see Chapter V). The non-certificate holder could get into management, though this would be increasingly more difficult now, by acquiring experience and training and working his way up, or by studying for qualifications after his formal education had finished. One junior production manager, who was 37 years old, had started his working career as the turnboy (driver's assistant) on a lorry at the age of 17 after primary education only, had worked in the various production departments in his firm over a period of nearly ten years after a stint with a previous company in a different industry, and had been a manager for 5 years with no training other than that provided on-the-job. But he was doing a management job, despite his disadvantageous start.

In comparison with the overall population, the managerial sample was very well educated. Table 7.2 shows the educational level of the Kenyan population with that of the managers in the

TABLE 7.2

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF THE KENYAN POPULATION, AND OF MANAGERS IN THE 1971 SURVEY

| Educational Level \ Population and Managers | Overall Population (a) | | 1971 Managerial Survey | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. ('000s) | % | No. | % |
| No School Certificate (b) | 3389 | 97.9 | 38 | 21.2 |
| School Certificate (c) | 67 | 2.0 | 106 | 59.2 |
| Degree (d) | 5 | 0.1 | 35 | 19.6 |
| Total | 3461 | 100.0 | 179 | 100.0 |

Notes: (a) The Overall Population figures (with the exception of the graduates, from which they have been subtracted) are taken from the 1969 Census of Population Vol. III Table I. They are the figures for the population between the ages of 20 years and 50 years, which is the case of all but 4 of the managers in the 1971 Survey.

(b) Non-School Certificate holders are those given in the Census table as having had no education, plus those between Standards I and VIII and Forms I, II and III.

(c) School Certificate holders are those in Standards IV and V+, less the number of graduates.

(d) The number of graduates is an estimate compiled from figures given in Roche (1971) and Kenya Government Economic Abstracts, 1963-72.

1971 survey. There were approximately four and a half times less non-School Certificate managers in the sample than in the population at large, thirty times more School Certificate holders among the managers than in the population, and two hundred times more graduates. Such a comparison, although dramatic, perhaps lacks the real meaning that would have been obtained from a comparison of managers with, say, civil servants or some other occupation within the modern sector. However, such data were not available.

Nevertheless, it is possible to compare the managers in the 1971 sample with those in the 1967 Government Manpower Survey (see Table 7.3 below). In the government sample, part of which is shown in the table, only 9.8 per cent of the 5,885 directors, administrators and working proprietors were graduates, whereas twice this proportion were graduates in the 1971 sample, and there were less poorer-educated managers as a proportion of the 1971 sample than was the case in the 1967 one. Part of this difference must be explained by the nature of the companies surveyed in 1971, the fact that only the larger ones were included almost certainly means that more emphasis was given to educational qualifications.

A closer examination of the graduates in the 1971 sample revealed that the type of degree obtained and the place of study were of little significance, except that 21 of the 35 were from arts and social sciences, 5 from commerce and business administration, and 9 were scientists (mainly engineering and agriculture). At the time of the survey (mid-1971), only slightly more than 300 graduates in commerce had come out of Nairobi, and because of the policy of equal representation between Kenya, Tanzania, and

TABLE 7.3

EDUCATION OF DIRECTORS, ADMINISTRATORS AND WORKING PROPRIETORS
(1967 GOVERNMENT SAMPLE) AND KENYAN MANAGERS (1971)

| | Primary | Secondary | | | Final Profess-ional | Univ-ersity | Post-Graduate | Unspec-ified | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Std VII | Form II | Form IV | Form VI | | | | | |
| 1967 Govt. sample (no.) | 1063 | 714 | 1570 | 720 | 986 | 473 | 106 | 253 | 5885 |
| 1967 Govt. sample (%) | 18.1 | 12.1 | 26.7 | 12.2 | 16.7 | 8.0 | 1.8 | 4.3 | 99.9 |
| 1971 (no. and %) | 17 (9.5%) | 22 (12.3%) | 105 (58.6%) | | - | 35 (19.6%) | | - | 179 (100%) |

Sources: Government Manpower Survey 1967, Table OS/27, Table 3 and Kenyan Management Survey, 1971

Uganda, only just over 100 of these would have been Kenyans. The indications for the future, with some hundred or so Kenyan B.Com. graduates per year from the early 1970s onwards, plus 10-15 M.Com. graduates too, are good. However, this was not the case in 1971.

Marris and Somerset (1971) have described how European contact with the Kikuyu of Mahiga began to destroy traditional methods of acquiring wealth, and how the values of European knowledge began to predominate; "The search for economic opportunity became increasingly preoccupied with education ... as the opportunities changed, so did the kind of achievement to which people aspired .... " The search for better education has long been a factor in Kenyan life, and not least among the means to improvement has been the correspondence course. In many countries such courses have provided many people, who would otherwise have been unable to pursue further education, with the opportunity to continue academic or professional studies of some kind. Anderson (1970) notes that although criticism could occasionally be (justifiably) levelled at correspondence course methods, "nevertheless they did offer an opportunity for the able and persevering student, and as a result helped to supplement the country's middle-level manpower by individual self-help efforts." Further educational qualifications are highly desirable to many people, particularly those aspiring to a specialisation which modern organisations seem to increasingly demand.

The level of education achieved by the managers is interesting on its own account. The data show that 38 managers (more than one in five) had not attained School Certificate by the time they reached Form IV, and of these, 17 had not progressed beyond the level of primary education. However 106 (nearly 60 per cent) had reached Form IV or Form VI thus achieving School Certificate or Higher School Certificate, and the remaining 35 (nearly one-fifth) had got university degrees. There were 7 managers of the Higher School Certificate level who had also been to university, but for various reasons had not graduated; in most cases this was for failing their examinations, but one female manager had discontinued her studies in order to get married, and one of the men had been prevented from completing his degree course during the Emergency for political reasons. Although these figures do not necessarily speak for the overall managerial population of Kenya, they do illustrate a fairly high educational attainment.

Sixty-nine of the managers in the sample had taken one or more courses of further education since leaving school, using methods ranging from the correspondence course to full-time polytechnic attendance, and day-release courses. A breakdown of the 69 shows that 19 had taken courses of a further educational nature,[7] 36 had pursued non-technical and professional further

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7. *Educational courses* were those classified as further education without any recognised qualification at the end; i.e. a general commercial course at the Institute of Adult Studies (University of Nairobi) or at the Kenya Polytechnic, or a course in Accounting or Book-Keeping without a recognised Institute qualification. *Non-technical courses* were those leading to a recognised Accounting, Commercial or other Professional qualification in which examinations up to level of Part I had been completed and passed, i.e. ACA, ACWA, ACIS, Institute of Bankers, Institute of Personnel Management, Institute of Transport, or Inns of Court. *Technical courses* were those of a technical nature leading from Higher National Certificate up to Associateships of the Institute of Mechnical Engineering, Civil Engineering, etc., but including Production Management and Agricultural Diplomas.

studies, and 14 had worked at some kind of technical education. Altogether, the 69 managers had attended 113 courses, of which 30 were by correspondence study, 27 were evening classes, 17 were day-release courses, and 36 were full-time short-period courses. The remaining ones were sandwich courses (2), and a combination of evening classes and day-release (1).

The progression towards a higher standard of education can be seen from the analysis of educational level by age group presented in Table 7.4. The proportion of managers without School Certificate decreases in the successively younger age groups, whereas the opposite effect is observed among the graduates; these figures presumably reflect the increasing opportunities for higher education, and the better standards now pertaining. The mean score for education illustrates the progression towards higher standards

TABLE 7.4

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF MANAGERS BY AGE GROUPS

| Education \ Age | 20-29 years | | 30-39 years | | 40 years and over | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| No School Certificate | 6 | 12.8 | 20 | 21.5 | 12 | 30.8 | 38 | 21.2 |
| School Certificate | 30 | 63.8 | 52 | 55.9 | 24 | 61.5 | 106 | 59.2 |
| Degree | 11 | 23.4 | 21 | 22.6 | 3 | 7.7 | 35 | 19.6 |
| Total | 47 | 100.0 | 91 | 100.0 | 39 | 100.0 | 179 | 100.0 |
| Mean (a) | 3.2 | | 3.0 | | 2.5 | | 3.0 | |

Note: (a) Mean calculated by allocating score 1 to No School Certificate managers, 3 to those with School Certificate, and 5 to those with degrees, and dividing by the number of managers in each age category.

in the younger groups. The trend is no doubt for the general good of management; if one accepts that the nature of the job demands the ability to take complex decisions quickly, to co-ordinate complex activities, and to keep valuable resources efficiently employed, then one should also accept that it is the trained mind, schooled by a sound education, which is best able to meet such a challenge. Table 7.5 underlines the extent to which higher education is reaching the younger group; whereas only one manager in thirteen over the age of 40 was a graduate, this was the case with about one in five of the thirties age group, and one in four of the youngest managers.

TABLE 7.5

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE GRADUATES

| Age | Graduates | | Total in Each Group | Graduates as Percentage of Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | | |
| 20-29 years | 11 | 31.4 | 47 | 23.4 |
| 30-39 years | 21 | 60.0 | 93 | 22.6 |
| 40 years and over | 3 | 8.6 | 39 | 7.7 |
| Total | 35 | 100.0 | 179 | 19.6 |

Further education, as previously defined, had been undertaken by just over one-third (17 out of 47) of the younger managers, by almost half (41 out of 93) of the middle group, and slightly more than a quarter (11 out of 39) of the older managers (see Table 7.6). The most active group, therefore, was the middle-group managers who have been previously shown to be from Local Catchment schools (Table 6.7) and of School Certificate level, in the main.

TABLE 7.6

FURTHER EDUCATION OF MANAGERS BY AGE GROUPS

| Age / Further Education | 20-29 years | | 30-39 years | | 40 years and over | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| None | 30 | 63.8 | 52 | 55.9 | 28 | 71.8 | 110 | 61.5 |
| Some | 17 | 36.2 | 41 | 44.1 | 11 | 28.2 | 69 | 38.5 |
| Total | 47 | 100.0 | 93 | 100.0 | 39 | 100.0 | 179 | 100.0 |

The younger managers, one-quarter of whom were graduates anyway, had not taken much interest in further education, and neither had the older ones, who probably considered themselves too old to start, and had probably had less opportunity when they were younger.

Confirmation that the Local Catchment school managers were most interested in trying to improve their career chances through further studies is given in Table 7.7. The National Low Cost managers, who generally speaking had the highest educational qualifications of the group (see Table 7.14 below), had not bothered very much with further study, and neither had many of those from the Primary and Other schools, who may have faced something of an educational disadvantage from the start. In fact, this is borne out by the figures for the lowest educational group in Table 7.8 of whom only 12 (less than a third) had undertaken further education, and those for the graduates of whom only 10 (just over a quarter) had tried it. Table 7.7 is significant between the .05 and the .02 levels on a chi-square test, and Table 7.8 at

TABLE 7.7

FURTHER EDUCATION OF MANAGERS
BY TYPE OF SCHOOL ATTENDED

| School / Further Education | Primary and Other | | Local Catchment | | National Low Cost | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| None | 24 | 75.0 | 50 | 52.6 | 36 | 69.2 | 110 | 61.5 |
| Some | 8 | 25.0 | 45 | 47.4 | 16 | 30.8 | 69 | 38.5 |
| Total | 32 | 100.0 | 95 | 100.0 | 52 | 100.0 | 179 | 100.0 |

Chi-square = 6.94 with 2 degrees of freedom

almost .10. However, it seems apparent that part-time further education is beginning to make something of an impact among the managers when nearly 40 per cent of the sample can claim to have been seriously involved in it.

TABLE 7.8

FURTHER EDUCATION OF MANAGERS
BY THEIR LEVEL OF EDUCATION

| Educational Level / Further Education | No School Certificate | | School Certificate | | Degree | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| None | 26 | 68.4 | 59 | 55.7 | 25 | 71.4 | 110 | 61.5 |
| Some | 12 | 31.6 | 47 | 44.3 | 10 | 28.6 | 69 | 38.5 |
| Total | 38 | 100.0 | 106 | 100.0 | 35 | 100.0 | 179 | 100.0 |

Chi-square = 3.75 with 2 degrees of freedom

In terms of the actual qualifications achieved by the group, the figures are not so impressive. Only 5 managers held recognised accountancy qualifications,[8] although there were a further 7 who were up to or beyond intermediate level, and another 6 who had yet to reach that stage. There were 4 Associate members of the Institute of Transport (plus another one still studying) 3 Associate members of various Institutes of Management by examination, 4 held engineering Associateships (with another 2 still undergoing the practical experience necessary for qualification), and there were 2 others who had qualified in Librarianship and Banking respectively as well as 11 more working for the same two qualifications. Altogether, 18 managers held recognised qualifications of some sort (over 10 per cent of the sample) and 27 more (15 per cent) had yet to fully qualify. There were, in addition, 5 others with less well-recognised qualifications (2.8 per cent).

Comparison with Other Studies

Table 7.9 shows a comparison of the Kenyan managers with four other samples to which reference was made in the last chapter. Kenya has the smallest proportion of graduate managers, which in the light of its stage of development is not surprising. Its 20 per cent compares quite favourably with Clements' 25 per cent (although this was in 1958), but not so much so with Clark's 35 per cent in 1966. Warner and Abegglen found 56 per cent graduate

8. Institute of Chartered Accountants, Institute of Cost and Works Accountants (now the Institute of Cost and Management Accountants), Institute of Certified and Corporate Accountants, Chartered Institute of Secretaries.

TABLE 7.9

THE EDUCATION AND FURTHER EDUCATION OF MANAGERS IN THIS STUDY AND FOUR OTHERS

| Author | Greaves | Clements | Clark | Warner and Abegglen | Hall and de Bettignies |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Country | Kenya | Britain | Britain | USA | France |
| Year | 1971 | 1958 | 1966 | 1952 | 1968 |
| Managerial Level | All | All | All | Top | Top |
| Average age (years) | 34 | 46 | 46 | - | 57 |
| Education:- | % | % | % | % | % |
| Non-graduates | 80 | 75 | 65 | 44 | 11 |
| Graduates | 20 | 25 | 35 | 56 | 89 |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Further Education:- | % | % | % | % | % |
| Professional/Technical Qualification[(a)] | 28 (10) | 39 | 35 | - | - |
| Limited further education | 11 | 9 | 15 | - | - |
| None | 61 | 52 | 50 | - | - |
| | 100 | 100 | 100 | - | - |
| No. in Sample | 179 | 646 | 804 | 8562 | 159 |

Note: (a) The Kenyan figures for Professional and Technical qualifications include managers who were still studying but had not yet qualified (18 per cent) as well as the 18 (10 per cent) who had qualified. Those still studying had completed up to or beyond Part I and Intermediate levels.

managers among the top business leaders in America, although this was based on a two-generation sample, broken down into 58 per cent graduate managers in 1952 and 32 per cent in 1928. The French had the highest proportion of graduates, but these again were chief executives, and of the 89 per cent over half were graduates of the Grandes Ecoles. Kenyan companies, like their Western counterparts, are actively recruiting for degree-holders where they can obtain them, and although they are well behind France and the USA, they are not too far behind Britain.

No data were available from the French and American samples on further education and study, so the comparisons can only be made with Clements' and Clark's British samples. Only 10 per cent of the Kenyans were fully-qualified, although another 18 per cent were part-qualified, somewhat less than the British sample figures of 39 and 35 per cent respectively. Given the level of education, the opportunities available, and the degree of company approval or sponsorship available in Kenya, the Kenyan managers show up quite favourably against the British ones.

Education of the Managers and Social Backgrounds

It has previously been noted (in Chapter VI) that the educational system in many countries is the agency by which social origins transmit their influence on to the subsequent career development of individuals. The association between religious affiliation and the level of education subsequently achieved by the managers is shown in Appendix L, and it is worth noting that one-third of the Anglican managers were graduates, almost twice as high a proportion as that achieved by the Roman Catholics.

One might have expected more higher-educated Roman Catholics to have shown up in the sample, particularly as 55 of the total group were of this faith, and despite the fact that Catholic missionary penetration in Kenya was later and perhaps not quite as thorough as that of some of the other churches. Nevertheless, it was still quite extensive. The Presbyterian Church of East Africa (PCEA) group of managers showed up as that with the lowest overall educational level, although this is perhaps understandable in view of the poorer funding of this church which was a poor relation of many of the foreign missions and did not have much money available to endow wealthy schools. The type of African worshipping with the PCEA would have been poorer, and would have had less opportunity to pursue a further education.

There is a more convincing link between the educational level of the fathers and that of their sons, and between the occupational status of the fathers and their sons' educational levels, as Tables 7.10 and 7.11 demonstrate. Table 7.11 is significant almost at the .001 level on the chi-square test. Of the 79 managers whose fathers had received no formal education, 24 (over 30 per cent) had not got School Certificate themselves, compared with an overall sample figure of just under 21 per cent (37 out of 178). Only 8 managers (10 per cent) with uneducated fathers had graduated from universities against a total sample proportion of about twice this figure. At the other end of the scale, of the 20 managers whose fathers had been secondary-educated, none were without School Certificate, and 8 (two-fifths) were graduates. Using the arithmetic mean to compare their educational levels, one sees a

TABLE 7.10

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF THE MANAGERS AND THAT OF THEIR FATHERS

| Managers' Education \ Fathers' Education | None | | Primary | | Secondary | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| No School Certificate | 24 | 30.4 | 13 | 16.5 | 0 | - | 37 | 20.8 |
| School Certificate | 47 | 59.5 | 47 | 59.5 | 12 | 60.0 | 106 | 59.5 |
| Degree | 8 | 10.1 | 19 | 24.0 | 8 | 40.0 | 35 | 19.7 |
| Total | 79 | 100.0 | 79 | 100.0 | 20 | 100.0 | 178[b] | 100.0 |
| Mean[a] | 2.6 | | 3.2 | | 3.8 | | 3.0 | |

Chi-square = 17.25 with 4 degrees of freedom

Note: (a) Mean score calculated as before (see Table 7.4).
(b) One respondee did not give details of his father's education.

progression from 2.6 for those with uneducated fathers through 3.2 for those with primary-educated fathers to 3.8 for those managers whose fathers had been educated up to secondary level.

Table 7.11 shows the relationship between the educational level of the managers and the socio-economic background of their fathers. The table is only significant at the .05 level on a doubtful chi-square test, but it reveals some points of interest at the extremes. The AB and $C_1$ occupational classes have a low representation of poorer-educated managers (those without School Certificate) and a correspondingly high proportion of graduates, while the two lower classes ($C_2$ and DE) demonstrate the opposite effect. The representation of School Certificate managers is fairly consistent in all groups, varying only between 62.5 per

TABLE 7.11

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF THE MANAGERS
AND THE OCCUPATIONAL CLASS OF THEIR FATHERS

| Class / Education | AB | | $C_1$ | | $C_2$ | | DE | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| No School Certificate | 1 | 6.2 | 6 | 10.7 | 5 | 31.3 | 26 | 28.6 | 38 | 21.2 |
| School Certificate | 10 | 62.5 | 35 | 62.5 | 10 | 62.5 | 51 | 56.0 | 106 | 59.2 |
| Degree | 5 | 31.3 | 15 | 26.8 | 1 | 6.2 | 14 | 15.4 | 35 | 19.6 |
| Total | 16 | 100.0 | 56 | 100.0 | 16 | 100.0 | 91 | 100.0 | 179 | 100.0 |
| Mean | 3.5 | | 3.3 | | 2.5 | | 2.7 | | 3.0 | |

Chi-square = 12.87 with 6 degrees of freedom (note that as 25 per cent of the cells have an expected value of less than 5 this significance is strictly invalid)

Note: Mean calculated as previously (see Table 7.4).

cent and 56 per cent. Using the same arithmetic mean scores as before to compare the educational levels of the managers according to their fathers' occupational status, it will be observed that the trend is towards better-educated sons from the higher status groups, and there is a fairly distinct polarisation between the two higher status groups and the two lower status ones. The AB and $C_1$ managers both show a mean above that of the overall sample (3.0), while the $C_2$ and DE managers fall below it.

Attendance at university seems to have been somewhat dependent upon social backgrounds in this sample. It has already been noted that in addition to the 35 graduates there were 7 other managers who had been to university but for various reasons had not graduated, making a total university sub-group of 42. As these are the higher educational elite within the sample it is worthwhile examining which, if any, social background factors stand out in their case. Table 7.12 shows that fathers' education, fathers' occupational class, and the type of school that the managers had attended do seem to bear upon the situation. Over a quarter of

TABLE 7.12

UNIVERSITY-EDUCATED MANAGERS BY TYPE OF SCHOOL ATTENDED, AND THE EDUCATION AND CLASS OF THEIR FATHERS

| School \ Fathers' education and Class | Uneducated | | | | Educated | | | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | DE | $C_2$ | $C_1$ | AB | DE | $C_2$ | $C_1$ | AB | |
| Primary & Other | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Local Catchment | 3 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 7 | 1 | 5 | 3 | 22 |
| National Low Cost | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 4 | 1 | 7 | 4 | 18 |
| Total | 5 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 11 | 2 | 12 | 7 | 42 |
| TOTAL | 10 | | | | 32 | | | | 42 |

the group (11 out of 42) had the most favourable background situation of an educated high-status occupation father who had sent them to a National Low Cost school, and a further 8 had a similar parental background but had been to a Local Catchment school. An educated father was an advantage, and if his occupation was high-status as well (and the chances are it would be, given his education, as Table 6.3 has indicated), then subsequent attendance at a good school seems to bring with it the expected educational advantages. Interestingly enough, of the 'elite' 19, 10 were at the top or senior level of management, and the average salary for the 19 was K£2420 per annum, well above the overall sample average of K£1739. However, there were 2 top managers in the least privileged group (uneducated father who had sent the son to either Primary or Other, or Local Catchment, schools) of 5, for which the average salary was still K£2035, which perhaps serves as an indication of the value of a university education to career success.

The connection between the level of education attained and the school attended is to be seen in Table 7.13. The chi-square reading for the table is significant beyond .001. The most obvious points to note from examination of these figures are firstly the high percentage of non-School Certificate managers from the Primary and Other Schools; of the 38 managers without School Certificate 21 (over 55 per cent) had been to this type of school against less

TABLE 7.13

TYPE OF SCHOOL ATTENDED BY THE MANAGERS AND THE EDUCATIONAL LEVEL ATTAINED

| School \ Education | No School Certificate | | School Certificate | | Degree | | Total | | Mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | |
| Primary & Other | 21 | 55.3 | 10 | 9.4 | 1 | 2.9 | 32 | 17.9 | 1.8 |
| Local Catchment | 15 | 39.5 | 59 | 55.7 | 21 | 60.0 | 95 | 53.1 | 3.1 |
| National Low-Cost | 2 | 5.2 | 37 | 34.9 | 13 | 37.1 | 52 | 29.0 | 3.4 |
| Total | 38 | 100.0 | 106 | 100.0 | 35 | 100.0 | 179 | 100.0 | 3.0 |

Chi-square = 49.57 with 4 degrees of freedom

Note: Mean calculated as previously (see Table 7.4) than 18 per cent for the overall sample. Secondly, of the 106 School Certificate holders only 10 (less than one in ten) had been to Primary or Other schools, which had, incidentally, provided only one graduate. Thirdly, there was a high proportion of School Certificate holders (55.7 per cent) and graduates (60 per cent) who had attended Local Catchment schools, compared to the overall sample average of just over 53 per cent. Finally, the proportions of School Certificate managers and graduates in National Low Cost schools were nearly 35 per cent and just over 37 per cent respectively, against a total sample average of 29 per cent. The mean calculation shows that the educational level of the Primary and Other school managers was only 1.8, whereas it rose to 3.1 for the Local Catchment managers, and to 3.4 for the National Low-Cost ones.

Certainly, the indications here are that the type of school attended exerts a strong influence on educational attainment; the better the school the higher the chance of good results. There is nothing new in this situation, but it is worthy of note that Kenya conforms to other societies in this respect.

At this stage in the presentation of the data, it is useful to demonstrate which of the various social background factors have had the most significant influence in determining educational success, since, as will be shown later, it is the educational level which has had the greatest effect upon career progress. Multiple regression of educational level against the factors of age, religion, ethnic affiliation, fathers' education, fathers' occupational status and the type of school attended reveals that the type of school is the best predictive variable, followed by age (the younger the managers were, the better-educated they were), and fathers' education (see Table 7.10) in that order. The other variables were hardly significant. Table 7.14 shows the stepwise regression of educational level against the various socio-economic variables considered.

TABLE 7.14

STEPWISE REGRESSION OF MANAGERS' EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AGAINST SOCIO-ECONOMIC INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

| The Dependent Variable is Managers' Educational Level | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Co-efficient | Standard Error (Co-efficient) | T-Statistic |
| School | 0.37400 | 0.06301 | 5.94 |
| Age | -0.24049 | 0.06181 | -3.89 |
| Fathers' Education | 0.22780 | 0.06927 | 3.29 |
| Fathers' Occupational Class | 1.30924 | 0.24069 | 5.44 |
| Religion | -0.00337 | 0.03262 | -0.10 |
| Ethnic Affiliation | -0.00394 | 0.03432 | -0.11 |
| Constant | 1.30924 | 0.24069 | 5.44 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Degrees of freedom | 172 |
| Residual Sum Squares | 51.66473 |
| Residual Mean Square | 0.30038 |
| F | 11.81018 |
| R | 0.5402 |
| Percentage Explained | 29.18 |

Education of Managers by Present Job Function

The research evidence shows a clear relationship between the level of education attained and the type of function performed.

More than half of the managers without School Certificate were in Production jobs, and so were less than one in ten of the graduates. Table 7.15 also shows that a quarter of the graduates were in Marketing jobs, with almost another quarter in Finance and Accounting which had very few managers (less than 10 per cent) without a School Certificate at least. The mean educational score for each function shows that the average educational level of the Production managers is well below that of managers in the other functions, all of which are quite close together, and above the overall sample average.

TABLE 7.15

PRESENT JOB FUNCTION AND MANAGERS' EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

| Education / Function | No School Certificate | | School Certificate | | Degree | | Total | | Mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | |
| Production | 20 | 52.6 | 27 | 25.5 | 2 | 5.7 | 49 | 27.4 | 2.3 |
| Marketing | 6 | 15.8 | 17 | 16.0 | 9 | 25.7 | 32 | 17.9 | 3.1 |
| Personnel | 2 | 5.3 | 14 | 13.2 | 6 | 17.1 | 22 | 12.3 | 3.4 |
| Finance and Accounting | 3 | 7.9 | 25 | 23.6 | 8 | 22.9 | 36 | 20.1 | 3.3 |
| Other | 7 | 18.4 | 23 | 21.7 | 10 | 28.6 | 40 | 22.3 | 3.2 |
| Total | 38 | 100.0 | 106 | 100.0 | 35 | 100.0 | 179 | 100.0 | 3.0 |

Note: Mean educational score calculated as previously (see Table 7.4)

Accepting the relationship already indicated in the previous section between educational level and the leading predictive factors of school, age, and fathers' education, it would seem that social background and educational attainment play a major role in determining the managers' preferences for career function. Those managers with the lower status backgrounds and (ergo) poorer educational level seem most likely to find themselves going into Production work, and those with the higher status backgrounds and better educational qualifications look for careers in the commercial functions. It is also probable that the younger managers, being better educated (and mainly in the liberal arts at that; only 9 out of the 35 graduates had a Science degree) are less willing to choose a shop floor function which is associated with dirty hands, and would rather opt for a white-collar job.

Further educational attainment also relates to job function. Table 7.16 shows that managers in all functions except Marketing have involved themselves to quite a considerable extent in some form of further study. Production managers have typically tended to study courses relating to the type of industry they happen to be in; courses in building, leather technology, flour-milling, transport management, hotel management and the like figured heavily here, as did those of more general application such as work study. The Marketing managers were proportionally least represented, the reason probably lying in the relative lack of courses available for study of this type, and perhaps partly in the fact that 9 out of the 32 Marketing managers were graduates who were not willing to commence studying again (only 2 of the 9 had done so). Later

TABLE 7.16

FURTHER EDUCATION AND JOB FUNCTION

| Function / Education | Production | | Marketing | | Personnel | | Finance & Accounting | | Other | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| None | 33 | 67.4 | 27 | 84.4 | 14 | 63.6 | 20 | 55.6 | 16 | 40.0 | 110 | 61.5 |
| Some | 16 | 32.6 | 5 | 15.6 | 8 | 36.4 | 16 | 44.4 | 24 | 60.0 | 69 | 38.5 |
| Total | 49 | 100.0 | 32 | 100.0 | 22 | 100.0 | 36 | 100.0 | 40 | 100.0 | 179 | 100.0 |

material on training will show (see Chapter VIII) that the Marketing managers had attended quite a lot of courses in their function run by various management training bodies, and had pursued this line of activity rather than studying for further qualifications or diplomas. The Marketing managers appeared to have accepted that they were part-qualified by virtue of their degrees plus the training and experience they were receiving in their jobs.

Personnel managers had undertaken further studies in management (over one-third had engaged in or were engaged in further education), and in some cases were working for or had completed qualifications in Personnel management itself.

The managers in Finance and Accounting had a fairly well-defined field of further education available to them, ranging from non-diploma courses in aspects of their topic through to examinations for associate membership of the various established accounting and secretarial bodies. Almost half the managers concerned had studied for, or were still working on, qualifications with the Chartered Institute of Secretaries, the Institute of Cost and Works Accountants (as it was then known), the Corporation of Secretaries, the Institute of Certified and Corporate Accountants, as well as being registered with the Royal Society of Arts for diplomas in Accounting.

The managers in the 'Other' functions who had bothered about further study (and this was over half of the group) were very often members of technical institutes, or had studied for one of the quasi-professional institutes, such as the Institute of Transport.

Education of the Managers and Managerial Status

Previous discussion has shown that the socio-economic variables of fathers' education and the type of school attended by the managers are linked with the level of seniority, or managerial status, subsequently achieved. Table 7.17 indicates that the level of education attained also bears a strong relationship to status.

TABLE 7.17

MANAGERIAL STATUS AND THE
. MANAGERIAL LEVEL OF MANAGERS

| Education / Status | No School Certificate | | School Certificate | | Degree | | Total | | Mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | |
| Junior | 12 | 31.6 | 13 | 12.3 | 2 | 5.7 | 27 | 15.1 | 2.3 |
| Middle | 22 | 57.9 | 64 | 60.4 | 14 | 40.0 | 100 | 55.9 | 2.8 |
| Top | 4 | 10.5 | 29 | 27.3 | 19 | 54.3 | 52 | 29.0 | 3.6 |
| Total | 38 | 100.0 | 106 | 100.0 | 35 | 100.0 | 179 | 100.0 | 3.0 |

Chi-square = 23.707 with 4 degrees of freedom

Note: Mean figure calculated as previously (see Table 7.4)

Only 4 out of 38 managers without School Certificate were in the top level bracket, but 19 of the 35 graduates had achieved such status, well over half the graduate number. It will be observed also that 12 of the 38 managers without School Certificate were junior-level managers, which was the case with only 2 of the graduates, both of whom were young trainee executives. The mean educational score for each of the three managerial status groups was 2.3 for junior managers, 2.8 for middle managers, and 3.6 for those at the top.

There is fairly convincing evidence here that educational attainment is an important, if it is not *the* important, factor in determining managerial status once the initial training years are over. This is further confirmed by multiple regression analysis shown in Table 7.18. This shows the stepwise regression of managerial status against the socio-economic variables of age,

TABLE 7.18

STEPWISE REGRESSION OF MANAGERIAL STATUS AGAINST SOCIO-ECONOMIC VARIABLES

The Dependent Variable is Managerial Status

| | Co-efficient | Standard Error (Co-efficient) | T-Statistic |
|---|---|---|---|
| Educational Level | 0.38205 | 0.07939 | 4.81 |
| Age | 0.31256 | 0.06786 | 4.61 |
| Ethnic Affiliation | -0.05544 | 0.03573 | -1.55 |
| School | 0.08949 | 0.07223 | 1.24 |
| Religion | -0.03092 | 0.03390 | -0.91 |
| First job function | -0.01424 | 0.01738 | -0.82 |
| Fathers' Education | 0.41112 | 0.07426 | 0.55 |
| Fathers' Occupational Status | -0.01221 | 0.03230 | -0.38 |
| Constant | 0.49896 | 0.29062 | 1.72 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Degrees of freedom | 170 |
| Residual Sum Squares | 55.14290 |
| Residual Mean Square | 0.32437 |
| F | 7.84809 |
| R | 0.5193 |
| Percentage Explained | 26.97 |

religion, ethnic affiliation, fathers' education, fathers' occupational status, type of school, first job function performed and level of education, and it reveals that education is the leading predictive factor.

That senior managers should be fairly highly educated is desirable, and certainly other studies have noted that senior managers do normally possess high educational standing. Hall and Amado-Fischgrund (1969) pointed out that nearly 40 per cent of their sample of British chief executives had been to university, and Hall, de Bettignies and Amado-Fischgrund (1969) observed graduate proportions of 55 per cent for the Netherlands, 78 per cent for both Germany and Italy, 85 per cent for Belgium, and 89 per cent for France. De Bettignies stated that "college degrees are now an almost essential qualification for reaching the top of the corporation ladder" in the United States, and that 83 per cent had at least a bachelors degree in his 1968 sample. Granick (1960) had previously stressed that positions in American top management were becoming the prerogative of college graduates, although in Europe the way to the top seemed to be more open. The evidence in Kenya seems to point to the increasing importance of degrees for senior management, more so than the possession of any further educational qualification of a different nature (see Table 7.19 below).

Interest therefore centres on whether the 19 graduates in the top managerial ranks (54.3 per cent of the total number of graduates in the sample, and over a third of the number of senior managers) achieved this status because of their higher education or in spite of it. It might be observed, *en passant,* that as only 8 of these

19 were Kikuyus no interpretation associated with ethnic bias can be put upon the figure since this was slightly less than the overall representation of this group in the sample. It is true that the average age of the 19 top managerial graduates was less than 34 years, whereas that of the non-graduates in the same rank was nearly 38 years, a fact that would seem to support the view that graduates are thought to be worthy of higher responsibility earlier. Of the 9 graduate top managers who replied to the question of whether their post-secondary education had been more valuable for their career development than the business training provided by their companies, 6 felt that their degrees had stood them in better stead, while the other 3 acknowledged their management training.

TABLE 7.19

FURTHER EDUCATION AND MANAGERIAL STATUS

| Status / Further Education | Junior | | Middle | | Top | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| None | 13 | 48.1 | 65 | 65.0 | 32 | 61.5 | 110 | 61.5 |
| Some | 14 | 51.9 | 35 | 35.0 | 20 | 38.5 | 69 | 38.5 |
| Total | 27 | 100.0 | 100 | 100.0 | 52 | 100.0 | 179 | 100.0 |

The confidence expressed by these managers in their higher qualifications explains their relative lack of support for much further study. As Table 7.19 shows, the junior managers had undertaken more of this than those in middle and senior positions, over half of the juniors having done so against less than two out of five of the others. These figures have more than one explanation, however; firstly, the junior managers were younger (about 31 years old on average, against 34 years for middle managers and 36 years for the ones at the top) and with opportunities for further education being of more recent origin they may well have taken advantage of them without breaking their education. Secondly, the younger managers are more likely to be influenced by the possibility that educational courses will further their promotion chances, whereas the older and more senior managers know that they have already "made it" without the aid of further education, and there is no incentive to start at this late date. Finally, the nature of the functions being performed should be considered; many of the junior managers were in Production, an area that has already been observed (see Table 7.16) to have quite a high commitment to further study. In addition, of course, the senior managers have got the edge on the other managers in terms of their formal educational attainments, and it is hardly surprising that many of them feel that additional part-time study will yield marginally fewer benefits. Not only is their inclination reduced, but so is the amount of time they have available.

It was mentioned in Chapter IV that the classification of managerial status was based on salary level, responsibilities, and the position of the manager's superior in the organisation, and that these criteria were used to obtain an indication of the manager's authority for policy and decision-making. The most objective factor in this group is that of salary, which as Table 7.20 indicates, does relate closely to status. It is not necessary

TABLE 7.20

MANAGERIAL STATUS AND SALARY
(SALARY EXPRESSED IN K£s PER ANNUM)

| Salary / Status | Below 1000 | | 1000-1999 | | 2000-2999 | | 3000 and above | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Junior | 12 | 52.2 | 15 | 14.3 | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0.0 | 27 | 15.0 |
| Middle | 11 | 47.8 | 79 | 75.2 | 10 | 25.6 | 0 | 0.0 | 100 | 55.9 |
| Top | 0 | 0.0 | 11 | 10.5 | 29 | 74.4 | 12 | 100.0 | 52 | 29.1 |
| Total | 23 | 100.0 | 105 | 100.0 | 39 | 100.0 | 12 | 100.0 | 179 | 100.0 |

Chi-square = 116.613 with 6 degrees of freedom

at this point to compare salary levels individually with each of the socio-economic background variables already considered, merely to note the results of multiple regression analysis of salary upon these variables (see Table 7.21). An automatic elimination taken to the 10 per cent significance level limits the variables from the original eight to the four shown in the table, and when taken to the .01 per cent significance level, with a 30.63 per cent explanation level, the two most significant factors were shown to be those of educational level and age. These are the ones which were shown to be the most significant against managerial status. The possession of a School Certificate effectively doubled a manager's chances of earning K£2000 per year, and having a degree trebled them. Nearly two thirds of the graduates earned over this sum (the graduate average was K£2286 per year), whereas less than a quarter of the School Certificate managers were as well off

TABLE 7.21

STEPWISE REGRESSION OF MANAGERS' SALARY LEVEL AGAINST SOCIO-ECONOMIC VARIABLES

The Dependent Variable is Salary

| | Co-Efficient | Standard Error (Co-Efficient) | T-Statistic |
|---|---|---|---|
| Educational Level | 0.47494 | 0.08609 | 5.52 |
| Age | 0.33391 | 0.07066 | 4.73 |
| School | 0.16914 | 0.07741 | 2.19 |
| Fathers' Education | 0.13790 | 0.07231 | 1.91 |
| Constant | 0.49376 | 0.25905 | 1.91 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Degrees of freedom | 174 |
| Residual Sum Squares | 66.65776 |
| Residual Mean Square | 0.38309 |
| F | 22.45141 |
| R | 0.5835 |
| Percentage Explained | 34.04 |

(their average was K£1743), and less than one in ten of the poorest-educated earned over K£2000 per year, the group averaging K£1224.

Education of Managers by Type of Organisation

It was felt that an additional area of analysis could be usefully included at this point, that is, the education of the managers according to the type of company for whom they were working. In view of what the company spokesmen had said about their educational preferences (see Chapter V) it is of interest to note the comparative educational levels of the African management according to company size, according to ownership, and according to the sector of the economy in which they were operating.

As would be expected, many of the better-educated managers had found their way into the larger, and usually more prestigious, companies. Table 7.22 (a) reveals that 28 out of the 35 graduate managers (80 per cent) worked for large or medium sized organisations, many of which were international in their operations. It will be noted that there is a decline in the percentage of non-School Certificate holders from the small to the large concerns, and a more or less corresponding increase in School Certificate managers in the same direction. The large organisations had an arithmetic average educational level of 3.1, slightly higher than the 2.9 for the medium and small concerns.

Section (b) of the same table, which shows education by ownership, is even more revealing. Here it will be observed that there was a greater tendency for graduates and School Certificate holders to have been recruited by either the multi-national corporations or the Kenyan subsidiaries of overseas concerns than by purely local companies, although it must be pointed out that the local subgroup does include four statutory corporations who were employing 13 graduates (see section (c)) which raises the local company total of graduates to 16. The figures show that of the 52 managers employed by the multi-nationals, only 4 had not been educated up to School Certificate level, and at the other end of the scale they employed 15 graduates, nearly 30 per cent of their total sample number of managers; this is approximately two graduates per multinational concern in the sample, since there were seven of these companies. In the light of the high preference shown by these companies for graduates (see Chapter V above, and Appendix T)

TABLE 7.22

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL BY TYPES OF ORGANISATION

| Co. Type / Education | (a) Size | | | | | | (b) Ownership | | | | | | (c) Sector | | | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Small | | Medium | | Large | | Local | | Sub-sidiary | | Multi | | Public | | Private | | | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| No School Certificate | 8 | 28.6 | 18 | 22.8 | 12 | 16.7 | 24 | 27.3 | 10 | 25.6 | 4 | 7.7 | 3 | 7.0 | 35 | 25.7 | 38 | 21.2 |
| School Certificate | 13 | 46.4 | 48 | 60.8 | 45 | 62.5 | 48 | 54.5 | 25 | 64.1 | 33 | 63.5 | 27 | 62.8 | 79 | 58.1 | 106 | 59.2 |
| Degree | 7 | 25.0 | 13 | 16.4 | 15 | 20.8 | 16 | 18.2 | 4 | 10.3 | 15 | 28.8 | 13 | 30.2 | 22 | 16.2 | 35 | 19.6 |
| Total | 28 | 100.0 | 79 | 100.0 | 72 | 100.0 | 88 | 100.0 | 39 | 100.0 | 52 | 100.0 | 43 | 100.0 | 136 | 100.0 | 179 | 100.0 |
| Mean (a) | 2.9 | | 2.9 | | 3.1 | | 2.8 | | 2,7 | | 3.2 | | 3.5 | | 2.8 | | 3.0 | |

Note: (a) Mean calculated as before. See Table 7.4.

these figures are not surprising at all; after all, the multinational corporations are reputedly the world's leaders in management practices and techniques, and perhaps in their management development policies too. They rely heavily for their continued operating success on a cadre of intelligent and well-trained managerial staff, and graduates often aspire to employment with such concerns not only because of higher salaries but also because of the quality of the training that they know will be given. The multi-nationals believe, as previously noted, that Africans of graduate level are eminently trainable and promotable recruits, and they have consciously embarked upon their policy of attracting, training, and holding such people. That they are being fairly successful in this is indicated by their arithmetic score of 3.2 for education, against 2.8 for local companies and 2.7 for the subsidiaries.

Section (c) of Table 7.22 explains why the local concerns have come out quite well on educational standards, which is because the public corporations (who are also local) have a good educational recruitment record. Of the 88 managers working for the local companies, 43 were employed by the four government-controlled statutory corporations, and these were managers of above-average educational standing (only 3 non-School Certificate holders, and almost one-third graduates out of 43 managers). These four public corporations were nearly all large and prestigious concerns which had an appeal for well-educated staff, partly because of their governmental connection, and partly because they had a reasonably good track record for training and job opportunities. The comparison between private sector managers and public sector managers in section (c) of the table shows that there were 22 graduates out of 136 managers in the private sector (over 16 per cent), and 13 out of 43 in the public sector (30.2 per cent). The public corporations had a higher overall arithmetic educational average of 3.5, which happened to be the highest for any of the company type sub-groups, against 2.8 in the private concerns.

