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Kenyan Culture and Development: Re-Evaluating the Effects of Achievement Motivation on Economic Growth

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Introduction

The cultural perspective to development, examining the relationship between cultural values and economic growth, emerged during the late 1950s. One of the most recognized modern cultural theorists is David C. McClelland. In his book *The Achieving Society*, McClelland states that the catalysts for economic growth are an entrepreneurial spirit and the need within individuals to achieve (*n-ach*) (McClelland 1961). McClelland researched the rise and fall of civilizations such as Ancient Greece and England from 1400-1800 in an effort to identify the mechanism which causes economic growth and decline. He observed that an entrepreneurial spirit was manifested in the culture twenty to twenty-five years prior to economic growth (McClelland 1961, 98). Further, McClelland found the highest achievement levels in a civilization just before economic growth and lower achievement levels prior to the economic decline of a civilization (McClelland 1998, 173).

This paper will examine the Kenyan culture to determine if the Kenyan cultural phenomenon, *harambee*, has played a role in Kenya's economic development. More specifically, is *n-ach* the underlying value of *harambee*? During a trip to Kambu, Kenya in 1998 I was introduced to the concept of *harambee*, the pulling together of people in order to get things done, with minimal help from the government. *Harambee* can be applied to everyday life in areas including raising tuition for a child, harvesting, and taking care of the land. Other forms of *harambee* are more complex and time-involved, including building schools. The mother of my host family is the leader of the all-women *harambee* group in Kambu. I had the pleasure of participating in one of their meetings under a tree on a hot August afternoon. After taking role and sharing in refreshments of hot tea and bread, the women discussed with me the purpose of their group. The ten or so members of the group assist each other in the harvesting of family *shambas* (gardens) and in any other need for labor that is expressed by a member of the group. At each of the weekly meetings, each woman contributes money to a common fund, and that fund is given to a different member each week. My host mother has used the money she received to put a new roof on her home and to pay school tuition for some of her children. Although each woman does not have a lot to offer individually, collectively they make a difference in helping members meet basic needs. Kambu women believe that they will not make progress unless they take action to accomplish things themselves. That is the motivation behind their group.

In a developing nation such as Kenya, grassroots development projects offer hope for a better life. Low levels of political institutionalization and a lack of resources have doomed government projects. However, it appears that some gains in development have been made at the community level by using traditional institutions such as *harambee* to promote economic development. *Harambee* is one of the micro-development policies helping to compensate for small government subsidies in agriculture, education, and health. About twenty years after the advent of the nationwide *harambee* movement, Kenya experienced a 9.9 percent increase in gross domestic product per capita between 1984 and 1991 (World Bank Tables, 1995). This significant growth of the economy may have been due to cultural values associated with *harambee*. The newest members of the job sector during the growth period would have been children in the early 1960s when President Kenyatta began the promotion of *harambee*. Feeding on the excitement of Kenya's independence in 1963, Kenyans at the village level may have been strongly motivated, more so than prior generations, to take their communities and well-being into their own hands. Higher levels of *n-ach*, as expressed by increased participation in *harambee*, then allowed Kenyans to take advantage of opportunities for economic growth.

In the following section, the cultural literature will be presented with the goal of isolating those traits which the cultural theorists have argued promote or inhibit economic development. After presenting these traits, the paper will focus on a hypothesis testing case study. The *harambee* movement will be described in terms of how it developed, its principles, and how those principles relate to the traits mentioned by the cultural theorists. Particular attention will be paid to the similarities between *harambee* and *n-ach*; *harambee* appears to include many of the factors that McClelland asserts cause economic development. Another part of the case study will use content analysis of a Kenyan newspaper to determine whether the appropriate traits needed for growth were present throughout the country prior to a period of growth in the Kenyan economy.

The Cultural Perspective

The question has been asked time and again as to why some nations are poor and others are rich. According to cultural theorists, culture makes the difference in a nation's economic success or failure. The cultural perspective states that there are certain factors within a culture that will promote economic growth. Each of the arguments to be presented is a cultural argument because it asserts that development is the result of the adoption of a particular set of values and beliefs by individuals within a society. Those beliefs then allow for individuals to take advantage of opportunities which might lead to economic development. The focus became the relationship between human motivation and economic development (McClelland 1961, x).

All cultural perspective theorists agree that culture either promotes or inhibits economic development. Each theorist has his own list of cultural characteristics that, when present, cause or inhibit economic growth. Some say organization (Banfield 1958, 159) or the form of government (Aujac 1984, 43) is important, while others say it is certain values underlying religion (Kahn 1998, 221; Weber 1988, 5) which promote economic growth.

The three cultural theorists addressed here agree culture can change in order to provide the characteristics that will lead to growth: David McClelland, Max Weber, and Herman Kahn. David McClelland, perhaps the most influential cultural theorist, marked the turning point in the cultural perspective. While credit should be given to Weber for describing how culture impacts development, McClelland's work is important because he applied the scientific method so that the cultural perspective could be empirically tested. In addition to this, McClelland offers a very specific formula for changing cultures. His 1961 book, *The Achieving Society*, presents a series of tests to determine if the desire to achieve is what influences the level of economic growth of nations (McClelland 1961, 46). McClelland called this need to achieve "n-ach" (McClelland 1961, 43). The people in society who possess high levels of n-ach behave as business entrepreneurs do.