The implication here is that as the public corporations and the multi-national organisations (who are mutually exclusive in this sample) have attracted 28 out of the 35 graduates (80 per cent) in the sample into their own organisations, they have virtually cornered the market for the time being in the best educated staff. The companies in this sample represent that part of the Kenyan economy which attracts educated personnel, and obviously these two types of organisation attract the best ones among them. They have the status and the staff appeal; the status of either being multi-national or a government corporation, and the staff appeal of being large, relatively wealthy, and renowned for the provision of training. There were 7 multi-national concerns in the sample, and 4 statutory corporations, 28 per cent of the total number of companies; yet these 11 concerns employed 44 per cent of the total number of managers interviewed in the sample, and 80 per cent of the total number of graduates. As employers, particularly at the executive and professional levels, they are appreciated for their careful recruitment, their training and development, and their amenable working conditions, allied with positions carrying more responsibility. In addition, they paid well. The average basic salary per annum earned by the 179 managers in 1971 was K£1739; for the multi-national managers it was K£2077, and for those in the public corporations it was K£2029; in both instances there was a difference of more than K£250 per year over the sample average. For the sake of comparison, the managers in the subsidiary organisations earned an average of K£1442 per year, but this figure is skewed by the higher than normal proportion of junior managers in these firms.

Table 7.23 shows the extent of further education among the managers by the type of company for whom they were working. Section (a) indicates that more of the managers in the large firms had carried out programmes of further study than the ones in the other groups, of which the medium-size company managers had done the least. Section (b) shows fairly even proportions for all three types of firm according to ownership, though a slightly higher percentage of managers from local firms was evident. Section (c) reveals that nearly half of the public corporation managers had done some further study, against just over a third from those in private concerns. The data, do not, of course, show whether the managers undertaking further education were doing this while employed with their current organisations, and they cannot therefore indicate the extent of company sponsorship and support. However, they do indicate something of the value put upon this type of effort by the companies from the recruitment and employment point of view, and it seems that the large concerns, of which there were seven, and the public corporations (four, of

TABLE 7.23

FURTHER EDUCATION BY TYPES OF ORGANISATION

| Co. Type / Education | (a) Size | | | | | | (b) Ownership | | | | | | (c) Sector | | | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Small | | Medium | | Large | | Local | | Sub-sidiary | | Multi | | Public | | Private | | | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| None | 17 | 60.7 | 56 | 70.9 | 37 | 51.4 | 52 | 59.1 | 25 | 64.1 | 33 | 63.5 | 22 | 51.2 | 88 | 64.7 | 110 | 61.5 |
| Some | 11 | 39.3 | 23 | 29.1 | 35 | 48.6 | 36 | 40.9 | 14 | 35.9 | 19 | 36.5 | 21 | 48.8 | 48 | 35.3 | 69 | 38.5 |
| Total | 28 | 100.0 | 79 | 100.0 | 72 | 100.0 | 88 | 100.0 | 39 | 100.0 | 52 | 100.0 | 43 | 100.0 | 136 | 100.0 | 179 | 100.0 |

which two were large and therefore in both sub-groups) were most interested in this aspect of their managers' attributes.

Summary

The research figures reveal a number of facts of some importance. Firstly, that the managers are, in comparison with the general population, a very highly-educated group. Secondly, that their educational level is rising. Thirdly, that their social background has exercised a strong influence on their educational attainment. Fourthly, that the better-educated managers are found in the commercial functions of Finance and Accounting, Marketing and Personnel, while the poorer-educated managers are often in the Production function. Fifthly, that the more senior managers have a much higher standard of education than the junior ones, and finally, that the better-educated managers are more likely to be employed by the multi-national corporations or the statutory bodies than by any other type of firm. These conclusions will be elaborated upon.

In comparison with the general overall population in the same approximate age range, the African managers in this Kenyan sample have been shown to be a very highly-educated group. This most certainly qualifies them for a place among the educated elite of the country, but without comparative data on the educational standards of Africans in other occupations within the modern sector it is impossible to state exactly where they fit into the top group.

That formal educational standards should be rising among the younger managers is not in the least surprising. Certainly, the under-40 year age group has been shown to be both better-educated in the formal sense, and it has also shown more interest in further studies and qualifications of some kind than has the over-40 year age group.

Certain aspects of the managers' social backgrounds appear to have exerted a powerful effect upon the level of educational attainment they achieved. These commence sequentially with the educational level of their fathers, who, if they were educated themselves, were determined that their sons should have similar benefits if this were possible. The age factor was also important, since in more recent years there have been additional educational opportunities available in Kenya, and the younger managers in general are better-educated than their older colleagues. Finally, the type of school attended was the single most important factor, and while education at one of the four elite national schools would have depended partly on chance factors like physical proximity of the family to such a school, certainly the manager who had been to one stood a greater chance of achieving higher educational qualifications than the man who had not.

Mention has been made of the educational discrepancy between managers in the Production function and those in the commercial ones; perhaps one explanation for this lies in the more recent growth of the latter and their more recent white-collar status attractions. Another explanation may lie with the timing of Africanisation of the different functions, and the age-education factor of the managers. The Production managers were certainly older than the other groups, and they had less education and further education than most of the other groups. On the face of it, it is feasible that the Production managers were either promoted into management at an earlier age than managers in other functions because of the earlier localisation of Production management staff, or they were promoted up to management later in the chronology of Africanisation (and at an older personal age) despite their lack of education, because African managers were needed to be seen in Production. This point will be taken up in a later chapter (Chapter IX) in a discussion of comparative career progress, but the evidence points to the latter explanation as being the more likely. This is because the Production managers in general achieved managerial status when they were older than the managers in other functions, and when their educational attainments were less. The implication here is that employers felt that they had to bring Africans into Production on the basis of their age and experience, and not on their educational merit. In their backgrounds they are not dissimilar from the British Production managers in Clements' sample, many of whom "came up from the bottom and they were largely recruited from the lower middle and the skilled manual classes", thus lacking "the polish of the gentlemen in commercial positions" (Clements 1958).

What is expected, and confirmed, is that the managers at the top are the best-educated group. It might appear inconsistent that these senior managers, who are on average the oldest group, should be the best-educated when the overall sample figures indicate that the youngest managers have the best educational standards. However, the average age of the senior managers was just over 36 years (against just over 34 years for the middle group, and less than 31 years for the juniors) which puts them squarely in the middle of the 30-40 year old age group. The reasonable imputation, borne out by examination of the facts, is that a large number of the senior managers were still in this age range, while many of the over 40 years age group were those who had not reached top positions, and had been too early to take advantage of the opportunities for higher education which had come along later.

Finally, it has been noted that it is mainly the multi-national organisations and the statutory corporations who have been engaging the managers with the best education. The reasons for this, as previously discussed, can be partly explained by the prestige of such concerns, the higher salaries that they pay, the training they provide, and the generally higher level of responsibility and job satisfaction associated with them. Suitably qualified staff are attracted to these organisations, who are actively seeking such personnel anyway, because they feel they are making better use of their qualifications for their own security in the future, whether they remain with those organisations or not. That the multi-nationals have a fairly high staff turnover at these levels is not denied (see the discussion in Chapter V), but those managers who join them, are trained by them, and have exercised authority within them know that their market worth is all the greater for the experience.

There is no single standard of education for management. Managers generally come from a variety of educational backgrounds, ranging from the self-taught and self-educated at one extreme to those from the most prestigious schools and universities, including the ones who have even read business administration at post-graduate level.

The Kenyan managers in this sample compare favourably with managers from other samples in educational terms given Kenya's stage of development, and many of them have demonstrated a willingness to continue the process of self-improvement after school and formal education are finished. In attaining good educational levels and further qualifications they are aspiring to the standards which are being forced upon them by the processes of education explosion and educational inflation (Dore 1976) which started to hit the developing countries in the 1960s and are now coming to fruit. As educational inflation bites, so employers seem to become "unquestioning victims of the widespread myth that education 'improves' people, and that they are therefore getting more for their money if they get a senior certificate for £5 a week rather than a junior certificate."

The organisations in Kenya have already been shown to prefer graduates or men with technical and professional qualifications. They say that they want such people, not for their degrees and qualifications alone, but for what they represent, and that is trainability. The job of the modern manager is integration; in the language of Western management thought the manager needs to integrate resources and skills in what can only be described as a dynamic environment towards an objective of efficiency, or profitability. It can be argued that university or any other kind of education does not teach these skills, and in fact many successful executives of the past and present have never undertaken any higher education.

However, education can provide a base on which to build, and as Kenya's educational opportunities continue to increase and standards continue to rise, so will more educated managers come on to the market, although this may well create new problems as well as helping to solve old ones. The old business prejudices against educated managers are fading now; even Britain is losing some of its suspicion of 'professionalism', and the availability of higher education is growing while the number of uneducated self-made businessmen is declining.

Western-based companies in Kenya are the ones who have been setting the requisite educational standards for African management, and there is every sign that they have been keeping well up with the expansion of the educational system. Education carries enormous prestige in Kenya, and for the time being it still carries opportunity. One constantly reads in the national newspapers of the need to develop through education, of the number of on-going self-help community projects in the educational field, and one observes how much backing is given by the government to the expansion of facilities at nearly all levels.

In the light of what has been said about the misdirection of educational policies in developing countries there is perhaps cause for a certain amount of anxiety at these trends. That graduates are now being produced in quantity in Kenya is not in doubt, but the balance of their specialisms is worrying. The material from this sample alone has given an indication of the trend by showing that 60 per cent of the African graduate managers were from arts and social sciences, and that only 9 out of 35 had science-based degrees.

There is another cause for concern. The Kenyan managers are a relatively young group, and on average have about twenty-five years of working life in front of them. Over-emphasis, by either business or the government, on graduate qualifications for entry into management could well produce promotion blockages within organisations at middle levels unless there is considerable economic and industrial expansion to absorb the degree-holding surplus. Dore's spectre of the graduate bus conductor takes on meaningful menace. While one is sympathetic to the needs of business in its search for trainable staff, one also feels that a swamping of supply of qualified people for only a few top and senior posts would create more problems than it would alleviate. Kenya business has a cadre of lesser-educated and lesser-qualified managers in its junior and middle ranks who are also worthy of development, and neglect of this source could also be detrimental to industrial development.

# CHAPTER VIII

## MANAGEMENT TRAINING

### Introduction

A previous examination (see Chapter V above), has been made of some of the attitudes towards Kenyanisation and the management development problems and policies of the 39 sample organisations, and it has been noted that there seemed to be a general lack of commitment towards formalised programmes for staff development, although there were some significant exceptions.

Over the sample as a whole, the most favoured form of management training was the internal, or on-the-job, type, and this had been extensively used. However, given the individual nature of such programmes there was little doubt that they varied considerably in their sophistication and probably their effectiveness too. Other methods of training had also been used; these included overseas training at foreign institutions and universities, overseas training at 'sister' companies, and course training at the various specialised local bodies in Kenya. The company spokesman in the sample did not generally rate these as high as internal training.

The theme of management development, and in particular training for management, will now be examined from the point of view of the 179 managers from the 39 organisations. The organisation of the material in this chapter will commence with an examination of the purpose and nature of training for management, including its relevance in the Kenyan context, followed by a presentation of the data relating to the type and amount of training received by the managers. This material is analysed by age grouping, education, managerial status, function, and type of organisation for whom the participants were working. Where applicable, the evaluations and comments of the managers themselves will be taken into account, particularly those relating to their future career development needs as well as their current ones. Comparisons will also be made between the managers in this sample and those in some of the other studies previously discussed. The material therefore presents a complementary viewpoint to that already analysed in Chapter V.

## The Nature and Purpose of Management Training

"Training", says Schaffer (1974), "is what will work in the gaps left by inadequacies of education, the dislocation of apprenticeship and the decay and divisions of family and elders", and he goes on to take note of the almost mystical faith with which some people look to training as a means of changing professions, changing careers, and giving their careers additional status - "to say that the career entrant and the career member at various stages needs training, is seen as making their status more attractive, impressive, and respectable." It is not only the professions which have created and encouraged training. The trainers themselves usually have a vested interest in maintaining training, and are often in touch with their clients in order to help identify their problems which more training will solve. In many countries, developed and developing alike, training is a complete industry, with its ideology, its institutions, its networks and its clients, and the training of administrators and managers often forms a substantial aspect of the activity.

Certain fundamental questions must be asked and answered before a reasoned discussion of the nature of management training can take place. For instance, one needs to know where management training fits in with the concept of management development, in what aspects it differs from management education, who is likely to benefit from it, and why business firms are likely to make considerable resource outlays in order to pursue such activity.

Hacon (1966) has attempted an explanation of the training-development link; he points out that there is a certain semantic confusion surrounding some of the terminology in the field, and that the starting point of management development is the company setting rather than the individual and his ambitions. Management development occurs within the context of a particular business and its needs. It requires the personal involvement of the manager, or managers, concerned, and it is expected to develop staff for their own benefit as well as that of the organisation. Manager, or executive, development is concerned with helping individuals to grow rather than assisting the company to meet any particular problem, and the means used are the specific training programmes which are designed to facilitate this growth through the learning process.

The distinction between education and training *a propos* of management is also important. Management or business education is that body of knowledge which provides the setting for business and managerial activity, the essential element of which is a "general education about the world, given a proper balance between science and the humanities" (The Manager, April 1965), so that the prospective manager will have an understanding of the environment in which he finds himself. Training, on the other hand, relates more specifically to the skills which are needed when management is practised, and these skills will vary according to the area of activity of individual managers. Training is defined by Goldstein (1974) as "the systematic acquisition of skills, rules, concepts, or attitudes which result in improved performance in another environment." The acquisition of something implies learning, which the psychologists have defined as a relatively permanent change in thought or action resulting from practice or experience, training schemes, courses and programmes. According to King (1968), training merely amounts to "providing the conditions in which people can *learn* effectively", to Harbison (1962) it is "the development of specific skills which are needed to perform a particular job or series of jobs", and to Tiffin and McCormick (1971) training is "any planned, organized effort that is specifically designed to help individuals develop increasing capabilities".

The term "skill" which is explicit in one of these definitions and implicit in another, is important here; the acquisition of a skill means the development of a capability to improve the performance of a task. However, management is different from many other jobs in that it requires the development of more than one skill; the manager's job involves using other people to accomplish his tasks, and thus he will be involved in acquiring certain human skills as well as the more specific functional ones related to the technicalities of his work in areas such as finance, production, quality, selection, selling, and so on. The training of managers, to be realistic, must take both the general and the specific areas into account. "Personal qualities," stated a prominent British businessman in 1965 (The Manager, April 1965), "should be given greater emphasis than technical skills; the finance man's influence over his operational colleagues demanded absolute intellectual honesty; the 'reliability factor' - meticulous attention to relevant detail - was also of first importance." To sum up, business and managerial training can be considered to be the schemes, courses and programmes which are designed to produce changed behaviour in the trainees. This is the result of changed attitudes and values leading to a better grasp of the necessary human and technical skills and ultimately improved business results.

Training for management had not been developed in the early years of industrialisation when business organisations were small by modern standards and when technological sophistication was not developed to its existing level. When the owners of enterprises were their own managers they looked to their sons and other relatives for their successors, and having provided them with an academic education they then ensured that an apprenticeship of sorts would equip them with the wherewithal to govern. The results were often good. However, ultimate problems of size, specialisation, technical diversity and the demands of the market created conditions in which not only were more managers required than the families could provide, but the range of skills needed for management demanded a diversity of backgrounds in the individuals hired. It was not until the 1860s that forms of commercial secondary education were introduced in parts of Europe, and not until the 1880s that commercial institutions of higher learning were set up. These included the London School of Economics in Britain, the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce in the USA, and the Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales in France. Socio-cultural differences between Europe and America, particularly in respect of their understanding of management, led to a divergence in approach to business education and training, with the European movement being for many years more theoretical and abstract than that of America. In Britain, even after 1945, "it was still generally believed that managers were born, not made, that management could not be taught, and that working one's way up from the shop floor was a better preparation for executive responsibility than a university education." (McClelland 1964). However, with the foundation of the British Institute of Management, the Administrative Staff College at Henley, and the establishment of post-graduate business schools at London, Manchester, and other universities, such notions were gradually broken down.

The modern approach to management education and training may be described as being concentrated in two main areas, the post-graduate and the post-experience. The post-graduate approach is educational, pioneered by the American business schools, and aims at providing the environmental education required for the practice of management coupled with a degree of pre-training in various quantitative and social skills to post-graduate students with little or no practical experience of business. Post-experience training is a follow-up which builds upon experience and expertise and prepares a manager for his future career development by teaching him the skills and techniques that he needs to know or develop. Whereas most post-graduate business education is in the hands of the higher educational institutions, post-experience training is often carried out by independent bodies (such as Institutes of

Management), quasi-governmental bodies (Staff Colleges, government-financed training centres, etc.), private companies, and institutions of higher education. The extent to which different countries concentrate either on the post-graduate area or the post-experience one is influenced by the extent to which they see management as an art, as opposed to a profession. As Grosset has observed (1970), such discourses are not academic; "If management is considered an art, then training should be given on the job; if management is a profession, it will require formal preparation prior to starting a job."

The United States of America has generally recognised management as a profession ever since Brandeis (1912) referred to the "new professions of manufacturing, of merchandising, of transportation and of finance" shortly after the establishment of graduate business education at Dartmouth in 1900 and Harvard in 1908. Professionalism carries with it certain attributes which have been seen by various writers (Brandeis, 1914, Flexner, 1915, Greenwood, in Vollner and Mills, 1966, and Barber, in Tiryakien (ed.), 1967) as having certain common denominators, in particular a body of systematic and generalised intellectual knowledge, ethical codes which are altruistic rather than oriented toward individual interest, and a high degree of self-control. Although the Gordon-Howell Report of 1959, which criticised American business schools and management programmes, maintained that according to these and other criteria business was not yet a profession (though in some respects it was beginning to resemble one), more recent writers such as Andrews (1969) feel that an impressive degree of professionalism does, in fact, mark the management of business. While the Americans debate, the British and the continental Europeans remain convinced that managers are not professionals, and that the training of managers, in the view of Vaubel (1965) "lays particular emphasis on many years of practical activity and facing up to ever greater challenges. This can only be brought about in business itself."

Whether a manager is trained in the American style professional sense, at post-graduate level (a process which has become more widely practised in Britain and Europe since the 1960s), or in the European one with its emphasis on post-experience training as part of career development, a common problem remains - what should be taught? A liberal arts education has often been suggested as the most useful one on which to build, providing as it does a preparation for creative thinking, planning, and the longer-range perspective that facilitates adjustment to change at a time when business techniques and practises are subject to change and development. The question of the relevant approach to skill training still remains, however, and must yet be determined, as must a satisfactory identification of the objectives of management training.

To say that this objective is 'to produce better managers' is merely stating the obvious in a most ethereal fashion, since one really needs to know what better management means in quantifiable terms. Andrews (1957), writing on management training, suggested that concern with the topic should not be so much with effectiveness, but with objectives and that;

> "We should look at the way in which effectiveness can be defined and *increased* rather than *measured*.

> And we should look upon attendance at company and university executive programmes as only a brief moment in a continuous career of growth. We can stop being interested in changing foremen, higher supervisors, and executives at the top level to fit into a preconceived pattern. Least of all should we attempt to change 'autocrats' into 'democrats' or try to make foremen more 'considerate' and less inclined to 'initiate structure'. In providing the opportunity for an educational experience, in other words, we are interested less in change than in growth and less in the similarity of the end product than in individual progress. There is no one model of a model modern manager."

Andrews goes on to list the purposes of formal executive training which can be summarised as follows;

(a) long-range development and growth, rather than immediate changes in how managers perform their jobs.

(b) a development of the ability to think, to analyse problems and to weigh issues in the context of one's own values and of the economic and social environment in which one operates.

(c) to draw attention to the problem of organised human association as being the most perplexing of those facing managers, rather than emphasising unverifiable principles.

(d) to focus attention on the acceptance of profit responsibility and the control of achievement.

(e) to expose managers to association with a wide variety of executive experience.

Andrews' recommendations put less emphasis upon training for skill as upon a training in concepts - concepts of human experience and attitudes, of quantitative use of data, and of self-awareness. In this respect, his philosophy is not dissimilar to that of

Revans (see The Manager, April 1965) who has seen an over-emphasis in current management training upon the problem-solving (skills) area, and an under-emphasis on problem-identification (thinking, analysing and the weighing of issues), and solution application or implementation (self-awareness and the awareness of others).

Perhaps a sound definition of the purpose of training is to accept the broad one that it is intended to improve the person-to-job fit. Howell (1976) has summed this; "Whether oriented around job content, basic skills, or interpersonal relationships, the idea is to bring about *change* in people so that they can deal more effectively with the demand of their jobs."

There is little doubt that skill and functional training do have a place in management training, but perhaps what is more important is that skills need to be put into their correct organisational context, and they should always be considered as having a finite existence. Work study, budgetary control, discounted cash flow, sensitivity training, management by objectives, inventory control and others are skills and techniques relating to management or its aspects which can help to improve specific competences. They are subject to change and development and to obsolescence, and they are often forgotten or not used when training participants return to their companies and get involved again in their day-to-day problems. There is also the difficulty that new techniques are only understood by those who have been on the courses, and that their use will involve change that others may resent. This is why a knowledge of humans, groups, and organisational relationships is important, and why the ability to understand when to use them and upon whom to use them is as important as knowing how they work.

The type and nature of management training will vary according to the seniority and experience of those being trained. Junior managers may learn about various other functions for the sake of appreciation during induction courses, about management functions in general, and then about the various skills both on courses and on the job. Middle managers, who have some years of practical experience behind them, and may be familiar with some of the practical aspects of team leadership, grievance handling, working within budgets, and meeting essential work targets, are most in need of management and organisation theory and understanding. Senior managers, who are expected to be proficient in their own function, are perhaps in need of an understanding of the nature of those functions in which they do not have direct experience, as well as the nature of business policy at the overall managerial level.

A summary of much of what has been said and written on management training indicates that many subscribe to its value, although it is often agreed that not enough emphasis has been given in the past to a clear statement of what the objectives of such training should be. In some instances, training has been revealed to be a popular bandwagon with which to be associated, although in other cases a useful amount of objective-setting and staff service has been provided. At the junior managerial level of training, a lot has been achieved in the imparting of basic managerial skills. However, at the higher levels, it seems that a more questioning attitude about company objectives, training and development objectives, the design and layout of programmes and instructional methods is required. Except within broad limits, such an attitude has not yet reached Kenya, as an examination of some of the institutions and training practices will reveal.

Management Training in Kenya

The need for some form of training and for the means whereby relevant experience can be acquired early in career development has become a priority in situations of Africanisation. How best to provide these has involved a considerable amount of company time as well as that of training institutions. One of the problems involved is that of meeting the special needs of an African environment; the ILO has devoted a lot of conference time to the subject, and in 1965 concluded that management in Africa is not necessarily the same as it is in the industrialised West;

> "Contemporary management practices and techniques have practically all been conceived and developed to meet the conditions and needs of industry and commerce in industrialised countries operating in the context of highly developed markets, high wages and salaries and, generally speaking, a shortage of all types of labour ... although the principles and techniques of management which have been developed elsewhere might be generally valid in African conditions, their application might frequently have to be modified substantially to meet local conditions ... the African manager today, whether in large enterprises or in small, in the public or the private sectors, needed to acquire those skills which make for effective management in modern enterprises, wherever located. In large and medium sized enterprises operating in Africa, whether foreign-owned, of mixed or purely national ownership, the African manager is called upon to develop a level of professional competence equal to that of his successful counterparts in other countries, whether developing or industrially developed. In addition he was required to develop an adequate understanding of the environment in which he operated, an awareness of its development needs and plans, and a fuller understanding of the processes of change in contemporary African society."

However, the ILO concluded that the training and development of African management needed to capitalise on "the rich fund of modern management practices and techniques which had a more or less universal validity", while at the same time adapting specific techniques to meet African conditions.

The Western background of individualism as it applies to business largely ensures that managers are selected, trained and promoted according to their potential and their effectiveness in leading subordinates to achieve acceptably efficient operating results. The traditional hierarchical representation of an organisation structure typifies this individualism as Likert (1961) has noted, and he has made the observation that such an approach to structure and management, by virtue of sponsoring intra-organisational competition (i.e. between functional departments), produces dysfunctional effects. The Western emphasis on individual departmental efficiency pits managers from the same organisation against one another in competition for information, money, power and influence which can have adverse effects upon the total system.

Business organisations in Africa, being often Western-based or Western-influenced, are organised in the same fashion as Western ones, a phenomenon which Onyemelukwe (1973) observes as being contrary to the African spirit of social co-operation, thus causing a misdirection of training effort in Africa;

> "Unfortunately, many of the current methods in Africa stop at functional and technical training. This is to be expected, for if managers in Africa have not been able to diagnose the baffling social and cultural context of their environment they cannot be expected to have anything to offer trainees in this field. The tendency has therefore been to leave management trainees to themselves to pick up ideas as they can. Thus even with practising top managers this groping in the dark

> persists. Looking through courses and lectures in management, one is faced with a galaxy of do-it-yourself kits and shorthand prescriptions .... At the same time, many firms operating in Africa traditionally send their personnel to Europe and the United States for management training. Some of the foreign and African managers we interviewed felt truly that this was the only way to improve middle management in Africa."

These alternatives create a dilemma for African management. On the one hand there are often insufficient local facilities available for 'traditional' functional training only, but on the other hand overseas coursework or secondment training and crossposting is not geared up to deal with the human and organisational problems which are peculiar to the African business environment.

The situation in Kenya is no different to the general one described. The companies in the research sample, although providing over two-fifths of their manager training themselves (247 trained at company institutions in Kenya out of 567, see Appendix R) had sent a further two-fifths to local training institutions, 6 per cent for training abroad at overseas company branches or installations, and another 8 per cent abroad for training at other institutions. At this point, it is relevant to take a more detailed look at the various training bodies in Kenya in order to comment upon their objectives and training courses. The situation described is largely that which existed in 1971, although where significant developments and changes have occurred these are noted.

*The East African Staff College*[1] was set up in 1964 as an institution of the East African Community to provide development programmes for administrators in government and the East African Community as well as for managers in industry, commerce and the public corporations of the three member states. Participants from

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1. It is now defunct.

other African countries have also occasionally attended its courses. The main course, of 5 weeks' duration, was concerned with the principles and practice of management and administration, coupled with some study of the general framework within which managers and administrators have to operate in East Africa. The objective of the programme was to develop high-level staff, or those likely to be promoted to such a level, rather than to teach the details of the various management techniques, an objective which drew criticism from the Training Review Committee (1972) which complained that the College's courses "also suffer from being mind broadening courses which rarely deal with any subject in sufficient depth to enable participants to apply new techniques after they have finished the course."

*The Kenya Institute of Administration*, which comes under the control of the Office of the President via the Directorate of Personnel, was set up in 1961 following the Adu Report. From 1961 to 1964 it was the government's main instrument of Africanisation for the public service, training civil servants and local authority officers. Since 1964 its functions have been broadened to include the provision of a variety of courses primarily for the public sector, but to a limited extent for private firms too. The Senior Management Course of 4 weeks was again criticised by the Wamalwa Training Review Committee as being "mind-broadening" rather than in-depth specialist,[2] a consideration that was also applied to the

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2. Colin Leys has evaluated this course (and the KIA itself) in "Administrative Training in Kenya" (see Schaffer (ed.) 1974). He comments unfavourably upon the course itself, claiming that it did not meet its objectives of imparting managerial skills, and he did not see the KIA as a sufficiently innovative and change-oriented institution.

shorter Management Development courses. In 1971, the Principle said, during the course of a research interview, that he saw the KIA as being able to provide all the training necessary for the public sector with which he thought it should be almost entirely concerned, although he was prepared to accept students from the private sector "if their companies are prepared to accept the Institute as it is."

*The Management Training and Advisory Centre* was established in November 1966 as a joint project of the Ministry of Labour and the United Nations Development Programme, with the International Labour Organisation as the executing agency. The Centre was intended to provide advisory services and training in management development and productivity improvement to new and existing enterprises. It offered various functional management courses of short duration (usually of around 2 or 3 weeks, although occasionally up to 6 or 8 weeks if trainees' project time was included) for the parastatal and private sectors. The Centre experienced certain staffing difficulties, and in 1971 changed its emphasis to the development of entrepreneurial skills among Kenyans in the urban and rural areas. A later development, in more recent years, has been a shift back to management training of a similar type as before, with occasional emphasis on international business and managerial aspects.

*The Kenya Institute of Management* is the professional body for managers in Kenya. It was started in 1968 as a branch of the East African Management Foundation which fragmented in 1970 into autonomous institutes in the three East African countries. In 1972 it had about 500 members and over 100 collective subscribers, and besides offering functional training courses in management it published a journal, held meetings every two months, administered a Certificate and Diploma in Management Studies, and had offered Advanced Management courses in collaboration with the Faculty of Commerce at the University of Nairobi. Its main strength lay in its well-supported functional management courses, usually held in the evenings, and its impressive contact with the Nairobi and Mombasa business communities. In more recent years, a lack of firm executive leadership has bedevilled the KIM to the extent of forcing a running-down of some of its activities, although some of the more routine management training courses are still offered.

Other bodies offering courses of various types and levels in the management field, usually of a functional nature, were the Ashby-Pearce Selection Agency, the Institute of Adult Studies at the University of Nairobi, the Kenya Polytechnic, Strathmore College, the Co-operative College, and the National Christian Council of Kenya. The Federation of Kenya Employers, a registered trade union, has also run short courses in Industrial Relations in Nairobi and Mombasa.

The main emphasis of those courses available to private sector managers, with the possible exceptions of the East African Staff College, the Kenya Institute of Administration's Senior Management Course, and the joint Kenya Institute of Management-Faculty of Commerce programme has been on functional management training. Using the published figures for 1970, the number of courses in management offered by the leading training institutions for that year were as follows:

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|---|---|
| East African Staff College | 7 |
| Kenya Institute of Administration | 6 |
| Management Training & Advisory Centre | 56 |
| Kenya Institute of Management | 20 (approx.) |

Of the one hundred or so courses of various lengths available per year, only about twelve of these would qualify for the Wamalwa "mind-broadening" label, and most of the rest would be classified as functional training, that is, courses aimed at improving various skills and techniques in the leading functional areas of management. There is a shortage of those courses dealing with interpersonal skills, and aimed at developing supportive attitudes and behaviour towards the job, co-workers and the organisation in general. Kiggundu (1974) has noted that there is a need in Kenya for those people associated with the design, administration and teaching of supervisory and management training programmes to "demonstrate a clear understanding of the skills that their clients are in need of both individually and collectively as a management team," and Onyemelukwe has observed that "Africans in middle management acquire a kind of individuality which does not readily make for close interpersonal relationships with their colleagues."

The management training facilities available in Kenya are not confined exclusively to the management training institutions discussed. A number of firms possess their own training schools and facilities, most of them make use of on-the-job management training schemes, and a number of firms have sent their managers overseas for a part of their training and development. Although all of the 39 companies in the research sample claimed to have provided on-the-job management training, there was little confidence (see Chapter V) that this was genuine and systematic training with maximum opportunity being given for self-development in the majority of cases. The following five brief cases of companies within the sample illustrate something of the range of management training being provided.

Case I (A Large Local Corporation)

The managers in this organisation were usually recruited at HSC level (although graduates were also taken) and were often sponsored for engineering or commerce degrees at the University of Nairobi. After completing these studies they would be bonded to serve with the organisation for a period.

The concern operated its own training school which catered for various types of training including clerical, technical, supervisory and managerial programmes. Systematic on-the-job training, coupled with attendance at training school courses, was provided with the objective of producing generalists rather than specialists, and was designed to give broad experience and a perspective on the total organisation.

Managers were assessed every twelve months by a confidential reporting system which, although somewhat subjective in certain respects, was sufficiently detailed to allow a comprehensive evaluation of managers and trainees to be made. It looked not only at past performance but also at future potential, and the results were discussed between superior and subordinate for the purpose of improvement as well as identifying future training needs. Feedback on performance was also made to the training school so that it was constantly kept in touch with the quality of its training courses.

The General Manager was personally committed to management development, which he regarded as one of his most important jobs. He stated that the time pressures for Kenyanisation were very severe, and that the quality of training may have suffered as a result.

The organisation seemed to have a strong commitment to training and development and fulfilled several of the requirements for sound development planning in this respect.

Case II (Medium-sized Company within a Multi-national Group)

In this company, the normal requirement for executive staff was a good degree, and a sophisticated staff selection procedure was operated. Graduate managerial trainees were given an induction course of two months' duration in which an explanation of company operations was given to them by managers of the company. Trainees were then allocated to divisions and given work assignments by which they could be appraised and counselled. They would also be given special assignments. Later, they would be appointed to substantive managerial posts and given managerial authority.

A system of management by objectives was operated and there was regular assessment of performance against set objectives. The departments reported monthly to top management on both objectives and results. There was also an annual staff appraisal in which special attention was paid to evaluation of training received, assessment of needs and recommendations for training.

Training within this company was regarded as the total development of a man towards meeting his present and future assignments. This involved putting him in the job, giving him the appropriate tools and skills, delegating authority to him, counselling and rewarding him, planning his future and sending him on the appropriate courses. Promotion followed in recognition of the skills attained.

Case III (A Large African Controlled Company)

On the technical side of management, both school-leavers and graduates were recruited into management. School-leavers were recruited into apprenticeships and underwent training at the Company's own Training School as well as receiving a pre-engineering course at the Kenya Polytechnic. Graduates were recruited into traineeships and were given a variety of experience including a period of time in the Commercial Department before being streamed into the appropriate specialisations.

In the financial management area, school-leavers were encouraged to study for professional qualifications (ACCA) by correspondence at either the Kenya Polytechnic or at Strathmore College. Graduates had been appointed into the Personnel Department, although four school-leavers had also worked their way up through the ranks to managerial posts in this area.

The effectiveness of training was measured by means of a Training Committee composed of Departmental Heads meeting bi-monthly to review the training in the light of operational requirements. There was also a Field Training Officer who was responsible for ensuring feedback from the operational departments back to the Training Department. Finally, the trainees themselves made annual assessments and reports on their training. The company sought to operate on a Management-by-Objectives basis, and an appraisal and merit rating system was in operation. This emphasised performance against objectives rather than being concerned with personality characteristics. The report was initiated by an immediate superior and was commented upon by both the area departmental head and the central office. The report included training recommendations which were taken into account in career planning.

The company had an overall twenty-year plan which took account of the expected expansion of the industry. This formed the basis of the Manpower Plan, which looked ten years ahead and was in numerical terms only. The Manpower Plan was the basis of plans for recruitment and training, and superimposed upon it was the Careers Plan for each department down to the first level of supervision. This looked three years ahead and named the specific individuals involved. The whole management development programme was geared towards Kenyanisation, but was realistic in taking into account the shortage of qualified technical personnel.

Case IV (A Medium-sized Concern)

The Managing Director of this company was convinced that the only way to get suitable managers was through informal contacts. He recruited African managers almost exclusively on the basis of those recommended by African friends, and was inclined to place more value on such personal recommendations than on educational qualifications. A recruit would be given some six to nine months rotation training in order to learn something about company operations, at the end of which individually planned training would take over. This would often include sponsored attendance on courses run by the Kenya Institute of Management, the Management

Training and Advisory Centre and other institutions. At junior managerial levels, similar job rotation would be practised before executive responsibility was allocated.

Although the Managing Director was committed to Africanisation, and the company had an impressive record going back to 1963 there was no developed overall training plan. Training was evaluated only on the basis of the competence shown by the trainee, and no systematic evaluation procedures existed. Neither was there a systematic approach to appraisal, trainees were simply watched and judged by their superiors. Once a man got into an executive position, it was claimed he could be judged on the basis of his results since the nature of the business meant that the profits shown by independent profit centres were a sufficient measurement of ability.

Nothing in the company suggested a conscious and planned management development scheme. Training was both on and off the job, but mainly based on job rotation, and no provision was made for managerial succession. Neither did regular performance appraisal exist, except for the reliance on the measurement of profitability.

Case V (A Small Company)

This company did not look for anything more than a degree of literacy in its potential managers. Training was a question of working up the ranks on the basis of experience, and was not supported by training courses. A new man could rise from factory floor to management without any formal training or appraisal other than experience and ad hoc supervisory assessment.

The results obtained from this part of the research indicate that many Kenyan business firms lacked a conscious understanding of the essentially systematic nature of the management development process. Given a certain amount of pressure for Kenyanisation, the conclusion that more effort should be made is reinforced. A theme consistently advanced in the interviews with the company spokesmen (see Chapter V) was the need for more "practical" training closely integrated with training on the job, but this again presupposes a carefully structured, conscious plan for developing individual managers according to their own particular needs and experience.

With this in mind, a more detailed examination of the data relating to the training of the 179 managers in the sample will be undertaken.

## The Training of the Managers in the Sample

Nearly all of the managers claimed to have received some form of management training during their careers, and in fact only 10 had not. Given that these 10 form only 5.6 per cent of the total sample, and are therefore in a fairly conclusive minority, they perhaps justify some further comment before a detailed analysis is made of those who had been trained.

The average age of the untrained managers was higher than that of the overall sample (over 37 years, against just over 34 years), and they tended to have started work at an earlier age than the total group - at 18 years instead of nearly 21. As a group, they were not very highly-educated, 5 had not reached School Certificate level, 4 did have School Certificate, and one had a degree. Their average salary was just over K£1400 per annum; that of the total group was K£1739 per annum. The untrained graduate had been with his particular company for two years, and although his official title was that of Trainee Manager he felt that he was receiving no interest or help from his firm; in a separate interview his superior (who was spokesman for that company) felt that the man *was* being trained, although by on-the-job methods as an understudy, and that this process would take about 5 years, with technical experience at other plants being built in ultimately, and here he added, "if he improves." Another manager, working in the Personnel department of another organisation, felt that although he had never experienced any formalised managerial training, he had built up a wealth of experience over a career span of more than 30 years. Yet another manager, at junior level, although without formal management training, was still studying for a professional qualification in the evenings, and may have been getting some form of training at his work; he was the only one of the untrained group who had undertaken any form of further education. It is interesting to observe that of the 10 untrained managers, 4 were in Production jobs, 3 were in Personnel, and the rest were in 'Other' functions. This indicates that all of the Marketing and Finance and Accounting managers in the sample had experienced some form of training at some point. The companies employing the untrained group were of interest; 5 managers were working for private sector local firms, only 1 was in the public sector, and only 1 was with a multi-national concern (he was the Personnel manager with thirty years of experience behind him).

In the trained sub-sample of 169 managers, 159 had experienced management training from their current employers, and 18 had been trained by their current firm as well as by a previous one. Most (111) had done this training in Kenya, although a further 48 had trained abroad as well, and 10 had been exclusively trained overseas. The number attending specific management courses was high (152), and 80 had been trained by on-the-job methods as well as by courses. Seventeen had experienced on-the-job training only. One of the characteristics of well-thought out management development programmes is a skilful combination of both on- and off-the job training, so a more detailed analysis of the 80 managers who had been fortunate to experience both is relevant.

The average salary of this group was K£1960 per annum, and was significantly higher than that of the overall sample (K£1739) even though their average age, at just over 33 years, was a year lower than the sample as a whole. It may be that the higher educational level of this better-trained group was the reason for their training, and also for their higher salary; 22 of them had degrees, 51 School Certificates, and only 7 were without any educational qualification. Another characteristic was their relatively high managerial status - 29 were at senior level and only 6 were junior managers. They were fairly evenly distributed among the various functional business departments, although a lesser proportion of Personnel managers (7, or less than one-third) than those from other departments had received both on- and off-the job training. Half of them (40) worked for multinational organisations, but only 8 (one in ten) were employed by small firms.

Generally speaking, this group was highly articulate in its comments upon management training, and was willing to engage in constructive criticism. Although some managers held reservations on certain aspects of their training, the group as a whole was in favour of it. Several of those who had recently attended training courses felt that they were now due for a period of consolidation during which they could improve themselves by continuing to learn on the job. Others, who had not been on courses for some time, thought that their practical knowledge was sound and needed to be complemented by coursework. A number of managers with professional or technical qualifications saw a need for the furtherance of their managerial knowledge through management courses.

Most of the multi-national managers, who had undergone the better-planned and sophisticated management development programmes of some of these firms, were appreciative of the training investment they had received, and said that the personal assessment and staff reporting schemes of their companies had helped them identify some of their weaknesses, and given them a sense of participation in their own future. Some critical comments about the irrelevance of certain courses to their jobs were forthcoming from a few managers, as were those relating to the undue length of on-the-job training programmes, and the "parochialism" of management training in Kenya which was not enough concerned with Africa as a whole.

Many managers were aware of the need for continuing training into the future, particularly in the form of refresher courses, cross-postings overseas, and some form of planned and continuous development involving both coursework and practical experience ...

"there is always something to learn", said one manager, and another remarked that if a manager "stands still, he will die." A technical manager, with a sharp eye for the appropriate mixed metaphor, said that his technical training was his "bread and butter", and his management training was the "necessary lubricant" for his job. One particularly articulate graduate manager with a medium-sized company was most definite that as far as he was concerned training should always be practical; he was not convinced that training courses were always suitable for African managers because they were basically "designed by Europeans for Europeans", and he objected to any training which he thought might take away his African identity. "I feel and think like an African," he said, "and I do not want to be made into a black European."

The managers were asked to rate their level of satisfaction with the training courses they had received on a five-point scale; they were asked to do this in respect of training both for their current job and their future career development. Their evaluation is only a crude one in that it rated the training courses as a whole rather than individually, and no evaluation of the separate training institutions was obtained; there is also a second consideration that such five-point evaluations are often biased towards the top end of the scale, and this was no exception. However, the summary of the results is shown below. One manager who had attended such courses preferred not to rate them, so only 151 responses were obtained. The use of an arbitrary scoring scale of 5 at the top down to 1 for 'Very Low' revealed that courses were better regarded as training for current work (4.34) than they were for future development (4.18).

| | Value of courses for present job No. | | Value of courses for future career development No. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Very High | 77 | Overall Average Evaluation = 4.34 | 52 | Overall Average Evaluation = 4.18 |
| High | 56 | | 79 | |
| Average | 12 | | 15 | |
| Low | 5 | | 5 | |
| Very Low | 1 | | 0 | |
| | 151 | | 151 | |

The amount and type of training received by the managers varied considerably according to their age groupings. More of the younger managers had experienced some form of managerial training than had the middle and older groups, and the relevant summaries are shown in Appendix H. Although the proportion of untrained managers was successively higher in consecutive higher age groups, and although more of the younger managers had received their training from their current employers than was the case in the other groups, it was the middle age group (those managers in their thirties) who had done the most training overseas, 9 of them having been trained exclusively abroad, and 30 having been trained both in Kenya and overseas. However, less of the younger managers had been trained exclusively on coursework (only 15, or less than a third), whereas more (23 out of 47, or almost a half) had experienced the balanced approach of both coursework and on-the-job training than had the other groups.

Analysis of the number of management courses attended by institution, according to age grouping (Table 8.1), shows that

TABLE 8.1

NUMBER OF MANAGEMENT COURSES ATTENDED BY INSTITUTION AND AGE GROUPING OF MANAGERS

| Place / Age | 20-29 years | | 30-39 years | | 40 years & Over | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Company Institutions (Kenya) | 36 | 41.9 | 112 | 41.8 | 37 | 38.5 | 185 | 41.1 |
| Company Institutions (Overseas) | 10 | 11.6 | 19 | 7.1 | 7 | 7.3 | 36 | 8.0 |
| Overseas (non-Company) | 6 | 7.0 | 40 | 14.9 | 9 | 9.4 | 55 | 12.2 |
| K. I. M. | 13 | 15.1 | 37 | 13.8 | 6 | 6.3 | 56 | 12.5 |
| M. T. A. C. | 9 | 10.5 | 23 | 8.6 | 8 | 8.3 | 40 | 8.9 |
| Other | 12 | 13.9 | 37 | 13.8 | 29 | 30.2 | 78 | 17.3 |
| Total | 86 | 100.0 | 268 | 100.0 | 96 | 100.0 | 450 | 100.0 |
| Number of Managers | 47 | | 93 | | 39 | | 179 | |
| Courses per Manager | 1.8 | | 2.9 | | 2.5 | | 2.5 | |
| Courses per year of managerial Experience | .82 | | .83 | | .45 | | .68 | |

Key: K. I. M. = Kenyan Institute of Management
M. T. A. C. = Management Training and Advisory Centre

lesser proportions of the courses attended by the older managers were within their own companies (either in Kenya or at affiliates overseas) than was the case with the middle and younger age groupings. However, the Kenya Institute of Management and the Management Training and Advisory Centre were used more for younger managers than the older ones, their better education and suitability to absorb the material presumably being the main factors explaining this. "Other" institutions, which included the Kenya Institute of Administration (favoured more by the older managers), the East African Staff College (only 12 attendances in all), Ashby-Pearce Selection, the Federation of Kenya Employers, and various others, had been attended mainly by the older managers. The managers in their thirties had attended more courses per man (2.9 each) than had the younger managers (1.8 each) or the older ones (2.5 each). However, in relation to the average length of managerial experience within each group (2.2 years for the younger managers, and 3.5 years and 5.6 years for the middle and older groups respectively), the Table shows that the youngest group went on .82 courses per year of managerial experience, the middle group .83 (almost identical), and the older group .45 courses per managerial year. There is an obvious gap between the managers over 40 years and the rest which may be explained by one of two suppositions, (a) that their companies thought they are too old for this form of training, or (b) that their poorer educational record (Table 7.4) caused their employers to feel that coursework training would not be fully beneficial to them. The latter explanation seems the more plausible.

The amount of time spent on training courses is consistent with age and experience. Table 8.2, besides indicating that about half (80) of the total sample had only received 4 weeks or less coursework training experience, shows that the younger managers had averaged nearly 8 weeks overall, the middle group managers over 10 weeks each, and the older managers 13.5 weeks. However, the reverse effect applied when coursework time per year of : managerial experience was observed, with the younger managers showing that they had received 3.6 weeks of coursework per managerial year, the middle group nearly 3 weeks, and the older group only 2.4 weeks.

TABLE 8.2

LENGTH OF TIME SPENT ON TRAINING COURSES BY AGE GROUPINGS OF THE MANAGERS

| Age / Time (weeks) | 20-29 years No. | 30-39 years No. | Over 40 years No. | Total No. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| None | 9 | 12 | 6 | 27 |
| Less than 5 weeks | 17 | 28 | 8 | 53 |
| 5 - 9 weeks | 7 | 23 | 10 | 40 |
| 10 or more weeks | 14 | 30 | 15 | 59 |
| Total | 47 | 93 | 39 | 179 |
| Average time per manager (weeks) | 7.9 | 10.2 | 13.5 | 10.3 |
| Average managerial experience (yrs) | 2.2 | 3.5 | 5.6 | 3.7 |
| Average time per managerial year (weeks) | 3.6 | 2.9 | 2.4 | 2.8 |

The trends are towards youth. It was the younger managers who were receiving more time and attention on management training than the older groups, and were attending as many or more courses than managers older than themselves. Providing that the quality of the courses is satisfactory, this is a healthy state of affairs so long as certain other considerations are also met - i.e., that the older managers should have made up their deficiencies in this respect, or should be allowed to do so, by gaining thorough practical experience. However, the evaluations made by the managers of their coursework varied inversely with the length of time spent on them, with the younger managers rating courses for present job value at 4.21, the middle group at 4.38, and the older managers at 4.42. In respect of future development needs, the ratings were 3.97, 4.39 and 4.15 respectively, thus giving the impression that the younger managers thought less of their training than the others, despite the fact that they were getting the lion's share of it. The reasons for their relative caution may only be guessed at; perhaps their personal standards were higher, perhaps their lack of business experience gave them an unreal set of criteria, perhaps their higher educational standards led them to expect more from management training courses than they were actually getting.

A second rather depressing revelation is that the older managers did not appear to have compensated for their lack of coursework training with longer and more thorough on-the-job training. The degree of depth or thoroughness is not recorded here, although previous analysis of company development schemes has revealed shortcomings in this respect, but certainly the data in Table 8.3 do not support any evidence of longer practical training experience. The younger managers will be observed to have had more than twice as much organised practical experience training

TABLE 8.3

LENGTH OF TIME SPENT ON ON-THE-JOB TRAINING
BY AGE GROUPINGS OF MANAGERS

| Time (months) \ Age | 20-29 years | 30-39 years | Over 40 years | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | No. | No. | No. |
| None | 16 | 42 | 24 | 82 |
| 1-6 months | 7 | 6 | 0 | 13 |
| 7-12 months | 2 | 10 | 4 | 16 |
| More than 12 months | 21 | 25 | 6 | 52 |
| No information given | 1 | 10 | 5 | 16 |
| Total | 47 | 93 | 39 | 179 |
| Average training time per manager (excluding those with no information) | 12.5 months | 10.5 months | 5.6 months | 10.0 months |

than the older ones. These young executives in their twenties had received a total average of 12.5 months each spent on on-the-job training, the managers in their thirties 10.5 months each on average, and the managers aged over forty only 5.6 months each. In all, 82 respondees (nearly 46 per cent) claimed that they had never received any formal on-the-job preparation for management. Of the 97 who had, 16 did not provide sufficient detail to enable its length to be recorded, and the remaining 81 had undertaken a variety of programmes, ranging from overseas secondments of up to 2 years in length, to working in special "assistant-to" positions, to undergoing formalised job rotation. In only a limited number of organisations were these seen to be carefully planned training programmes, and it was more common for such training to be arranged on an individual or ad hoc basis.

A summary of the overall sample, noting the trends indicated by the age sub-groups, reveals that the amount of management training in Kenya is on the increase, and that more time and attention are being devoted to the basic preparation and development of the younger managers. This applies both to their coursework training off the job, as well as to their on-the-job development. The comparatively low rating given to their training by the younger managers is probably a reflection of their higher standards and expectations brought about by higher educational standards. It is also unfortunate that the older managers had not received the training attention that their experience might have warranted, but again, their lack of educational attainment seemed to have blunted their chances of having much investment put into them at this stage.

Comparison with Other Studies

It is not possible to make direct comparisons between this managerial group and others, since few of the other studies seem to have undertaken the same detailed analysis of coursework and on-the-job training as was the case with the Kenyan work. However, Clark (1966) noted that 363 of his 818 British managers (44.5 per cent) had been on a management training course of some kind, and that the proportion of managers receiving such training declined from the younger to the older age groups. He observed that nearly half of those trained had been trained on company or industry courses, and his 44.5 per cent figure compares closely with the

49.1 per cent appertaining in the Kenyan sample.

Clements' study of British managers (1958) is basically an analysis of managers according to their career pattern of which he identified six different types. The Crown Prince was defined as the manager who was a member of the family owning the firm, and managers in this classification had received an education and life-style which was wholly concerned with orienting them towards the assumption of leadership and responsibility in adult life. Nearly all experienced a period of about two years formal or informal training on joining the family business, usually designed to give them an understanding of the branches of activity in the firm rather than to impart any fundamental knowledge of specialist areas or techniques. The ex-Managerial Trainees, who developed as a group after the Second World War, were nearly all graduates who had entered the sales or commercial side of business as trainees, and who demonstrated mixed views on training according to who had given it them. Some firms had developed well-planned courses which entailed periods of time in production and commercial departments, and the managers who had undergone these felt conversant with technical knowledge although they lacked familiarity with managerial problems at this stage. The Experts trained before entering industry had usually received their technical or professional training beforehand, and had often acquired experience in their profession before going into industrial work; they thus developed an extra breadth of experience. No mention is made by Clements of management training for members of this group. Special Entrants were so-named because the start of their careers had often been settled by individual and private negotiation, and they did not fit neatly into the other categories, yet they possessed certain characteristics in common. The training they had received was valued by them, and had usually been of about three years' duration, often including vocational evening classes. Their training had gradually merged into a real job, and though lacking higher educational qualifications they had developed specialisations which often ensured that they reached comfortable positions in the middle and upper regions of management. The managers who had risen from the bottom Clements divided into two categories based on educational differences; those who had left school with a school leaving certificate were an older group who had not experienced formal training schemes. Many of them had acquired qualifications through part-time studies, but most of their training had been on-the-job. Those without School Certificate, again a fairly senior group in terms of age, had typically started their careers in manual work and it had taken them about twenty years to get into management. They had little education, few had qualifications of a technical or professional nature, and they had built their careers on long service, long experience, and proficiency in their field, and they felt keenly about the importance of their practical training, "not relative to a university course, not to a good management training scheme, but relative to other sources of knowledge that were open to them."[3] However, they also felt that lack of education or training in specific fields had been a major stumbling block in their paths.

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3. Clements, 1958, op. cit., p. 75.

Clements' study is valuable for the insight it provides into the careers of managers by these categories, categories which mirrored the British social class system in industry. His work, apart from dealing with the broader ramifications of training as it influenced types of career development, does not deal especially with the off-the-job training, nor the type and duration of management courses received, and as such does not enable direct comparisons to be made with the Kenyan data.

Three leading students of American business managers (Warner and Abegglen, 1955, and Wright Mills, 1956) have not dwelt in detail on management training, although Warner and Abegglen did comment on the increasing modern development of individual company training programmes,

> "admitting only the graduates of certain selected colleges into that program, and using it as the primary source of executive recruitment. To the extent that these programs are closed off to men from the factory or the office, or are limited to graduates of colleges or universities difficult of access to men from lower status backgrounds, the effect of these training programs may well be to reduce the amount of occupational mobility into American business in the future."[4]

It would appear that, on current evidence, the Kenyan management training environment corresponds more closely to British activity than to American, with the Kenyan managers falling into defined categories akin to, but less stratified than, those found in Britain. Initially there are the managerial trainee and special entrant categories which are reserved primarily for the younger and better educated managers, and then there is that for

4. Warner & Abegglen, "Big Business Leaders in America", N.Y. Harper & Row, 1955, p. 39.

the older managers who are less well-educated and who, in the main, rose up the ranks from the bottom. Superficially, their training seems to have a consistent identity, although those with more education received proportionally more training than the others. However, what this study provides, and the others do not, is an analysis of the training of the managers by their age grouping, by their education, function, seniority and the type of firm they were working for.

Training and Education

A fairly consistent point that was made by the spokesmen of the 39 companies in the sample was that good educational qualifications were desirable in managerial staff, and that effective Kenyanisation would be hampered until more staff possessed them. Fifteen of the spokesmen mentioned university degrees as a "strong requirement", and both Higher School Certificate and School Certificate were thought to be of value. One of the main reasons for emphasising education was the feeling that educated managers represented potential for training and development, and for this reason an analysis of training by education is necessary.

Of the 38 managers without School Certificate, 33 had received some form of in-company training. This is almost 87 per cent, and it compares with over 96 per eent (102 out of 106) for School Certificate managers, and 97 per cent (34 out of 35) for graduates. (These figures are shown in detail in Appendix L). Whereas less than one in six of the poorer-educated managers had been trained by both outside courses and on-the-job methods, nearly half of the School Certificate staff had received such training, as had nearly two-thirds of the graduates, 17 of whom had been overseas for a part of this experience.

Table 8.4 provides a summary of the number of courses the managers attended and where these were held. The educated managers (those with School Certificate and degrees) appear to have been better looked after in this respect, considering that less than 40 per cent of the non-School Certificate managers had attended company courses in Kenya and abroad, whereas around half of each of the two better-educated groups had received training courses from their own firms. Other overseas coursework training (that not provided by the companies) had been undertaken proportionally more by managers in the better-educated groups, and while the Kenyan Institute of Management (KIM) was used about equally by the two educated groups of managers, their 12-14 per cent attendance rate was more than twice that of the poorer-educated managers. This situation was approximately reversed in the case of the Management Training and Advisory Centre (MTAC) which appeared to cater more for the lesser-educated managers than it did for the educated ones. Of the 78 'Other' courses attended, 12 were at the East African Staff College and 25 at the Kenya Institute of Administration, both primarily oriented toward the public sector, but none of the EASC courses had been attended by the non-School Certificate managers, and only 5 at the KIA were attended by managers in this group.

The sum total of this coursework training experience was that the non-School Certificate managers had attended 1.7 courses each, spending a total average time of 7.7 weeks on them, which, allowing for an average managerial experience of 3.9 years, was 2 weeks per managerial year. The School Certificate managers averaged 3.1

TABLE 8.4

NUMBER OF MANAGEMENT COURSES ATTENDED, BY TRAINING INSTITUTION AND EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

| Education / Institution | No School Certificate | | School Certificate | | Degree | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Company Institutions (Kenya.) | 20 | 31.8 | 124 | 43.2 | 41 | 41.0 | 185 | 41.1 |
| Company Institutions (Overseas) | 5 | 7.9 | 21 | 7.3 | 10 | 10.0 | 36 | 8.0 |
| Overseas (non-Company) | 5 | 7.9 | 35 | 12.2 | 15 | 15.0 | 55 | 12.2 |
| K. I. M. | 4 | 6.4 | 40 | 13.9 | 12 | 12.0 | 56 | 12.5 |
| M. T. A. C. | 7 | 11.1 | 29 | 10.1 | 4 | 4.0 | 40 | 8.9 |
| Other | 22 | 34.9 | 38 | 13.3 | 18 | 18.0 | 78 | 17.3 |
| Total Number of Courses | 63 | 100.0 | 287 | 100.0 | 100 | 100.0 | 450 | 100.0 |
| Number of Managers | 38 | | 106 | | 35 | | 179 | |
| Number of Courses per Manager | 1.7 | | 2.7 | | 2.9 | | 2.5 | |
| Average Time on Courses (weeks) | 7.7 | | 11.6 | | 9.3 | | 10.3 | |
| Average Managerial Experience (manager)(yrs) | 3.9 | | 3.7 | | 3.3 | | 3.7 | |
| Training weeks per Managerial years | 2.0 | | 3.1 | | 2.8 | | 2.8 | |

Key: K. I. M. = Kenyan Institute of Management

M. T. A. C. = Management Training and Advisory Centre

weeks per managerial year for a total of 2.7 courses each, and the graduate managers averaged 2.8 weeks per managerial year on 2.9 courses each. Their total average number of courses was highest at 2.9, but their average total time was slightly less because of their younger average age, and so was the length of their managerial experience. It may be that the graduates are perhaps too busy in their early managerial years being involved with formal on-the-job training and other responsibilities to spend too much time away from their jobs on courses.

This would appear to be substantiated from the evidence of Table 8.5, which shows the amount of on-the-job training time reported by the managers. The graduates averaged over 13 months each, against just over 11 months for the School Certificate managers, and only 3.6 months per man for the (older) poorer-educated managers. Perhaps it is good practice for the educated

TABLE 8.5

LENGTH OF TIME SPENT ON ON-THE-JOB TRAINING BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

| Education / Time (months) | No School Certificate | School Certificate | Degree | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | No. | No. | No. |
| None | 25 | 46 | 11 | 82 |
| 1-6 months | 1 | 7 | 5 | 13 |
| 7-12 months | 3 | 9 | 4 | 16 |
| More than 12 months | 3 | 36 | 13 | 52 |
| No information | 6 | 8 | 2 | 16 |
| Total | 38 | 106 | 35 | 179 |
| Average training time per manager (excluding no information) | 3.6 months | 11.1 months | 13.1 months | 10.0 months |

group to be given the lion's share of this type of training, since almost by definition they are later-entrant managers who have not yet acquired the solid basis of practical experience that the less educated managers have attained. A longer on-the-job training can help to fill in the gaps left by this relative lack of experience and may assist in preparing the candidates for management. On the other hand it would seem that the educationally poorer-qualified managers could well benefit from a form of specialist pre-managerial on-the-job training which might help them to overcome those educational shortcomings still remaining and assist in giving them greater confidence to face managerial responsibility.

It seems that the amount of time spent on managerial training is dictated or determined by educational level. This evidence reinforces the earlier point that companies are willing to train the educated and 'trainable' staff for management, but in the process of doing this they are neglecting a large number of the poorer-educated managers who could undoubtedly benefit from more training especially geared to their needs, and aimed at overcoming their current shortcomings. On the evidence that those managers without School Certificate had only attended 1.7 courses each during an average career of 17.2 years (i.e. one course every ten years), and that the graduates had attended 2.9 courses each over a career span of 7.5 years (one every two and a half years) this seems to be not an unreasonable point to make. In addition, the less-educated staff spent less time on courses, and many of them had not spent any time at all, and they were more likely to have received little or no on-the-job training either. Of the training they had undertaken, little of it was at the 'prestige' institutions, and it was more likely to have been held at the smaller-scale institutions or providers (such as Ashby-Pearce, or training within industry courses). It is thought that more use could have been made of courses of this kind for such members of staff, and that more use could have been made of the MTAC. Certainly, it appears that the educated group are receiving their training at the expense of the rest, and whilst one does not begrudge them what they do get, it may be that this concentration on one group and virtual neglect of the other is furthering the division between these two groups of managers. The evaluations made of their course-work training by the managers (Table 8.6) probably reflect this situation to a limited extent.

Initially, it will be observed that all groups rated their training as being of more use to their current work than it was to their future development (which may imply an emphasis on the learning of skills rather than the provision of 'mind-broadening' courses), with the exception of the graduates who placed equal value on them. The non-School Certificate managers evaluated their training less highly than the other two groups, while the graduates fell in second place behind the School Certificate managers. It may be that these evaluations are related directly to the amount of time spent on coursework per managerial year (see Table 8.4) because their rank order is exact, but it is more probable that the graduates were merely more critical, being more highly educated and probably expecting more. If this is the case, it will be noted that the non-School Certificate managers were the

TABLE 8.6

EVALUATION OF TRAINING COURSES RECEIVED, FOR PRESENT JOB AND FUTURE DEVELOPMENT, BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

| Evaluation / Education | | No School Certificate | | School Certificate | | Degree | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Present | Future | Present | Future | Present | Future | Present | Future |
| Very High | (5) | 11 | 6 | 53 | 32 | 13 | 14 | 77 | 52 |
| High | (4) | 14 | 17 | 29 | 50 | 13 | 12 | 56 | 79 |
| Average | (3) | 1 | 4 | 6 | 7 | 5 | 4 | 12 | 15 |
| Low | (2) | 0 | 0 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 5 | 5 |
| Very Low | (1) | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| No Information | - | - | - | 1 | 1 | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| | | 27 | 27 | 93 | 93 | 32 | 32 | 152 | 152 |
| Total Score | | 115 | 110 | 407 | 387 | 134 | 134 | 656 | 631 |
| Average Score | | 4.26 | 4.07 | 4.42 | 4.21 | 4.19 | 4.19 | 4.34 | 4.18 |
| Average Integrated Score | | 4.17 | | 4.27 | | 4.19 | | 4.26 | |

most critical, and in the light of their experience they had just cause to be so.

Training and Present Job Function

Previous examination of the social and educational backgrounds of the managers according to their job function has indicated that Production staff stand somewhat apart from their Marketing and Financial colleagues. The evidence presented below confirms that, in respect of their training, the Production managerial staff remain a poor relation of the more elite white-collar managers from the commercial functions. Initially, it will be seen that (see Appendix M) managers from Marketing and Finance and Accounting have been better served by training in that all of them have received some form of it, while 8 per cent (4 managers out of 49) of the Production managers and nearly 14 per cent (3 out of 22) of the Personnel managers have received none. Of those managers in Production who had been trained formally (45), most (41) had been trained by their current organisations, more so, in fact, than staff from other functions, and a higher percentage of them (nearly 39 per cent) had been overseas for at least a part of this training at some point. In respect of Production operations, this makes good sense - while commercial operations may be fairly easily learned on the spot, technical training is often best carried out where the equipment and expertise are available for specialised training purposes, and this is often in the West. It is of interest to note that none of the Personnel managers claimed to have done any formal on-the-job training, and only one Marketing manager said this applied to him, whereas 6 Production managers had undergone this form of preparation.

Table 8.7 shows that the Production managers had undertaken a smaller number of courses per man (2.4) than managers in the other functions, although those in the miscellaneous group 'Other' had done only 1.6 courses each. Marketing staff, with 3.6 courses per manager, and Personnel with 2.9 courses per manager, had experienced most, although the balance of their courses varied, with the Marketing staff tending to attend training courses run by their own firms and the Personnel managers using outside facilities such as the KIM and the MTAC as well as the KIA. The East African Staff College (categorised under 'Other') had been used relatively extensively by managers from Finance and Accounting (5 managers out of 36 had been there) who accounted for nearly half of its 12 courses attended by managers in the sample.

The length of time spent on courses corresponds fairly closely to the number of courses attended. Marketing, Personnel, and Finance and Accounting managers, who had attended the highest number of courses each, had also spent most time on them, although the Personnel managers averaged the highest (over 15 weeks), with Finance, Accounting and Marketing about equal at just over 12 weeks each. In terms of their managerial experience, the Personnel staff were spending about four and a half weeks each on managerial training for each year as a manager, Finance and Accounting executives over three and a half weeks each, and Marketing managers two and a half weeks each. The Production managers had benefited least, having only attended 2.4 courses each, involving a total time of about eight and a half weeks, which was only two weeks per managerial year.

TABLE 8.7

NUMBER OF MANAGEMENT COURSES ATTENDED, BY TRAINING INSTITUTION AND JOB FUNCTION

| Function / Place | Production | | Marketing | | Personnel | | Finance/ Accounting | | Other | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Company Institutions (Kenya ) | 58 | 48.3 | 62 | 53.9 | 4 | 6.3 | 44 | 49.4 | 17 | 27.0 | 185 | 41.1 |
| Company Institutions (Overseas) | 10 | 8.3 | 10 | 8.7 | 3 | 4.8 | 9 | 10.1 | 4 | 6.4 | 36 | 8.0 |
| Overseas (non-Company) | 18 | 15.0 | 9 | 7.8 | 9 | 14.3 | 13 | 14.6 | 6 | 9.5 | 55 | 12.2 |
| K. I. M. | 9 | 7.5 | 8 | 7.0 | 17 | 27.0 | 6 | 6.7 | 16 | 25.4 | 56 | 12.5 |
| M. T. A. C. | 10 | 8.3 | 4 | 3.5 | 13 | 20.6 | 7 | 7.9 | 6 | 9.5 | 40 | 8.9 |
| Other | 15 | 12.5 | 22 | 19.1 | 17 | 27.0 | 10 | 11.2 | 14 | 22.2 | 78 | 17.3 |
| Total Number of Courses | 120 | | 115 | | 63 | | 89 | | 63 | | 450 | |
| Number of Managers | 49 | | 32 | | 22 | | 36 | | 40 | | 179 | |
| Courses per Manager | 2.4 | | 3.6 | | 2.9 | | 2.5 | | 1.6 | | 2.5 | |
| Average Course time per manager (weeks) | 8.7 | | 12.1 | | 15.1 | | 12.2 | | 6.6 | | 10.3 | |
| Managerial Experience (years) | 4.4 | | 4.9 | | 3.4 | | 3.3 | | 2.6 | | 3.7 | |
| Training weeks per managerial year | 2.0 | | 2.5 | | 4.4 | | 3.7 | | 2.5 | | 2.8 | |

<u>Key</u>: K. I. M. = Kenyan Institute of Management

M. T. A. C. = Management Training and Advisory Centre

Once again, it may be expected that deficiencies in coursework training would have been compensated by on-the-job training, but this was not always the case. Certainly, the Personnel staff, who had done most coursework, had received the least amount of on-the-job training at 5.5 months only (see Table 8.8), but the expectation did not hold good for the Production staff, who had received an average of just over 9 months training. This was less than that of the Marketing managers (at 10.3 months) and the Financial and Accounting managers (12.4 months each), both of whom had attended more courses and spent more time on them than the Production managers.

Managerial evaluations of training (shown in detail in Appendix M) show that the Marketing staff were the most satisfied, with a combined rating for current work and future development of 4.35, and Production and Finance and Accounting staff were the least satisfied (at 4.18).

The evidence confirms that, in general, the Production managers received less training attention than managers in Marketing, Personnel, and Finance and Accounting, in terms of the number of courses they had been on, the amount of time they had spent on them, and the length of time they had devoted to on-the-job training. However, they had been the recipients of more training from their own concerns (nearly 57 per cent had been on company-provided courses) than had the managers in other functions, and this may well have been beneficial in the sense that their own companies would have had a more realistic idea of their needs. The Personnel managers had come off worst in this respect (only

TABLE 8.8

LENGTH OF TIME SPENT ON ON-THE-JOB TRAINING, BY JOB FUNCTION

| Function / Time (months) | Production | Marketing | Personnel | Finance/ Accounting | Other | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. |
| None | 23 | 14 | 15 | 11 | 19 | 82 |
| 1 - 6 months | 5 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 13 |
| 7 - 12 months | 4 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 16 |
| More than 12 months | 11 | 8 | 4 | 16 | 13 | 52 |
| No Information | 6 | 4 | 0 | 2 | 4 | 16 |
| Total | 49 | 32 | 22 | 36 | 40 | 179 |
| Average training time per manager (excluding no information)(months) | 9.2 | 10.3 | 5.5 | 12.4 | 11.2 | 10.0 |

11 per cent had been on company-run programmes), and it could be that this lack of company training has a bearing on their evaluation rating. A rank correlation coefficient for evaluation against company training was 0.825.

Why Marketing managers should receive so much training attention is a matter for some speculation. The function, in its modern form, is relatively new, and this is certainly the case in Kenya, where it is obviously thought that local managers need training in its techniques. These techniques, which form the basis of a complex exercise in psychology, economics, statistics and administration, are taught for the purpose of analysing consumer needs, working out the most efficient means of distribution, understanding the market and the product, devising pricing policies, and calculating how best to maintain advertising impact. The question of how relevant these currently are to Kenya's managers is something else, as a strong case may be made for stating that there is little or no Kenyan marketing, only distribution. For many products and services, the markets are already in existence, there is limited competition, and the problems revolve around how to make enough products and get them out to the consumers. Where an element of competition does occur, as in petroleum marketing, the market analyses, advertising programmes, and basic decisions are often made in the head offices overseas. The current emphasis, therefore, on the recruitment and training of sophisticated staff in sophisticated methods may be more of a desire to appear modern than be modern, and rather than being a preparation for the handing over of full marketing authority to local management the policy may only succeed in breeding a generation of frustrated executives in the future.

Training and Managerial Status

Very often, training precedes promotion, either directly or indirectly. The practice in many organisations is for managers who have been selected for advancement to be sent on courses and programmes before their elevation so that they are familiar with new skills, abilities and responsibilities that will be called upon in their new posts. Not all training is for this purpose, because new techniques hit the managerial market from time to time, because managers will require refresher training at certain periods, and because existing jobs change in character so that new techniques need to be employed by incumbent managerial staff. However, it can be reasonably expected that those managers who have advanced up the organisational hierarchy will have had correspondingly more training than their more junior colleagues.

This supposition is largely born out in the Kenyan sample. Whereas only 85 per cent of the junior managers had been formally in-company trained, 97 per cent of the middle managers and 94 per cent of the senior managers had undergone some form of this. Over half (27 out of 52) of the senior managers had received some part of their training overseas, compared to a quarter of the middle managers and only 15 per cent of the junior managerial staff. The senior executives had also attended more courses, spending more time on them, and had completed more on-the-job training than had the less senior groups. Detailed information relating to the number of courses and their length, and the amount of time spent on on-the-job training is to be found in Appendix N.

A summary of the main facts pertaining to managerial training by status shows that the junior managers had attended 1.3 courses each, the middle managers 2.4 on average each, and the most senior managers in the sample 3.3 courses per man, with an average attendance time of 3.3 weeks, 10.1 weeks, and 14.4 weeks respectively. The average amount of training time for each year of managerial rank also increased with rising status; the junior managers averaged 1.3 weeks training per managerial year, the middle managers 3 weeks, and the senior staff over 3 weeks. On-the-job training showed the same trend, with junior staff averaging a career total of 6.5 months each, middle managers 10 months each, and the senior managers just less than a year spent per man on this type of formalised training.

The satisfaction levels with training were not quite consistent. The junior managers indicated a score (of the worth of training for their current jobs and their future development combined) of 4.18, the middle managers 4.11, and the senior managers 4.31.

There is good reason, therefore, to believe that in respect of training for higher responsibility and authority, the companies are aware of their obligations. At the same time, it is perhaps curious that junior management should appear to be so neglected since their initial entry into management rank would surely demand a degree of preparation for the role. The facts seem to indicate that unless one is a graduate, or at least fairly well-educated, training follows promotion rather than precedes it.

Training by Type of Company

It has been shown that most of the training received by the managers in the sample at the time of the survey had been from their current employers; 140 managers (78 per cent of the group) had received training only from their present firms, and a further 18 (10 per cent) had been trained by previous employers as well as the present ones. A detailed breakdown of the training data by company size, status, and sector may be found in Appendices O, P and Q, though the main details are summarised below.

The larger the firm for which the manager was working, the more likely he was to have received some form of in-company training (see Appendix O), although the managers in the medium concerns stood more chances of having received this training from a previous employer rather than their current one. There was also more likelihood of managers having received overseas training if they were employed by medium-sized or the larger firms. However, a breakdown of the courses attended by size of the employing firm shows that the smaller concerns provided more of their own courses (56 per cent of those attended in this group) than did the medium-sized organisations (nearly 55 per cent) or the larger ones (just over 40 per cent). This may be slightly surprising, given previous claims that the larger organisations are more likely to have the facilities to run their own programmes than are the medium and small firms. However, the results of the large organisations (and there were only 7 of them) are adversely weighted by the inclusion of two firms who had relied almost exclusively on outside training for the coursework they have provided.

Analysis of the training data by the ownership of the companies confirms that previous comments on multi-national concerns and their ability to encourage and finance managerial training were largely correct. Of the courses attended by their managers, 69 per cent were company-provided; this was the case with only 38 per cent of the courses attended by managers from subsidiary concerns and 30 per cent of those attended by managers from local organisations. The multi-national corporation managers had also received more in-company training than other managers (98 per cent of the multi-national managers were trained against 92-93 per cent of those in subsidiary and local concerns).

Analysis by sector reveals that slightly more managers from the public sector had undergone in-company training (98 per cent) than was the case with private sector managers. However, the private sector organisations had run a higher percentage of their own courses (56 per cent of those attended by managers in this group) than had the public concerns (just over 27 per cent).

Of the number of training courses attended per manager, the medium-sized companies had the highest rate of attendance, at 2.9 courses for each manager, while the managers in large concerns had only been on 2.4 courses each, and those in the small concerns 1.7 each. However, the managers in the bigger firms had obviously been on longer courses because they averaged a total course duration time of 12.5 weeks each, as opposed to just over 10 weeks for managers in medium-sized organisations, and only 5.5 weeks for those in the small concerns. The managers in the multi-national concerns had attended an average of 3.9 courses each, and had spent over 11 weeks per man on them, whereas those in the local concerns had been on 2.1 courses per man for 10.6 weeks, and the subsidiary company managers had only been on 1.6 courses for 8.6 weeks each. Staff in the public and private sectors averaged the same course attendance, at 3.5 per manager, but the time spent on them was greater for the public sector managers who averaged over 13 weeks against only 9 for those in the private sector.

On-the-job training was found to be longer in the large concerns, the multi-national corporations and the public sector corporations. Managers in multi-national concerns had spent an average of over 15 months on this type of training (in the subsidiaries, the managers only averaged just over 5 months), managers in the large concerns 13 months (only 6.2 months in the smaller concerns), and just over 10 months for those in the public sector.

The evaluation made by the managers showed little significance when analysed by type of concern; in most cases they were around 4.2, although it is worth recording that the multi-national managers were more favourably disposed, and showed an evaluation score of 4.4.

Summary

The material analysed and evaluated in this chapter has been largely concerned with the amount of training of different types received by the managers in the sample. There has been little qualitative assessment of this training. To have undertaken a qualitative assessment would have involved a separate study and resources, although at no time was it the intention to provide an in-depth evaluation of management training in Kenya, but merely to make a general assessment of the facilities available and how much support they received from the business community. It is clear from what has already been noted in Chapter V that the sample companies varied widely in their attitudes and policies towards management training, from those who demonstrated little interest in the concept at all, to those who possessed developed training objectives, means of assessment, and the means and expertise to fulfil the objectives.

There was a fairly high degree of readiness for companies to provide their own training, and half of the courses attended by the sample managers had been run by their own companies, either at home or overseas. The other half were provided by the various training institutions in Kenya, or in a number of cases, institutions abroad. The four leading local training institutions (KIM, KIA, MTAC, and EASC) were recorded as having been attended 133 times by the managers in the sample indicating that just less than 30 per cent of the course attendance was located there. The problem with these institutions, apart from the fact that one of them (KIA) was specifically geared up towards public sector training, is that they were concentrating on providing 'package' training, that is, standardised courses on certain managerial or administrative themes. Such a practice has a certain value, but is not likely to have much immediate impact on managerial practice. Schaffer (1974) notes that administrative training institutes are 'comparatively isolated and marginal creatures on the edges of machineries of government', and the same might be said of the training institutions for the private sector. He goes on to remark,

> "Yet they are to be institutions, permanent not short-run, complex not specialised, many-membered and therefore multi-interested .... For all institutions life is mainly a matter of routine. One key problem for any administrative training institute becomes how, without too great a fuss, worry and cost, it can secure its supply of trainees, put on its courses, teach its sessions, get its material and answer its correspondence. There is a vast gap between this and the doctrines which brought the administrative training institutions to life."

Add to these difficulties of adjustment and administration the support and leadership problems of Kenyan bodies like the MTAC and the KIM, and the difficulties of retaining high-calibre local training staff who are often seduced into the private sector by the promise of higher rewards, and the whole future of the value of such training for Kenyan management is thrown into doubt.

Although the company spokesmen were favourably disposed towards the KIM, apparently more so than to the KIA ('too identified with the public sector') and the MTAC ('courses too long' and 'courses too theoretical'), their main support seemed to lie mainly with their own on-the-job training and their own course training programmes. No objective evaluations of these were obtained, although it must be observed in their favour that company courses, while lacking the broadening effect of participant contact with outside personnel, do often provide a social setting and atmosphere which may be more conducive towards effective results. They are more likely to be geared towards the specific needs of the individual organisation, there is greater chance of accurate feedback afterwards, and as the participants are all from the same organisation they may be better-motivated to put their new skills into practice subsequently, since they are in an environment where they will be understood.

The sample managers were not particularly critical of their training; one gained the impression from the interviews that they expected training to be provided for them, and that as long as they attended courses from time to time they were satisfied with what their employers were doing for them. They were grateful for what they got, and as a result had not developed a critical approach towards the content or method of their training.

There did seem to be an element of complacency in existence - the companies were satisfied with the training they were providing, and the managers with what they were getting, and given the nature of this study and its limitations, it was therefore difficult to provide more criticism of their methods other than what has been touched upon above. However, it is possible, within the main framework of the research objectives, to comment in final summary form upon the amount of training received by the managers in the sample.

The trend towards more training for the newer and younger managers is evident, as is that of the provision of more training for the educated managers than the less well-educated ones. In this, one observes the self-reinforcement of the educated to a certain extent; the men in control of recruitment and selection, who are fairly-well educated themselves, are perpetuating the use of educational entry requirements into management by selecting staff largely on the possession of degrees, diplomas and certificates which in themselves have no relevance for the practice of management. This is a process which has been increasing in the West and in other industrialising countries. The poorer-educated managers are getting less and less opportunity to make it to the top, and in the Kenyan sample only 4 managers who were without School Certificate had made the senior ranks - one of these was under 30 years old, and was employed by one of the smaller concerns in the sample survey. The number who come up by the same road in the future will probably be very few indeed, and it seems that training for the educated only is the watchword of the future.

The amount of training received according to the function performed was also significant. The status differential between the white-collar functions of Marketing and Finance on the one hand, and the blue-collar one of Production on the other extends through into training, in that the former receives more than the latter, while managers in the Personnel function fall somewhere in-between, with head office Personnel staff proving to be better-educated and trained than their older colleagues in the smaller concerns who perform the more grass roots functions of record keeping and union negotiation.

Training by status level (or seniority) shows that the managers in the middle and senior levels have received a certain amount of attention, but there has been a surprising neglect of junior management; this could be explained by the fact that many of these juniors are relatively less well-educated. This may be an oversight in the long-run development of Kenyan management and the development of local managerial practice. One of the current features of Kenyan development already remarked upon is the widening gap between the mass of the poor and the minority controlling elite of which the managers are a part. A failure to encourage and train those managers whose social and educational backgrounds are similar to those of their workers may well destroy an important communications link between management and its workers. The managers, increasingly selected and developed according to a particular social and educational background may eventually talk a language exclusive to themselves, and will have little or nothing in common with those over whom they have authority. It is a trend that has developed in Britain, with potentially disastrous results, and in Kenya it may well yield similar results in that the effectiveness of organisational communications, industrial relations, and managerial practice will be reduced.

# CHAPTER IX

## CAREER DEVELOPMENT AND PROGRESS

### INTRODUCTION

The material analysed in the previous three chapters has been related to the social and educational backgrounds of the Kenyan managers and the training they have received for their managerial jobs. In Chapter VI the significant relationship between social origins and career factors (job function and managerial status) was pointed out. In Chapter VII it was observed that education was the medium exerting the strongest influence on career development in that it was the managers from the higher social backgrounds who were best educated and therefore most likely to occupy the choice white-collar managerial positions. In Chapter VIII the information relating to the training of the managers supported the hypothesis of functional elitism, and it was observed that it was the younger and better-educated managers who were receiving most training both on and off the job.

The discussion so far strengthens the notion of an elite stratum within the managerial body, a stratum which has originated from a higher social class, has received a better education, and has enjoyed the benefits of more thorough training. It is now hypothesised that, as this elite is identified with certain white-collar commercial job functions, it is the white-collar jobs which are linked most closely with seniority, and that the privileged managers with the better backgrounds are those who have experienced greater mobility in their careers and made quickest progress towards senior posts.

To discuss the concept of 'career' is to discuss how a person uses his life in the working and occupational sense. In modern society work is something which is usually carried out as a separate activity apart from the domestic and leisure aspects of a person's life, and is performed away from the home in most cases. An occupation is something which has been variously described as "that specific activity with a market value which an individual pursues for the purpose of obtaining a steady flow of income" (Salz, 1944); as "not some particular set of activities; ... (but) ... the part of the individual in any ongoing set of activities. The system may be large or small, simple or complex" (Hughes 1965); and as "whatever an individual spends most of his time doing ... the major focus of a person's activities and usually of his thoughts" (Roe 1956). As Salz also observed, occupational activity "also determines the social position of the individual." From the individual's point of view, 'career' is a wider concept than 'occupation', and takes into account the past and the future as well as the present, and while it often implies, in Krause's (1971) phrase, "a graduated sequence of ever-increasing responsibilities, within an occupation, a profession, or an organisation, with recognized and known signposts along the way", it is also possible to speak of blue-collar careers, or working class ones, certainly in the sense of job continuity. Some careers, particularly professional and executive ones, are cumulative, in the sense that previous experience adds value to the career and to future opportunities (Treanton 1960). A career has a start, when occupational life is commenced, it has direction - upwards, downwards, and sideways - which implies mobility, change and progress, and it ultimately reaches its termination in retirement.

The careers of the Kenyan managers are discussed in the context of the 'profession' of management, that is, in terms of a group of individuals making their way through life within the chosen medium of management. Their careers will be examined in respect of their starting points, their rate of progress towards the current status of the managers at the time of the interviews, and the extent of their mobility between functions and organisations. The objective of this examination, by presenting the relevant details, is to make comparisons with the careers of managers in other studies, and to note the extent to which careers vary between different types of managers.

## Career Theories

Much of modern society, particularly in the industrialised West, is an employee society. Work is a central part of life, it it usually necessary for survival, and most individuals engage in some form of work activity. Such work is often carried out within organisations of some kind where individuals perform their activities in return for the payment of money by the organisation. Many previous studies of careers, to which references will be made, have been studies of occupations undertaken to provide further information about the society in which people operate. The purpose of such studies has been to examine not only the various types of occupation existing in the social system at any one time (Hall 1969), but to provide an analysis of the manner in which the occupational system interacts and adjusts with the balance of the social system (Hall 1969), sometimes by noting how changes in society affect career opportunities and job recruitment (Krause 1971). Previous studies have also made an examination of the relationship between the occupational structure and society from the opposing viewpoint in the sense of identifying the nature of the occupation's relation to the society at large, that is, its function within society and its contribution to it (Krause 1971). "A knowledge of the occupational structure and of the conditions that govern men's chances of achieving economic success by moving up in the occupational hierarchy is, therefore, essential for understanding modern society, and particularly, its stratified character" note Blau and Duncan (1967).

Krause sees further benefits of such study in providing an answer to the question of the nature of an individual's relationship to his occupation or profession. This is a question that demands a knowledge of individuals and the extent to which they create their own occupation or allow the occupation to create, or re-create them, as it socialises them into their roles. He also observes that occupational study may be valuable in judging whether occupations or professions mediate between the individual and the wider society, whether they socialise the individual in conformity and acquiescence, or whether they act as a power lever with which individuals may change the system.

In more specific terms there have been a number of studies of careers and occupations within a more limited environment. McClelland (1967) showed interest in career patterns and organisational manpower needs for the purpose of building an effective management education bridge between the two. He noted the basic incompatibility between individuals and organisations, observing that the 'sunk costs' in individuals, as their education and experience accumulate, restrict the range of their future mobility. He also observed the 'sunk costs' of the organisation which help to determine its future, but which, unlike those of the individual, are related to an organisational life which is virtually limitless, making accurate prediction impossible. Organisational prediction must nevertheless be attempted, and the development of careers within organisations should take account of management education and training in order to achieve the best degree of fit between the individual and the organisation.