McClelland hypothesized that parents are the agents through which n-ach is instilled in the culture. Parents of high achievers encourage their children to attain earlier self-reliance and achievement (McClelland 1998, 172). Mothers and fathers transmit their own entrepreneurial values to their children through stories, games, and their own actions. McClelland found that by the age of eight or ten, boys could attain n-ach if their parents had raised them in a specific manner. The parents of a boy with high n-ach show interest in their son's activities, but do not directly interfere in his decisions or actions. They encourage him to be self-reliant and to take initiative (McClelland 1998, 182). Mothers of high n-ach sons usually play a more domineering role, while fathers of high n-ach boys set high standards for their sons but interfere less than the mother (McClelland 1998, 182). According to McClelland, a culture will experience economic growth after a generation has been instilled with n-ach and had time to age and enter the formal job market. The production of a new generation of entrepreneurs creates a situation in which individuals are willing to take advantage of economic opportunities and will, therefore, experience economic growth.

McClelland named many characteristics of individuals who possess high n-ach, including optimism, willingness to take risks, independence, anti-traditionalism, a stress on equality, and planning for the future. A low need to affiliate (n-affiliation) with others will also help economic growth (McClelland 1961, 164). N-affiliation is characterized by a desire to be liked, accepted, or forgiven, or a statement of how an individual likes another. The relationship is also described as warm and compassionate (McClelland 1961, 160). A society that has low n-affiliation will have a lower birth rate due to less of a desire for a close relationship with a child. As a

result, population growth is slower and the economy has an opportunity to grow since it has fewer people whose needs have to be met.

Another characteristic of individuals who possess high *n*-ach is a significant concern "with the control of the means of influencing a person" (McClelland 1961, 167). McClelland referred to this dominance behavior as *n*-power. *N*-power is a relationship in which a superior person has control over a subordinate. Examples of this include trying to get a point across, commanding someone, or punishing someone (McClelland 1961, 168). There is not a correlation between *n*-power and economic development, however McClelland thought *n*-power might be important to the development of successful business managers (McClelland 1961, 60, 290). Further research was suggested to see if this connection exists.

After defining his hypothesis and showing the support for it¹, McClelland suggests that "the shortest way to achieve economic success might be to change people (McClelland 1961, 337)." McClelland begins his *n*-ach-driven formula for growth with the family. First, limit the father's dominant relationship with the son (McClelland 1961, 356). Mothers should place fewer restrictions on their sons and expect self-reliance between ages six and eight (McClelland 1961, 341). McClelland also found that children of entrepreneurs are more motivated to achieve. Parents ought to set moderate goals for their children and treat them warmly even when the child does not achieve. Individuals must also experience social discrimination in order to change (McClelland 1961, 339). A group that feels looked down upon by the majority of society will feel a need to rise to the challenge. Kenyans, for example, were subordinate to the British while under colonial rule. Subordination will lead directly to an increase in *n*-ach, if there was a sufficient level of *n*-ach present before the subordination.

The most incriminating criticism to date asserts that McClelland only presented those results that confirmed his hypothesis (Lewis 1998, 188). Jeffrey Lewis challenged McClelland's results and published his findings in *Reevaluating the Effect of N-Ach on Economic Growth*. According to Lewis, McClelland's hypothesis was proved because McClelland only chose data that supported the hypothesis (Lewis 1998, 187). McClelland's test used economic data from 1925 to 1950, but Lewis wanted to see if McClelland's hypothesis would hold when applied to the newer economic data of 1950 to 1977 (Lewis 1998, 190). While Lewis found support for McClelland's hypothesis that from 1929 to 1950 the need to achieve led to entrepreneurship that caused economic growth, no support exists for the period of 1950 to 1977 (Lewis 1998, 187). Also, McClelland stated electrical power growth was statistically related to levels of *n*-ach, but Lewis found no relationship between the two for the period of 1950 to 1977. Lewis' findings call McClelland's study into question.

The Variations. Should McClelland be incapable of explaining Kenya's economic growth, it will be helpful to have an understanding of the contributions of other culturalists as I examine the newspapers and *harambee*. Each discussed a

different set of specific values that lead to growth and each set of values will be included in the empirical examination of the newspapers and *harambee*. A number of authors, including Lawrence Harrison, Herman Kahn, and Oscar Lewis, were influenced by McClelland's work. The works of Max Weber and Edward Banfield preceded McClelland.

In Max Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, the values underpinning Calvinism is the independent variable that promotes capitalist economic development. Calvinists were encouraged to live ascetic lives, work hard in their calling to satisfy God (Weber 1988, 158), and take the responsibility of receiving God's salvation upon themselves. The hard work led to accumulation of profit, but the commitment to live an ascetic life prohibited the use of the profit for anything other than reinvestment in capital at the factory. Weber argued that the combination of asceticism, obligation to one's job, and individualism encouraged the rise of capitalism (Weber 1988, 172).