Miller and Form (1964) studied people in essentially industrial jobs to observe the interrelations between work and the social milieu within which the worker moves. Part of their study was concerned with career patterns and occupational mobility, and they were able to identify a breakdown of the periods within a career. These were five - preparation, initial work, trial work, stable work, and retirement. The initial, trial and stable periods were the most important and lengthy ones, and whereas the initial period was concerned with part-time or spasmodic work during a person's educational period, the latter two were characteristic of regular full-time working life. The trial period, from first full-time job to a more or less permanent one within ten or fifteen years of career commencement, was characterised by high mobility as the worker sought that particular job which would enable him to satisfy his needs for expression, security and recognition. The stable work period, for most people, was usually from the age of about 35 years onward to retirement, and this was the time when a worker would be employed in a more or less permanent position, would experience less occupational and residential movement, and would 'settle down'.

This picture of career pattern developed by Miller and Form identified certainly one fact of significance - the higher the echelon entered during the initial and early trial period, the more steady the resulting career pattern, i.e. the more chance a worker would have of remaining at a particular skill level. In other words, once a man became an executive he usually remained one, whereas lower white-collar workers, blue-collar workers and unskilled workers usually experienced very limited upward mobility. This finding is largely substantiated by that of Blau and Duncan (1967), who did not see career status as being necessarily governed by social origins,[1] but did note that, in conditions of heightened universalism, achieved status became more important

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1. Although Blau and Duncan acknowledge that the concept of the vicious cycle of poverty implies that growing up in a lower social stratum affects occupational chances adversely by allowing the various associated conditions (father's education, father's occupation, own education and own first job) to reinforce each other and produce cumulative adverse effects upon occupational chances, they dispute the cumulative aspect of this. "Thus a man's career is adversely affected if his father had little education, if his father's occupational status was low, and if he himself has little education. But these three influences are not cumulative ... father's low education only depresses occupational chances because it is associated with father's low occupational status and son's low education. Once these two intervening factors that mediate the influence of the father's education have been taken into account, father's education exerts no further influence on occupational achievements. The influence of father's occupational status on son's career, in turn, is in large part mediated by education, though

than ascribed status. "This does not mean that family background no longer influences careers. What it does imply is that superior status can no longer be directly inherited but must be legitimated by actual achievements that are socially acknowledged."

Clements' study of British managers (1958) identified career patterns by the nature of the managers' origins within the firm (see Chapter VIII). He saw managers' careers as reflecting a new social pattern within Britain as educational developments created social change, but observed that industry had not caught up with this change because more flexible training and experiential programmes had yet to be devised. Clark's study (1966) noted that the British educational and training environment was changing for the better, but that despite a broadening of educational opportunity British managers were increasingly coming from the narrower social background of the middle classes. Whereas in the past managers had been able to make amends for their educational disadvantages by virtue of experience, the signs were that unless entry to grammar school had been obtained, recruits would find themselves with less opportunities of achieving managerial status than their fathers had.

In all these studies the measurement of mobility used has been that of intergenerational movement, that is the difference between the background of the father and that of the son. In

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not entirely. Given such minimum cumulation, it hardly seems justified to speak of a vicious cycle for the population at large ...." R.M. Blau and O.D. Duncan, The American Occupational Structure, N.Y. Wiley, 1967, p. 404.

reviewing career progress, a different type of mobility has to be observed, that of the movement between firms and different types of job. Clements has provided a useful explanation of why career mobility is worthy of study;

> "In the conception of an 'advanced' society mobility is an important element. Evolution to a higher state of living means growth, signifying movement. A static society is regarded as moribund, or at the least dormant. In this context, therefore, mobility means many things - the movement of ideas, the growth of knowledge, change in social structure accompanied by a large measure of social mobility."[2]

Although industrial society benefits from a certain amount of mobility, it is also true that it was founded on, and is still based on, specialisation - in the organisation of processes, jobs and the administrative hierarchy. Mobility and specialisation run counter to one another in the sense that movement between jobs limits the opportunity to settle down and apply oneself in depth to the problems of a situation. The optimum balance between mobility and specialism can be extremely valuable;

> "To a point mobility makes specialists more expert for it teaches them to appreciate more easily the problems, duties and place of their own specialism in the operations of the organisation as a whole and, indeed, to know more about their own specialism - the salesman to know more about the product he sells, the works manager more about the design of his plant, the personnel manager more about the man with whom he deals."[3]

In this chapter, evidence relating to the careers of the Kenyan managers in the sample will be examined. Comparison will be made between this group and managers in other studies. It is

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2. R.V. Clements, 1958, Op.cit., p. 97.

3. Ibid., p. 98.

expected that in many respects the careers of the Kenyans will be similar to those of Western managers, although age differences and comparative rates of progress may differ in points of detail. By and large, however, it is expected that the main career hypothesis will be sustained, and that Kenyan business will be seen to be providing a Western-style career structure for its managers.

General Career Patterns

The career of an individual begins, according to Miller and Form, when full-time education ceases and he undertakes regular paid employment. Sometimes there are breaks in regular employment, as when a person returns to study for a higher educational qualification on a full-time basis. This was the case with a number of the managers in the Kenyan sample who had returned to polytechnic or university to work for diploma or degree courses after spending several years in employment.

It is possible with the data available to present an outline career profile of the Kenyan managers in the sample. The 'average' manager would have commenced his career (the masculine gender is used because all but three of the sample were men) in a full-time job at the age of about 21 years, and as he was just over 34 years of age at the time of the interviews he would have had approximately thirteen and a half years' job experience. However, six months of this time would have been taken up by late higher full-time education, so his actual working experience was, in fact, just less than thirteen years. Of this period, slightly over three and a half years was at managerial level, and the previous nine-plus years was spent in non-managerial work. The Kenyan manager reached management at the age of 30.6 years, and in the process of his career had worked for two and a half companies making 2.2 moves between jobs (because 56 managers had only worked for their current employer, these average figures appear inconsistent, but are explained by this fact). His managerial experience formed just less than 30 per cent of his total job experience, and generally he changed his employer about once in every five or six years. Since commencing his career the sample manager had experience of two operational functions, and had held about three and a half different positions within his present organisation. It was observed in the previous chapter that he had spent about 10 months receiving on-the-job training, and had attended two and a half management courses, which amounted to one of just less than 3 weeks' duration every 1.4 years.

Nearly one-fifth (31) of the managers started their careers in general administrative jobs, over ten per cent (19) in the Finance or Accounting area, or in Engineering and Technical work (19), and less than ten per cent (15) in Production. A few (4) had commenced in Marketing, but only one had started in Personnel. A considerable number had begun their working life outside industry or commerce altogether with 13 starting in teaching and 8 in government offices. As many as 43 began their careers either as qualified professionals in some field (4), as trainees of some kind (17), or as managers (22).

A breakdown of career progress according to age grouping is given in Table 9.1. This shows the tendency for the younger managers to start work at a later age, a fact that could be

TABLE 9.1

OUTLINE CAREER DETAILS OF MANAGERS BY AGE GROUPING

(EXPRESSED IN YEARS)

| | 20-29 | 30-39 | 40+ | Overall |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Age commenced work | 21.4 | 21.2 | 19.6 | 20.9 |
| Late study time (a) | 0.2 | 0.5 | 0.9 | 0.5 |
| Non-managerial work | 3.7 | 8.4 | 18.2 | 9.2 |
| Age reached management | 25.3 | 30.1 | 38.7 | 30.6 |
| Managerial experience | 2.2 | 3.5 | 5.6 | 3.7 |
| Present age | 27.5 | 33.6 | 44.3 | 34.3 |
| Total job experience | 5.9 | 11.9 | 23.8 | 12.9 |
| Managerial experience/total job experience (%) | 59 | 29 | 24 | 29 |

Note: (a) this is time spent on degree or diploma study etc. on a full-time basis involving a break in career.

explained by their better education. They also reached management at an earlier age than the other groups, becoming managers at just over 25 years compared with 30 years for the middle group, and almost 39 years for the older managers who had experienced a much longer waiting period (18.2 years) in non-managerial jobs. The older managers had more managerial experience than the other groups, but it formed a smaller proportion of their working life (24 per cent) than it did with the middle group (29 per cent) or the younger group (59 per cent). One observes the more recent tendency to push the younger managers into managerial responsibility at an earlier age and with far less non-managerial experience (3.7 years) than used to be the case (8.4 years and

18.2 years respectively for the middle and older groups). While one may acknowledge that the older managers had to wait too long for their managerial opportunity to come along, one can only hope that the shorter non-managerial experience of the younger managers has been sufficiently thorough, or at the very least has provided adequate preparation for them. It may be that is has; it has been observed that they had received more management training, both on and off the job, than their older counterparts. Certainly they had experienced a certain degree of mobility between firms (see Table 9.2), and for the relatively short duration of their working lives they had been more mobile than the middle and older

TABLE 9.2

MOBILITY OF MANAGERS BETWEEN COMPANIES
BY AGE GROUPING

| Age Group / No. of Companies | 20-29 Years | | 30-39 Years | | 40+ Years | | Overall | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| 1 Company | 23 | 48.9 | 23 | 24.7 | 10 | 25.6 | 56 | 31.3 |
| 2 Company | 13 | 27.7 | 33 | 35.5 | 11 | 28.2 | 57 | 31.8 |
| 3 Company | 5 | 10.6 | 21 | 22.6 | 2 | 5.1 | 28 | 15.6 |
| 4 Company | 5 | 10.6 | 6 | 6.4 | 5 | 12.8 | 16 | 8.9 |
| 5 Companies | 1 | 2.1 | 6 | 6.4 | 5 | 12.8 | 12 | 6.7 |
| More than 5 Companies | 0 | 0.0 | 4 | 4.3 | 6 | 15.4 | 10 | 5.6 |
| Total | 47 | 99.9 | 93 | 99.9 | 39 | 99.9 | 179 | 99.9 |
| Average no. of jobs | 1.9 | | 2.5 | | 3.2 | | 2.5 | |
| Average no. of moves | 1.7 | | 2.0 | | 3.0 | | 2.2 | |
| No. of moves/years of working experience | 0.29 | | 0.17 | | 0.13 | | 0.17 | |

managers, but this is, of course, consistent with the characteristics of Miller and Form's trial working period. Although the table shows that the younger managers have held just less than two jobs each (1.9), the middle group 2.5 and the oldest group 3.2 jobs on average, it is the annual mobility rate which is perhaps more revealing. The average number of job movements per year of working experience decreases with successive higher age groups, and while the younger managers have moved jobs at a rate of almost three moves per ten years, the middle group have changed jobs at just more than half this rate, and the older managers at just less than half of it. Observing that the high mobility rate of the trial career period slackens off as managers move into the stable career period (Miller and Form 1964), one finds confirmation of this in the relatively low rate of movement of the older managers.

Functional mobility is a different form of movement to inter-company mobility, being an expression of the amount of movement between different types of work. In terms of career building for personal development, some experience of various functions can be valuable for managers, and it may be appreciated for example that the manager from Marketing can learn more about his own function as a result of time spent in Production operations. The same considerations apply as much to functional mobility as they do to employer mobility, in that too much may be wasteful and create jacks of all trades, while too little may result in the creation of over-specialised staff who are unable to understand problems from any view other than that of their own department. The youngest group of managers in the Kenyan sample had had experience of 1.8 functions each, the middle group 2.1 each, and the older group 2.7 each.

Table 9.3 illustrates the starting functions of the managers, or the area in which they commenced their first job. Very few trends are to be observed here, although there are points of interest. The number of managers commencing their careers as designated trainees drops proportionally as one examines the young, the middle and the older groups respectively: however, the proportions of managers starting their careers in a 'general administrative' capacity rises by successive older age groups. This may be explained by the fact that in the past the job of office boy or

TABLE 9.3

STARTING FUNCTION OR STATUS OF MANAGERS
BY AGE GROUPING

| Age Group / Function | 20-29 Years | | 30-39 Years | | 40+ Years | | Overall | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Trainee | 8 | 17.0 | 7 | 7.5 | 2 | 5.1 | 17 | 9.5 |
| Manager | 9 | 19.1 | 12 | 12.9 | 1 | 2.6 | 22 | 12.3 |
| Professional | 0 | - | 4 | 4.3 | 0 | - | 4 | 2.2 |
| General Administration | 7 | 14.9 | 14 | 15.1 | 10 | 25.6 | 31 | 17.3 |
| Production | 4 | 8.5 | 5 | 5.4 | 6 | 15.4 | 15 | 8.4 |
| Marketing | 1 | 2.1 | 3 | 3.2 | 0 | - | 4 | 2.2 |
| Personnel | 1 | 2.1 | 0 | - | 0 | - | 1 | 0.6 |
| Finance/Accounting | 8 | 17.0 | 7 | 7.5 | 4 | 10.3 | 19 | 10.6 |
| Other | 4 | 8.5 | 28 | 30.1 | 8 | 20.5 | 40 | 22.3 |
| Government | 2 | 4.3 | 5 | 5.4 | 1 | 2.6 | 8 | 4.5 |
| Teaching | 3 | 6.4 | 8 | 8.6 | 7 | 17.9 | 18 | 10.1 |
| Total | 47 | 99.9 | 93 | 100.0 | 39 | 100.0 | 179 | 100.0 |

clerk was often used as a training post for the relatively well-educated staff, whereas the modern practice is to create separate trainee posts with a planned course of training built into them, and to reserve these for graduates or other highly educated recruits. This would also explain the correspondingly higher percentage of trainees and managers in the middle and younger groups. The proportion of managers who had come into industry from outside, particularly from government and teaching declines towards the younger group, being over 20 per cent of the older managers, 14 per cent of the middle group, and less than 11 per cent of those in their twenties. In the past, during the colonial administration, jobs in government administration and teaching were about the only suitable positions for educated Africans, but the opening up of career opportunities in commerce and industry following independence coupled with the government's Kenyanisation policies undoubtedly attracted some of these people into the private sector.

Clark (1966) has indicated that certain initial career jobs may be considered 'advantageous' in that they assume that a high educational standard or a high social standing, or both, are required for them; trainees, managers and professionals fall into this category. From Table 9.3 it will be observed that the proportion of managers with these 'assured futures' was on the increase, as over 36 per cent of the youngest managers, nearly a quarter of the middle group, and only 7.7 per cent of the older managers started in this way.

Insofar as a moving picture can be developed from these figures, it is one in which rising educational standards plus an expansion of managerial career opportunities are changing the career patterns of the Kenyan managers. The new managers are starting work at a later age because their education is longer than it used to be, they are receiving less experience of non-managerial duties, and they are reaching managerial status at a consequently younger age. The new managers are not as inter-company mobile as their older colleagues have been, but they are certainly more mobile in terms of the number of moves they make per year. Accepting Miller and Form's thesis that the trial career period is characterised by high job mobility, then the higher rate of movement per year of the younger managers may be explained, although it must also be noted that the increased opportunities of recent years have made job movement a more attractive and less risky proposition. Another significant development in career patterns is that of their starting point. Proportionally less managers are coming into industry and commerce from outside than used to be the case, and a growing percentage of staff are starting their working lives in advantageous posts. Clark found a similar movement towards advantageous beginnings in the younger British managers.

Comparisons with Other Studies

Earlier reference has been made to the studies of British managers by Clements and Clark. Comparative data on career progress and movement is available from Clements, and this is shown with the Kenyan data in Table 9.4 in which the British

TABLE 9.4

OUTLINE CAREER DETAILS AND MANAGERIAL MOBILITY IN THE KENYAN STUDY AND CLEMENTS' BRITISH STUDY

(EXPRESSED IN YEARS)

| Author | Greaves | Greaves | Clements |
|---|---|---|---|
| Country | Kenya | Kenya | Britain |
| Year | 1971 | 1971 | 1958 |
| Managerial Level | All | All (over 40 years) | All |
| Age commenced work | 20.9 | 19.6 | 18 |
| Late study time (a) | 0.5 | 0.9 | 3 |
| Non-managerial experience | 9.2 | 18.2 | 13 |
| Age reached management | 30.6 | 38.7 | 34 |
| Managerial experience | 3.7 | 5.6 | 12 |
| Present age | 34.3 | 44.3 | 46 |
| Total job experience | 12.9 | 23.8 | 25 |
| Managerial experience/Job experience (%) | 29 | 24 | 48 |
| Number of companies | 2.5 | 3.2 | 2.1 |
| Number of movements | 2.2 | 3.0 | 1.7 |
| Number of moves/year of experience | 0.17 | 0.13 | 0.07 |

Note: (a) In the Kenyan study this is late-study time as previously explained. In the British sample it is "unaccounted" time for which no explanation is given. (See Clements 1958, Appendix 2, Table 7).

managers (column (iii)) are compared to the overall sample of Kenyan managers (column (i)) and also to the oldest age grouping of Kenyans (column (ii)) who correspond closely to them in age. The two overall studies show certain obvious differences, in particular the length of total job experience which is almost twice as long for the British managers as it is for the Kenyan ones (25 years compared to nearly 13), though this is accounted for by the fact that the British managers were some 12 years older than the Kenyans. The British managers also have some 50 per cent more non-managerial experience than the Kenyans (13 years against just over 9) and considerably more managerial experience (12 years compared to less than 4) which is again partly explained by the age discrepancy in the two samples. The Kenyan managers have a managerial to total job experience ratio of 29 per cent, but the British managers have spent nearly half their careers as managers. The job mobility of the two groups is slightly different, with the Kenyans being somewhat more mobile than the British, although this may be wholly or partly explained again by the age difference, and a consequent slowing down by the British managers in their stable career period.

Perhaps a more realistic comparison is given by the comparison of the older Kenyan managers with the British ones (column (ii)). The non-managerial experience of the Kenyans is greater than that of the British (over 18 years, compared to 13 years), and their managerial experience is considerably less, being just over five and a half years whereas that of the British is 12 years. The Kenyans were some five years older than the British managers when they reached management. The mobility of the older Kenyans is higher than the managers in Clements' sample - more companies (3.2 each against 2.1), more moves (3.0 compared to 1.7), and twice as many moves per year of total job experience (0.13 compared to 0.07).

The overall comparative picture is one of the Kenyan managers spending less time in "the ranks" than the British, reaching management at an earlier age, but because of their comparative youth having as yet less experience of managerial responsibility. It is a picture that conforms to what would be expected from Kenya's later industrial development in the sense that managerial status is becoming the prerogative of the young and well-educated.

A reasoned interpretation of the difference in mobility is perhaps more difficult to provide; it may be that the demand for managers in Kenya is such that it encourages more frequent movement; certainly the company spokesmen already quoted indicated that they were always looking out for skilled managerial staff. We may remind ourselves, however, of Clements' somewhat sobering comment on mobility;

> "It may be that the forces influencing mobility in practice are such that men who are the best managers move least and that men who are but mediocre managers are more mobile. It may be that moves that are actually made are so haphazard that no positive good can be perceived in them."[4]

Career and Social Background

The data do not reveal any significant differences in the overall career progress of managers when analysed by the social background variable of fathers' education (see Appendix I), although those managers with uneducated fathers, being therefore less well-educated themselves, started work earlier (at just over 20 years of age), while those with primary-educated fathers started at 21 years and those with secondary-educated fathers commenced work at over 22 years of age. The non-managerial experience and total career experience of the managers with uneducated fathers

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4. See Clements (1958), op. cit., p. 102.

was therefore slightly longer than that of managers with better-educated fathers, but not significantly so, and there was little difference in both company mobility and functional mobility between the various groups.

A more interesting distinction shows up in the starting function of the managers according to social background (see Table 9.5). Only 11 managers (less than 14 per cent) whose fathers had no education had started their careers in advantageous situations, while this was the case with 23 (nearly 29 per cent) of the managers with primary-educated fathers and 9 of those (45 per cent)

TABLE 9.5

STARTING FUNCTION OF THE MANAGERS
BY FATHERS' EDUCATION

| Function \ Fathers' Education | None | | Primary | | Secondary | | Overall | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Trainee | 5 | 6.3 | 10 | 12.7 | 2 | 10.0 | 17 | 9.6 |
| Manager | 6 | 7.6 | 11 | 13.9 | 5 | 25.0 | 22 | 12.4 |
| Professional | 0 | - | 2 | 2.5 | 2 | 10.0 | 4 | 2.2 |
| General Administration | 16 | 20.3 | 11 | 13.9 | 4 | 20.0 | 31 | 17.4 |
| Production | 9 | 11.4 | 6 | 7.6 | 0 | - | 15 | 8.4 |
| Marketing | 2 | 2.5 | 2 | 2.5 | 0 | - | 4 | 2.2 |
| Personnel | 0 | - | 1 | 1.3 | 0 | - | 1 | 0.6 |
| Finance/Accounting | 11 | 13.9 | 6 | 7.6 | 2 | 10.0 | 19 | 10.7 |
| Other | 19 | 24.1 | 16 | 20.3 | 4 | 20.0 | 39 | 21.9 |
| Government | 3 | 3.8 | 5 | 6.3 | 0 | - | 8 | 4.5 |
| Teaching | 8 | 10.1 | 9 | 11.4 | 1 | 5.0 | 18 | 10.1 |
| Total | 79 | 100.0 | 79 | 100.0 | 20 | 100.0 | 178 | 100.0 |

with secondary-educated fathers. It is apparent that the advantage of this aspect of social background does create a subsequent advantage at the beginning of the managers' careers.

Career and Educational Background

In the light of what has already been discussed on the topic of social backgrounds and their relation to education, and the relationship between education and both function and managerial status, it was expected that the career patterns of the managers according to their educational qualifications would conform to the emerging picture of elite status for the educationally privileged. The point has been made (see Table 7.10) that the education of a manager's father exerts an influence upon the education of the son, and the latter then influences the type of work undertaken and the level of seniority achieved (Table 7.15 and 7.17). It will now be demonstrated that the starting function of the managers is affected by their educational level, as is the length of time it takes them to achieve managerial status and the extent of their mobility between companies and functions.

The starting functions of the managers, analysed by educational level, are shown in Table 9.6. It will be observed that the proportion of managers with an advantageous starting point rises according to progressively higher educational qualifications, and that the proportion of managers commencing their careers in the least advantageous position (General Administration) declines correspondingly. No trends are to be observed among the various individual functions, although a high proportion (over a quarter) of the School Certificate managers began in these; it should also

TABLE 9.6

STARTING FUNCTION OF THE MANAGERS
BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION

| Function \ Education | No School Certificate | | School Certificate | | Degree | | Overall | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Trainee | 0 | - | 12 | 11.3 | 5 | 14.3 | 17 | 9.5 |
| Manager | 0 | - | 4 | 3.8 | 18 | 51.4 | 22 | 12.3 |
| Professional | 0 | - | 1 | 0.9 | 3 | 8.6 | 4 | 2.2 |
| General Administration | 10 | 26.3 | 19 | 17.9 | 2 | 5.7 | 31 | 17.3 |
| Production | 7 | 18.4 | 8 | 7.6 | 0 | - | 15 | 8.4 |
| Marketing | 0 | - | 4 | 3.8 | 0 | - | 4 | 2.2 |
| Personnel | 0 | - | 1 | 0.9 | 0 | - | 1 | 0.5 |
| Finance/Accounting | 1 | 2.6 | 16 | 15.1 | 2 | 5.7 | 19 | 10.6 |
| Other | 17 | 44.8 | 21 | 19.8 | 2 | 5.7 | 40 | 22.3 |
| Government | 1 | 2.6 | 6 | 5.7 | 1 | 2.9 | 8 | 4.5 |
| Teaching | 2 | 5.3 | 14 | 13.2 | 2 | 5.7 | 18 | 10.1 |
| Total | 38 | 100.0 | 106 | 100.0 | 35 | 100.0 | 179 | 100.0 |

be noted that many of the trainees and managers also commenced their careers in one of the main operating functions listed, although they have been classified separately as trainees and managers. However, the fact that 26 out of the 35 graduates (almost three-quarters) commenced their careers in the advantageous posts is a fair indication of the special attention that educated entrants into business are currently receiving, especially when it will be observed that less than one in six of the School Certificate managers (17 out of 106) and none of the non-School Certificate managers started in this way.

Table 9.7 shows the progress of the managers' careers following the first job. The better-educated the manager, the later he started work, the less non-managerial experience he received, the younger his age when he first became a manager, and the less managerial experience he had acquired.[5]

TABLE 9.7

OUTLINE CAREER DETAILS AND MOBILITY BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION

(EXPRESSED IN YEARS)

| | No School Certificate | School Certificate | Degree | Overall |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Age commenced work | 18.6 | 20.7 | 23.8 | 20.9 |
| Late study time (a) | 1.0 | 0.2 | 0.8 | 0.5 |
| Non-managerial experience | 13.3 | 9.5 | 4.2 | 9.2 |
| Age reached management | 32.9 | 30.4 | 28.8 | 30.6 |
| Managerial experience | 3.9 | 3.7 | 3.3 | 3.7 |
| Present age | 36.8 | 34.1 | 32.1 | 34.3 |
| Total job experience | 17.2 | 13.2 | 7.5 | 12.9 |
| Managerial experience/ total job experience (%) | 24 | 28 | 42 | 29 |
| No. of companies | 2.4 | 2.6 | 2.2 | 2.5 |
| No. of movements | 2.1 | 2.3 | 1.9 | 2.2 |
| Moves per year of experience | 0.12 | 0.17 | 0.26 | 0.17 |
| No. of functions | 2.1 | 2.2 | 2.1 | 2.1 |
| Functions per year of experience | 0.12 | 0.17 | 0.28 | 0.16 |

Note: (a) See Table 9.1, note (a).

5. It is possible from an analysis of Clements' British managers

A good education is obviously a quick passport to management in Kenya. Although the graduate managers had a short career span of only seven and a half years, 42 per cent of this time (over three years) was managerial experience, compared to 28 per cent of 13 years (over three and a half years) for the School Certificate managers and 24 per cent of 17 years (over four years) for the poorer-educated staff. Mobility patterns also varied in a pattern that was generally consistent with education. The overall mobility of the School Certificate managers was highest (2.6 companies), and that of the graduates was lowest (2.2 companies), a feature that is accounted for by their shorter career experience. However, the graduates were most mobile per year of experience, moving firms about once every four years, against once every six years for the School Certificate holders, and once every eight and a half years for the non School Certificate managers. A similar trend was observed in movements between function. Some explanation of these figures will be provided when relative ages are taken into account; the relative lack of mobility of the poorer-educated managers may partly be accounted for by their age (they are in the stable career period), but also perhaps by their lack of educational qualification which has not given them the confience to move as often as the better-educated groups. It is possibly the case that they feel their marketability is adversely

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to observe similar differences between graduates and non-graduates. The British non-graduates commenced their careers some 3 years earlier than the graduates, they reached management 3 years later, and they had less managerial experience.

affected, and they are not willing to make a break with their employers as often as they would like.

Career and Present Job Function

An examination of the data by job function reveals no sharp divergence in career pattern but does tend to further emphasise the polarisation between the white and blue collar managerial functions of the managers in the sample. Table 9.8 reveals that the managers starting in the most favourable jobs were proportionally higher in Marketing (over 28 per cent) and Finance and Accounting (just below 28 per cent) than they were in Production (just over 20 per cent) and Personnel (just over 18 per cent). About one in six (16.3 per cent) of the Production managers had started off in Production, and a further one-third had commenced in 'Other' functions, several of which were technical in character. A quarter of the 32 Marketing managers began in general administrative jobs, and 2 had begun in Marketing, although others of the trainees and managers had started in Marketing. Nearly a quarter of the Finance and Accounting managers had commenced their careers in this function, but only one Personnel manager had started in Personnel, whereas 7 (nearly one-third of the Personnel managers) had come into management from outside business altogether.

The pattern and progress of the managers' careers (Table 9.9) did not vary greatly by function, although Production and Personnel managers were differentiated from Marketing and Financial managers. The main career points of the former were distinguished from those of the latter by falling on the opposite side of the median line represented by the overall sample average. Production and

TABLE 9.8

STARTING FUNCTION OF THE MANAGERS BY PRESENT JOB FUNCTION

| Present Function / Starting Function | Production | | Marketing | | Personnel | | Finance/ Accounting | | Other | | Overall | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Trainee | 9 | 18.4 | 2 | 6.2 | 2 | 9.1 | 4 | 11.1 | 0 | - | 17 | 9.6 |
| Manager | 1 | 2.0 | 7 | 21.9 | 2 | 9.1 | 6 | 16.7 | 6 | 15.0 | 22 | 12.4 |
| Professional | 0 | - | 0 | - | 0 | - | 1 | 2.8 | 3 | 7.5 | 4 | 2.2 |
| General Administration | 6 | 12.2 | 8 | 25.0 | 4 | 18.3 | 4 | 11.1 | 9 | 22.5 | 31 | 17.4 |
| Production | 8 | 16.3 | 1 | 3.1 | 1 | 4.5 | 4 | 11.1 | 1 | 2.5 | 15 | 8.4 |
| Marketing | 1 | 2.0 | 2 | 6.2 | 0 | - | 0 | - | 1 | 2.5 | 4 | 2.2 |
| Personnel | 0 | - | 0 | - | 1 | 4.5 | 0 | - | 0 | - | 1 | 0.6 |
| Finance/Accounting | 4 | 8.2 | 3 | 9.4 | 3 | 13.6 | 8 | 22.2 | 1 | 2.5 | 19 | 10.7 |
| Other | 16 | 32.7 | 4 | 12.6 | 2 | 9.1 | 4 | 11.1 | 14 | 35.0 | 40 | 21.9 |
| Government | 2 | 4.1 | 2 | 6.2 | 2 | 9.1 | 1 | 2.8 | 1 | 2.5 | 8 | 4.5 |
| Teaching | 2 | 4.1 | 3 | 9.4 | 5 | 22.7 | 4 | 11.1 | 4 | 10.0 | 18 | 10.1 |
| Total | 49 | 100.0 | 32 | 100.0 | 22 | 100.0 | 36 | 100.0 | 40 | 100.0 | 179 | 100.0 |

TABLE 9.9

OUTLINE CAREER DETAILS AND MOBILITY BY PRESENT JOB FUNCTION

(EXPRESSED IN YEARS)

| | Production | Personnel | Marketing | Finance/ Accounting | Other | Overall |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Age started work | 19.5 | 20.5 | 21.7 | 21.5 | 21.6 | 20.9 |
| Late study time [a] | 0.9 | 1.1 | - | 0.4 | 0.2 | 0.5 |
| Non-managerial experience | 11.0 | 9.1 | 8.5 | 7.7 | 9.3 | 9.2 |
| Age reached management | 31.4 | 30.7 | 30.2 | 29.6 | 31.1 | 30.6 |
| Managerial experience | 4.4 | 4.9 | 3.4 | 3.3 | 2.6 | 3.7 |
| Present age | 35.8 | 35.6 | 33.6 | 32.9 | 33.7 | 34.3 |
| Total job experience | 15.4 | 14.0 | 11.7 | 11.0 | 11.9 | 12.9 |
| Managerial/Job experience (%) | 29 | 35 | 27 | 31 | 23 | 29 |
| No. of companies | 2.3 | 3.2 | 2.4 | 2.5 | 2.4 | 2.5 |
| No. of moves | 2.4 | 2.6 | 2.2 | 1.8 | 1.9 | 2.2 |
| Moves per year of experience | 0.16 | 0.19 | 0.19 | 0.16 | 0.16 | 0.17 |
| No. of functions | 2.2 | 2.7 | 2.1 | 2.0 | 1.9 | 2.1 |
| Functions per year of experience | 0.14 | 0.19 | 0.18 | 0.18 | 0.16 | 0.16 |

Note: (a) See Table 9.1, note (a).

Personnel managers started their careers earlier (and in less advantageous jobs, as has just been noted), they were more likely to have pursued some late educational study involving a career break, they had accumulated more non-managerial experience than managers from Marketing or Finance, and they were older when they became managers. However, they had built up more managerial experience, presumably as a result of their age seniority. Some explanation for the career differences between the 'elite' Marketing and Financial managers and the others may be given by differences between the timing of their Africanisation; mention has already been made of the earlier localisation of Personnel and Production (Chapter VI), and this is confirmed by the longer managerial experience of the interviewees from these functions. Personnel management was localised early because it was non-technical, and because senior expatriate management saw the merit in allowing Kenyans to deal with Kenyans. Production, on the other hand, was probably localised early (with the exception of the technical jobs, which had to wait until qualified Kenyans were available) because a body of proven foremen were available for promotion when pressures for Africanisation mounted in the 1960s. Although many of them were not formally educated or qualified to a high level, they did at least possess the practical experience, and so they got their chance. Both Marketing and Finance were localised later, and the career structures of the managers again confirm this, being shorter in total career length and in managerial experience particularly. Their overall mobility provides further confirmation of this (2.2 moves and 1.8 moves respectively for Marketing and Finance, against 2.4 and 2.6 for Production and Personnel).

Table 9.10 shows the level of managerial status of the managers by their present function in order to establish whether any one function contained a higher percentage of senior staff indicating a link between seniority and function. The Personnel function had a higher percentage of senior managers (59 per cent) than any other group, and the Production function had the lowest. Marketing managers (28 per cent) and Finance managers (22 per cent) fell between these points. The category 'Other' contained a high percentage of senior managers (32.5), but as this group specifically included a number of top managers who, by the very nature of their position of senior policy-makers, could not be identified with the other operative functions this figure is not comparable. A comparison of the Production managers with those in the other three operative functions as a single group shows that the senior managerial representation of the Production managers (9 out of 49, or just over 18 per cent) compares unfavourably with 30 out of 90 (33.3 per cent) for the other three functions combined. In this sample, at least, white-collar work is a better guarantee of success.

## Career and Managerial Status

There are sufficient differences in the careers of managers of differing levels of status to warrant comment. Table 9.11 shows that although similar percentages of managers in the junior and middle ranks began their careers in advantageous posts (18.5 per cent and 17 per cent respectively), well over twice these propor-

TABLE 9.10

LEVEL OF MANAGERIAL STATUS BY PRESENT JOB FUNCTION

| Function / Status | Production | | Marketing | | Personnel | | Finance/ Accounting | | Other | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Junior | 11 | 22.4 | 4 | 12.5 | 0 | - | 4 | 11.1 | 8 | 20.0 | 27 | 15.1 |
| Middle | 29 | 59.2 | 19 | 59.4 | 9 | 40.9 | 24 | 66.7 | 19 | 47.5 | 100 | 55.9 |
| Senior | 9 | 18.4 | 9 | 28.1 | 13 | 59.1 | 8 | 22.2 | 13 | 32.5 | 52 | 29.0 |
| Total | 49 | 100.0 | 32 | 100.0 | 22 | 100.0 | 36 | 100.0 | 40 | 100.0 | 179 | 100.0 |

$\chi^2$ = 18.95 with 8 degrees of freedom tions of senior managers had such a start (40.4 per cent), a feature that was observed by Clark (1966) amongst British directors. The relatively high percentage of junior managers starting in this way may be explained by their lower age, a factor which has been observed to exert pressure towards an advantageous start (Table 9.3). It is also worthy of note that a higher proportion of

TABLE 9.11

STARTING FUNCTION OF THE MANAGERS
BY CURRENT MANAGERIAL STATUS

| Status / Function | Junior | | Middle | | Senior | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Trainee | 3 | 11.1 | 7 | 7.0 | 7 | 13.5 | 17 | 9.6 |
| Manager | 2 | 7.4 | 7 | 7.0 | 13 | 25.0 | 22 | 12.4 |
| Professional | 0 | - | 3 | 3.0 | 1 | 1.9 | 4 | 2.2 |
| General Administration | 6 | 22.3 | 19 | 19.0 | 6 | 11.5 | 31 | 17.4 |
| Production | 4 | 14.8 | 8 | 8.0 | 3 | 5.8 | 15 | 8.4 |
| Marketing | 1 | 3.7 | 2 | 2.0 | 1 | 1.9 | 4 | 2.2 |
| Personnel | 0 | - | 1 | 1.0 | 0 | - | 1 | 0.6 |
| Finance/ Accounting | 4 | 14.8 | 10 | 10.0 | 5 | 9.6 | 19 | 10.7 |
| Other | 6 | 22.2 | 29 | 29.0 | 5 | 9.6 | 40 | 21.9 |
| Government | 1 | 3.7 | 4 | 4.0 | 3 | 5.8 | 8 | 4.5 |
| Teaching | 0 | - | 10 | 10.0 | 8 | 15.4 | 18 | 10.1 |
| Total | 27 | 100.0 | 100 | 100.0 | 52 | 100.0 | 179 | 100.0 |

senior managers (over 20 per cent) had come into management from outside industry and commerce than was the case with the junior and middle managers.

The subsequent progress of the managers' careers by their current status is given in Table 9.12. Certain trends are demonstrated here, in particular that towards later career start with greater seniority (the educational differences explain this) and more non-managerial experience. The more senior the manager, the older he was likely to have been when he first became a manager, the more managerial experience he had acquired, and the more senior his age. The proportion of managerial to non-managerial experience

TABLE 9.12

OUTLINE CAREER DETAILS AND MOBILITY
BY CURRENT MANAGERIAL STATUS

(EXPRESSED IN YEARS)

| | Junior | Middle | Senior | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Age commenced work | 20.1 | 20.9 | 21.3 | 20.9 |
| Late study time | 0.7 | 0.4 | 0.6 | 0.5 |
| Non-managerial experience | 7.5 | 9.5 | 9.8 | 9.2 |
| Age reached management | 28.3 | 30.8 | 31.7 | 30.6 |
| Managerial experience | 2.5 | 3.4 | 4.7 | 3.7 |
| Present age | 30.8 | 34.2 | 36.4 | 34.3 |
| Total job experience | 10.0 | 12.9 | 14.5 | 12.9 |
| Managerial/Job experience (%) | 25 | 26 | 32 | 29 |
| No. of companies | 2.3 | 2.4 | 2.8 | 2.5 |
| No. of moves | 2.1 | 2.0 | 2.4 | 2.2 |
| Moves per year of experience | 0.21 | 0.16 | 0.17 | 0.17 |
| No. of functions | 1.9 | 2.1 | 2.3 | 2.1 |
| Functions per year of experience | 0.19 | 0.16 | 0.16 | 0.16 |

Note: (a) See Table 9.1, note (a).

was greater with higher status, and the senior managers were the most mobile group overall having worked in 2.8 companies each.

Their annual rate of mobility was similar to that of the middle managers (0.17 and 0.16) but was less than that of the junior managers who were still, by virtue of their age, in the trial work period. Their functional mobility showed similar features, being the highest overall, but identical to that of the middle managers on an annual basis.

The figures conform to expectations in that the influence of education is shown to be a significant factor in career success, although the 'speeding-up' effect of education is counteracted to a certain extent by the higher age of the senior managers,producing a career balance that is finely-tuned between non-managerial and managerial experience. The middle-level managers are, in a sense, quite representative of the sample as a whole in that their careers correspond most closely to the career profiles of the overall sample, and to that extent they may be said to represent the modern Kenyan manager in this sector of the Kenyan economy.

Career Pattern by Type of Company

Analysis of career patterns and progress by the type of companies the managers worked for did not reveal significant results warranting detailed discussion. Detailed analysis tables are to be found in Appendices O, P and Q, and a brief summary of the main pertinent points only is justified at this point.

About a quarter of the managers in the small companies and in the large ones had commenced their careers in advantageous jobs, whereas this was the case with about 20 per cent of the medium-sized company managers. These proportions held good for the managers in the multi-national and local concerns when compared to the managers in the subsidiary companies. A clear distinction was evident between the 43 managers employed by state-run corporations, 17 of whom (nearly 40 per cent) had experienced a favourable career start, and the 136 managers working in the wholly private sector, of whom only 26 (18 per cent) had started with such advantages. The better education of the managers in the public sector (see Table 7.22(c)) explains this satisfactorily.

The rate of progress of the managers' careers by types of employing concern did not vary significantly, certainly not according to company size, although there was a faster rate of progress shown by the managers in the multi-national companies who, being of a higher educational standard, showed a career progress that was characteristic of high education - later start, less non-managerial experience, and earlier promotion into management - and this was also true of the public sector managers.

## Summary

The material presented in this chapter has confirmed certain expectations held of the Kenyan managers and has demonstrated the further existence of certain trends that were becoming evident from previous examination of the data. The career paths themselves are merely illustrative of certain social and educational influences which are causing sharp divergences in the careers and progress of the managers as they become established in industry and commerce. The graphs in Appendix U show the progress of the managerial careers by the various sub-groups, with social and educational factors included. The relationship between fathers' education, managers' education, starting function and career progress will be noted.

In the first place there is the trend towards faster progress into management by the younger managers who have been observed to reach managerial status after only three or four years. This contrasts sharply with the older managers who received a lengthy 'apprenticeship' before they were promoted into management. This new style career pattern has been shown to be related to educational status in that the better educated managers tend to be specially designated for managerial status, and consequently receive a more thorough on and off the job training as preparation for this. They ultimately assume their responsibilities earlier.

It has been shown that social background is related to career pattern particularly at the point of career start. The managers with the more privileged social backgrounds usually commence their careers in more advantageous jobs than those from less privileged origins.

The tendency among Kenyan firms seems to be to fall in line with many other firms in other economies by giving specialised preparation and opportunity to the educated elite. At the moment the policy may continue to produce satisfactory results in that the better-educated managers are fairly receptive to the training and have had sufficient opportunities for advancement to make their education seem worthwhile. In a future in which the momentum of industrial development and expansion will almost inevitably slow down problems may well arise. The educational thrust in Kenya will continue to produce more higher educated Kenyans who will eventually find proportionally fewer opportunities at the higher levels, and there is a real danger of impending middle management frustration. A major challenge for Kenyan firms in the future will be how to restructure jobs and responsibilities in such a way as to meet the expectations of the educated middle managers.

In the second place, there is the phenomenon of quite widely differentiated characteristics between the maaagers in different job functions which is illustrated by the career structures of the managers in Production and Personnel on the one hand, and those in Marketing and Finance and Accounting on the other. Production stands apart as a less desirable career function than Marketing and Finance, and Personnel falls somewhere between. It is interesting to note the almost identical findings of Clements (1958) in this respect;

> "Works management is apparently a sharply contrasted body to commercial management. One works manager pointed out that his team lacked the polish of the gentlemen in commercial positions at headquarters. Over half the managers in the works who were interviewed came up from the bottom and they were largely recruited from the lower middle and skilled manual classes. Half of them bring to their work merely an elementary school education. Ex-grammar and old public school boys are more rarely found in works than in other departments, but they are not a negligible proportion. Few have degrees, most of them in science at provincial universities ... the picture is one of rather restricted experience, often built upon a rather poor education, supplemented by technical studies of varying quality but frequently of a fairly narrow and superficial kind."[6]

6. Clements (1958), ibid., p. 132-133.

In the light of Kenya's educational policies, problems may arise from this divergence between functions. Careers in Marketing and Finance are currently popular with educated Kenyans, but the prospect of building a career in Production operations seems to be much less appealing. The result is that Production does not attract the educated staff, and careers in this area are characterised by slower upwards movement and higher mobility. While mobility may be beneficial, particularly if it is to acquire expertise and related experience, too much is thought to be harmful, and in the Kenyan case it is as disadvantageous for the Production function as a whole as it is for the managers within it.

The development of a white-collar managerial elitism in certain functions may have originated with the transposition of certain British managerial values into Kenya. The British still view engineering and technical work as having less status, prestige and power than commercial work, and Clements has illustrated the differing backgrounds and careers of the two types of manager in Britain. The findings of this study indicate the same process at work in Kenya, and it is a process that may well be detrimental to Kenyan industrial development in the future as the white-collar promotion avenues become choked with aspiring arts and commerce graduates while the blue-collar ones suffer from a lack of educated personnel. The nature of business and commercial enterprise is such that the successful interdependence of functions can contribute a great deal to operating efficiency, while the lack of such a relationship creates a dysfunctional effect. Despite Drucker's contention that Marketing is the essence of business, the reality of the situation is that Production and Marketing are complementary to each other, and without the support of the one, the other is immediately less effective than it should be. In the same way, Personnel management, despite its late development as an independent business function, is essential as a support to the work of the other operating departments. If Personnel management is neglected in any way, for instance through the recruitment of poor quality staff to man it, so the quality of staff recruitment, training, collective bargaining and welfare administration diminishes, to the detriment of the other departments, and to the detriment of the concern as a whole. The career structures that have been illustrated in this work indicate that differing values are being put by companies, and by the managers themselves, upon different types of work within business. Marketing and Finance present a better image and rewards than does Production, and the latter seems to suffer from what might be described as a bad press. As higher quality staff are attracted to some areas, and poorer quality staff have to make do with careers in the less attractive ones, so is a potentially dysfunctional organisational schism being created for the future.

# CHAPTER X

## CONCLUSIONS

### Introduction

There have been very few studies relating to the topic of management in Kenya, and even fewer on the subject of managers. Additions to this limited knowledge should therefore be valuable and may assist in the production of a developing picture of this aspect of the country's economy.

During the past seventeen years Kenya has moved from a colonial society preparing for independence to a country fourteen years old. It has maintained a consistency in many of its policies because of the fact that the national leadership has remained the same, and the guiding hand of President Kenyatta has to date ensured stability and growth. Since independence in 1963 a generation has reached maturity, educational opportunities have been widely expanded and a great deal of investment has been attracted into the country.

The policies of the government have been simple in their exposition. There has been a drive towards industrialisation in which growth has averaged about 6 per cent per annum. Critics of the system have pointed out that this growth has been uneven, and that economically and socially Kenyan society contains a number of significant imbalances. Large gaps between the few rich and the mass of the poor have been identified, as have those between the development of city and countryside and between the modernising and traditional sectors of the economy.

A second consistency of policy has been that of the means used to achieve industrial growth which has been based on the attraction of foreign, mainly Western, investment. Many of the concerns which established themselves in Kenya after 1963, plus some of those already there, were companies specialising in import-substitution, and were often capital-intensive organisations with overseas contacts and control using package technology, a few skilled staff, and a relatively small semi-skilled labour force.

A third element of governmental policy has been the creation of some element of local control of the economy. This has again provided fuel for those critics who have maintained that it has only been a half-hearted attempt, and that the effects of foreign investment terms have maintained a strong element of foreign influence. They maintain that governmental investment and loans have not significantly altered the balance of the economy in this respect, and that a large part of the Africanisation policies in the private sector have merely been token gestures. Certainly the government, while paying a degree of lip-service to the ideal of Kenyanisation, which in effect has stood for Africanisation, has been pragmatic in the sense that it has never adopted an extreme viewpoint on the matter in case foreign investment was deterred from continuing its participation. There has been pressure for some share of the economic control of the country to be in the hands of local nationals, and given Kenya's background of a tri-partite racial system which had previously relegated the more numerous African population to the foot of the economic and social ladder, the government satisfied itself by working for some measure of restoration of the racial balance in this respect. In this situation it contented itself with exerting fairly gentle pressure on business to Africanise some of its management. Top managerial levels have managed to resist most of this, and the government has remained satisfied with the localisation of much of the middle and junior levels.

An African managerial cadre has therefore been growing steadily in the modernising sector of the economy, in particular within the industrial and commercial sections. Studies by Nzomo (1971) and comments by Kiggundu (1974) and Henley and House (1976), have contributed towards knowledge of this development, and the 1971 Kenyan survey was undertaken with the intention of elaborating upon the theme. This survey and its report were linked primarily to the individual manager as the unit of investigation, although they also took into account something of the policies and practices of his employer. Being essentially an investigation of middle managers the study was, in essence, one of the Kenyan managers of tomorrow, and as such it may provide a focal point for future research, so that eventually a more complete basis for the building of a model of the problems and practices of management in the country may be obtained. At this stage, it is necessary to reiterate the objectives of the study so that the data obtained may be interpreted in a relevant context.

It was hypothesised that in the Kenyan developmental context the African managers produced by the system would conform to Western-held notions of what managers ought to be. Given the nature of the company sample, which was restricted to what were in local terms large organisations,[1] often capital-intensive and with direct or indirect capital links with the West, it was thought that such concerns would select and train their managerial staff to conform with an image that was familiar to them.

A second objective was to enquire whether the African managers constituted an elite, or at least whether they were part of a wider elite. In the sense that elitism has been more recently redefined as being social status rather than strict political and economic power (Bottomore 1964), and given that modern management is becoming an occupation increasingly controlled by educational entry requirements, it was thought that the African managers would qualify for elite status on at least one count.

The third primary objective was to establish whether any form of elitism existed *between* managers. Clements (1958) had observed that management was a diverse occupation of which much was still unknown, but that it comprised diverse jobs, diverse techniques and experience, different standards and educational requirements, and even different attitudes and principles. He tentatively concluded that these differences led to different types of career within management which were bound up with social origins. It was the purpose of this aspect of the study to observe whether or not similar manifestations were evident in Kenya.

Additional objectives relating to the selection and training of African managers were also included, although they were not

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1. In the late 1960s, 90 per cent of Kenya's business establishments employed less than 50 staff (Statistical Abstract, 1968).

investigated in great depth. These aspects of management are related to the overall career patterns of managers and are therefore relevant to other objectives previously discussed. However, in terms of the role that the industrial manager is expected to play in Kenyan development, the emphasis that is being given to the selection, training and development of managers who are equipped to play a fully involved part does become important.

Although the study was carried out in an area in which relatively few businesses participate, nevertheless their economic impact is a strong one. As it is an area which accounts for a significant portion of Kenya's development and growth, the rationale for the investigation may be justified.

African and Western Managers

The evidence from the data presented has indicated that although the backgrounds and careers of the African managers in the sample were not identical to those in the leading studies quoted from the West, there were broad similarities between the two. These were most evident in social origins, education, and certain aspects of career structure. Comparative evidence relating to management training was not available, and no firm conclusions could be drawn on this.

Social backgrounds demonstrated strong similarities. A significant proportion of the Kenyan managers, like their counterparts in Britain, the U.S.A. and France, had fathers in the top occupational brackets. In Kenya the proportion was less than it was in the Western studies, but the fact that close to a third of the managers had such origins indicates a similarity, particularly in view of the fact that Kenyan society was almost wholly traditional only sixty or so years ago. There is a movement towards an increasing influence of the modern occupational sector in the social stratification of the country.

The Kenyan managers were also comparable to Western ones in terms of the type of school they had attended. Clements showed in 1958 that the school attended by the British managers in his sample bore a direct relationship to the type of career pattern subsequently experienced. The Kenyan managers from the more prestigious schools originated from families with high occupational status fathers and they demonstrated a tendency to direct their careers into (what were to them) the more acceptable commercial functions. They had achieved high managerial status and seniority as a result.

Educational comparisons between the Kenyan and Western managers showed varying degrees of incidence. The proportion of Kenyan graduates, at one-fifth of the total was lower than that in any of the Western studies quoted. These ranged from one quarter in Clements' research findings in 1958 to almost ninety per cent in Hall and de Bettignies' sample of 1968. However, the latter comparison is not exact since the French study was of company presidents and not middle managers. Despite the fact that Kenyan graduates were only 20 per cent of the sample, the figure compares favourably with studies in Nigeria (Yesufu 1968, Greaves 1971), and the age breakdown indicated that the presence of graduate managers is increasing steadily.

This educational trend is the result of two forces moving in the same direction. The business sector of society, like other organisations in the modernising sector, has been looking for more highly educated staff. The government has also been convinced of the necessity for educational development and has expanded the opportunities greatly. As standards of education have risen, so have the business organisations raised their desired qualifications for entry into management. Although they could not always attract the graduates and higher educated personnel in the numbers required, nevertheless they employed a significant number and proportion of such people which is certain to increase in the current educational environment. The graduates in Kenya, like those in Britain, came mostly from the higher social ranges, with educated and high occupational status fathers who had often sent them to the more prestigious schools. The implications are that those who had taken most advantage of the higher educational opportunities more recently available in Kenya were those from higher social backgrounds who had received the benefits of better economic opportunities as a consequence of this. The findings of Clements (1958) are identical, and those of Clark (1966) similar.

The amount of further education and study undertaken after the completion of full-time education approximates in the Kenyan and British samples. About half of the British managers observed by Clements and Clark had pursued some form of further education, and this was true of about 40 per cent of the Kenyans. In the latter case, it was the younger managers, that is those under 40 years of age, who had engaged in this form of activity, in many cases because they were attempting to compensate for their non-existent or limited qualifications obtained in school. As the growth in school outputs has outstripped the growth in desirable modern sector jobs, so the pressure grows for those without formal qualifications to compensate in some way in order to protect themselves against competition from even younger but better qualified colleagues. The movement towards a proliferation of course-taking has commenced, and correspondence courses, evening courses, part-time day courses and the rest are thriving, and will presumably continue to do so, although whether the certificates and diplomas they bestow signify greater ability and aptitude is often open to doubt (Dore 1976). Whereas in Britain it has often been possible for poorly educated managers to make their way into management by virtue of technical qualifications acquired later, it appears that the chances of this happening in Kenya in the future are not good as educational standards rise. Many of the qualifications available in Kenya merely serve as an avenue of hope, and little more.

In terms of overall managerial career patterns there were certain differences between Kenya and Britain. These were mainly accounted for by the older average age of the British, their greater pre-managerial experience, and their longer managerial experience. Kenyan managers had achieved executive responsibility at an earlier age than the British, a factor that was presumably due entirely to pressures for Africanisation. However, a breakdown of career patterns by social origin, education, job function and seniority, which is commented upon in more detail below, shows similarities of career based on elitist and non-elitist characteristics.

The commencement of managerial careers in advantageous or non-advantageous jobs reveals slight differences between the Kenyans and the British. About one in four Kenyan managers had received a favourable start to their careers by taking up first jobs which were designated professional, management or management training posts. This was true of one in six of Clements' sample (the crown princes and managerial trainees) and one in nine in Clark's study (the trainees, the professionals and the managers). Presumably the bias towards youth in the Kenyan sample accounts for part of this higher ratio, and the higher educational levels of the younger managers for most of the rest. Certainly an advantageous start in Kenya was a direct result of the managers' educational level - nearly three-quarters of the graduates had entered a favourable first job, but less than 12 per cent of the non-graduates had received the same advantage. Clements showed similar results, with over a third of the British managers in his sample showing a favourable start and only 7 per cent of the non-graduates doing so.

Job mobility formed another point of comparison. In the Clements and Clark British samples overall mobility between firms averaged about 1.6 movements per manager in a career span of almost thirty years. About one-third of these managers had remained with the same organisation throughout their working lives, and their relative immobility was commented upon by both authors. A comparative USA-European study of business leaders (de Bettignies and Evans 1977) also observed that the British showed less job mobility than other managers. Just over 30 per cent of the Kenyans had been with the same concern since starting their careers, and the total sample averaged over 2 moves each in a shorter working span of about 12 years. The Kenyans were demonstrating more readiness to move than the British, a factor which perhaps reflected the number of available opportunities as industrialisation developed. It should be pointed out, however, that job movement in Kenya is less likely to involve distance, as many companies are located in Nairobi and Mombasa, whereas British industry is more widely dispersed geographically.

There were difficulties in obtaining realistic comparisons with respect to details of the management training undertaken by the Kenyan and Western managers. Only Clark had commented in detail upon this aspect of British managers and he observed that nearly 45 per cent of his sample had undertaken a management course of some description. Of the 434 courses which had been attended by 363 of his 818 managers, nearly half were internal and another third were were at Universities or technical colleges. The 152 Kenyan managers (85 per cent of the sample) who had been on 450 courses averaged 3 courses each, and they had spent 13 weeks on them, or about 3 weeks for every managerial year. Half of this training was provided by the managers' firms, either in Kenya or abroad, and a further 20 per cent of it was accounted for by courses at either the Kenya Institute of Management, or the Management Training and Advisory Centre.

It seems as though the provision of this type of managerial training is receiving attention from Kenyan employers, although the question of its systematic planning has already been raised, and its suitability will shortly be commented upon.

No figures were available from Western studies on the provision of on-the-job training, but it has been noted that over half of the Kenyan managers claimed to have received this, at an average duration of about 10 months. Again, the quality of some of this training may well be in doubt.

Whereas de Bettignies and Evans (1977) advanced the notion that cultures affect the personal and professional characteristics of businessmen and the career patterns they follow, they observed that the different cultural backgrounds in Europe and the U.S.A. did not produce the difference in managers that popular stereotypes would warrant. There may be no popular stereotype of a Kenyan manager as yet, but certainly the superficial differences between him and his Western (mainly British) counterpart are less than might be supposed. On reflection this may not be entirely unexpected given that many of the sample companies had Western connections, about half of which were British. Company recruitment and training policies were directed at acquiring and developing local managers who were sufficiently well-educated and therefore "trainable" to be moulded in an image which was familiar both to themselves and to their head offices. For the most part, the Kenyan managers probably demonstrated more similarities to Western ones than they did differences, and the fact that those with the better education received more training and quicker promotion than the others reinforces the notion that Kenyan managers were being created according to some sort of acceptable Western prototype.

Advocates of convergence theory propositions might be tempted to see in these findings further evidence to support their thesis that management is becoming both universal and a profession. Certainly, as the backgrounds and development of managers reveal a common identity their case would appear to be supported. However, there are two important factors within the Kenyan study which suggest that such a conclusion would be premature. The first point is that within the limitations of the study there is not as yet a truly indigenous Kenyan manager, only one who has been selected and trained by Western-owned or oriented concerns according to their own standards. The influence of Western management on the current level of Kenyan development is a strong one, and large-scale business appears to be pursuing policies which perpetuate the existence of the Western-style manager. The evidence therefore seems to support a hypothesis that the professional or semi-professional manager, who is both a creation of the West and its ideal, will continue to be created in Kenya while Western organisations retain their powerful economic influence. Whether or not he would continue to be created in a truly Kenya-controlled economic society of large scale business is a matter for speculation only. The second point which should advocate caution regarding managerial universalism related to the nature of the backgrounds and careers of the sample managers. There were sufficient differences between their social origins, education, career structures and training to point to the existence of two very different managerial types. To conclude that Kenyan managers are moving towards a professional unity based on this evidence would be not only superficial but misleading, and further comment will shortly be made upon this point.

Elitism and Management

Given the nature of elitism and the modern use of the term which suggests not only rulership, but the occupation of positions of influence and superior social status (Lloyd 1967) there is little doubt that the managerial group in Kenya qualify to be members of the elite. Bottomore (1967) has commented that the middle classes in developing countries, who influence economic development by the contribution of their special skills and their commitment to a modern way of living, are an elite created by educational and administrative systems introduced by the former ruling colonial powers. However, management has not been accepted as an elite in its own right, and as a potential ruling elite or class (Burnham 1943) it has been effectively discounted.

Nevertheless, there is a relationship between industrialisation and social stratification. The development of modern industry has helped to break down some of the older established differences in rank and has created new opportunities for social mobility. It has also assisted in the development and improvement of education to meet its own scientific, technological and administrative needs (Bottomore 1965). Whereas traditional association was formerly one of the leading criteria for elitism in Africa (Lloyd 1967), it has now been joined by, and perhaps even displaced by, educational qualification and, in the political arena, active loyalty to a political party. Lloyd observed that entry to the elite in West Africa is largely determined nowadays by the educational system. The results of the process have been to throw open elite occupations to talented and qualified members of the lower social strata, and to create opportunities for educated members of all classes to share in economic wealth and power.

While such opportunities may exist they have not always been seized in practice. Clark noted that the meritocratic spirit of the 1944 British Education Act did not result in any increase of working class origin managers, but rather a reduction in them as the opportunities to work up through the ranks gave way to graduate and grammar school selection, which was biased against the lower social classes. Similarly, top managers in Britain have continued to be drawn largely from a tight homogeneous social and educational group.

Similar manifestations are evident in Kenya. A crude selectivity index[2] of the social backgrounds of the managers' fathers and that of the population at large has already been examined (Table 6.18). The index is again relevant at this point.

| | Fathers' Occupational Class | Selectivity Index |
|---|---|---|
| DE | Traditional; peasant | 0.6 |
| $C_2$ | Routine non-manual, semi-skilled manual | 1.4 |
| $C_1$ | Supervisory, skilled manual | 10.9 |
| AB | Top administrative, executive, managerial | 9.1 |

2. Selectivity Index = the percentages of managers with a given characteristic divided by the percentage of the total population with such a characteristic.

It illustrates the chance which sons of fathers in these categories have of becoming managers. Thus, the son of a high occupational status father (AB) has about fifteen times as good a chance of becoming a manager as has the son of a small peasant farmer (DE).

The significance of education is another factor having a strong bearing on managerial opportunity. Table 7.7 showed the educational level of the sample managers against that of the population at large, for which the selectivity index is again reproduced.

| Managers' Education | Selectivity Index |
|---|---|
| No School Certificate | 0.2 |
| School Certificate | 29.6 |
| Degree | 196.0 |

Although the index base is again a crude one, the figures show that the graduate has nearly a thousand times a greater chance of being acceptable for management than the candidate without School Certificate, and has six times as good a chance as the School Certificate holder. The latter is still about one hundred and fifty times better off in terms of opportunity as the man without School Certificate. The importance of a good educational background for management is convincingly demonstrated, and the effect upon education of social background has already been shown.

It would not be correct, therefore, to assume that industrialisation, by its breaking down of traditional ranks, automatically creates an egalitarian situation. There are equally strong forces working in the opposite direction. **Bottomore** (1965) has observed that the increasing size and growing rationalisation of business enterprises has led to the establishment within organisations of a small group of top managers and their expert advisors who are separated educationally and socially from the mass of workers whom they control in their routine and largely unskilled activities. In the Kenyan situation education has been shown to be the most important criterion, and as in many other countries, it is the socially privileged who tend to benefit most. Thus there is a separation of educated from uneducated in the business context, a separation which is largely determined by the social background of those involved.

Elitism Within Management

Clements (1958) noted the existence of elites within the management hierarchy. He specifically identified accountants, arts graduates and science graduates in the British situation as those whose backgrounds and career paths gave them an air of distinction. Besides this vertical distinction he also noted a horizontal one between top managers and others, and there were of course those managers who fell into both elite sub-groups.

In the Kenyan sample two distinct managerial career paths have been identified. These were associated with social and educational backgrounds, and have been observed to influence both job function and managerial status. The most crucial factor was that of educational level, and the managers' choice of job function was affected strongly by this, as was his promotion acceleration and ultimate status level. However, educational level was significantly affected by social background factors.

The company spokesmen in the sample had previously stated that one of their most important requirements for management was that of a good education, including if possible a degree or a professional/technical qualification. The possession of Higher School Certificate was also thought to be important. From their experience with managers, the companies considered that the educational and managerial abilities of the better educated staff were sufficient to enable them to overcome what other deficiencies they had, presumably on the grounds that time and experience diminished them. They were therefore prepared to provide training for the educated managers providing they seemed capable of making the grade.

The findings among the managers support this. They may be commented upon from the viewpoints of two types of elitism, that of function and that of seniority or status level.

The managers were originally classified according to the job function they were performing at the time of the survey. Analysis of the results revealed that there was a consistent distinction between those managers in "blue-collar" Production jobs, and those in the "white-collar" functions of Marketing, Finance and Accounting, and (to a lesser extent) Personnel. The Production managers were more likely to have come from poorer social origins, to have been to a lower grade school, and to have achieved a lower educational level than the managers in Commercial functions. Only 4 per cent of the Production managers were graduates, and over 40 per cent did not have School Certificate. For managers in Commercial jobs, the figures were 25 per cent and 12 per cent respectively.

Possible explanations for these differences have already been advanced. One reason given was related to the chronology of Africanisation. Judging by the age at which Production managers achieved managerial status, their jobs at the lower levels were Africanised earlier than many of those in the Commercial functions, with the possible exception of Personnel. Higher level Production jobs were not Africanised at the same time because less technically qualified staff were not available, and those who went into Production management were the staff with a lot of practical experience but not much education. Finance and Accounting, and Marketing were Africanised later. These jobs were thought suitable only for those with educational or technical qualifications, and they were only relinquished by Europeans as such people came onto the market. Both of these functions are ones which have been observed to attract the higher social and educational grades in Britain (Clements 1958).

A second and equally plausible reason for the attraction of the higher educated staff into commercial jobs is that they carry more status because they are associated with head office, decision-making, and power. Likewise, they are presumably seen as a fitting reward for a higher education. The salary and privileges which are attached to Commercial functions tend to be higher and better than those associated with "shop floor" Production jobs, and the better educated felt that they deserved these.

Career progress and pattern were also differentiated according to function. Production managers had started work at a younger age than those in the other jobs (because they had left school earlier), and they had entered management at a later age, acquiring more non-managerial experience on the way. They were also older, and had consequently more managerial experience. Fewer of the Production staff had started their careers in the advantageous jobs than managers in any function except Personnel, and their job mobility was less than the others (again with the exception of Personnel). This presumably was a consequence of their lower educational qualifications causing less opportunities to be open to them.

The amount of training received was closely associated with function. Production managers again came off badly in this respect with proportionally less of them receiving any form of organised training, less of them receiving training from their current employers, and less of them attending management courses than managers in the other groups. They had been on fewer courses and spent less time on them than had the Commercial managers. However, their experience of on-the-job training was greater, although its quality may sometimes have been in doubt.

The overall finding from this aspect of the study is that two distinct career paths were revealed, based primarily on education, but influenced also by social origin. Those managers of lower social origins tended to have poor educational backgrounds which in turn influenced their choice of function within business, their first job, and their subsequent pace of promotion. Salaries reflected this. As the lesser-qualified managers often went into Production-related jobs so they were earning an average salary per annum of less than K£1500 in 1971 against a figure of more than K£1850 for those in the three Commercial functions.

The career dichotomy between Production and Commerce has been noted to be similar to that observed by Clements, but no direct comparisons are available with Clark. However, the lower status of technical jobs in British industry still exists and has been commented upon recently (Fores & Clark 1975); the Duke of Edinburgh also noted in 1976 that: "Engineering, except for that short period in the middle of the nineteenth century, has been looked upon as a second-class intellectual activity not really fit to be compared with the arts, classics, finance or even science".[3] Others (Svenson, Moore, 1976) have noted that Britain pays its technical managers less than most other countries do, and Moore observed that a substantial proportion of engineers in manufacturing industry were anxious to move out of the production side into other branches of industrial management which they saw as more rewarding and faster ways of teaching the top. A similar "malaise" seems to have afflicted Kenya and it appears that British values have been transposed into Kenyan industry in this respect, with the Marketing managers in particular occupying the elite position and receiving the salary and training privileges, while Production staff receive less attention.

A second form of elitism within management is that associated with managerial status and seniority level. In Kenya this has also been observed to be associated with social and educational background, and it is related to job function. Less Production

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3. Duke of Edinburgh, "Ladder of Reward", (Guardian Newspaper, London, 13.7.1976).

managers had achieved senior status than any other group, and more of them were in junior positions than any other group.

The senior managers have been shown to originate from better social backgrounds in higher proportions than junior managers. Their fathers were of a higher educational background and had occupied, or were occupying, higher-status jobs. Similarly, senior managers were more likely to have been to a more prestigious school, and their educational level was higher than that of the middle and junior managers. These factors had secured for them a more advantageous career start and virtually ensured a higher managerial status. The average annual salary of senior managers exceeded K£2500, although as they were older than the middle and junior level managers, age would have accounted for part of this.

There appeared, therefore, to be a close association between the level of career success and social origin. Better social origins were linked to seniority, but the age structure must be taken into account. Greater age is associated with higher salaries, and characteristics which are linked to age may not necessarily be related to social origin. However, although salaries did increase with age (Appendix H), they dropped consistently with all the lower social background factors (Appendices J, K, L). Family environment thus appeared to have exerted a stronger influence on salaries than had age. The managers with poorer social backgrounds had less chance of becoming managers in the first place (Table 6.18), but once having got into management they then had less chance of rising as far up the promotional ladder and earning higher salaries than those from higher class homes.

The findings once again show a close relationship to those of Clements, and it would seem that as in Britain, social origin in Kenya exerts a powerful influence on career development mainly through the medium of the school and education. In both the functional and hierarchical sub-elites these factors were observed to be paramount. The results reinforce the earlier-stated proposition that managerial unity is a premature conclusion in view of the fact that different sides and levels of Kenyan business are being managed by men with different backgrounds and levels of training.

Managers and Types of Company

In view of what the company spokesmen had to say about the type of managers they wanted for Kenyanisation it is appropriate to review their preferences and examine how they compared with the managers in the sample. The main focus of the examination therefore relates to the size groupings and sectors of the organisations, and, more significantly, to their ownership.

All three size groups of companies expressed a preference for the better educated and qualified managers. They had also experienced difficulties in obtaining them, and the number of managers they had trained confirmed this. However, it was the larger and medium-sized companies who had provided most training for the managers in the sample, both in coursework and on-the-job training. Their managers were, generally speaking, of better social background than managers in the small concerns whose educational level was marginally lower (Appendix O).

Differences between public and private sector organisations were significant in a number of respects, although it must be emphasised that there were only 4 public corporations in the sample, and 43 managers from them were interviewed. Both types of organisation sought well-educated and qualified managerial staff, and both had experienced a shortfall. The managers in the public sector had the better social backgrounds and were of a higher educational level. They had usually received more training than the managers in the private sector, particularly in respect of courses although on-the-job training was found to be about the same in both sectors.

Analysis by ownership revealed more significant differences. Multi-national corporations (MNCs), local concerns, and to a lesser extent the subsidiaries of overseas concerns all looked for educational and professional qualifications. Their preferences had not been met in practice. The MNCs recruited a higher proportion of social elite managers than did the other two types, and their managers were seen to have higher educational and occupational status fathers. However, the local concerns were quite close to the MNCs in this respect. A higher proportion of MNC managers had been to the high status schools, and they were more likely to have been graduates. In each of the social background criteria, it was the MNCs who led the field, the local concerns who were second, and the subsidiaries third. Selection of those with superior educational backgrounds was a stated policy of all the MNCs, and given that it was aimed at acquiring "trainability" it is interesting to note how much better off their managers were in this respect. A higher proportion of their managers had received in-company training, and they were more likely to have received it from their current organisations than those in local and subsidiary concerns. In addition, most of them had attended management courses in which the average number of attendences was higher per man than in other concerns and the MNC staff had also spent longer on this form of training. Similarly, more of them had been given on-the-job training and had spent considerably longer on it. Their salaries were higher than those of managers in local and subsidiary organisations, although it must be pointed out that more senior managers were evident in the MNC sub-sample.

A breakdown of training in more detail (Appendix R) reveals that the MNCs favoured their own training courses and methods more than did the other concerns, and they lent relatively less support to the leading local training establishments (the Institute of Management and the Management Training and Advisory Centre) than did the local and subsidiary establishments.

The poor record of the subsidiary organisations shows up quite clearly. Their managers were from lower social backgrounds and of less educational calibre than the others, and they were provided with less training. Although some of these concerns were fairly small operations, the fact is that they were all related to overseas parents who obviously did not lend much encouragement to systematic managerial development. This is something of an indictment. Good training is certainly a matter of cash, but it is cash which is being invested in the future and is a commitment to it. The subsidiary concerns did not show this commitment to the future, and their 31 per cent Africanisation reflects it.

Conclusions

It was a company spokesman from one of the subsidiary concerns who observed that he would like to see government training consultants made available to those organisations which could not afford their own training programmes. He thought that management development for Kenyanisation might be better expedited in this fashion.

The idea has its merits, and it points the need for some revision of training in the Kenyan business sector. If the government is sufficiently concerned about the progress of Kenyanisation it is reasonable to suppose that it would have taken more interest in the problems of implementing it than it has done so far. Its record to date has been a fairly unconvincing medley of general statements, ineffective sub-committees and a shelved report. The report in question (that of the Training Review Committee of 1972 under the chairmanship of W.N. Wamalwa) did not consider the idea of training consultants, although they have been used in Nigeria by the Institute of Management there for assignments relating to recruitment, organisation reactivation and development and the diagnosis and solution of specific problems (N.I.M. 1975).

Certain institutional changes in the management training area in Kenya would be desirable to improve effectiveness. The Wamala Report, following the lead set by the preceding Ndegwa Report (1970-71), recommended the implementation of a National Management Development Centre to deal with training for top management in all sectors of the economy. It was thought that it should maintain links with all the institutional bodies directly concerned with management training. A submission by Hunt and Whitlock (1972) to the Training Review Committee recommended the strengthening of the KIM to enable it to become the major training institution in the private sector. However, before any institutional changes are made it would be desirable for Kenyan business to identify its training needs as a matter of priority. To date, this has only been attempted in a fairly haphazard fashion by some individual organisations looking to their own problems. In the case of most organisations no effort has been made. Although the company spokesmen in the sample were seldom short of replies when it came to listing managerial deficiencies among their African staff, evidence points to the conclusion that most of them were content to leave it at that instead of analysing the deficiencies with a view to rectifying them.

It is submitted that there are three aspects of this identification problem. The first relates to those deficiencies identified in the study which could be remedied, and the strengths which should be built upon. The second is identified with the problems of managing in Africa, particularly in Kenya. The problems associated with Africans learning to manage their own people in a modern business environment are unique to Africa, and a degree of special preparation is surely necessary. The third relates to the characteristics of the managers identified in this study, and specifically to the socially and educationally underprivileged group who are being neglected in their training and development but who may well represent an untapped source of experience which could be better exploited. As a conclusion to this thesis, these points will be expanded.

The first point arising is that of accurately identifying the managerial training needs. There was every indication in the Kenyan situation that only a few companies were doing this. In several firms, it seemed that the sole objective was to acquire an African manager or two for appearances' sake and then to ensure that control remained firmly in expatriate hands. Such firms were in a minority overall, but nevertheless many of the concerns which had accepted Kenyanisation principles and had produced some local managers were doing little enough to analyse their weaknesses and correct them. The skills of management as identified by Mintzberg (1973) lie in the areas of peer relations, leadership, conflict resolution, information processing, decision-making, resource allocation, entrepreneurship and introspection. At least four of these may be clearly identified as interpersonal skills. The deficiencies quoted by the Kenyan company spokesmen also pointed out weaknesses in the interpersonal areas.

It is clear that more work in this area could usefully be carried out in Kenya in order to establish conclusively just where the new young African managers need the most help. It is possible that this will not be in the technical aspects of their jobs. Given that the new managers are more educated and trainable than their older colleagues, they are more likely to absorb technical aspects with relative ease. However, higher-educated and lower-educated alike appear to be prone to interpersonal weaknesses, and there is a strong case for objectively examining this area to establish just how much attention it does need. The importance of the selection process is emphasised at this point. The right training for the wrong people is a waste of time and money, and a probable means of reducing managerial defects is to consider providing higher education and training to those who have demonstrated their industry, applicability, intelligence and loyalty in the workplace. Higher education and managerial development would go hand in hand as a reward for work, rather than the managerial job being a reward for, or a right of, education.

The second point relates to managing in Africa. The Africans in management in Kenya consider themselves successful. In the light of their beginnings this is not surprising because they see themselves as embodiments of their country's modernisation. But to what extent do they feel involved in what they are doing in their managerial work, and how fully identified are they with their jobs? This is not a specious question, since many of them work for foreign organisations and therefore adopt values and attitudes which are acceptable to their employers but may not be an inherent part of themselves. Onyemelukwe (1973) commented that the indigenous middle management group in Nigeria exists under the cultural strain of being on the fringe of both the old and the new. On the one hand he noted that managers there did not have the status of expatriate managers and were therefore unable to accept the responsibilities that the top Westernised African elite had accepted, but on the other hand their education, training and experience made it difficult for them to accept the traditional customs of their people. They found it difficult to mix with them, and were caught in the middle. Frustration about their prospects and their lives was the result.

Culturally, the Kenyan managers were probably not too different from the workers they managed. Educationally there was a difference. The effect of their training would also have created differences since the managers had accepted, at least superficially, Western management philosophies and methods. They were therefore in the ambivalent situation of being Western in their jobs but still linked to their traditional backgrounds. The question of the selection and training of suitable personnel to face up to this conflict is therefore a crucial one. The approach to this in Kenya was provided by Western methods, that is, to identify the "right" material based on educational standards, and then train and promote it. But there was no evidence from the company training and the institutional management training that any emphasis was being put on the special problems of managing in Africa. On-the-job training was provided as a means of getting useful experience, but was not always very well planned, and management courses were directed at the provision of certain technical skills and techniques which are Western-based and perhaps not always applicable to African situations. There is no evidence that any training in Kenya is aimed at providing an understanding of the complex social and cultural environment in which the managers operate. Onyemelukwe's answer to this problem is to create a community type of business organisation and environment which is akin to the same aspect of African culture, and to abandon the present reliance on the individualised structure emphasised by the West. This may or may not be realistic; what is fairly certain, however, is that it will not be immediately acceptable to the foreign businesses operating in Africa because it goes against what they feel to be tried and proven. However, a shift of emphasis towards more relevant and African-identified training may well be desirable.

The third point relates to management backgrounds and trainability. In each of the two other studies in which direct comparisons may be made with the Kenyan one, there are some similar observations. For instance, the proportion of managers from less privileged social backgrounds drops consistently towards the younger age groups, and that of higher social standing rises. The same phenomenon is to be seen with educational levels; the highest proportions of graduates are found in the youngest age groups, and there are fewer of them in the older groups. Finally, the type of career start experienced by the managers is successively better from the older to the younger groups; more younger managers commenced their working lives in advantageous jobs. The result of these trends is that it seems to be becoming more difficult for members of the lower socio-economic groups, with their lesser educational qualifications, to break into management than it used to be. This may not be as true in Production as it is in the other functions, because Clements noted that there were still managerial jobs available on what he called the 'works side' for men from the bottom. This was true in Kenya, but as Clements also observed, the available jobs are not usually the better ones for which managers were recruited in some other way.

The man who rises up from the bottom can still be a valuable member of the managerial community. Industrial management has traditionally been open to men from the ranks providing they have demonstrated interest, intelligence, knowledge, ambition and hard work, and to deny them the opportunities for training to achieve these ends seems counter-productive. It means that if recruitment continues to be based on more education then a permanent division may be created in Kenyan business between the so-called trainable group and those who are considered to be otherwise. There would then be little opportunity for the latter to reach management unless they were prepared to work at obtaining or improving their paper qualifications. Some form of identification, development and training of staff from the shop floor may well be worth the effort, particularly in the larger firms. Although it might be difficult in small companies, at least they do have the scope to give such people responsibility and wider experience earlier, particularly as they claim they are not always attractive to graduates as potential employers. Staff with lower-level experience, provided they are given training suited to their intellectual abilities, have something to offer that the others have not, and it would seem that the modern trend towards ignoring this source is one that may be detrimental to the long term development of Kenyan business. Onyemelukwe (1973) pointed out some of the virtues of Nigerian middle managers who had worked their way up; he made particular reference to their propensity for hard work, but noted that they were resentful of the fact that instead of experience being the criterion for promotion, paper qualified candidates were being promoted over their heads.

The modern Kenyan emphasis on educational qualifications for management followed by coursework training has its weaknesses. Formal education alone cannot make managers. Mintzberg (1973) has pointed out that this approach may enhance some basic skills and provide trainee managers with a certain amount of knowledge, but it will not make a non-leader able to lead effectively. However, the problem of finding other feasible alternatives remains. Dore (1976) suggests, and in this he receives support from Lord Robbins, that higher education should come after proven practical experience. Livingston (1971) has also raised doubts; the modern reliance "on scholastic standing, intelligence test scores, and grades as a measure of managerial potential" is unreliable. In view of these doubts and the Kenyan practices, it would appear that Kenyan business could look productively at the forgotten managerial group and with some thought make better use of them.

There would appear to be a felt need for better in-company management development as opposed to mere training, and the acquisition of a more responsible approach by management to the practice of training. In many instances, training has been allowed to develop into something of a gimmick because management has not taken its responsibilities sufficiently seriously. The relationship of training to promotion and advancement, for instance, has not always been clearly defined, and management has often failed to communicate its objectives and purpose to trainees who have been unaware of its length and its relationship to any overall plan for career development. In some instances, companies seem to have responded more to the agencies and institutions marketing their prepackaged training kits than they have to the needs of their own organisations and the managers within them. Onyemelukwe (1973) has observed: "It works out that those sent for such training think that they are selected on account of their merit and thus expect rewards or special treatment at the end of their training,"[4] and he is dubious of some of the motives of foreign-owned establishments who seem to be trying to impress rather than to help.

Alternative strategies to this current approach are easy to identify, although they may not be so easy to implement. Britain is currently debating the relative merits of the "standard" off-the-job training against those of action learning and on-the-job coaching. It is increasingly being accepted that the main focus of management training and development should be on the job, from where, in the words of Kilcourse, "operative training never really strayed".[5] Considering the corporate effort that is normally put into long-range planning, sales and production forecasting and planning, budgeting and other forward-looking devices, it is not unreasonable to hope that similar attention could be devoted to management development.

The factors identified in this work as being most relevant to training and development re-orientation relate to the current concentration on the inexperienced educated at the expense of the

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4. Onyemelukwe, 1973, op. cit., p. 149.

5. Kilcourse, Tom, "How to Open Windows", Management Today, Sept. 1977.

experienced uneducated. It is suggested that this may not be the best strategy for Kenya, although this is not to say that higher education does not have its place, nor that outside coursework training should be abandoned, nor even that on-the-job experience is necessarily perfect. What is suggested is that the current relationship between the three is worthy of re-evaluation, and possibly re-balancing.

The responsibility for any such re-balancing would rest with both government and the private sector. Dore's proposals, referred to above, when combined with suitably adapted on-the-job coaching schemes, might well be applicable to the Kenyan environment. He has quoted two countries, the Peoples' Republic of China and Tanzania, as being ones which have made attempts to abandon the "scourge of the certificate" by changing the entrance criteria for higher educational institutions away from scholastic ones to others based on practical work performance and the needs of society. He has outlined a system in which people would commence their careers earlier (at around 15 to 17 years) and in which tertiary education and training would be transformed into in-career learning. Selection processes would no longer be based on learning achievement tests, but upon some form of aptitude or other test which could not be crammed for.[6]

These proposals are "revolutionary" in the sense that they would mean a complete revision of the current content and style of higher educational programmes and curricula, but Dore has

6. Dore, 1976, op. cit., pp. 168-176.

anticipated the problems and objections which would be raised and has countered them with what he considers to be outweighing benefits.[7] Firstly, the current "ritualistic qualification-oriented" schooling of most Third World countries would be dropped, and the nurturing of more development-oriented attitudes would be fostered by the abandonment of educational elitism. This process would be assisted by more reliance on appropriate work experience as a leading criterion for higher education and training. It would not mean that the specially gifted who still required "pure" education could not get it, for there is always a place for this, but it would certainly be possible to improve its quality by providing it for those who wished to learn and not for those who wanted a job-entitling certificate. The costs involved in implementing such a system would be offset by a reduction in the length of the present certificate-gaining higher schooling and education, and by a reduction in the length of vocational courses because of increased on-the-job training. The linch-pin of Dore's system would be the selection and aptitude tests adopted to replace the present achievement tests, and in this aspect he comes down fairly conclusively on the side of aptitude tests which he admits need to be furthered.

The ultimate advantages of Dore's proposals, again as outlined by himself, would appear to lie in an alleviation of the current problems of secondary and tertiary educated unemployment, the relief

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7. Ibid., pp. 141-167.

of shortages of middle level manpower, the development of mature and application-minded students, and a reduction of the present organisational stratification into the kind of clearly demarcated status groups so amply demonstrated in the Kenyan research.

Were these new educational strategies ever to be seriously considered, on-the-job coaching schemes could be neatly dovetailed into them. The whole ethos of industrial employment would be geared up to learning by doing, with higher education and management training being the reward for industry and aptitude at work. The role of training would be as important as ever it was, but in-company training would be a joint effort between the company and the training institution after the necessary planning exercise to ensure its relevance to the former's needs.

Action learning (Revans 1972), or a system akin to it, could be made to support the changed system. Although his original scheme involved the sending of managerial "high fliers" into other companies in different industries to look at specially selected problems outside their normal work experience, recent applications of Revans' technique have been somewhat more modest. Companies in Britain and Sweden have modified the approach to one in which managers interchange within their own organisations rather than outside them, and instead of it being reserved for intending senior managers, middle managerial levels have been involved. Given the project nature of this form of training, there is no real reason why further adaptations in the method could not ensure its suitability for proven supervisors and junior managers who have acquired sufficient higher education as a reward for performance.

Using Revans' check and reporting system they could be prepared for middle level job responsibilities, and would better develop when they were involved in taking the initiative in the process.

It may be that an improvement in Kenyan management training lies within the bounds of the foregoing discussion. A shift away from the present emphasis on higher education prior to management training may be worthy of examination. The utilisation of job experience from the bottom may also yield benefits. Identification of managerial talent could be carried out at that level, and higher education and further management training could be a reward for experience and suitability. In this way, the current segregation of the higher educated and trained from their less fortunate fellows would be less evident, and may go some way towards breaking down the now traditional barriers between the planners and the doers. Managers could learn more about the problems of managing in Africa through systematic practical experience and planned development, rather than being sheltered from them by a Western-based education and training which avoids many of the issues as it hides behind philosophies which are not necessarily relevant.

APPENDIX A

# THE SAMPLES

Permission was requested, but not granted, from the Ministry of Economic Planning (later called the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, and even later Finance and Economic Planning) to make use of official statistics relating to the size of firms by industry for the purpose of drawing up the sample. However despite this setback, it was still possible to obtain similar information from the Federation of Kenya Employers, as most of the organisations in Kenya employing over 150 people were members of the Federation, and their annual subscriptions were determined on the basis of the size of the workforce.