Another important contributor to the cultural perspective is Edward Banfield. His book, *The Moral Basis of a Backward Society*, outlined a study of an amoral familist society. The premise of the argument is that a society of amoral familists will not experience economic development because it is characterized by fatalism and a lack of trust (Banfield 1958, 36, 37). In a fatalistic society, individuals believe the opportunities that are available now are the same opportunities of the past and future. Things do not change, therefore, there is no need for anyone to look to the future and work toward development. A lack of trust leads to a lack of organizations and prohibits development and manifests itself in the individualistic mentality that one should maximize the material, short-run advantage of the nuclear family and assume that all others will do the same (Banfield 1967, 83, 86, 87).

In *La Vida*, Oscar Lewis hypothesized that "cultures of poverty" are the reason poor nations stay poor. Lewis narrates how a Puerto Rican family becomes trapped in the culture of poverty as a result of a breakdown in social and economic systems (Oscar Lewis 1966, xlv). Poverty has become a way of life characterized by fatalism, despair, and resignation from life (Oscar Lewis 1966, xlv, xlviii). Individuals do not participate in the community, so organizations do not form and economic growth is stunted (Oscar Lewis 1966, xlvi). In this fatalistic, untrusting society, it is nearly impossible to keep children from learning this behavior that seems to be the norm. Therefore, those born into a culture of poverty will be forever poor.

According to Herman Kahn, dedication, loyalty, and commitment to a group are needed for development. In *The Confucian Ethic and Economic Growth*, Kahn makes the argument that Confucianism promotes group orientation and emphasizes loyalty to institutions and dedication to organizations (Kahn 1998, 220). Within a society of communal workers, development can be expected.

The most recent theorist of the cultural approach is Lawrence Harrison. In *Underdevelopment is a State of Mind*, Harrison proposed that countries develop economically at different speeds according to their worldview. Certain countries have not experienced economic growth because they blame their problems on other nations, rather than taking responsibility and making the needed changes (Harrison 1985, 151). They follow the Marxist-Leninist doctrine that the rich are rich because the poor countries are poor (Harrison 1998, 232). Being absorbed in their problems keeps undeveloped nations from looking to the future in terms of planning, organizing, and investing in their economic development (Harrison 1998, 235). To bring about development, Harrison asserts that governments ought to assure stability and continuity in social and productive systems. Governments should promote industrialization and investment. Governments should also create an environment in which every individual's abilities can be put to use for the improvement of everyone's well-being (Harrison 1998, 233).

The current study will examine whether McClelland's hypothesis holds when applied to Kenya. Where McClelland fails to explain the economic growth in Kenya the other cultural theorists will be examined. An empirical examination of entries in a Kenyan national newspaper is included as a measure of presence of *n*-ach in Kenya prior to a period of economic growth. The period of growth was distinguished by a consistent rise in gross domestic product per capita figures over a ten-year period. This is similar to McClelland's measure of the relationship between *n*-ach levels and economic growth with the exception that all results, not only those which confirm the hypothesis, will be presented. These methods will overcome the criticisms of McClelland's data reporting. An examination of the underlying values of *harambee* is also included in an attempt to compare *harambee* to McClelland's *n*-ach.

Harambee

Harambee looks on the surface as though it may have values which culturalists assert are necessary to bring about economic growth. If the underlying values described by McClelland as necessary for development are present in *harambee*, that would support his culturalist hypothesis. This section will look at how Kenya moved from forced labor to the "spirit of *harambee*", and examine the different kinds of workparties within the *harambee* movement. A discussion of aspects of *harambee* that culturalists might attribute to economic development will also be included.

Communal labor has long been a part of Kenyan culture. However, in the early 1920's, all unemployed Kenyan men were forced to work, unpaid, for as many as twenty-four days per year on community projects (Hill 1991, 17). Kenyans resented the forced labor and described it as "the most cordially hated public duties to which the Kamba have been called" (Hill 1991, 19).ⁱⁱ By the late 1940s, the colonial officials realized the need for the restructuring of the communal labor system in order for it to contribute to a sort of meaningful development at the local

level. November 10, 1948 the British government implemented a new policy, called Colonial Community Development, which was part of the overall plan for colonies to become self-governing (Hill 1991, 23). Part of the Community Development policy called for "Mass Education" of Kenyans, to promote a better standard of living among the community, initiated and actively participated in by the community. If Kenyans did not take the initiative in improving life in the community, the British would use techniques to spur an enthusiastic response in the community to this objective (Hill 1991, 24). The British did not expect cooperation from the Kenyans on the mass education policy, so they developed special techniques for stimulating "initiative" in the communities (Hill 1991, 25). Plans were made to set up training facilities in Kenya to be run by both British and Kenyan officials to boost activity in the areas of agriculture, livestock management, education, care of the home, and water (Hill 1991, 25).

Implementation of the Colonial Community Development policy was widespread by the early 1950s. The development projects were called "self-help", but they appeared to be nothing more than the old colonial communal labor system under a new name. Political groups, including the Kenya African Union, resisted the coercive communal labor being forced upon them by the British. Development would not occur if Kenyans resisted the way it was implemented. An anthropologist named Philip Mayer, who was employed by the colonial administration, and native authorities decided to look at how more traditional, indigenous institutions of Kenya might be adapted to rural development (Hill 1991, 31). Mayer concluded that village improvement and agricultural modernization could be achieved through the traditional workparties that had been present in Kenya for years (Hill 1991, 31). In 1953, the Kamba tribe located in the Machakos district was chosen to be an experimental project to test the use of traditional workparties in community development. Community development groups would be based on the traditional Kamba workparties called *myethya*³ and locally elected communities chose which projects to do and how to undertake self-help projects (Hill 1991, 33). The intention was to bring development to the Kamba in a way that was acceptable to them, but also successful in the eyes of British officials (Hill 1991, 35).