The Federation of Kenya Employers was approached, and permission was granted to make use of its list. The latest figures available at the time (1970) on employment levels were to be found in the 1968 List of Members which was then used as the main source document in drawing up the sampling frame.

A comprehensive list was made of the 134 organisations employing over 150 staff in all sectors and industries, with the exceptions of Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing, and Mining and Quarrying, all of which were deemed to be outside the limits of an industrial-commercial research project. A supplementary reason for excluding them was the limited finance, research assistance and time available, which virtually precluded the contacting and interviewing of such establishments, many of which were necessarily removed from the main industrial and commercial areas.

Half (67) of these concerns were selected on the random basis method described in Chapter IV, although it was ultimately possible to see only 61 of them, of which 52 were employing African managers. Of these 52, it was later possible to revisit 39 of them, and arrange interviews with African managers. The 39 companies form the basis of this research.

However, the original 67 concerns were contacted by letter in which the research objectives were outlined and the co-operation of the organisations requested; each letter contained enclosures of the two interview schedules to be applied, the first of which was directed at senior company representatives and sought information pertaining to company development and training policies and practices, while the second was designed for the African managers and requested information on their backgrounds, training and careers.

At a later date, the organisations were contacted by telephone, at which point an appointment with a senior executive was made for the purpose of further explaining the research and administering the first questionnaire. During this first interview, information was obtained on the number of managerial staff employed, and the numbers, if any, of Africans in managerial posts. Either as a result of this meeting, or from a subsequent telephone call, arrangements were made to interview some of the African managers in the organisation, using the second questionnaire. In the case of each firm, between a third and a half of the total number of African managers employed were interviewed, and care was taken to ensure that they represented different functional areas and levels of seniority.

The length of each interview with the company spokesmen was normally about two hours, although occasionally it was less, and in the case of those companies who had devoted more resources for development and training, and who therefore had more to contribute, it was longer than this, and sometimes involved a follow-up visit. The interviews with the managers were shorter, taking on average about forty minutes each.

APPENDIX B

LIST OF COMPANIES FORMING THE FIRST SAMPLE
(from whom the 179 African managers were also drawn)

1. Agricultural Finance Corporation
2. Amalgamated Saw Mills
3. Barclays International
4. Block Hotels
5. Cotts Holdings (EA)
6. E.A. Bag & Cordage
7. E.A. Bata Shoe
8. E.A. Extelcommunications
9. E.A. Newspapers (Nation Series)
10. E.A. Oxygen
11. E.A. Portland Cement
12. E.A. Power & Lighting
13. E.A. Railways Corporation (Kenya Region)
14. E.A. Standard (Newspapers)
15. Elliotts Bakeries
16. Esso Standard
17. Express Transport (Mombasa)
18. Express Transport (Nairobi)
19. R.O. Hamilton
20. Harrtz and Bell
21. Hughes Motors
22. Intercontinental Hotels
23. Kenya Orchards
24. Kenya Rayon
25. Kenya Shell
26. Kenya Toray Mills
27. Low and Bonar
28. McKenzie Dalgety
29. Nath Brothers
30. Nyali Properties
31. Old East African Trading Company
32. Pearl Dry Cleaners
33. Securicor
34. Sokoro Saw Mills
35. Timsales
36. Total Oil Company
37. Unga Millers
38. Union-Carbide
39. United Transport Overseas

## APPENDIX B (Continued)

### OTHER COMPANIES IN THE ORIGINAL SAMPLE

African Marine & General Engineering
Arcadia Construction
Balfour Beatty
Campagnola
D. T. Dobie
Emco Glass*
E. A. Packaging
Farmers Construction
Fiat
Firoze
Inns of Africa
Kenya Glass
Kenya Transit & Trading
Kisumu Cotton Mills
Madhvani*
Marshalls
Mowlem Construction
Pan-African Foods**
Ralli Brothers
Reynolds & Company
Sameh Textiles
Sanghani***
Shah & Patel Group***
Small & Company
Steel Construction & Petroleum
Supermarket Limited
T. O. T.

---

* No response to letter or telephone

** Out of business

*** Impossible to arrange an interview at a mutually convenient time

The remainder were not used either because they had no African managers or because it was impossible to contact them again in the time available.

APPENDIX C

## THE LETTER TO THE COMPANIES

Faculty of Commerce
University of Nairobi
P O Box 30197
Nairobi

Dear

Kenya Management Survey

A research project has been designed in which your co-operation is kindly sought. The objective of the project is to find out more about company management development policies in Kenya and about the social, educational and career backgrounds of African managers.

Two questionnaires are enclosed for your inspection, one relating to the company and its managerial development policies and the other to the backgrounds of African managers.

It would be most appreciated if you would grant an interview when we subsequently contact you by telephone, at which any questions on the project may be answered, and your further co-operation sought.

With many thanks.

Yours faithfully

M.J. Greaves

## THE DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING OF AFRICAN MANAGERS IN KENYA.

| 1. NAME OF COMPANY OR ESTABLISHMENT. | 2. NUMBER OF MANAGERS. | 3. NUMBER OF AFRICAN MANAGERS. |
|---|---|---|
| | | |

| 4. INDICATE BY ORDER OF IMPORTANCE (1,2,3, etc.) THE MAIN METHODS BY WHICH YOUR MANAGERIAL PERSONNEL ARE SELECTED. | |
|---|---|
| | By advertisement |
| | Through informal contacts |
| | Through the Ministry of Labour |
| | Through educational and/or professional institutions |
| | By promotion of staff from non-managerial grades |
| | Other methods; |
| | |
| | |
| | |
| | |

| 5. WHAT TYPE OF EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND DO YOU SPECIFICALLY SEEK IN YOUR MANAGERIAL PERSONNEL? | |
|---|---|
| | A university degree (Bachelors) |
| | A university degree (Higher) |
| | A professional qualification |
| | A technical qualification |
| | Higher School Certificate |
| | No particular educational level |
| | Other; |
| | |
| | |
| | |
| | |

| 6. INDICATE THE NUMBER OF MANAGERS TRAINED (OR IN TRAINING) FROM THE FOLLOWING SOURCES (LAST THREE YEARS); | |
|---|---|
| | Graduates from the University of East Africa |
| | Graduates from overseas universities |
| | Higher School Certificate leavers |
| | Promotions from within non-managerial grades |
| | Other types; |
| | |
| | |
| | |
| | |
| | |

APPENDIX D (Continued)

7. INDICATE THE NUMBER OF MANAGERS THAT HAVE BEEN TRAINED (OR ARE UNDER-GOING TRAINING) DURING THE PAST 3 YEARS BY THE FOLLOWING METHODS;

| | |
|---|---|
| | On the job training |
| | Company training institutions in Kenya |
| | Company training institutions outside Kenya |
| | Courses run by the Kenya Institute of Management |
| | Courses run by the Management Training & Advisory Centre |
| | Overseas training (not at company institutions) |
| | Other courses and methods; |
| | |
| | |
| | |
| | |

8. WHAT KIND OF TRAINING PROGRAMMES DO YOU NORMALLY INSTITUTE FOR THE FOLLOWING KINDS OF PERSONNEL (IN-COMPANY TRAINING)?

PRODUCTION/TECHNICAL

SELLING/MARKETING

FINANCIAL/ACCOUNTING

PERSONNEL

9. HOW DO YOU VALUE YOUR TRAINING PROGAMMES IN TERMS OF THEIR RESULTS?

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Very high value | Your reasons for this valuation; |
| | High value | |
| | Average | |
| | Not very valuable | |
| | Useless or irrelevant | |

APPENDIX D (Continued)

10. HOW DO YOU MEASURE OR JUDGE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF YOUR TRAINING?

11. INDICATE YOUR LEVEL OF SATISFACTION BASED ON YOUR PRACTICAL EXPERIENCE WITH MANAGERS OF THE FOLLOWING EDUCATIONAL LEVELS:

| | VERY HIGH | HIGH | AVER -AGE | LOW | V. LOW |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Graduates from the University of East Africa | | | | | |
| Graduates from overseas universities | | | | | |
| HSC school leavers | | | | | |
| Promotions from within non-managerial grades | | | | | |
| Other types of manager | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |

12. INDICATE THE VALUE YOU ATTACH TO THE FOLLOWING TRAINING FACILITIES ON THE BASIS OF YOUR EXPERIENCE;

| | VERY HIGH | HIGH | AVER -AGE | LOW | VERY LOW |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| On the job training | | | | | |
| Company training institutions in Kenya | | | | | |
| Company training institutions outside Kenya | | | | | |
| Courses run by the Kenya Inst. of Management | | | | | |
| Courses run by the Mgmt, Training & Advsy Centre | | | | | |
| Overseas training (not at company institutions) | | | | | |
| Other courses and methods; | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |

13. BY WHAT CRITERIA DO YOU MEASURE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF PERFORMANCE OF THE FOLLOWING TYPES OF MANAGERIAL PERSONNEL?

PRODUCTION/TECHNICAL

SELLING/MARKETING

FINANCIAL/ACCOUNTING

PERSONNEL

APPENDIX D (Continued)

14. WHAT ARE THE MAIN DEFICIENCIES YOU HAVE FOUND AMONG THE FOLLOWING TYPES OF MANAGER?

| | GRADS EA | GRADS O'S | HSC | NON HSC | INTL PROM | OTHERS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |

15. WHAT ARE THE MAIN ADVANTAGES YOU HAVE FOUND AMONG THE FOLLOWING TYPES OF MANAGER?

| | GRADS EA | GRADS O'S | HSC | NON HSC | INTL PROM | OTHERS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |

16. WHAT DO YOU THINK IS BOTH GOOD AND BAD ABOUT THE MANAGERIAL DEVELOPMENT METHODS YOU HAVE USED?

17. WHAT DO YOU THINK IS BOTH GOOD AND BAD ABOUT THE TYPES OF MANAGERIAL TRAINING FACILITIES THAT ARE AVAILABLE IN KENYA?

## AFRICAN MANAGERS

## SOCIAL, EDUCATIONAL & CAREER BACKGROUNDS.

| 1. YEAR OF BIRTH | 2. SEX | | 3. RELIGION | | 4. MARITAL STATUS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Roman Catholic | | Single |
| | | Male | | Anglican | | Married |
| | | | | PCEA, | | Divorced |
| | | Female | | Other | | Separated |
| | | | | | | Widowed |

| 5. NUMBER OF CHILDREN | | 6. MOTHER TONGUE | | 7. NUMBER OF BROTHERS/SISTERS | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | None | | Kikuyu | Brothers | | Sisters | |
| | One | | Luo | | One | | One |
| | Two | | Luhya | | Two | | Two |
| | Three | | Kamba | | Three | | Three |
| | Four | | Kisii | | Four | | Four |
| | Five | | Meru | | Five | | Five |
| | Six | | Other | | Six | | Six |
| | More than six | | | | More | | More |

| 8. NUMBER OF OLDER BROTHERS/SISTERS | | | | 9. PLACE OF BIRTH |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Brothers | | Sisters | | Location; |
| | None | | None | Division; |
| | One | | One | District; |
| | Two | | Two | |
| | Three | | Three | |
| | Four | | Four | |
| | More | | More | |

| 10. SIZE OF BIRTHPLACE: | | 11. FATHER'S EDUCN. | | 12. MOTHER'S EDUCN | | 13. WIFE'S EDUCN. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| WAS IT: | | | None | | None | | None |
| | A city like Nairobi/Mombasa | | Primary | | Primary | | Primary |
| | A town like Nakuru/Kisumu | | Secondy. | | Secondy. | | Secondy. |
| | A small town like Nyeri/Kericho | | Higher | | Higher | | Higher |
| | A rural area | | | | | | |

| 14. FATHER'S OCCUPATION | OFFICIAL USE |
|---|---|
| Please indicate the last main occupation of father. If he is retired or deceased please give last main occupation. | |

| 15. WIFE'S OCCUPATION | OFFICIAL USE |
|---|---|
| Please give main occupation of wife. If she is retired from work, please list last main occupation; if she did not have work, list her as housewife. | |

APPENDIX E (Continued)

| 16. YOUR OWN EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND | | | | 17. AGE AT WHICH LEFT SCHOOL |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No formal education | | | |
| | Primary | | Higher | |
| | Secondary | | | |

| 18. LAST SCHOOL ATTENDED | 19. WHO PAID FOR SCHOOLING? | 20. ATTENDANCE AT COLLEGE OR UNIVERSITY. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Yes |
| | | | No |

| 21. IF POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION UNDERTAKEN, DETAILS BELOW: | | |
|---|---|---|
| Course studied | | OFFICIAL USE |
| Dates | | |
| Major subjects | | |
| Where studied | | |
| Qualification | | |
| Course studied | | |
| Dates | | |
| Major subjects | | |
| Where studied | | |
| Qualification | | |
| Course studied | | |
| Dates | | |
| Major subjects | | |
| Where studied | | |
| Qualification | | |
| | | |

| 22. EDUCATION IN BUSINESS MANAGEMENT OUTSIDE THE PRESENT ORGANISATION | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Yes | |
| | No | |

| 23. IF ANSWER TO PREVIOUS QUESTION IS 'YES', PLEASE STATE: | | |
|---|---|---|
| Course studied | | OFFICIAL USE |
| Dates | | |
| Nature..full-time | | |
| part-time | | |
| correspondence | | |
| Major subjects | | |
| | | |
| Course studied | | |
| Dates | | |
| Nature..full-time | | |
| part-time | | |
| correspondence | | |
| Major subjects | | |
| | | |
| Course studied | | |
| Dates | | |
| Nature..full-time | | |
| part-time | | |
| correspondence | | |
| Major subjects | | |
| | | |
| | | |

APPENDIX E (Continued)

| 24. VALUE ATTACHED TO MANAGEMENT COURSES IN RELATION TO PRESENT MANAGERIAL WORK | 25. WAS MANAGEMENT EDUCN MORE VALUABLE THAN HIGHER EDUCN | |
|---|---|---|
| Very high | | Yes |
| High | | No |
| Average | | |
| Below average | | |
| Useless or irrelevant | | |

| 26. VALUE ATTACHED TO MANAGEMENT COURSES FOR FUTURE MANAGERIAL CAREER | 27. WILL MANAGEMENT EDUCN BE MORE VALUABLE THAN HIGHER? | |
|---|---|---|
| Very high | | Yes |
| High | | No |
| Average | | |
| Below average | | |
| Useless or irrelevant | | |

| 28. HAVE YOU EVER UNDERTAKEN ANY IN-COMPANY TRAINING FOR PRESENT JOB? |
|---|
| Yes |
| No |

| 29. IF ANSWER TO PREVIOUS QUESTION WAS 'YES', WHAT TYPE OF TRAINING? | |
|---|---|
| Title of course | OFFICIAL USE |
| Dates | |
| Where held | |
| Nature..full-time | |
| part-time | |
| correspondence | |
| Major subjects | |
| Title of course | |
| Dates | |
| Where held | |
| Nature..full-time | |
| part-time | |
| correspondence | |
| Major subjects | |
| Title of course | |
| Dates | |
| Where held | |
| Nature..full-time | |
| part-time | |
| correspondence | |
| Major subjects | |

| 30. VALUE ATTACHED TO THIS TRAINING FOR PRESENT WORK | | 31. VALUE ATTACHED TO THIS TRAINING FOR FUTURE CCAREER AS MANAGER | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Very high | | Very high |
| | High | | High |
| | Average | | Average |
| | Below average | | Below average |
| | Useless or irrelevant | | Useless or irrelevant |

| 32. WHAT ADDITIONAL TRAINING, EDUCATION OR EXPERIENCE DESIRABLE FOR THE EFFICIENT PERFORMANCE OR DUTIES? |
|---|
| |

## APPENDIX E (Continued)

| 33. AGE COMMENCED WORK | 34. FIRST FULL-TIME JOB |
|---|---|
| | |
| **35. NUMBER OF ORGANISATIONS BY WHOM EMPLOYED.** | **OFFICIAL USE** |
| | |

36. LISTING OF THE LAST FIVE COMPANIES OR ORGANISATIONS FOR WHICH YOU HAVE WORKED (NOT INCLUDING PRESENT ORGANISATION).

| NAME OR ORGANISATION | LOCATION | JOB TITLE | DATES | SALARY |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |

37. LISTING OF JOBS HELD WITHIN THE PRESENT ORGANISATION

| JOB TITLE | RESPONSIBILITIES | DATES | SALARY |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |

38. PRINCIPAL BUSINESS ACTIVITY UNDERTAKEN BY PRESENT ORGANISATION

| | OFFICIAL USE |
|---|---|
| | |

| 39. PRESENT POSITION IN THE FIRM | 40. HOW LONG HAS IT BEEN HELD? |
|---|---|
| | |

| 41. DATE COMMENCED WORKING FOR PRESENT ORGANISATION | OFFICIAL USE. |
|---|---|
| | |

APPENDIX E (Continued)

42. LIST OF PRINCIPAL DUTIES & RESPONSIBILITIES IN PRESENT JOB

| | OFFICIAL USE |
|---|---|

43. HOW DID YOU ENTER YOUR PRESENT FIRM?

| | |
|---|---|
| | By answering an advertisement |
| | By personal approach from the company |
| | Through family contact with the company |
| | By personal approach from a friend in the co. |
| | Through the Ministry of Labour |
| | Through University placement |
| | Because of a scholarship commitment |
| | Any other means; |

44. TO WHOM DO YOU REPORT?

45. IS HE:

| | |
|---|---|
| | African |
| | Asian |
| | European |
| | Other |

46. HOW MANY PERSONS ARE ACCOUNTABLE TO YOU?

47. BASIC SALARY

| | |
|---|---|
| | Below £1000 p.a. |
| | £1000 - £1499 p.a. |
| | £1500 - £1999 p.a. |
| | £2000 - £2499 p.a. |
| | £2500 - £2999 p.a. |
| | Over £3000 p.a. |

48. ARE YOU SATISFIED WITH MANAGEMENT AS A CAREER?

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Yes | Reasons |
| | No | |

OFFICIAL USE

49. WHAT WERE THE THREE MAIN MOTIVATING REASONS LEADING YOU TO UNDERTAKE MANAGEMENT AS A CAREER?

| | |
|---|---|
| | Better salaries than elsewhere |
| | Opportunity to plan and control events |
| | Provision of power and prestige |
| | Scope for exercise of intelligence & judgement |
| | Best outlet for education |
| | Better identity with this form of enterprise |
| | More satisfactory training available |
| | Other reasons; |

50. IF YOU HAD NOT PURSUED A MANAGERIAL CAREER. WHAT WOULD HAVE BEEN THE ALTERNATIVE?

OFFICIAL USE

APPENDIX F

## LIST OF OCCUPATIONS OF THE MANAGERS' FATHERS

Agricultural Instructor
Agricultural Officer
Bank Clerk
Builder
Carpenter
Civil Servant
Clergyman
Clerk
Commissioner of Police
Cook
Court Official
District Officer
Domestic Servant
Engineer
Factory Supervisor
Farm Overseer
Forest Guard
Garage Mechanic
Headmaster
Hospital Superintendant
Inspector of Police
Labourer
Land Assessor
Local Government Official
Lorry Driver
Magistrate
Mason
Mechanic
Medical Assistant
Mill Supervisor
Peasant Farmer
Prison Corporal
Probation Officer
Railway Loader
Road Overseer
School Inspector
Senior Commissioner (Civil Service)
Shopkeeper
Soldier (non-commissioned)
Sub-Chief of Location
Surveyor
Tailor
Teacher (Primary)
Teacher (Secondary)
Trader
Traffic Superintendant (Railways)
Union Liaison Officer
University Technician
Veterinary Officer
Village Elder
Wireman (Post Office)

APPENDIX G

# JOB TITLES HELD BY THE AFRICAN MANAGERS INTERVIEWED ACCORDING TO THEIR MANAGERIAL STATUS

## Senior & Top Managers

Accounting and Financial Manager
Assistant Company Secretary
Assistant Engineer
Assistant Fleet Manager
Assistant Manager
Assistant Personnel Manager
Assistant Tourist Manager
Branch Manager
Budget Controller
Business Development Manager
Company Secretary
Consumer Manager
Deputy General Manager
District Civil Engineer
District Mechanical Engineer
District Manager
District Traffic Manager
Exports Manager
General Manager
Industrial Relations Manager
Managing Editor
Marketing Manager
Office Manager
Personnel Manager
Plant Manager
Production Manager
Production Planning Manager
Project & Planning Manager
Public Relations Manager
Regional Accountant
Regional Manager
Regional Traffic Manager
Retail Manager
Wholesale Manager

## Middle Managers

Accountant
Administration Assistant
Administration Officer
Assistant Accountant
Assistant Branch Manager
Assistant Departmental Manager
Assistant Editor
Assistant Engineer
Assistant Manager
Assistant Mill Manager
Assistant Operations Manager
Assistant Production Manager
Assistant Retail Manager
Assistant Sales Manager
Assistant Traffic Manager
Assistant Technical Superintendant
Audit Verifications Officer
Branch Manager
Branch Sales Manager
Cashier
Chemist
Chief Draughtsman
Chief Storekeeper
Chief Wayleave Officer
Circulation Manager
Credit Controller
Departmental Accountant
Departmental Manager
Depot Inspector
Depot Manager
Deputy Revenue Accountant
Deputy Transport Manager
District Manager
Export Manager
Head of Sales
Management Accountant
Marketing Controller
Mill Manager

## APPENDIX G (Continued)

Office Manager
Personnel Manager
Plant Supervisor
Production Superintendant
Purchasing Officer
Retail Development Assistant
Sales Accountant
Sales Supplies Manager
Senior Airfield Superintendant
Senior Purchasing Officer
Senior Surveyor
Shares Registrar
Staff Superintendant
Technical Librarian
Traffic Manager
Training Officer
Yard Manager

### Junior Managers

Accounts Supervisor
Administration Officer
Assistant Financial Controller
Chief Inspector
Dispatch Superintendant
Exchange Control Assistant
Group Supervisor
Operations Manager
Production Supervisor
Salaries Officer
Technical Superintendant
Tours Supervisor
Traffic Assistant
Trainee Accounts Manager
Trainee Engineer
Trainee Manager
Workshop Manager
Workshop Supervisor

---

Note: These managerial job titles are listed as they were given by the African managers. Because the same job title does not necessarily mean the same authority and responsibilities in different firms, there is a duplication of some titles in the various seniority gradings.

## ANALYSIS OF MANAGERS BY AGE

| Age Group of the Managers | 20-29 years | 30-39 years | Over 40 years | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (i) Basic Facts | | | | |
| Number | 47 | 93 | 39 | 179 |
| Number as percentage of total | 26 | 52 | 22 | 100 |
| Average age | 28 | 34 | 44 | 34 |
| (ii) Ethnic Affiliation | | | | |
| Kikuyu | 20 | 50 | 16 | 86 |
| Luo | 8 | 12 | 9 | 29 |
| Abaluyha | 3 | 13 | 9 | 25 |
| Other | 16 | 18 | 5 | 39 |
| (iii) Religious Affiliation | | | | |
| Roman Catholic | 19 | 30 | 6 | 55 |
| Anglican | 10 | 16 | 10 | 36 |
| Presbyterian Church of East Africa | 5 | 8 | 9 | 22 |
| Other | 13 | 37 | 14 | 64 |
| (iv) Fathers' Education | | | | |
| Uneducated | 23 | 39 | 17 | 79 |
| Primary educated | 17 | 45 | 17 | 79 |
| Secondary educated | 7 | 9 | 4 | 20 |
| Percentage of secondary educated | 15 | 10 | 11 | 11 |
| (v) Fathers' Occupational Classification | | | | |
| DE (Traditional, peasant) | 17 | 53 | 21 | 91 |
| $C_2$ (Routine non-manual, semi-skilled manual) | 1 | 8 | 7 | 16 |
| $C_1$ (Supervisory, skilled manual) | 23 | 26 | 7 | 56 |
| AB (Top Administrative, executive, managerial) | 6 | 6 | 4 | 16 |
| Percentage of Class AB fathers | 13 | 6 | 10 | 9 |

APPENDIX G (Continued)

| Age Group of the Managers | 20-29 years | 30-39 years | Over 40 years | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (vi) School Attended | | | | |
| Primary and Other | 10 | 15 | 7 | 32 |
| Local Catchment | 26 | 55 | 14 | 95 |
| National Low Cost | 11 | 23 | 18 | 52 |
| Percentage attending National Low Cost | 23 | 25 | 46 | 29 |
| (vii) Education | | | | |
| No School Certificate | 6 | 20 | 12 | 38 |
| School Certificate | 30 | 52 | 24 | 106 |
| Degree | 11 | 21 | 3 | 35 |
| Percentage with degrees | 23 | 23 | 8 | 20 |
| Further study (no.) | 17 | 41 | 11 | 69 |
| Percentage undertaking further study | 36 | 44 | 28 | 38 |
| (viii) First Job | | | | |
| Non-advantageous start | 25 | 57 | 28 | 110 |
| Non-business start | 17 | 23 | 3 | 43 |
| Advantageous start | 5 | 13 | 8 | 26 |
| Percentage with advantageous start | 36 | 25 | 8 | 24 |
| (ix) Career Progress | | | | |
| Age commenced work (years) | 21 | 21 | 20 | 21 |
| Late study time " | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Non-managerial experience " | 4 | 8 | 18 | 9 |
| Age reached management " | 25 | 30 | 39 | 31 |
| Managerial experience " | 2 | 4 | 6 | 4 |
| Average age " | 28 | 34 | 44 | 34 |
| Total work experience " | 6 | 12 | 24 | 13 |
| Managerial experience as % of work experience | 59 | 29 | 24 | 29 |

APPENDIX H (Continued)

| Age Group of the Managers | 20-29 years | 30-39 years | Over 40 years | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (x) Career Mobility | | | | |
| No. who have worked for 1 organisation | 23 | 23 | 10 | 56 |
| No. who have worked for 2 organisations | 13 | 33 | 11 | 57 |
| No. who have worked for 3 organisations | 5 | 21 | 2 | 28 |
| No. who have worked for more than 3 organisations | 6 | 16 | 16 | 38 |
| Average no. of jobs held | 1.9 | 2.5 | 3.2 | 2.5 |
| Average no. of moves | 1.7 | 2.0 | 3.0 | 2.2 |
| Average no. of moves per year of work experience | 0.3 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.2 |
| (xi) Training | | | | |
| No. with in-company training | 46 | 87 | 36 | 169 |
| No. receiving training from present organisation | 44 | 81 | 34 | 159 |
| No. receiving training in Kenya | 46 | 78 | 35 | 159 |
| No. receiving training overseas | 11 | 39 | 8 | 58 |
| No. attending management courses | 38 | 81 | 33 | 152 |
| Average no. of courses attended (all group) | 1.8 | 2.9 | 2.5 | 2.5 |
| Average no. of courses attended (those trained) | 2.3 | 3.3 | 2.9 | 3.0 |
| Average time (weeks) spent on courses (all group) | 8 | 10 | 13 | 10 |
| Average time (weeks) spent on courses (those trained) | 10 | 12 | 17 | 13 |
| No. of courses per year of managerial experience (all group) | 0.8 | 0.8 | 0.5 | 0.7 |
| No. of courses per year of managerial experience (those trained) | 1.0 | 0.9 | 0.5 | 0.8 |
| No. trained on-the-job | 31 | 51 | 15 | 97 |
| Average time (months) spent on on-the-job training (all group) | 13 | 11 | 6 | 10 |

APPENDIX H (Continued)

| Age Group of the Managers | 20-29 years | 30-39 years | Over 40 years | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Average time (months) per year of managerial experience spent on on-the-job training | 6 | 3 | 1 | 3 |
| Value of training (expressed as percentage | 82 | 86 | 84 | 84 |
| (xii) Present Job Function | | | | |
| Production | 11 | 26 | 12 | 49 |
| Marketing | 8 | 18 | 6 | 32 |
| Personnel | 4 | 11 | 7 | 22 |
| Finance & Accounting | 14 | 15 | 7 | 36 |
| Other | 10 | 23 | 7 | 40 |
| Percentage in Production jobs | 23 | 28 | 31 | 27 |
| Percentage in Commercial (Marketing, Personnel, Finance & Accounting) jobs | 55 | 47 | 51 | 50 |
| (xiii) Current Managerial Status | | | | |
| Junior & Trainee | 13 | 13 | 1 | 27 |
| Middle | 28 | 49 | 23 | 100 |
| Senior & Top | 6 | 31 | 15 | 52 |
| Percentage of senior and top managers | 13 | 33 | 38 | 29 |
| (xiv) Current Salary Level | | | | |
| Average salary per annum (K£s) | 1431 | 1812 | 1936 | 1739 |

## ANALYSIS OF MANAGERS BY FATHERS' EDUCATION

| Fathers' Education | None | Primary | Second -ary | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (i) Basic Facts | | | | |
| Number | 79 | 79 | 20 | 178[1] |
| Numbers as percentage of total | 44 | 44 | 11 | 99 |
| Average age | 35 | 35 | 34 | 34 |
| (ii) Age Grouping | | | | |
| 20 - 29 years | 23 | 17 | 7 | 47 |
| 30 - 39 years | 39 | 45 | 9 | 93 |
| 40 years and over | 17 | 17 | 4 | 38 |
| (iii) Ethnic Affiliation | | | | |
| Kikuyu | 44 | 35 | 7 | 86 |
| Luo | 9 | 17 | 3 | 29 |
| Abaluhya | 9 | 13 | 3 | 25 |
| Other | 17 | 14 | 7 | 38 |
| (iv) Religious Affiliation | | | | |
| Roman Catholic | 27 | 23 | 5 | 55 |
| Anglican | 9 | 21 | 6 | 36 |
| Presbyterian Church of East Africa | 13 | 7 | 2 | 22 |
| Other | 29 | 28 | 6 | 63 |
| (v) Fathers' Occupational Classification | | | | |
| DE (Traditional, peasant) | 59 | 30 | 2 | 91 |
| $C_2$ (Routine non-manual, semi-skilled manual) | 4 | 10 | 1 | 15 |
| $C_1$ (Supervisory, skilled manual) | 16 | 31 | 9 | 56 |
| AB (Top Administrative, executive, managerial) | 0 | 8 | 8 | 16 |
| Percentage with Class AB fathers | 0 | 10 | 40 | 9 |

APPENDIX I (Continued)

| Fathers' Education | None | Primary | Second -ary | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (vi) School Attended | | | | |
| Primary & Other | 19 | 10 | 2 | 31 |
| Local Catchment | 42 | 43 | 10 | 95 |
| National Low Cost | 18 | 26 | 8 | 52 |
| Percentage attending National Low Cost | 23 | 33 | 40 | 29 |
| (vii) Education | | | | |
| No School Certificate | 24 | 13 | 0 | 37 |
| School Certificate | 47 | 47 | 12 | 106 |
| Degree | 8 | 19 | 8 | 35 |
| Percentage with Degrees | 10 | 24 | 40 | 20 |
| Further study | 24 | 36 | 9 | 69 |
| Percentage undertaking further study | 30 | 46 | 45 | 39 |
| (viii) First Job | | | | |
| Non-advantageous start | 57 | 42 | 10 | 109 |
| Non-business start | 11 | 14 | 1 | 26 |
| Advantageous start | 11 | 23 | 9 | 43 |
| Percentage with advantageous start | 14 | 29 | 45 | 24 |
| (ix) Career Progress | | | | |
| Age commenced work (years) | 21 | 21 | 22 | 21 |
| Late study time " | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Non-managerial experience " | 10 | 9 | 9 | 9 |
| Age reached management " | 31 | 30 | 31 | 31 |
| Managerial experience " | 4 | 3 | 3 | 4 |
| Average age " | 35 | 34 | 34 | 34 |
| Total work experience " | 14 | 12 | 12 | 13 |
| Managerial experience as % of work experience | 29 | 28 | 26 | 29 |

APPENDIX I (Continued)

| Fathers' Education | None | Primary | Second -ary | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (x) Career Mobility | | | | |
| No. who have worked for 1 organisation | 23 | 28 | 5 | 56 |
| No. who have worked for 2 organisations | 30 | 20 | 6 | 56 |
| No. who have worked for 3 organisations | 8 | 15 | 5 | 28 |
| No. who have worked for more than 3 organisations | 18 | 16 | 4 | 38 |
| Average no. of jobs held | 2.4 | 2.5 | 2.5 | 2.5 |
| Average no. of moves | 2.0 | 2.4 | 2.0 | 2.2 |
| Average no. of moves per year of work experience | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.2 |
| (xi) Training | | | | |
| No. with in-company training | 72 | 77 | 19 | 168 |
| No. receiving training from present organisation | 69 | 71 | 18 | 158 |
| No. receiving training in Kenya | 66 | 74 | 18 | 158 |
| No. receiving training overseas | 21 | 32 | 5 | 58 |
| No. attending management courses | 62 | 72 | 18 | 152 |
| Average no. of courses attended (all group) | 2.3 | 2.8 | 2.5 | 2.5 |
| Average no. of courses attended (those trained) | 2.9 | 3.1 | 2.8 | 3.0 |
| Average time (weeks) spent on courses (all group) | 9 | 12 | 10 | 10 |
| Average time (weeks) spent on courses (those trained) | 12 | 14 | 11 | 13 |
| No. of courses per year of managerial experience (all group) | 0.6 | 0.9 | 0.8 | 0.7 |
| No. of courses per year of managerial experience (those trained) | 0.7 | 0.8 | 0.7 | 0.8 |
| No. trained on-the-job | 40 | 43 | 13 | 96 |
| Average time (months) spent on on-the-job training | 10 | 10 | 11 | 10 |

APPENDIX I (Continued)

| Fathers' Education | None | Primary | Second -ary | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Average time (months) per year of managerial experience on on-the-job training | 3 | 3 | 4 | 3 |
| Value of training (expressed as a percentage) | 84 | 83 | 86 | 84 |
| (xii) Present Job Function | | | | |
| Production | 30 | 17 | 1 | 48 |
| Marketing | 9 | 19 | 4 | 32 |
| Personnel | 11 | 8 | 3 | 22 |
| Finance and Accounting | 16 | 14 | 6 | 36 |
| Other | 13 | 21 | 6 | 40 |
| Percentage in Production jobs | 38 | 21 | 5 | 27 |
| Percentage in Commercial jobs (Marketing, Personnel, Finance and Accounting) | 45 | 52 | 65 | 50 |
| (xiii) Current Managerial Status | | | | |
| Junior & Trainee | 13 | 13 | 1 | 27 |
| Middle | 50 | 38 | 11 | 99 |
| Senior & Top | 16 | 28 | 8 | 52 |
| Percentage of senior and top managers | 20 | 35 | 40 | 29 |
| (xiv) Current Salary Level | | | | |
| Average salary per annum (K£s) | 1551 | 1845 | 2088 | 1742 |

Note: 1. One manager did not give educational details relating to his father.

## ANALYSIS OF MANAGERS BY FATHERS' OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION

| Fathers' Occupational Classification | AB | $C_1$ | $C_2$ | D. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (i) Basic Facts | | | | | |
| Number | 16 | 56 | 16 | 91 | 179 |
| Number as percentage of total | 9 | 31 | 9 | 51 | 100 |
| Average age | 33 | 33 | 39 | 35 | 34 |
| (ii) Age Grouping | | | | | |
| 20 - 29 years | 6 | 23 | 1 | 17 | 47 |
| 30 - 39 years | 6 | 26 | 8 | 53 | 93 |
| 40 years and over | 4 | 7 | 7 | 21 | 39 |
| (iii) Ethnic Affiliation | | | | | |
| Kikuyu | 3 | 24 | 9 | 50 | 86 |
| Luo | 3 | 14 | 3 | 9 | 29 |
| Abaluyha | 5 | 6 | 1 | 13 | 25 |
| Other | 5 | 12 | 3 | 19 | 39 |
| (iv) Religious Affiliation | | | | | |
| Roman Catholic | 2 | 19 | 2 | 32 | 55 |
| Anglican | 6 | 14 | 6 | 10 | 36 |
| Presbyterian Church of East Africa | 2 | 4 | 2 | 14 | 22 |
| Other | 6 | 19 | 5 | 34 | 64 |
| (v) Fathers' Education | | | | | |
| Uneducated | 0 | 16 | 4 | 59 | 79 |
| Primary educated | 8 | 31 | 10 | 30 | 79 |
| Secondary educated | 8 | 9 | 1 | 2 | 20 |
| Percentage of secondary educated fathers | 50 | 16 | 7 | 2 | 11 |

APPENDIX J (Continued)

| Fathers' Occupational Classification | AB | $C_1$ | $C_2$ | DE | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (vi) School Attended | | | | | |
| Primary & Other | 0 | 9 | 3 | 20 | 32 |
| Local Catchment | 10 | 28 | 6 | 51 | 95 |
| National Low Cost | 6 | 19 | 7 | 20 | 52 |
| Percentage attending National Low Cost | 38 | 34 | 44 | 22 | 29 |
| (vii) Education | | | | | |
| No School Certificate | 1 | 6 | 5 | 26 | 38 |
| School Certificate | 10 | 35 | 10 | 51 | 106 |
| Degree | 5 | 15 | 1 | 14 | 35 |
| Percentage of graduates | 31 | 27 | 6 | 15 | 20 |
| Further study | 7 | 24 | 5 | 33 | 69 |
| Percentage undertaking further study | 44 | 43 | 31 | 36 | 38 |
| (viii) First Job | | | | | |
| Non-advantageous start | 8 | 29 | 11 | 62 | 110 |
| Non-business start | 2 | 7 | 2 | 15 | 26 |
| Advantageous start | 6 | 20 | 3 | 14 | 43 |
| Percentage with advantageous start | 38 | 36 | 19 | 15 | 24 |
| (ix) Career Progress | | | | | |
| Age commenced work (years) | 21 | 22 | 20 | 20 | 21 |
| Late study time " | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Non-managerial experience " | 9 | 8 | 13 | 10 | 9 |
| Age reached management " | 31 | 30 | 34 | 31 | 31 |
| Managerial experience " | 2 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 4 |
| Average age " | 33 | 33 | 39 | 35 | 34 |
| Total work experience " | 11 | 11 | 18 | 14 | 13 |
| Managerial experience as % of work experience | 21 | 27 | 30 | 30 | 29 |

APPENDIX J (Continued)

| Fathers' Occupational Classification | AB | $C_1$ | $C_2$ | DE | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (x) Career Mobility | | | | | |
| No. who have worked for 1 organisation | 4 | 21 | 8 | 23 | 56 |
| No. who have worked for 2 organisations | 3 | 18 | 3 | 33 | 57 |
| No. who have worked for 3 organisations | 4 | 2 | 8 | 14 | 28 |
| No. who have worked for more than 3 organisations | 5 | 9 | 3 | 21 | 38 |
| Average no. of jobs held | 3.0 | 2.2 | 2.4 | 2.6 | 2.5 |
| Average no. of moves | 2.0 | 1.2 | 1.4 | 1.6 | 2.2 |
| Average no. of moves per year of work experience | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.2 |
| (xi) Training | | | | | |
| No. with in-company training | 15 | 53 | 16 | 85 | 169 |
| No. receiving training from present organisation | 13 | 50 | 16 | 80 | 159 |
| No. receiving training in Kenya | 14 | 50 | 16 | 79 | 159 |
| No. receiving training overseas | 3 | 19 | 7 | 29 | 58 |
| No. attending management courses | 14 | 50 | 13 | 75 | 152 |
| Average no. of courses attended (all group) | 1.6 | 2.8 | 2.6 | 2.5 | 2.5 |
| Average no. of courses attended (those trained) | 1.9 | 3.2 | 3.2 | 3.0 | 3.0 |
| Average time (weeks) spent on courses (all group) | 6.5 | 11.6 | 12.8 | 9.9 | 10.4 |
| Average time (weeks) spent on courses (those trained) | 8.0 | 13.3 | 17.1 | 12.5 | 12.7 |
| No. of courses per year of managerial experience (all group) | 0.8 | 0.9 | 0.5 | 0.6 | 0.6 |
| No. of courses per year of managerial experience (those trained) | 1.0 | 1.1 | 0.6 | 0.8 | 0.7 |

APPENDIX J (Continued)

| Fathers' Occupational Classification | AB | $C_1$ | $C_2$ | DE | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| No. trained on-the-job | 9 | 33 | 13 | 42 | 97 |
| Average time (months) spent on on-the-job training (those trained) | 12 | 11 | 12 | 9 | 10 |
| Average time (months) per year of managerial experience for on-the-job training | 6 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 3 |
| Value of training (expressed as a percentage) | 82 | 91 | 86 | 84 | 84 |
| (xii) Present Job Function | | | | | |
| Production | 1 | 7 | 6 | 35 | 49 |
| Marketing | 4 | 10 | 3 | 15 | 32 |
| Personnel | 2 | 5 | 0 | 15 | 22 |
| Finance and Accounting | 3 | 15 | 5 | 13 | 36 |
| Other | 6 | 19 | 2 | 13 | 40 |
| Percentage in Production jobs | 6 | 12 | 38 | 39 | 27 |
| Percentage in Commercial (Marketing, Personnel, Finance and Accounting) jobs | 56 | 54 | 50 | 47 | 50 |
| (xiii) Current Managerial Status | | | | | |
| Junior and Trainee | 2 | 10 | 0 | 15 | 27 |
| Middle | 8 | 30 | 10 | 52 | 100 |
| Senior and Top | 6 | 16 | 6 | 24 | 52 |
| Percentage of Senior and Top managers | 38 | 29 | 38 | 26 | 29 |
| (xiv) Current Salary Level | | | | | |
| Average salary per annum (K£s) | 2000 | 1790 | 1906 | 1631 | 1739 |

APPENDIX K

ANALYSIS OF MANAGERS BY SCHOOL ATTENDED

| Type of School Attended | Primary & Other | Local Catchment | National Low Cost | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (i) Basic Facts | | | | |
| Number | 32 | 95 | 52 | 179 |
| Number as percentage of total | 18 | 53 | 29 | 100 |
| Average age | 35 | 33 | 37 | 34 |
| (ii) Age Groupings | | | | |
| 20 - 29 years | 10 | 26 | 11 | 47 |
| 30 - 39 years | 15 | 55 | 23 | 93 |
| 40 years and over | 7 | 14 | 18 | 39 |
| (iii) Ethnic Affiliation | | | | |
| Kikuyu | 16 | 45 | 25 | 86 |
| Luo | 3 | 13 | 13 | 29 |
| Abaluyha | 7 | 12 | 6 | 25 |
| Other | 6 | 25 | 8 | 39 |
| (iv) Religious Affiliation | | | | |
| Roman Catholic | 15 | 28 | 12 | 55 |
| Anglican | 1 | 18 | 17 | 36 |
| Presbyterian Church of East Africa | 4 | 13 | 5 | 22 |
| Other | 12 | 35 | 17 | 64 |
| (v) Fathers' Education | | | | |
| Uneducated | 19 | 42 | 18 | 79 |
| Primary educated | 10 | 43 | 26 | 79 |
| Secondary educated | 2 | 10 | 8 | 20 |
| Percentage with secondary educated fathers | 6 | 10 | 15 | 11 |