Harambee as a National Movement. When Kenya became independent, the notion of communal work and neighbors helping neighbors to develop their communities grew stronger due to a surge in nationalism. Kenya soon had the most widespread self-help movement of any African nation.. The grassroots community development movement, called *harambee*, spread rapidly and was a direct contrast to the colonial form of communal labor (Hill 1991, 40). In 1963, Kenya's first Prime Minister, Jomo Kenyatta, promoted *harambee* as a new national slogan. The central message of *harambee* is one of self reliance, and it stems from the African traditions of community co-operation and mutual aid (Hill 1991, 133). It appeals to unity, development, nationalism, and the preservation of traditional cultural values, perhaps explaining why *Harambee* is the underlying principle of social, political, and economic policies of the independent Kenya. Following independence, there was a

great push in the development of secondary education by the government and *harambee* groups. Then they expanded into other types of projects such as cattle-dips. Local groups, including churches and Native District Councils, took part in the development of the education system, enabling the community to provide financially for its education system (Hill 1991, 48). Overall, the expenditures of *harambee* development projects are relatively small compared with government development expenditures.⁴ Still, *harambee* made valuable contributions to the nation's development in the values it promoted. The spirit of the movement is what is significant because if *harambee* inculcates *n-ach* values, it should eventually be the catalyst needed for economic development in Kenya.

Two Forms of Harambee. Martin J.D. Hill's book *The Harambee Movement in Kenya* focused on the village of Kamale in the Kitui district and its workparties from 1973 to 1974. In the book, Hill distinguishes between the two kinds of cooperative labor assistance- traditional neighborhood *mwethya* and self-help *mwethya*. It is important to carefully examine the *mwethya* in order to identify the presence (or absence) of the attributes which the cultural theorists believe cause development. Each *mwethya* has a different organization and principles upon which it is based, but both the neighborhood and self-help groups have played rolls in the *harambee* movement.

The neighborhood *mwethya* consists of members of a subdivision of a village who come together either in a sudden fashion or on a regular basis to contribute large amounts of labor when needed (Hill 1991, 258). While *mwethya* specifically refers to the neighborhood workparty, it could refer to a workparty, a system of neighborhood workparties, or the collective group in the neighborhood that worked together in neighborhood workparties (Hill 1991, 138). Members of a neighborhood workparty provide supplemental labor to other members of the workparty who are completing the more labor-intensive stages or the final stage of a project (Hill 1991, 136). The person for whom the work is being done asks for the neighborhood's assistance through a "caller". The overall structure of the society is based upon the relations of descent and affinity, requiring kin to adhere to specific rules and behavior (Hill 1991, 73). The caller summons the labor, but he has no other responsibilities. The owner, though, must furnish the caller and neighborhood workparty with immediate rewards for their work, usually food or drink (Hill 1991, 139).

There are two key elements of the neighborhood *mwethya*. First, the caller is obligated to assemble the *mwethya* when asked by an owner who has the right to ask (Hill 1991, 148). Regular work in a *mwethya* in the neighborhood entitled an individual to ask the *mwethya* to do work for the individual or ask the group to work for someone with kinship links to the individual (Hill 1991, 148). Those who have given help to a neighbor trust that reciprocity will be put into practice. Reciprocity is highly regarded in the neighborhood group and it sometimes goes on between neighborhoods. The other key element is the obligation of a neighborhood member to work when justifiably called to work (Hill 1991, 148). When Hill asked members

why they work at the *mwethya*, they responded that it was not the food or drink that motivated them, but the social relationships which obligated them to work when called (Hill 1991, 150).

There were contrasting types of workparties - neighborhood workparties, as discussed above, rotating work-teams (*mwilaso*), and friendship help. *Mwilaso* and friendship help are examples of how social relationships motivate individuals to work. *Mwilaso* was for a limited purpose and duration, with two or more people agreeing to work on each other's tasks, giving and receiving the same amount of labor (Hill 1991, 152). Reciprocity was to be done with as little delay as possible. *Mwilaso* was based mainly on friendship, not subordinate relationships, and did not involve a binding agreement. If reciprocity did not occur, the friendship would terminate and the workteam would disassemble (Hill 1991, 152). Friendship help was not based on any social relationships where respect/avoidance relationships were involved. Rather, it consisted of a person asking friends to help for a day with a project, with the knowledge that equal labor would be given to the friend as compensation. The relationship was an informal one, based on equality, mutual help, support, and affection (Hill 1991, 153).

Some projects required continuous labor over a long period of time, needing more workers than the forty or so in a typical neighborhood *mwethya* group. For such occasions, self-help *myethya* were used. Self-help workparty members were not only obligated to give labor; they were required to make a financial contribution to the project. All adults who resided in the village or held land in the village were obligated to participate in the self-help *mwethya* in labor and money. If a village land holder was away from his land because of his job in an urban area, for instance, the labor obligation would have to go unmet, but the financial contribution had to be made. Those working away from the village formed their own *mwethya* branch to assist people living in the urban area with finding employment and housing (Hill 1991, 174).

In principle, self-help groups were supposed to do unskilled manual labor two mornings a week, usually Tuesday and Saturday, for seven months a year (Hill 1991, 173). Work might involve stomping mud to make bricks, fetching firewood, carrying building materials, or clearing someone's land. The most common long-term projects were building schools and making additions to the school annually. Although the self-help groups were supposed to work two mornings a week for seven months of the year, work was slowed by group conflict and poor leadership.

The social relationship of the neighborhood and self-help workparty involves one individual doing work to fulfill an obligation to the *mwethya* group (Hill 1991, 269). The transaction of work in the self-help group is not a transaction between individuals; rather, it involves a relationship between the individual fulfilling a general obligation to the self-help group (Hill 1991, 269, 270). This obligation to contribute to the group is linked to the potential benefits to be reaped by

all involved. Since all stand the chance to equally benefit, all ought to equally contribute (Hill 1991, 267).

Mobilization of such a large group was difficult, though. When projects became supra-local, there were complaints that supra-local projects were not as beneficial as local projects to the group (Hill 1991, 209). Sanctions for non-participation included paying fines and loss of access to public services. If a member did not contribute financially or with labor, he would consequently lose the usage of the facility. The non-contributing member would also be tracked down by the police (*askari*) and be asked to give the financial contribution for the *mwethya* (Hill 1991, 188). The self-help *myethya* required much greater organization of leadership and control of sanctions than did neighborhood *myethya*. Special leadership positions were needed to handle the more complex organization of self-help *myethya*, as were decision makers and people to handle the finances of the group (Hill 1991, 259). Social coercion was used to ensure that everyone in the community contributed financially. Those who did not contribute were given a cash fine. If one did not pay the fine, they were further punished with the sanction of attachment, not ostracism because ostracism would not meet the objective of getting the money for the self-help fund (Hill 1991, 260).

Over the duration of Hill's one year study, there was a decrease in workparties in Kamale possibly due to a general move away from reciprocity toward payment for labor (Hill 1991, 154). The progressive farmers in Kamale abandoned the workparty system and began doing their labor individually and hiring additional labor when needed. The government began teaching Kamale farmers "new agriculture and livestock techniques, including ploughing, anti-soil erosion methods, the cultivation of more drought-resistant varieties of maize ('Katumani 2') and the planting of cash-crops (Hill 1991, 156)", but *mwethya* was not emphasized in the teachings. The government program, implemented by the Better Living Institute, emphasized that inter-cropping techniques and other traditional farming methods were inefficient and incorrect. As a result, Kamale farmers felt that they had to abandon workparties, do labor individually, and hire labor when additional help was necessary because of the actions of the more progressive farmers and the teachings of the government (Hill 1991, 156). However, *mwethya* remained because individuals continued to feel obligated to assist when asked by the community. The principle of reciprocity had changed, though, and the workparty was not paid for their laboring time, but by the task completed (Hill 1991, 161). This new system was reflective of the developing market economy.

Workparties moved toward teams of neighborhood women, as opposed to men, as rural areas of Kenya began to develop and take on more modern institutions such as market economies. Hill noticed this move toward women's workparties in more developed areas of Kenya during his study in the early 1970s. Those communities in more developed areas exhibited a more modern structured workparty in which the focus of the group was on the individual, not the community. At each gathering, the activity focused on the fulfillment of the needs of a particular

individual in the workparty instead of a project that benefitted the entire community. Members would work for each other when needed, or they would work for cash and put those earnings into a common fund to meet the needs of group members (Hill 1991, 301). It is unclear as to if the new women's groups, called *mabati* groups, supplemented or replaced the village self-help groups in the more developed areas (Hill 1991, 314). It is possible that the more modern attitudes in the developed area were reflected in this new form of *harambee*. There is evidence, though, that today workparties are indeed focusing more on women's groups in the rural areas of Kenya such as Kambu. In 1998, my observations of women's workparties were similar to what Hill described. Each member of the group put money into a common fund at the meeting for a different group member to receive at each meeting. The member uses the money for home improvement, tuition fees for her children, etc.

Harambee in a Cultural Context. Now that *harambee* has been described, consider again those characteristics which the cultural theorists say are necessary for economic development to occur. Many of the characteristics described by the culturalists are described in Hill's study of the *harambee* movement.

Beginning with McClelland, there are several parallels between *n-ach* and the *harambee* movement. One of the characteristics of high *n-ach* is planning for the future. In Hill's study, he states that education was the main objective in the self-help movement throughout Kenya (Hill 1991, 170). Every Kamale child in 1973 was in school because education was seen as a means to participate in the wider society, and thus increase one's chances of individual achievement and social mobility (Hill 1991, 105-106). Parents hoped that their educated children would have a greater chance at employment and would be able to support the family with their income, according to Hill's study. Education was the way for many to plan for a better future and modernize their communities, as illustrated in the following *harambee* song line: "Tell them to send our children to school, Only this will help our people" (Hill 1991, 204). The family has made the connection between sacrificing now, in having the child partaking in chores around the home, for the sake of an education which will create future opportunities.