APPENDIX K (Continued)

| Type of School Attended | Primary & Other | Local Catchment | National Low Cost | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (vi) Fathers' Occupational Classification | | | | |
| DE (Traditional, peasant) | 20 | 51 | 20 | 91 |
| $C_2$ (Routine non-manual, semi-skilled manual) | 3 | 6 | 7 | 16 |
| $C_1$ (Supervisory, skilled manual) | 9 | 28 | 19 | 56 |
| AB (Top Administrative, executive, managerial) | 0 | 10 | 6 | 16 |
| Percentage of Class AB fathers | 0 | 10 | 11 | 9 |
| (vii) Education | | | | |
| No School Certificate | 21 | 15 | 2 | 38 |
| School Certificate | 10 | 59 | 37 | 106 |
| Degree | 1 | 21 | 13 | 35 |
| Percentage with degrees | 3 | 22 | 25 | 20 |
| Number doing further study | 8 | 45 | 16 | 69 |
| Percentage undertaking further study | 25 | 47 | 31 | 38 |
| (viii) First Job | | | | |
| Non-advantageous start | 28 | 58 | 24 | 110 |
| Non-business start | 2 | 15 | 9 | 26 |
| Advantageous start | 2 | 22 | 19 | 43 |
| Percentage with advantageous start | 6 | 23 | 37 | 24 |
| (ix) Career Progress | | | | |
| Age commenced work (years) | 19 | 21 | 22 | 21 |
| Late study time (") | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Non-managerial experience (") | 11 | 8 | 10 | 9 |
| Age reached management (") | 31 | 30 | 32 | 31 |
| Managerial experience (") | 3 | 3 | 4 | 4 |
| Average age (") | 35 | 33 | 37 | 34 |
| Total work experience (") | 15 | 11 | 15 | 13 |
| Managerial experience as % of work experience | 22 | 29 | 30 | 29 |

APPENDIX K (Continued)

| Type of School Attended | Primary & Other | Local Catchment | National Low Cost | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (x) Career Mobility | | | | |
| No. who have worked for 1 organisation | 10 | 32 | 14 | 56 |
| No. who have worked for 2 organisations | 9 | 31 | 17 | 57 |
| No. who have worked for 3 organisations | 5 | 18 | 5 | 28 |
| No. who have worked for more than 3 organisations | 8 | 14 | 16 | 38 |
| Average No. of jobs held | 2.7 | 2.3 | 2.8 | 2.5 |
| Average No. of moves | 2.4 | 1.9 | 2.4 | 2.2 |
| Average No. of moves per year of work experience | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.2 |
| (xi) Training | | | | |
| No. with in-company training | 28 | 92 | 49 | 169 |
| No. receiving training from present organisation | 25 | 88 | 46 | 159 |
| No. receiving training in Kenya | 27 | 86 | 46 | 159 |
| No. receiving training overseas | 6 | 30 | 22 | 58 |
| No. attending management courses | 22 | 83 | 47 | 152 |
| Average No. of courses attended (all group) | 1.5 | 2.7 | 2.7 | 2.5 |
| Average no. of courses attended (those trained) | 2.2 | 3.0 | 3.0 | 3.0 |
| Average time (weeks) spent on courses (all group) | 6 | 11 | 12 | 10 |
| Average time (weeks) spent on courses (those trained) | 9 | 13 | 14 | 13 |
| No. of courses per year of managerial experience (all group) | 0.4 | 0.8 | 0.6 | 0.7 |
| No. of courses per year of managerial experience (those trained) | 0.7 | 0.9 | 0.7 | 0.8 |

APPENDIX K (Continued)

| Type of School Attended | Primary & Other | Local Catchment | National Low Cost | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| No. trained on the job | 10 | 54 | 33 | 97 |
| Average time (months) spent on on-the-job training (all group) | 4 | 9 | 16 | 10 |
| Average time (months) per year of managerial experience spent on on-the-job training | 1 | 3 | 4 | 3 |
| Value of training (expressed as a percentage) | 85 | 83 | 86 | 84 |
| (xii) Present Job Function | | | | |
| Production | 18 | 18 | 13 | 49 |
| Marketing | 3 | 22 | 7 | 32 |
| Personnel | 2 | 12 | 8 | 22 |
| Finance & Accounting | 4 | 19 | 13 | 36 |
| Other | 5 | 24 | 11 | 40 |
| Percentage in Production jobs jobs | 56 | 19 | 25 | 27 |
| Percentage in Commercial jobs | 28 | 56 | 54 | 50 |
| (xiii) Current Managerial Status | | | | |
| Junior and Trainee | 9 | 14 | 4 | 27 |
| Middle | 19 | 57 | 24 | 100 |
| Senior and Top | 4 | 24 | 24 | 52 |
| Percentage of senior and top managers | 12 | 25 | 46 | 29 |
| (xiv) Current Salary Level | | | | |
| Average salary per annum (K£s) | 1250 | 1716 | 2082 | 1739 |

APPENDIX L

## ANALYSIS OF MANAGERS BY EDUCATION

| Managers' Educational Level | No S.C. | S.C. | Degree | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (i) Basic Facts | | | | |
| Number | 38 | 106 | 35 | 179 |
| Number as percentage of total | 21 | 59 | 20 | 100 |
| Average age | 37 | 34 | 32 | 34 |
| (ii) Age Grouping | | | | |
| 20 - 29 years | 6 | 30 | 11 | 47 |
| 30 - 39 years | 20 | 52 | 21 | 93 |
| 40 years and over | 12 | 24 | 3 | 39 |
| (iii) Ethnic Affiliation | | | | |
| Kikuyu | 19 | 51 | 16 | 86 |
| Luo | 4 | 18 | 7 | 29 |
| Abaluyha | 10 | 12 | 3 | 25 |
| Other | 5 | 25 | 9 | 39 |
| (iv) Religious Affiliation | | | | |
| Roman Catholic | 14 | 31 | 10 | 55 |
| Anglican | 2 | 23 | 11 | 36 |
| Presbyterian Church of E. Africa | 7 | 14 | 1 | 22 |
| Other | 15 | 36 | 13 | 64 |
| (v) Fathers' Education | | | | |
| Uneducated | 24 | 47 | 8 | 79 |
| Primary educated | 13 | 47 | 19 | 79 |
| Secondary educated | 0 | 12 | 8 | 20 |
| Percentage with secondary educated fathers | 0 | 11 | 23 | 11 |

APPENDIX L (Continued)

| Managers' Educational Level | No S.C. | S.C. | Degree | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (vi) Fathers' Occupational Classification | | | | |
| DE (Traditional, peasant) | 26 | 51 | 14 | 91 |
| $C_2$ (Routine non-manual, semi-skilled manual) | 5 | 10 | 1 | 16 |
| $C_1$ (Supervisory, skilled manual) | 6 | 35 | 15 | 56 |
| AB (Top Administrative, executive, managerial) | 1 | 10 | 5 | 16 |
| Percentage of class AB fathers | 3 | 9 | 14 | 9 |
| (vii) School Attended | | | | |
| Primary and Other | 21 | 10 | 1 | 32 |
| Local Catchment | 15 | 59 | 21 | 95 |
| National Low-Cost | 2 | 37 | 13 | 52 |
| Percentage attending National Low-Cost | 5 | 35 | 37 | 29 |
| (viii) Further Study | | | | |
| Further study (number) | 12 | 47 | 10 | 69 |
| Percentage undertaking further study | 32 | 44 | 29 | 38 |
| (ix) First Job | | | | |
| Non-advantageous start | 35 | 69 | 6 | 110 |
| Non-business start | 3 | 20 | 3 | 26 |
| Advantageous start | 0 | 17 | 26 | 43 |
| Percentage with advantageous start | 0 | 16 | 74 | 24 |
| (x) Career Progress | | | | |
| Age commenced work (years) | 19 | 21 | 24 | 21 |
| Late study time ( " ) | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Non-managerial experience ( " ) | 13 | 9 | 4 | 9 |
| Age reached management ( " ) | 33 | 30 | 29 | 31 |
| Managerial experience ( " ) | 4 | 4 | 3 | 4 |

APPENDIX L (Continued)

| Managers' Educational Level | No S.C. | S.C. | Degree | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Average age (years) | 37 | 34 | 32 | 34 |
| Total work experience ( " ) | 17 | 13 | 7 | 13 |
| Managerial experience as % of work experience | 24 | 28 | 42 | 29 |
| (xi) Career Mobility | | | | |
| No. who have worked for 1 organisation | 13 | 32 | 11 | 56 |
| No. who have worked for 2 organisations | 12 | 31 | 14 | 57 |
| No. who have worked for 3 organisations | 5 | 18 | 5 | 28 |
| No. who have worked for more than 3 organisations | 8 | 25 | 5 | 38 |
| Average no. of jobs held | 2.4 | 2.6 | 2.3 | 2.5 |
| Average no. of moves | 2.2 | 2.3 | 1.8 | 2.2 |
| Average no. of moves per year of work experience | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.2 |
| (xii) Training | | | | |
| No. with in-company training | 33 | 102 | 34 | 169 |
| No. receiving training from present organisation | 30 | 99 | 30 | 159 |
| No. receiving training in Kenya | 33 | 95 | 31 | 159 |
| No. receiving training overseas | 8 | 33 | 17 | 58 |
| No. attending management courses | 27 | 93 | 32 | 152 |
| Average no. of courses attended (all group) | 1.7 | 2.7 | 2.9 | 2.5 |
| Average no. of courses attended (those trained) | 2.3 | 3.1 | 3.1 | 3.0 |
| Average time (weeks) spent on courses (all group) | 8 | 12 | 9 | 10 |
| Average time (weeks) spent on courses (those trained) | 10 | 14 | 10 | 13 |

APPENDIX L (Continued)

| Managers' Educational Level | No S.C. | S.C. | Degree | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| No. of courses per year of managerial experience (all group) | 0.4 | 0.7 | 0.9 | 0.7 |
| No. of courses per year of managerial experience (those trained) | 0.6 | 0.8 | 0.9 | 0.8 |
| No. trained on-the-job | 31 | 51 | 15 | 97 |
| Average time (months) spent on on-the-job training (all group) | 12 | 10 | 6 | 10 |
| Average time (months) spent on on-the-job training per year of managerial experience | 3 | 3 | 2 | 3 |
| Value of training (expressed as a percentage) | 83 | 85 | 84 | 84 |
| (xiii) Present Job Function | | | | |
| Production | 20 | 27 | 2 | 49 |
| Marketing | 6 | 17 | 9 | 32 |
| Personnel | 2 | 14 | 6 | 22 |
| Finance and Accounting | 3 | 25 | 8 | 36 |
| Other | 7 | 23 | 10 | 40 |
| Percentage in Production jobs | 53 | 25 | 6 | 27 |
| Percentage in Commercial jobs (Marketing, Personnel, Finance and Accounting) | 29 | 53 | 66 | 50 |
| (xiv) Current Managerial Status | | | | |
| Junior and Trainee | 12 | 13 | 2 | 27 |
| Middle | 22 | 64 | 14 | 100 |
| Senior and Top | 4 | 29 | 19 | 52 |
| Percentage of senior and top managers | 10 | 27 | 54 | 29 |
| (xv) Current Salary Level | | | | |
| Average salary per annum (K£s) | 1224 | 1743 | 2286 | 1739 |

Key: S.C. = School Certificate

ANALYSIS OF MANAGERS BY JOB FUNCTION

| Job Function | Pn. | Mg. | Pl. | F/A | Other | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (i) Basic Facts | | | | | | |
| Number | 49 | 32 | 22 | 36 | 40 | 179 |
| Number as percentage of total | 28 | 18 | 12 | 20 | 22 | 100 |
| Average age (years) | 36 | 34 | 36 | 33 | 34 | 34 |
| (ii) Age Grouping | | | | | | |
| 20 - 29 years | 11 | 8 | 4 | 14 | 10 | 47 |
| 30 - 39 years | 26 | 18 | 11 | 15 | 23 | 93 |
| 40 years and over | 12 | 6 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 39 |
| (iii) Ethnic Affiliation | | | | | | |
| Kikuyu | 29 | 16 | 7 | 16 | 18 | 86 |
| Luo | 5 | 5 | 4 | 8 | 7 | 29 |
| Abaluyha | 4 | 3 | 5 | 8 | 5 | 25 |
| Other | 11 | 8 | 6 | 4 | 10 | 39 |
| (iv) Religious Affiliation | | | | | | |
| Roman Catholic | 20 | 9 | 2 | 11 | 13 | 55 |
| Anglican | 8 | 8 | 3 | 8 | 9 | 36 |
| Presbyterian Church of East Africa | 8 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 6 | 22 |
| Other | 13 | 12 | 14 | 13 | 12 | 64 |
| (v) Fathers' Education | | | | | | |
| Uneducated | 30 | 9 | 11 | 16 | 13 | 79 |
| Primary educated | 17 | 19 | 8 | 14 | 21 | 79 |
| Secondary educated | 1 | 4 | 3 | 6 | 6 | 20 |
| Percentage with secondary educated fathers | 2 | 12 | 14 | 17 | 15 | 11 |

APPENDIX M (Continued)

| Job Function | Pn. | Mg. | Pl. | F/A | Other | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (vi) Fathers' Occupational Classification | | | | | | |
| DE (Traditional, peasant) | 35 | 15 | 15 | 13 | 13 | 91 |
| $C_2$ (Routine non-manual, semi-skilled manual) | 6 | 3 | 0 | 5 | 2 | 16 |
| $C_1$ (Supervisory, skilled manual) | 7 | 10 | 5 | 15 | 19 | 56 |
| AB (Top Administrative, executive, managerial) | 1 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 6 | 16 |
| Percentage of class AB fathers | 2 | 12 | 9 | 8 | 15 | 9 |
| (vii) School Attended | | | | | | |
| Primary and Other | 18 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 5 | 32 |
| Local Catchment | 18 | 22 | 12 | 19 | 24 | 95 |
| National Low Cost | 13 | 7 | 8 | 13 | 11 | 52 |
| Percentage attending National Low Cost | 26 | 22 | 36 | 36 | 27 | 29 |
| (viii) Education | | | | | | |
| No School Certificate | 20 | 6 | 2 | 3 | 7 | 38 |
| School Certificate | 27 | 17 | 14 | 25 | 23 | 106 |
| Degree | 2 | 9 | 6 | 8 | 10 | 35 |
| Percentage with degrees | 4 | 28 | 27 | 22 | 25 | 20 |
| Further study (number) | 16 | 5 | 8 | 16 | 24 | 69 |
| Percentage engaging in further study | 33 | 16 | 36 | 44 | 60 | 38 |
| (ix) First Job | | | | | | |
| Non-advantageous start | 35 | 18 | 11 | 20 | 26 | 110 |
| Non-business start | 4 | 5 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 26 |
| Advantageous start | 10 | 9 | 4 | 11 | 9 | 43 |
| Percentage with advantageous start | 20 | 28 | 18 | 31 | 22 | 24 |

APPENDIX M (Continued)

| Job Function | Pn. | Mg. | Pl. | F/A | Other | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (x) Career Progress | | | | | | |
| Age commenced work (years) | 19 | 22 | 21 | 22 | 22 | 21 |
| Late study time ( " ) | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Non-managerial experience (years) | 11 | 8 | 9 | 8 | 9 | 9 |
| Age reached management (years) | 31 | 30 | 31 | 30 | 31 | 31 |
| Managerial experience (years) | 4 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 3 | 4 |
| Average age ( " ) | 36 | 34 | 36 | 33 | 34 | 34 |
| Total work experience (years) | 15 | 12 | 14 | 11 | 12 | 13 |
| Managerial experience as % of work experience | 29 | 27 | 35 | 31 | 23 | 29 |
| (xi) Career Mobility | | | | | | |
| No. who have worked for 1 organisation | 22 | 12 | 3 | 7 | 12 | 56 |
| No. who have worked for 2 organisations | 12 | 9 | 3 | 18 | 15 | 57 |
| No. who have worked for 3 organisations | 6 | 4 | 8 | 4 | 6 | 28 |
| No. who have worked for more than 3 organisations | 9 | 7 | 8 | 7 | 7 | 38 |
| Average no. of jobs held | 2.3 | 2.4 | 3.2 | 2.5 | 2.4 | 2.5 |
| Average no. of moves | 2.4 | 2.2 | 2.6 | 1.8 | 1.9 | 2.2 |
| Average no. of moves per year of work experience | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.2 |
| (xii) Training | | | | | | |
| No. with in-company training | 45 | 32 | 19 | 36 | 37 | 169 |
| No. receiving training from present organisation | 44 | 29 | 18 | 33 | 35 | 159 |
| No. receiving training in Kenya | 42 | 29 | 19 | 34 | 35 | 159 |
| No. receiving training overseas | 19 | 11 | 8 | 12 | 8 | 58 |

APPENDIX M (Continued)

| Job Function | Pn. | Mg. | Pl. | F/A | Other | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| No. attending management courses | 39 | 31 | 19 | 31 | 32 | 152 |
| Average no. of courses attended (all group) | 2.4 | 3.6 | 2.9 | 2.5 | 1.6 | 2.5 |
| Average no. of courses attended (those trained) | 3.1 | 3.7 | 3.3 | 2.9 | 2.0 | 3.0 |
| Average time (weeks) spent on courses (all group) | 9 | 12 | 15 | 12 | 7 | 10 |
| Average time (weeks) spent on courses (those trained) | 11 | 13 | 16 | 15 | 9 | 13 |
| No. of courses per year of managerial experience (all group) | 0.5 | 1.1 | 0.6 | 0.8 | 0.6 | 0.7 |
| No. of courses per year of managerial experience (those trained) | 0.7 | 1.1 | 0.7 | 0.9 | 0.8 | 0.8 |
| No. trained on-the-job | 26 | 18 | 7 | 25 | 21 | 97 |
| Average time (months) spent on on-the-job training (all group) | 9 | 10 | 6 | 12 | 11 | 10 |
| Average time (months) spent on on-the-job training per year of managerial experience | 2 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 3 |
| Value of training (expressed as a percentage) | 83 | 87 | 84 | 83 | 84 | 84 |
| (xiii) Current Managerial Status | | | | | | |
| Junior and Trainee | 11 | 4 | 0 | 4 | 8 | 27 |
| Middle | 29 | 19 | 9 | 24 | 19 | 100 |
| Senior and Top | 9 | 9 | 13 | 8 | 13 | 52 |
| Percentage of senior and top managers | 18 | 28 | 59 | 22 | 32 | 29 |
| (xiv) Current Salary Level | | | | | | |
| Average salary per annum (K£s) | 1490 | 1852 | 2068 | 1736 | 1775 | 1739 |

Key: Pn. = Production; Mg. = Marketing; Pl. = Personnel
F/A = Finance and Accounting

## ANALYSIS OF MANAGERS BY THEIR STATUS LEVEL

| Managerial Status | Junior | Middle | Senior | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (i) Basic Facts | | | | |
| Number | 27 | 100 | 52 | 179 |
| Number as percentage of total | 15 | 56 | 29 | 100 |
| Average age (years) | 31 | 34 | 36 | 34 |
| (ii) Age Grouping | | | | |
| 20 - 29 years | 13 | 28 | 6 | 47 |
| 30 - 39 years | 13 | 49 | 31 | 93 |
| 40 years and over | 1 | 23 | 15 | 39 |
| (iii) Ethnic Affiliation | | | | |
| Kikuyu | 15 | 50 | 21 | 86 |
| Luo | 6 | 10 | 13 | 29 |
| Abaluyha | 3 | 15 | 7 | 25 |
| Other | 3 | 25 | 11 | 39 |
| (iv) Religious Affiliation | | | | |
| Roman Catholic | 11 | 33 | 11 | 55 |
| Anglican | 4 | 21 | 11 | 36 |
| Presbyterian Church of E. Africa | 2 | 15 | 5 | 22 |
| Other | 10 | 30 | 24 | 64 |
| (v) Fathers' Education | | | | |
| Uneducated | 13 | 50 | 16 | 79 |
| Primary educated | 13 | 38 | 28 | 79 |
| Secondary educated | 1 | 11 | 8 | 20 |
| Percentage with secondary educated fathers | 4 | 11 | 15 | 11 |

APPENDIX N (Continued)

| Managerial Status | Junior | Middle | Senior | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (vi) Fathers' Occupational Classification | | | | |
| DE (Traditional, peasant) | 15 | 52 | 24 | 91 |
| $C_2$ (Routine non-manual, semi-skilled manual) | 0 | 10 | 6 | 16 |
| $C_1$ (Supervisory, skilled manual) | 10 | 30 | 16 | 56 |
| AB (Top Administrative, executive, managerial) | 2 | 8 | 6 | 16 |
| Percentage of class AB fathers | 7 | 8 | 12 | 9 |
| (vii) School Attended | | | | |
| Primary and Other | 9 | 19 | 4 | 32 |
| Local Catchment | 14 | 57 | 24 | 95 |
| National Low Cost | 4 | 24 | 24 | 52 |
| Percentage attending National Low Cost | 8 | 46 | 46 | 29 |
| (viii) Education | | | | |
| No School Certificate | 12 | 22 | 4 | 38 |
| School Certificate | 13 | 64 | 29 | 106 |
| Degree | 2 | 14 | 19 | 35 |
| Percentage with degrees | 7 | 14 | 37 | 20 |
| Further study (numbers) | 14 | 35 | 20 | 69 |
| Percentage engaging in further study | 52 | 35 | 38 | 38 |
| (ix) First Job | | | | |
| Non-advantageous start | 21 | 69 | 20 | 110 |
| Non-business start | 1 | 14 | 11 | 26 |
| Advantageous start | 5 | 17 | 21 | 43 |
| Percentage with advantageous start | 18 | 17 | 40 | 24 |

APPENDIX N (Continued)

| Managerial Status | | Junior | Middle | Senior | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **(x) Career Progress** | | | | | |
| Age commenced work | (years) | 20 | 21 | 21 | 21 |
| Late study time | ( " ) | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Non-managerial experience | ( " ) | 7 | 10 | 10 | 9 |
| Age reached management | ( " ) | 28 | 31 | 32 | 31 |
| Managerial experience | ( " ) | 3 | 3 | 4 | 4 |
| Average age | ( " ) | 31 | 34 | 36 | 34 |
| Total work experience | ( " ) | 10 | 13 | 14 | 13 |
| Managerial experience as % of work experience | | 25 | 26 | 32 | 29 |
| **(xi) Career Mobility** | | | | | |
| No. who have worked for 1 organisation | | 10 | 32 | 14 | 56 |
| No. who have worked for 2 organisations | | 8 | 37 | 12 | 57 |
| No. who have worked for 3 organisations | | 4 | 12 | 12 | 28 |
| No. who have worked for more than 3 organisations | | 5 | 19 | 14 | 38 |
| Average no. of jobs held | | 2.3 | 2.4 | 2.8 | 2.5 |
| Average no. of moves | | 2.1 | 2.0 | 2.4 | 2.2 |
| Average no. of moves per year of work experience | | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.2 |
| **(xii) Training** | | | | | |
| No. with in-company training | | 23 | 97 | 49 | 169 |
| No. receiving training from present organisation | | 22 | 92 | 45 | 159 |
| No. receiving training in Kenya | | 23 | 91 | 45 | 159 |
| No. receiving training overseas | | 4 | 27 | 27 | 58 |
| No. attending management courses | | 19 | 85 | 48 | 152 |
| Average no. of courses attended (all group) | | 1.3 | 2.4 | 3.3 | 2.5 |
| Average no. of courses attended (those trained) | | 1.9 | 2.8 | 3.6 | 3.0 |

APPENDIX N (Continued)

| Managerial Status | Junior | Middle | Senior | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Average time (weeks) spent on courses (all group) | 3 | 10 | 14 | 10 |
| Average time (weeks) spent on courses (those trained) | 5 | 12 | 16 | 13 |
| No. of courses per year of managerial experience (all group) | 0.5 | 0.7 | 0.7 | 0.7 |
| No. of courses per year of managerial experience (those trained) | 0.8 | 0.8 | 0.8 | 0.8 |
| No. trained on-the-job | 10 | 57 | 30 | 97 |
| Average time (months) spent on on-the-job training (all group) | 6 | 10 | 12 | 10 |
| Average time (months) spent on on-the-job training per year of managerial experience | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Value of training (expressed as a percentage) | 84 | 82 | 86 | 84 |
| (xiii) Job Function | | | | |
| Production | 11 | 29 | 9 | 49 |
| Marketing | 4 | 19 | 9 | 32 |
| Personnel | 0 | 9 | 13 | 22 |
| Finance and Accounting | 4 | 24 | 8 | 36 |
| Other | 8 | 19 | 13 | 40 |
| Percentage in Production jobs | 41 | 19 | 17 | 27 |
| Percentage in Commercial jobs (Marketing, Personnel, Finance and Accounting) | 30 | 52 | 58 | 50 |
| (xiv) Current Salary Level | | | | |
| Average salary per annum (K£s) | 1102 | 1495 | 2538 | 1739 |

APPENDIX O

## ANALYSIS OF MANAGERS BY SIZE OF COMPANY FOR WHICH THEY WORK

| Size of Company/Organisation | Small | Medium | Large | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (i) Basic Facts | | | | |
| Number | 28 | 79 | 72 | 179 |
| Number as percentage of total | 16 | 44 | 40 | 100 |
| Average age (years) | 35 | 34 | 35 | 34 |
| (ii) Age Grouping | | | | |
| 20 - 29 years | 10 | 18 | 19 | 47 |
| 30 - 39 years | 12 | 48 | 33 | 93 |
| 40 years and over | 6 | 13 | 20 | 39 |
| (iii) Ethnic Affiliation | | | | |
| Kikuyu | 17 | 38 | 31 | 86 |
| Luo | 3 | 15 | 11 | 29 |
| Abaluyha | 5 | 5 | 15 | 25 |
| Other | 3 | 21 | 15 | 39 |
| (iv) Religious Affiliation | | | | |
| Roman Catholic | 12 | 22 | 21 | 55 |
| Anglican | 5 | 16 | 15 | 36 |
| Presbyterian Church of East Africa | 4 | 9 | 9 | 22 |
| Other | 7 | 30 | 27 | 64 |
| (v) Fathers' Education | | | | |
| Uneducated | 13 | 39 | 27 | 79 |
| Primary educated | 12 | 34 | 33 | 79 |
| Secondary educated | 3 | 6 | 11 | 20 |
| Percentage with secondary educated fathers | 11 | 8 | 15 | 11 |

APPENDIX O (Continued)

| Size of Company/Organisation | Small | Medium | Large | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (vi) Fathers' Occupational Classification | | | | |
| DE (Traditional, peasant) | 15 | 41 | 35 | 91 |
| $C_2$ (Routine non-manual, semi-skilled manual) | 1 | 7 | 8 | 16 |
| $C_1$ (Supervisory, skilled manual) | 11 | 25 | 20 | 56 |
| AB (Top Administrative, executive, managerial) | 1 | 6 | 9 | 16 |
| Percentage of class AB fathers | 4 | 8 | 12 | 9 |
| (vii) School Attended | | | | |
| Primary and Other | 8 | 13 | 11 | 32 |
| Local Catchment | 13 | 45 | 37 | 95 |
| National Low Cost | 7 | 21 | 24 | 52 |
| Percentage attending National Low Cost | 25 | 27 | 33 | 29 |
| (viii) Education | | | | |
| No School Certificate | 8 | 18 | 12 | 38 |
| School Certificate | 13 | 48 | 45 | 106 |
| Degree | 7 | 13 | 15 | 35 |
| Percentage with degrees | 25 | 16 | 21 | 20 |
| Further study (number) | 11 | 23 | 35 | 69 |
| Percentage engaging in further study | 39 | 29 | 49 | 38 |
| (ix) First Job | | | | |
| Non-advantageous start | 16 | 53 | 41 | 110 |
| Non-business start | 5 | 10 | 11 | 26 |
| Advantageous start | 7 | 16 | 20 | 43 |
| Percentage with advantageous start | 25 | 20 | 28 | 24 |

APPENDIX 0 (Continued)

| Size of Company/Organisation | Small | Medium | Large | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **(x) Career Progress** | | | | |
| Age commenced wotk (years) | 21 | 21 | 21 | 21 |
| Late study time ( " ) | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Non-managerial experience ( " ) | 10 | 9 | 9 | 9 |
| Age reached management ( " ) | 32 | 30 | 30 | 31 |
| Managerial experience ( " ) | 3 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| Average age ( " ) | 35 | 34 | 35 | 34 |
| Total work experience ( " ) | 13 | 12 | 14 | 13 |
| Managerial experience as % of work experience | 20 | 28 | 31 | 29 |
| **(xi) Career Mobility** | | | | |
| No. who have worked for 1 organisation | 5 | 24 | 27 | 56 |
| No. who have worked for 2 organisations | 12 | 22 | 23 | 57 |
| No. who have worked for 3 organisations | 3 | 13 | 12 | 28 |
| No. who have worked for more than 3 organisations | 8 | 20 | 10 | 38 |
| Average no. of jobs held | 2.7 | 2.6 | 2.3 | 2.5 |
| Average no. of moves | 2.1 | 2.3 | 2.0 | 2.2 |
| Average no. of moves per year of work experience | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.2 |
| **(xii) Training** | | | | |
| No. with in-company training | 25 | 73 | 71 | 169 |
| No. receiving training from present organisation | 24 | 65 | 70 | 159 |
| No. receiving training in Kenya | 23 | 66 | 70 | 159 |
| No. receiving training overseas | 4 | 28 | 26 | 58 |
| No. attending management courses | 20 | 70 | 62 | 152 |
| Average no. of courses attended (all group) | 1.7 | 2.9 | 2.4 | 2.5 |
| Average no. of courses attended (those trained) | 2.4 | 3.2 | 2.8 | 3.0 |

APPENDIX O (Continued)

| Size of Company/Organisation | Small | Medium | Large | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Average time (weeks) spent on courses (all group) | 5 | 10 | 12 | 10 |
| Average time (weeks) spent on courses (those trained) | 8 | 12 | 15 | 13 |
| No. of courses per year of managerial experience (all group) | 0.7 | 0.8 | 0.6 | 0.7 |
| No. of courses per year of managerial experience (those trained) | 0.9 | 0.9 | 0.7 | 0.8 |
| No. trained on-the-job | 13 | 39 | 45 | 97 |
| Average time (months) spent on on-the-job training (all group) | 6 | 8 | 13 | 10 |
| Average time (months) spent on on-the-job training per year of managerial experience | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 |
| Value of training (expressed as a percentage) | 83 | 86 | 83 | 84 |
| (xiii) Job Function | | | | |
| Production | 7 | 23 | 19 | 49 |
| Marketing | 4 | 23 | 5 | 32 |
| Personnel | 1 | 8 | 13 | 22 |
| Finance and Accounting | 10 | 11 | 15 | 36 |
| Other | 6 | 14 | 20 | 40 |
| Percentage in Production jobs | 25 | 29 | 26 | 27 |
| Percentage in Commercial jobs (Marketing, Personnel, Finance and Accounting) | 50 | 53 | 46 | 50 |
| (xiv) Managerial Status | | | | |
| Junior and Trainee | 5 | 11 | 11 | 27 |
| Middle | 18 | 49 | 33 | 100 |
| Senior and Top | 5 | 19 | 28 | 52 |
| Percentage of senior and top managers | 18 | 24 | 39 | 29 |
| (xv) Current Salary Level | | | | |
| Average salary per annum (K£s) | 1536 | 1699 | 1861 | 1739 |

APPENDIX P

ANALYSIS OF MANAGERS BY OWNERSHIP OF COMPANIES FOR WHICH THEY WORK

| Ownership of Company/Organisation | Local | Sub-sidiary | Multi-National | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (i) Basic Facts | | | | |
| Number | 88 | 39 | 52 | 179 |
| Number as percentage of total | 49 | 22 | 29 | 100 |
| Average age | 35 | 34 | 34 | 34 |
| (ii) Age Grouping | | | | |
| 20 - 29 years | 20 | 12 | 15 | 47 |
| 30 - 39 years | 45 | 19 | 29 | 93 |
| 40 years and over | 23 | 8 | 8 | 39 |
| (iii) Ethnic Affiliation | | | | |
| Kikuyu | 42 | 18 | 26 | 86 |
| Luo | 14 | 4 | 11 | 29 |
| Abaluyha | 12 | 6 | 7 | 25 |
| Other | 20 | 11 | 8 | 39 |
| (iv) Religious Affiliation | | | | |
| Roman Catholic | 26 | 10 | 19 | 55 |
| Anglican | 18 | 10 | 8 | 36 |
| Presbyterian Church of East Africa | 13 | 2 | 7 | 22 |
| Other | 31 | 17 | 16 | 64 |
| (v) Fathers' Education | | | | |
| Uneducated | 37 | 18 | 24 | 79 |
| Primary educated | 41 | 17 | 21 | 79 |
| Secondary educated | 10 | 3 | 7 | 20 |
| Percentage with secondary-educated fathers | 11 | 8 | 13 | 11 |

APPENDIX P (Continued)

| Ownership of Company/Organisation | Local | Sub-sidiary | Multi-National | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (vi) Fathers' Occupational Classification | | | | |
| DE (Traditional, peasant) | 42 | 26 | 23 | 91 |
| $C_2$ (Routine non-manual, semi-skilled manual) | 9 | 2 | 5 | 16 |
| $C_1$ (Supervisory, skilled manual) | 30 | 8 | 18 | 56 |
| AB (Top Administrative, executive, managerial) | 7 | 3 | 6 | 16 |
| Percentage of class AB Fathers | 8 | 8 | 12 | 9 |
| (vii) School Attended | | | | |
| Primary and Other | 20 | 7 | 5 | 32 |
| Local Catchment | 43 | 22 | 30 | 95 |
| National Low Cost | 25 | 10 | 17 | 52 |
| Percentage attending National Low Cost | 28 | 26 | 33 | 29 |
| (viii) Education | | | | |
| No School Certificate | 24 | 10 | 4 | 38 |
| School Certificate | 48 | 25 | 33 | 106 |
| Degree | 16 | 4 | 15 | 35 |
| Percentage with degrees | 18 | 10 | 29 | 20 |
| Further study (number) | 36 | 14 | 19 | 69 |
| Percentage engaging in further study | 41 | 36 | 36 | 38 |
| (ix) First Job | | | | |
| Non-advantageous start | 52 | 26 | 32 | 110 |
| Non-business start | 13 | 6 | 7 | 26 |
| Advantageous start | 23 | 7 | 13 | 43 |
| Percentage with advantageous start | 26 | 18 | 25 | 24 |

APPENDIX P (Continued)

| Ownership of Company/Organisation | Local | Sub-sidiary | Multi-National | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (x) Career Progress | | | | |
| Age commenced work (years) | 21 | 20 | 22 | 21 |
| Late study time ( " ) | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Non-managerial experience (years) | 10 | 9 | 8 | 9 |
| Age reached management ( " ) | 31 | 30 | 30 | 31 |
| Managerial experience ( " ) | 4 | 3 | 4 | 4 |
| Average age ( " ) | 35 | 34 | 34 | 34 |
| Total work experience ( " ) | 14 | 12 | 12 | 13 |
| Managerial experience as % of work experience | 27 | 27 | 32 | 29 |
| (xi) Career Mobility | | | | |
| No. who have worked for 1 organisation | 28 | 7 | 21 | 56 |
| No. who have worked for 2 organisations | 28 | 13 | 16 | 57 |
| No. who have worked for 3 organisations | 11 | 8 | 9 | 28 |
| No. who have worked for more than 3 organisations | 21 | 11 | 6 | 38 |
| Average no. of jobs held | 2.6 | 2.8 | 2.0 | 2.5 |
| Average no. of moves | 2.4 | 2.2 | 1.7 | 2.2 |
| Average no. of moves per year of work experience | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.2 |
| (xii) Training | | | | |
| No. with in-company training | 82 | 36 | 51 | 169 |
| No. receiving training from present organisation | 77 | 31 | 51 | 159 |
| No. receiving training in Kenya | 77 | 33 | 49 | 159 |
| No. receiving training overseas | 24 | 9 | 25 | 58 |
| No. attending management courses | 72 | 32 | 48 | 152 |

APPENDIX P (Continued)

| Ownership of Company/Organisation | Local | Sub-sidiary | Multi-National | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Average no. of courses attended (all group) | 2.1 | 1.6 | 3.9 | 2.5 |
| Average no. of courses attended (those trained) | 2.6 | 2.0 | 4.2 | 3.0 |
| Average time (weeks) spent on courses (all group) | 11 | 9 | 11 | 10 |
| Average time (weeks) spent on courses (those trained) | 14 | 12 | 12 | 13 |
| No. of courses per year of managerial experience (all group) | 0.6 | 0.5 | 1.1 | 0.7 |
| No. of courses per year of managerial experience (those trained) | 0.7 | 0.6 | 1.1 | 0.8 |
| No. trained on the job | 40 | 14 | 43 | 97 |
| Average time (months) spent on on-the-job training (all group) | 9 | 6 | 15 | 10 |
| Average time (months) spent on on-the-job training per year of managerial experience | 2 | 3 | 4 | 3 |
| Value of training expressed as a percentage | 82 | 84 | 88 | 84 |
| (xiii) Job Function | | | | |
| Production | 26 | 10 | 13 | 49 |
| Marketing | 7 | 14 | 11 | 32 |
| Personnel | 12 | 4 | 6 | 22 |
| Finance and Accounting | 16 | 2 | 18 | 36 |
| Other | 27 | 9 | 4 | 40 |
| Percentage in Production jobs | 31 | 23 | 8 | 27 |
| Percentage in Commercial jobs (Marketing, Personnel, Finance and Accounting) | 40 | 72 | 58 | 50 |

APPENDIX P (Continued)

| Ownership of Company/Organisation | Local | Sub-sidiary | Multi-National | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (xiv) Managerial Status | | | | |
| Junior and Trainee | 10 | 12 | 5 | 27 |
| Middle | 50 | 22 | 28 | 100 |
| Senior and Top | 28 | 5 | 19 | 52 |
| Percentage of senior and top managers | 32 | 13 | 37 | 29 |
| (xv) Current Salary Level | | | | |
| Average salary per annum (K£s) | 1670 | 1442 | 2077 | 1739 |

APPENDIX Q

## ANALYSIS OF THE MANAGERS BY PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTOR FIRMS

| Sector of Company/Organisation | Public | Private | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| (i) Basic Facts | | | |
| Number | 43 | 136 | 179 |
| Number as percentage of total | 24 | 76 | 100 |
| Average age | 35 | 34 | 34 |
| (ii) Age Grouping | | | |
| 20 - 29 years | 10 | 37 | 47 |
| 30 - 39 years | 22 | 71 | 93 |
| 40 years and over | 11 | 28 | 39 |
| (iii) Ethnic Affiliation | | | |
| Kikuyu | 19 | 67 | 86 |
| Luo | 7 | 22 | 29 |
| Abaluyha | 5 | 20 | 25 |
| Other | 12 | 27 | 39 |
| (iv) Religious Affiliation | | | |
| Roman Catholic | 10 | 45 | 55 |
| Anglican | 11 | 25 | 36 |
| Presbyterian Church of East Africa | 6 | 16 | 22 |
| Other | 16 | 48 | 64 |
| (v) Fathers' Education | | | |
| Uneducated | 14 | 65 | 79 |
| Primary educated | 21 | 58 | 79 |
| Secondary educated | 8 | 12 | 20 |
| Percentage with secondary educated fathers | 19 | 9 | 11 |

APPENDIX Q (Continued)

| Sector of Company/Organisation | Public | Private | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| (vi) Fathers' Occupational Classification | | | |
| DE (Traditional, peasant) | 16 | 75 | 91 |
| $C_2$ (Routine,non-manual, semi-skilled manual) | 4 | 12 | 16 |
| $C_1$ (Supervisory, semi-skilled manual) | 17 | 39 | 56 |
| AB (Top Administrative, executive, managerial) | 6 | 10 | 16 |
| Percentage with class AB fathers | 14 | 7 | 9 |
| (vii) School Attended | | | |
| Primary and Other | 3 | 29 | 32 |
| Local Catchment | 21 | 74 | 95 |
| National Low Cost | 19 | 33 | 52 |
| Percentage attending National Low Cost | 44 | 24 | 29 |
| (viii) Education | | | |
| No School Certificate | 3 | 35 | 38 |
| School Certificate | 27 | 79 | 106 |
| Degree | 13 | 22 | 35 |
| Percentage with degrees | 30 | 16 | 20 |
| Further study (number) | 21 | 48 | 69 |
| Percentage engaging in further study | 49 | 35 | 38 |
| (ix) First Job' | | | |
| Non-advantageous start | 19 | 91 | 110 |
| Non-business start | 7 | 19 | 26 |
| Advantageous start | 17 | 26 | 43 |
| Percentage with advantageous start | 40 | 18 | 24 |

APPENDIX Q (Continued)

| Sector of Company/Organisation | Public | Private | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| (x) Career Progress | | | |
| Age commenced work (years) | 22 | 21 | 21 |
| Late study time ( " ) | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Non-managerial experience ( " ) | 9 | 9 | 9 |
| Age reached management ( " ) | 31 | 31 | 31 |
| Managerial experience ( " ) | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| Average age ( " ) | 35 | 34 | 34 |
| Total work experience ( " ) | 13 | 13 | 13 |
| Managerial experience as % of work experience | 30 | 28 | 29 |
| (xi) Career Mobility | | | |
| No. who have worked for 1 organisation | 12 | 44 | 56 |
| No. who have worked for 2 organisations | 17 | 40 | 57 |
| No. who have worked for 3 organisations | 7 | 21 | 28 |
| No. who have worked for more than 3 organisations | 7 | 31 | 38 |
| Average no. of jobs held | 2.5 | 2.5 | 2.5 |
| Average no. of moves | 2.0 | 2.2 | 2.2 |
| Average no. of moves per year of work experience | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.2 |
| (xii) Training | | | |
| No. with in-company training | 42 | 127 | 169 |
| No. receiving training from present organisation | 40 | 119 | 159 |
| No. receiving training in Kenya | 39 | 120 | 159 |
| No. receiving training overseas | 14 | 44 | 58 |
| No. attending management courses | 40 | 112 | 152 |
| Average no. of courses attended (all group) | 2.5 | 2.5 | 2.5 |
| Average no. of courses attended (those trained) | 2.7 | 3.1 | 3.0 |
| Average time (weeks) spent on courses (all group) | 14 | 9 | 10 |

APPENDIX Q (Continued)

| Sector of Company/Organisation | Public | Private | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Average time (weeks) spent on courses (all group) | 14 | 9 | 10 |
| Average time (weeks) spent on courses (those trained) | 15 | 12 | 13 |
| No. of courses per year of managerial experience (all group) | 0.7 | 0.7 | 0.7 |
| No. of courses per year of managerial experience (those trained) | 0.7 | 0.9 | 0.8 |
| No. trained on the job | 22 | 75 | 97 |
| Average time (months) spent on on-the-job training (all group) | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| Average time (months) spent on on-the-job training per year of managerial experience | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Value of training (expressed as a percentage) | 82 | 85 | 84 |
| (xiii) Job Function | | | |
| Production | 7 | 42 | 49 |
| Marketing | 0 | 32 | 32 |
| Personnel | 9 | 13 | 22 |
| Finance and Accounting | 9 | 27 | 36 |
| Other | 18 | 22 | 40 |
| Percentage in Production Jobs | 16 | 11 | 27 |
| Percentage in Commercial Jobs (Marketing, Personnel, Finance and Accounting) | 42 | 53 | 50 |
| (xiv) Managerial Status | | | |
| Junior and Trainee | 1 | 26 | 27 |
| Middle | 23 | 77 | 100 |
| Senior and Top | 19 | 33 | 52 |
| Percentage of senior and top managers | 44 | 24 | 29 |
| (xv) Current Salary Level | | | |
| Average salary per annum (K£s) | 2029 | 1647 | 1739 |

APPENDIX R

ANALYSIS OF MANAGEMENT TRAINING (COMPANY SAMPLE)
NUMBERS TRAINED AND METHODS USED
(previous 3 years)

| By Size of Company | Large | Medium | Small | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Number trained at company institutions in Kenya | 166 | 71 | 10 | 247 |
| Number trained at company institutions abroad | 14 | 20 | 2 | 36 |
| Number trained abroad (not with the company) | 14 | 26 | 4 | 44 |
| Number attending K.I.M. courses | 22 | 31 | 19 | 72 |
| Number attending M.T.A.C. courses | 27 | 60 | 17 | 104 |
| Number attending courses at other training centres | 10 | 42 | 12 | 64 |
| Total number trained | 253 | 250 | 64 | 567 |
| Number trained on the job (included in the above) | 177 | 220 | 63 | 460 |
| Percentage trained at company institutions (Kenya and abroad)* | 71 | 36 | 19 | 50 |
| Percentage receiving training abroad (company and non-company) | 11 | 18 | 9 | 14 |
| Percentage attending K.I.M. | 9 | 12 | 30 | 13 |
| Percentage attending M.T.A.C. | 11 | 24 | 27 | 18 |
| Percentage attending other training courses | 4 | 17 | 19 | 11 |
| **By Ownership of the Company** | **Multi-National** | **Subsidiary** | **Local** | **Total** |
| Number trained at company institutions in Kenya | 147 | 15 | 85 | 247 |
| Number trained at company institutions abroad | 22 | 12 | 2 | 36 |
| Number trained abroad (not with the company) | 8 | 7 | 29 | 44 |
| Number attending K.I.M. courses | 26 | 13 | 33 | 72 |
| Number attending M.T.A.C. courses | 11 | 39 | 54 | 104 |
| Number attending courses at other training centres | 25 | 25 | 14 | 64 |

APPENDIX R (Continued)

| By Ownership of the Company | Multi-National | Sub-sidiary | Local | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total number trained | 239 | 111 | 217 | 567 |
| Number trained on the job | 134 | 115 | 211 | 460 |
| Percentage trained at company institutions (Kenya and abroad)* | 71 | 24 | 40 | 50 |
| Percentage receiving training abroad (company and non-company) | 13 | 17 | 14 | 14 |
| Percentage attending K.I.M. | 11 | 12 | 15 | 13 |
| Percentage attending M.T.A.C. | 5 | 35 | 25 | 18 |
| Percentage attending other training courses | 11 | 23 | 6 | 11 |

| By Sector of Organisation | Public | Private | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Number trained at company institutions in Kenya | 69 | 178 | 247 |
| Number trained at company institutions abroad | 2 | 34 | 36 |
| Number trained abroad (not with the company) | 13 | 31 | 44 |
| Number attending K.I.M. courses | 17 | 55 | 72 |
| Number attending M.T.A.C. courses | 31 | 73 | 104 |
| Number attending courses at other training centres | 3 | 61 | 64 |
| Total number trained | 135 | 432 | 567 |
| Number trained on the job | 103 | 357 | 460 |
| Percentage trained at company institutions (Kenya and abroad)* | 53 | 49 | 50 |
| Percentage receiving training abroad (company and non-company) | 11 | 21 | 14 |
| Percentage attending K.I.M. | 13 | 13 | 13 |
| Percentage attending M.T.A.C. | 23 | 17 | 18 |
| Percentage attending other training courses | 2 | 14 | 11 |

Note: *These percentages are based on 567 managers trained.