In *Harambee* we see the growing trend in women's workparties and the inclusion of women in important positions within the workparty such as treasurer (Hill 1991, 162, 180). In the self-help group, women have been given the role of treasurer for their proven trustworthiness and experience in the safekeeping of the family's valuables (Hill 1991, 180). These are clear indications of the inclusion of women in the *harambee* movement. McClelland emphasized the exposure of these women to forces outside the home because it increases the possibility that they and the younger generation will be introduced to new, modern values (McClelland 1961, 400). As women take more active roles in community development it is certain that they will transmit these new modern values to their children. As the children are exposed to modern values they will be more likely to partake in entrepreneurial behavior and take advantage of opportunities for economic advancement.

McClelland also emphasized the ability to make judgement calls on cues from previous experiences (McClelland 1961, 223). Individuals with high levels of *n-ach* will make rational decisions, considering all of the available knowledge. Among the Kamale *harambee* groups, there are examples of selecting people for positions based upon their merit. Although politicians often gave great sums of money to *harambee* funds in hopes of swaying members' votes toward them, members did not vote for a politician just for the contributions he had made (Hill 1991, 254). One held leadership only so long as he could mobilize people and lead a group successfully. Similarly, women were often chosen for the position of treasurer for the self-help *myethya* because they had a proven record of safekeeping the household valuables (Hill 1991, 180). In each of these cases, the individual who was being elected to a position was chosen according to their previous behavior.

A final similarity to be drawn between McClelland and the *harambee* movement is the notion of leaving behind the traditional way of life to adopt a modern world view. The entire concept of *n-ach* is one of modernity, and McClelland thought that the movement toward possessing more *n-ach* would pave the way for development (McClelland 1961). This shift toward modernity can be seen in *harambee*. Gradually groups were beginning to sell their labor in return for wages that could be used to benefit the group. Traditional *mwethya* reciprocity was left behind as more people entered the market economy. There were other signs of modernity, including the Kenyan view that education was the way to modernize (Hill 1991, 236). Songs spoke of more modern views as well. In one *harambee* song, a lack of medication in hospitals was viewed poorly, and in another, connections were made between Kenyans and the rest of the world (Hill 1991, 206). Expanding one's horizons is a clear indication of a change from traditional views to more modern views.

In *La Vida*, Oscar Lewis described a culture of poverty in which individuals are lackadaisical and fatalistic. Individuals' lack of hope for a better life is the reason they do not actively seek to improve their standard of living. The people of Kamale were actively pursuing community development through education. In a "culture of poverty", the community would not actively pursue this means to an end (Lewis 1998, 226). Yet, the people of Kamale took the sequential steps to realize that goal of education and all felt an obligation to participate in developing Kamale. For the purposes of this study, it seems that we can dismiss the ideas of Oscar Lewis.

Banfield said trust was important to development because trust is needed to form organizations and organizations are necessary for economic development (Banfield 1958, 86, 87). It is difficult, if not impossible, to build a stable economy without organization because there is no common goal for the economy. Oscar Lewis also mentioned the value of trust. Cultures of poverty have distrust, which prevents the formation of various institutions that promote growth. In Kenya, workparties consisted of people from several neighborhoods and families who worked together and for people outside their families. This ability to work for non-family suggests that Kenyans did indeed have trust. Further, when working on supra-local projects,

workers had to trust that they would receive benefits of the project equal to the benefits of working on a local project. This trust points to the inability of Banfield's amoral familist hypothesis to explain Kenyan growth.

Responsibility is one other attribute of *harambee* that is part of a cultural theory presented by Harrison. According to Harrison, certain countries have not experienced economic growth because they blame their problems on other nations, rather than taking responsibility and making the needed changes (Harrison 1985, 151). Kenyans, though, have taken responsibility for their education. People at the village level supplemented the building and funding of schools that could not be fully met by the government prior to independence. This is an ideal expression of responsibility within the culture, making it difficult to claim that Kenyans were irresponsible.

Harambee incorporates the variables of Kahn's theory also. Kahn said that organizations and a communal spirit of group work are essential to a nation's economic development. The *myethya* are examples of community organization across Kenya. Some are more highly organized than others, but all contain some element of organization in order to be able to mobilize so many people for workparties. Obligation to help each other and a strong sense of community has always been a part of Kamba culture. The interesting point here is that Kenya's *harambee* movement has become a hybrid system in which communal efforts promote individualism and individualistic goals. When the movement began, groups concentrated on projects that would provide benefits to the entire community. Yet, Hill and I both observed *harambee* groups promoting the needs of individuals with the group.