APPENDIX S

ANALYSIS OF PREFERRED SOURCES OF RECRUITMENT
OF AFRICAN MANAGERS, AND COMPARISON WITH
THE ACTUAL SOURCES OF RECRUITMENT

| OVERALL SAMPLES | 39 ORGANISATIONS | | | 179 MANAGERS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total Points (a) | Average no. of points per company | Rank Order | Actual No. | Rank Order |
| Internal Promotion | 96 | 2.5 | 1 | 86 | 1 |
| Advertisement | 123 | 3.2 | 2 | 47 | 2 |
| Educational Institutions | 153 | 3.9 | 3 | 16 | 4 |
| Informal Contacts | 153 | 3.9 | 3 | 17 | 3 |
| Government | 178 | 4.6 | 5 | 2 | 6 |
| Other means | 179 | 4.6 | 6 | 11 | 5 |
| | | ($^r s=0.914$) | | | |
| LARGE SUB-GROUP | 7 ORGANISATIONS | | | 72 MANAGERS | |
| Internal Promotion | 10 | 1.4 | 1 | 37 | 1 |
| Advertisement | 25 | 3.6 | 3 | 19 | 2 |
| Educational Institutions | 20 | 2.9 | 1 | 8 | 3 |
| Informal Contacts | 35 | 5.0 | 6 | 3 | 5 |
| Government | 33 | 4.7 | 5 | 0 | 6 |
| Other means | 31 | 4.4 | 4 | 5 | 4 |
| | | ($^r s=0.800$) | | | |
| MEDIUM SUB-GROUP | 20 ORGANISATIONS | | | 79 MANAGERS | |
| Internal Promotion | 45 | 2.3 | 1 | 38 | 1 |
| Advertisement | 55 | 2.8 | 2 | 17 | 2 |
| Educational Institutions | 79 | 4.0 | 4 | 5 | 5 |
| Informal Contacts | 71 | 3.6 | 3 | 12 | 3 |
| Government | 95 | 4.8 | 5 | 1 | 6 |
| Other means | 100 | 5.0 | 6 | 6 | 4 |
| | | ($^r s=0.829$) | | | |

APPENDIX S (Continued)

| SMALL SUB-GROUP | 12 ORGANISATIONS | | | 28 MANAGERS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total Points (a) | Average no. of points per company | Rank Order | Actual No. | Rank Order |
| Internal Promotion | 41 | 3.4 | 1 | 11 | 1 |
| Advertisement | 43 | 3.6 | 2 | 11 | 1 |
| Educational Institutions | 54 | 4.5 | 6 | 3 | 3 |
| Informal Contacts | 47 | 3.9 | 3 | 2 | 4 |
| Government | 50 | 4.2 | 5 | 1 | 5 |
| Other means | 48 | 4.0 | 4 | 0 | 6 |
| | | ($r_s$=0.571) | | | |
| MULTI-NATIONAL SUB-GROUP | 7 ORGANISATIONS | | | 52 MANAGERS | |
| Internal Promotion | 19 | 2.7 | 2 | 29 | 1 |
| Advertisement | 22 | 3.1 | 3 | 10 | 2 |
| Educational Institutions | 16 | 2.3 | 1 | 4 | 4 |
| Informal Contacts | 30 | 4.3 | 5 | 7 | 3 |
| Government | 33 | 4.7 | 6 | 0 | 6 |
| Other means | 29 | 4.1 | 4 | 2 | 5 |
| | | ($r_s$=0.543) | | | |
| SUBSIDIARY SUB-GROUP | 15 ORGANISATIONS | | | 39 MANAGERS | |
| Internal Promotion | 40 | 2.7 | 1 | 19 | 1 |
| Advertisement | 52 | 3.5 | 2 | 7 | 2 |
| Educational Institutions | 66 | 4.4 | 5 | 3 | 5 |
| Informal Contacts | 58 | 3.9 | 3 | 4 | 3 |
| Government | 63 | 4.2 | 4 | 2 | 6 |
| Other means | 69 | 4.6 | 6 | 4 | 3 |
| | | ($r_s$=0.729) | | | |

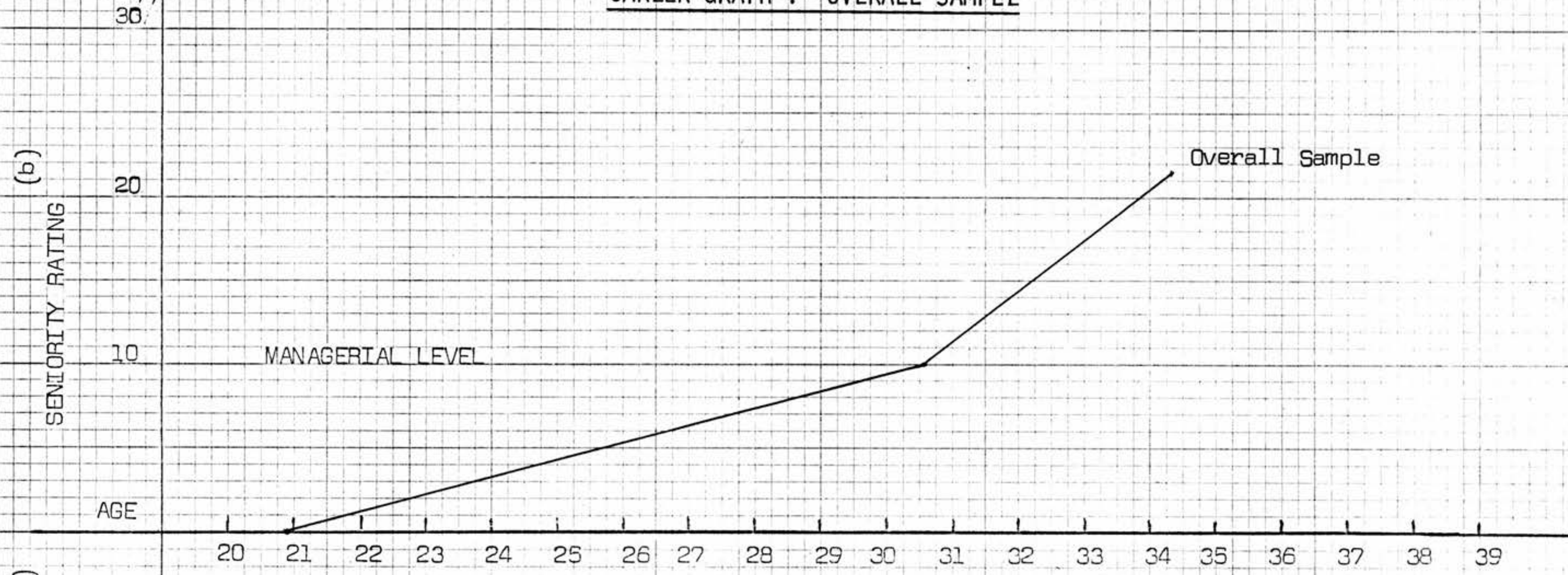
APPENDIX S (Continued)

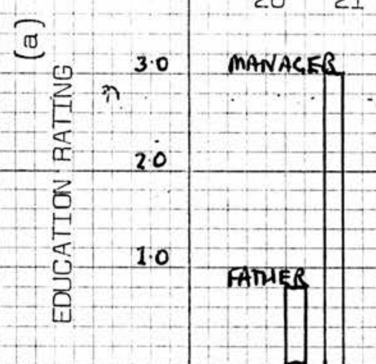
| LOCAL SUB-GROUP | 17 ORGANISATIONS | | | 88 MANAGERS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total points (a) | Average No. of points per company | Rank Order | Actual No | Rank Order |
| Internal Promotion | 37 | 2.2 | 1 | 38 | 1 |
| Advertisement | 49 | 2.9 | 2 | 30 | 2 |
| Educational Institutions | 71 | 4.2 | 4 | 9 | 3 |
| Informal Contacts | 65 | 3.8 | 3 | 6 | 4 |
| Government | 82 | 4.8 | 6 | 0 | 6 |
| Other means | 81 | 4.8 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| | | ($r_s$=0.943) | | | |
| PUBLIC SECTOR SUB-GROUP | 4 ORGANISATIONS | | | 43 MANAGERS | |
| Internal Promotion | 9 | 2.3 | 1 | 11 | 2 |
| Advertisement | 10 | 2.5 | 2 | 20 | 1 |
| Educational Institutions | 14 | 3.5 | 3 | 6 | 3 |
| Informal Contacts | 20 | 5.0 | 4 | 0 | 6 |
| Government | 20 | 5.0 | 4 | 2 | 5 |
| Other means | 20 | 5.0 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| | | ($r_s$=0.800) | | | |
| PRIVATE SECTOR SUB-GROUP | 35 ORGANISATIONS | | | 136 MANAGERS | |
| Internal Promotion | 87 | 2.5 | 1 | 75 | 1 |
| Advertisement | 113 | 3.2 | 2 | 27 | 2 |
| Educational Institutions | 139 | 3.6 | 3 | 10 | 4 |
| Informal Contacts | 133 | 3.8 | 4 | 2 | 6 |
| Government | 158 | 4.5 | 5 | 15 | 3 |
| Other means | 159 | 4.5 | 5 | 17 | 5 |
| | | ($r_s$=0.743) | | | |

Note: (a) Points were allocated on the basis of 1 for first preference, 2 for second, etc., for each of the 39 individual organisations, and were then totalled by category.

APPENDIX U

## CAREER GRAPH : OVERALL SAMPLE



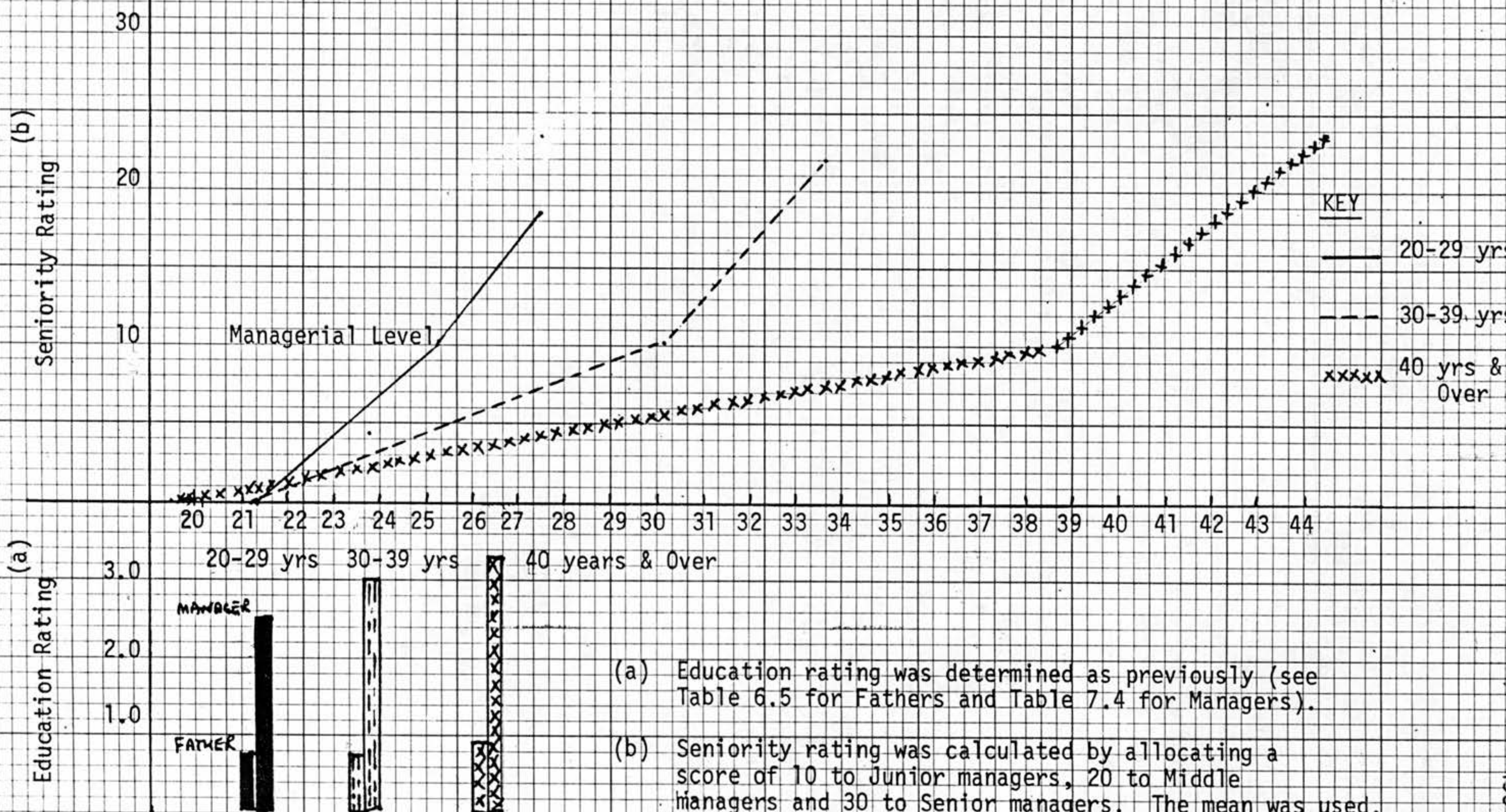




(a) Education rating was determined as previously (see Table 6.5 for Fathers and Table 7.4 for Managers).

(b) Seniority rating was calculated by allocating a score of 10 to Junior managers, 20 to Middle managers and 30 to Senior managers. The mean was used.

APPENDIX U (Continued)

CAREER PROGRESS BY AGE GROUPS

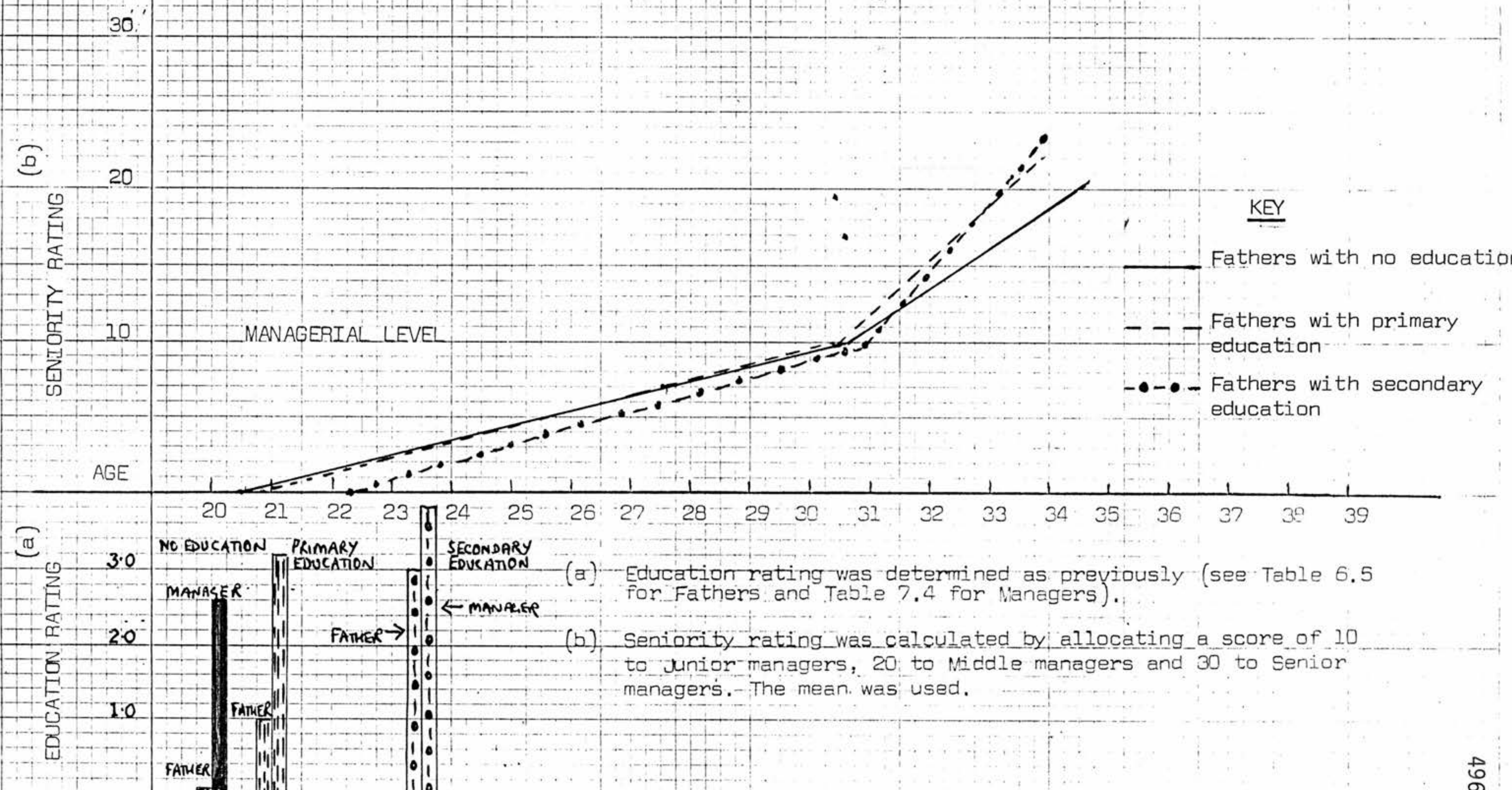



(a) Education rating was determined as previously (see Table 6.5 for Fathers and Table 7.4 for Managers).

(b) Seniority rating was calculated by allocating a score of 10 to Junior managers, 20 to Middle managers and 30 to Senior managers. The mean was used.

## APPENDIX U (Continued)

### CAREER GRAPH : BY FATHERS' EDUCATION

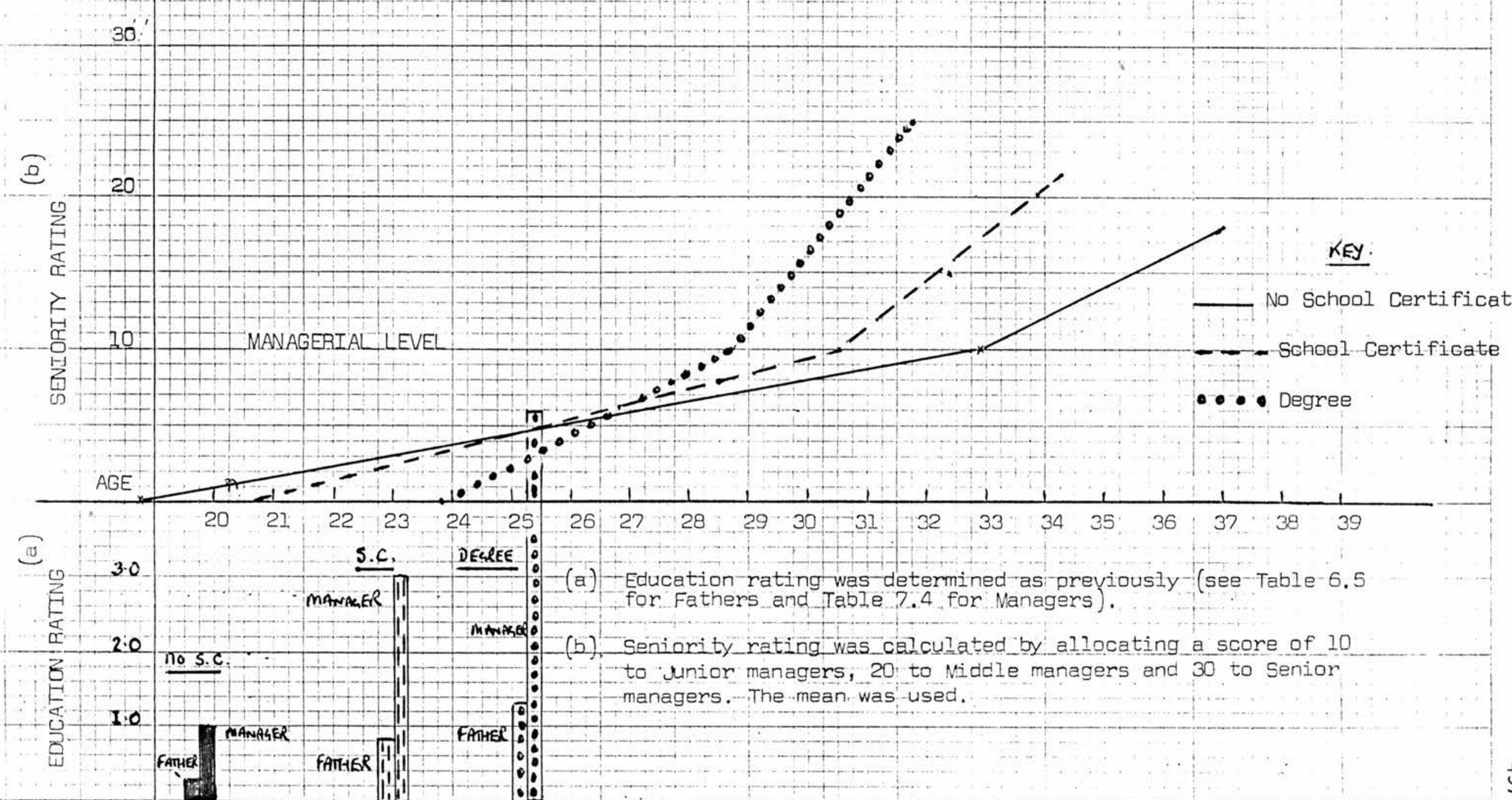



(a) Education rating was determined as previously (see Table 6.5 for Fathers and Table 7.4 for Managers).

(b) Seniority rating was calculated by allocating a score of 10 to Junior managers, 20 to Middle managers and 30 to Senior managers. The mean was used.

APPENDIX U (Continued)

CAREER GRAPH : BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

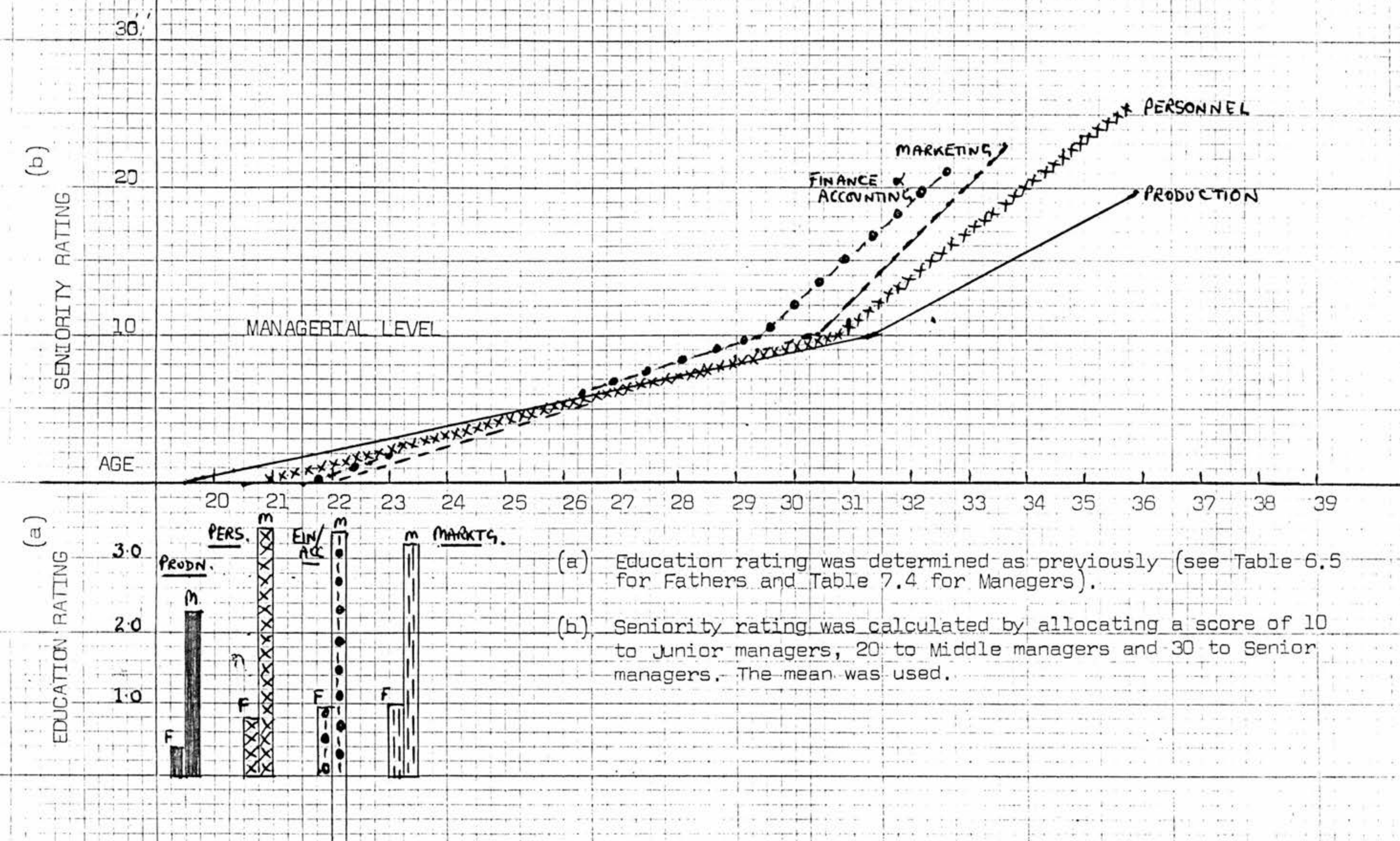



(a) Education rating was determined as previously (see Table 6.5 for Fathers and Table 7.4 for Managers).

(b) Seniority rating was calculated by allocating a score of 10 to Junior managers, 20 to Middle managers and 30 to Senior managers. The mean was used.

APPENDIX U (Continued)

CAREER GRAPH : BY PRESENT JOB FUNCTION

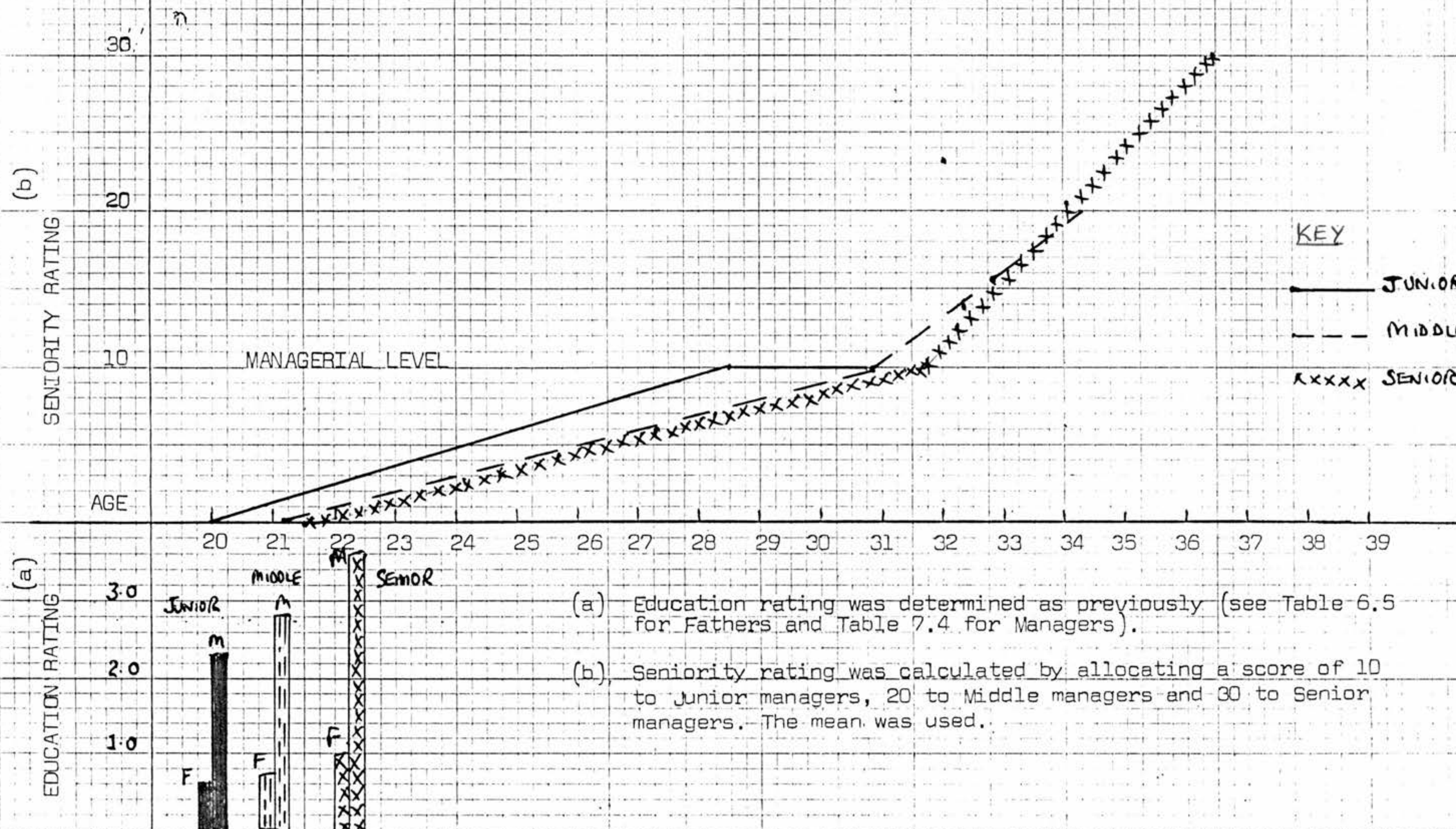



(a) Education rating was determined as previously (see Table 6.5 for Fathers and Table 7.4 for Managers).

(b) Seniority rating was calculated by allocating a score of 10 to Junior managers, 20 to Middle managers and 30 to Senior managers. The mean was used.

## APPENDIX U (Continued)

### CAREER GRAPH : BY MANAGERIAL STATUS

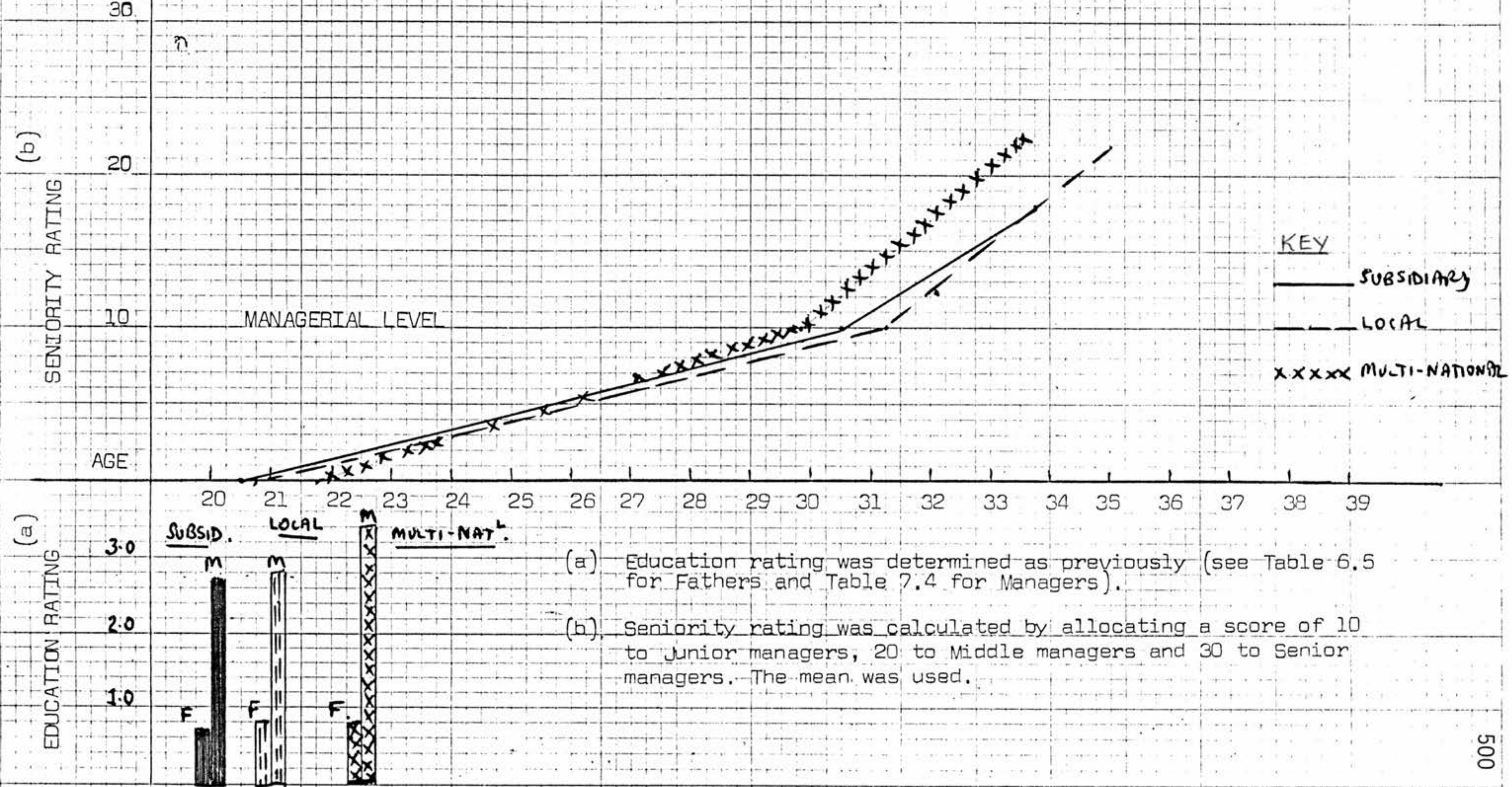



(a) Education rating was determined as previously (see Table 6.5 for Fathers and Table 7.4 for Managers).

(b) Seniority rating was calculated by allocating a score of 10 to Junior managers, 20 to Middle managers and 30 to Senior managers. The mean was used.

## APPENDIX U (Continued)

### CAREER GRAPH : BY OWNERSHIP STATUS

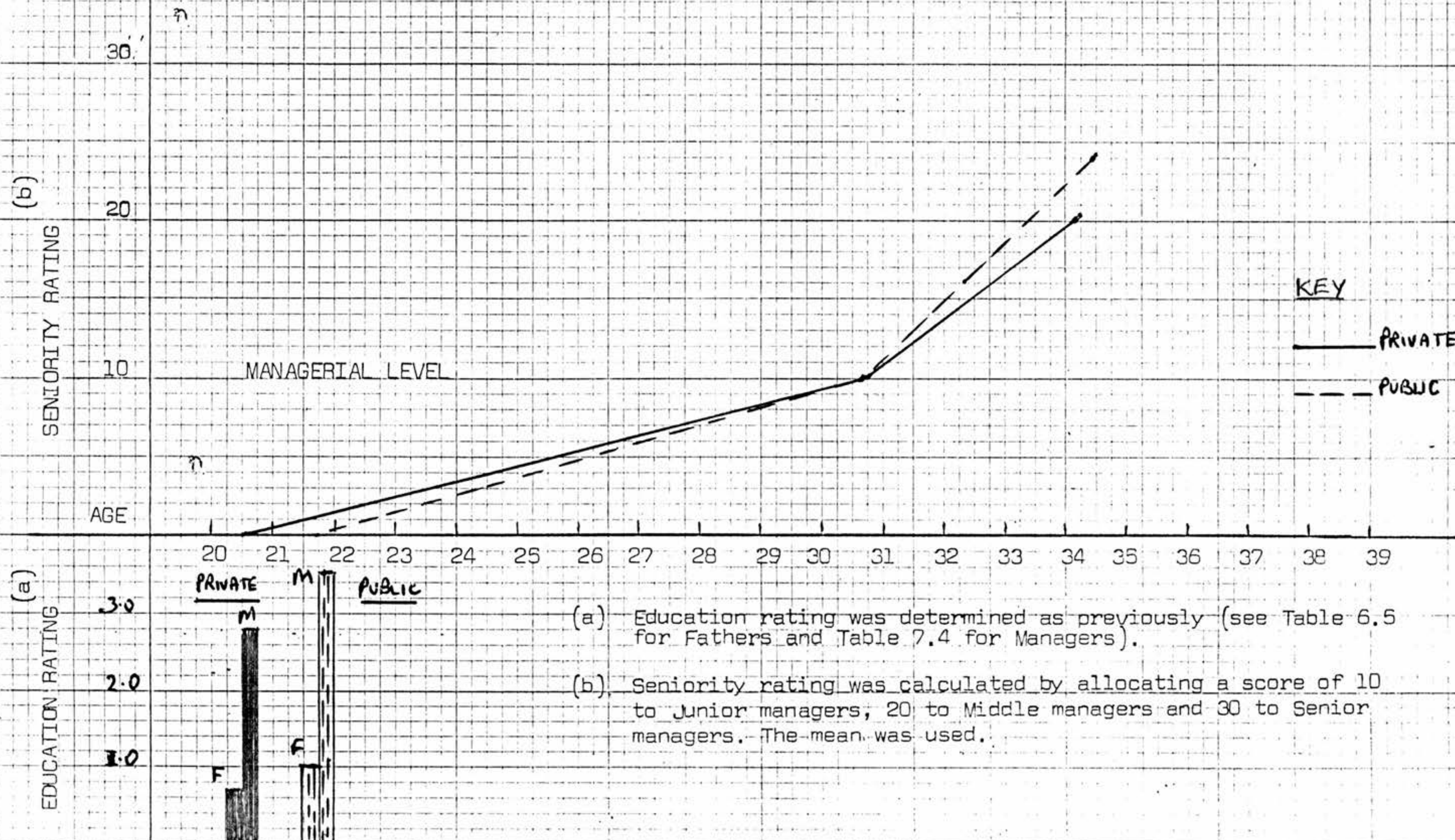



(a) Education rating was determined as previously (see Table 6.5 for Fathers and Table 7.4 for Managers).

(b) Seniority rating was calculated by allocating a score of 10 to Junior managers, 20 to Middle managers and 30 to Senior managers. The mean was used.

APPENDIX U (Continued)

CAREER GRAPH : BY PUBLIC OR PRIVATE SECTOR




(a) Education rating was determined as previously (see Table 6.5 for Fathers and Table 7.4 for Managers).

(b) Seniority rating was calculated by allocating a score of 10 to Junior managers, 20 to Middle managers and 30 to Senior managers. The mean was used.

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