In examining the values of the movement, the analysis focused on the activities of the workparties in the Kitui district. Hill's study of the movement in the Kitui district presents a thorough picture of *harambee* there. However, the Kamale village, which was central to the discussion, was described to Hill by locals as somewhat backward and traditional in comparison to villages in the district that were more developed and centrally located (Hill 1991, 49). This suggests that by focusing on the *harambee* movement in Kamale the picture of the movement may have been skewed a bit. It is possible that the values of the Kamale *harambee* movement were not representative of the national movement. While a study of the national movement at its peak cannot be done now, perhaps more research ought to be done on present *harambee* groups in various areas throughout Kenya. Attention should be paid to the structure and aim of the groups. Are groups today promoting projects which benefit the needs of the individual over the community? Are women in leadership positions and are the needs of women being targeted? It might also prove interesting to look at whether more modern *harambee* groups produce higher economic growth than groups less attuned to modern values.

Expression of *n*-Ach in the Kenyan Press

In the preceding analysis of the *harambee* movement, it is made clear that high *n*-ach values are expressed in the Kenyan culture. To further examine McClelland's hypothesis concerning cultural values and economic development I will conduct an analysis similar to the portion of his analysis that took publications into account. This provides an idea of how the analysis of the cultural values expressed in *harambee* holds when applied to a larger portion of the society.

McClelland stated that an increase in a culture's achievement motivation occurs a generation prior to growth. I have taken an approach similar to McClelland by examining Kenya's economy and achievement motivation. First, I identified a period of growth in the 1980s. Between 1984 and 1991 Kenya's growth accelerated rapidly, from \$5.9 billion constant 1987 \$U.S. to \$8.1 billion constant 1987 \$U.S. (World Data, 1995). Then, as McClelland did, I looked a generation prior to that period- the 1960s- to see if there was an increase in achievement motivation in the cultural values of Kenya. If present, McClelland's hypothesis will be strengthened because it will have held when applied to another culture.

The hypothesis for the Kenyan case study can be described in a series of statements. An increase in the expressions of high *n*-ach in the 1960s led to a period of economic growth a generation later. The achievement motives instilled a more entrepreneurial spirit in Kenyan children during the time that achievement motivation was emphasized. When the children became old enough to enter the job market, approximately twenty years later, they were more motivated to work harder, plan for the future, start their own businesses, work independently, take risks, and adopt more modern ways of life than those before them. These new characteristics of Kenyans contributed to the economic growth that began in 1984.

McClelland used children's literature as a measure of *n*-ach because it reflects the popular culture, exhibiting the thoughts and values which are widely accepted throughout the culture at that given time in history (McClelland 1961, 71). Instead of using children's readers as the source from which to measure the amount of *n*-ach and other cultural variables present in the society, this test used newspaper entries. Newspaper entries, including editorials and letters, express the voice of the people and their underlying values. Therefore, newspapers reflect the values of society at any given time. The selected entries were from a wide-range of cities throughout Kenya, including small, large, urban, and rural communities, representing the opinions of Kenyans from different tribes. The diverse nature of the origins of the entries increases the chance that the entries as a whole give the best possible description of societal values.

A representative sample of 348 entries was selected from one of the most widely circulated mainstream newspapers in Kenya called *The Daily Nation*⁵. First, entries were located for the desired period of time of the study, 1964 to 1973. As McClelland suggested, this period of time is one generation prior to the period of

economic growth in the 1980s. Then the entries were read a minimum of three times in order to code the presence of the cultural traits or values discussed by McClelland, Kahn, Weber, Harrison, and Lewis.

Data Analysis

It is important to keep in mind the reason for the case study of editorials in *The Daily Nation*. Newspaper editorials are literature that express the values of a society and are comparable to the children's literature that McClelland used to identify cultural values within a society. Reading the editorials can give insight as to what Kenyans perceived as important to their culture. More specifically, the articles can be read with the intent of identifying values that either support or contradict the cultural theory, especially McClelland's theory.

Indicators of a high need to achieve include behavior such as participation in the modern market economy, a desire to do non-agricultural work, entrepreneurship, showing support for education, and supporting the emancipation of women. In the August 18, 1964 issue of *The Daily Nation*, commentator James Ngugi wrote about Kenyan leader Tom Mboya's call upon Kenyan women to "start community activities, literary classes, and self help schemes. Whether or not she is able to take up the role still depends on the attitude of the man towards her." An example in the newspaper of showing support for education comes from an article dated March 22, 1972, written by James N. Amolo of the University of Nairobi. Mr. Amolo wrote, "We have more important immediate problems than the minor issue of hippies. Why don't we instead concentrate on enrolment to KANU, education, economics, and good health?" High achievers also lead a modern way of life, and they try to control, and are independent of, nature. Individuals within a high *n*-ach society will seek compromise, have impulse control, make well-informed decisions, not exhibit dominating or authoritarian behavior as parents, but have some desire to be in a controlling or powerful position. These variables might manifest themselves in the entries as support for negotiations in politics, encouragement of individuals to control their urges, or positive words for parents who let their children make their own decisions. Entries that promote risk-taking, hard work, and taking responsibility would also be evidence of *n*-ach. He or she would also have an awareness of time, perform well under moderate stress, and show little concern for establishing close relationships or friendships. Finally, a high *n*-ach individual would be willing to hire experts over family and make plans for the future.

Evidence contrary to the hypothesis might consist of criticisms of women because they are involved in the modern economy or who reject the traditional values that call for the subordination of women. He or she would promote traditional agricultural pursuits as a superior occupation to manufacturing and favor the barter system over a market economy. Traditional individuals do not emphasize education in their discussion because, to them, a child's education is not as important as having that child work in a field or at home. People in low *n*-ach societies do not show a

desire to start their own businesses and have little concern about the efficient usage of time or being in a position of power. Rather, they depend on others. Parents who have low *n*-ach, however, exhibit domineering behavior which discourages the child from being self-reliant and taking initiative.

Now the case study will look for the *n*-ach values needed to give support to the hypothesis. Table 1 includes an aggregate measure of *n*-ach, combining all instances of any of the *n*-ach characteristics.. This aggregate variable occurred in 60 percent (210) of the 348 entries. To be counted as an instance of *n*-ach, the writer had to express his or her opinion of *n*-ach behavior. High *n*-ach values were expressed in 44 percent of the articles, and just less than 10 percent of the articles showed a negative view of *n*-ach. It is clear from these results that *n*-ach, in general, was perceived in a positive light by Kenyans during the period of the case study.

Analysis of the sample will continue by identifying the specific characteristics of *n*-ach that were identified in the entries and provided support for the hypothesis. Many of the values were present, but some occurred more often than others. A majority of responses concerning modern market economies, as well as modernism in general, spoke positively of the variables. Statements made about modernism in general occurred much more frequently, however. Of the 5.5 percent of entries containing a reference to participation in the modern market economy, 4.6 percent of all entries contained positive statements about being a member of the market economy. The variable "modern", also presented in Table 1, looks for any reference to modern ways of life and the way in which modern life is perceived. The data in this table indicate that 42.5 percent of the entries mentioned a modern lifestyle. In Table 1, note that 119 of the 148 statements made in reference to a modern lifestyle had positive connotations. Twenty-three entries spoke negatively of modernism, and 6 entries mentioned modern behavior but did not make it clear as to their view of modernism. It is clear that modernism is present in the entries from the analysis of this last variable.

Table 1: Aggregate Measurement of the Presence of N-ach Characteristics

<i>Aggregate N-Ach</i>	Percentage	N
Present	44	153
Neutral in N-Ach Behavior	6.6	23
Not present	9.8	34
Not Mentioned	39.7	138
Total	100	348

<i>Evidence of a Modern Lifestyle or Comments Made About a Modern Ways of Life</i>		
Positive	34.2	119
Neutral	1.7	6
Negative	6.6	23
No Mention	57.5	200
Total	100	348

An additional sign of the presence of modernism is support for education. As shown in Table 2, 9.5 percent of the entries mentioned education, and 23 of the 33 statements made about education were positive. To be more specific, two entries showed that Kenyans valued secondary education and one voiced support for higher education. Similar support was shown for the variable dealing with time. Thirty of the 348 entries, or 8.6 percent, referred to the value of time or spoke of an awareness of time passing quickly, as shown in Table 2. Twenty-nine of those 30 articles made statements indicative of the high value they place on time. No entries indicated a belief that time was unimportant, but one entry made a reference to time without stating the value they place on time.

Table 2: Presence of Variables Related to Modernism

<i>References to Education</i>	Percentage	N
Viewed Positively	6.6	23
Neutral	1.1	4
Viewed Negatively	0.9	3
Support Secondary Education	0.6	2
Support Higher Education	0.3	1
No Mention	90.5	315
Total	100	348

<i>Evidence of an Awareness of Time</i>	Percentage	N
Agree Time is Valuable or Passes Rapidly	8.3	29
Neutral View of Time	0.3	1
Agree Time has No Value or Unaware Time Passes Quickly	0	0
No Mention	91.4	318
Total	100	348

Support was also found for the variables referring to hard work and entrepreneurship, as shown in Table 3. The notion of hard work was mentioned in 4.6 percent of the 348 articles, and 3.7 percent of the entries viewed hard work as a good ideal to have. Entrepreneurship was viewed positively in two-thirds of the entries in which it was mentioned. Entrepreneurship was mentioned in 3.4 percent (12) of the entries, and 2.3 percent of the entries spoke positively of the variable. Another variable discussed in Table 3 is independent behavior. It is not as easy to determine how Kenyan's viewed independence. As stated in the table, 8.6 percent of the entries dealt with the issue of independence in general. While 4.6 percent exhibited a positive opinion of independent behavior, 3.4 percent thought dependent behavior was better and 0.6 percent had neutral views of independence.

Table 3: Additional Variables Measuring the Presence of Modernism

<i>References to Hard Work</i>	Percentage	N
Positive	3.7	13
Neutral	0.9	3
Negative	0	0
No Mention	95.4	332
Total	100	348
<i>View of Entrepreneurship or Having Own Business</i>		
Having a Business is Good	2.3	8
Neutral	0.9	3
Having a Business is Bad	0.3	1
No Mention of Entrepreneurship	96.6	336
Total	100	348
<i>Opinion of Independent Behavior</i>		
Positive	4.6	16
Neutral	0.6	2
Negative	3.4	12
No Mention	91.4	318
Total	100	34

The issue of whether Kenyans should take more responsibility for themselves and be independent in nature, versus the dependency they experienced in colonialism, was also prevalent in the entries. Kenya was experiencing a transition from the British colonial rule to independence in 1964, which probably heightened conversation regarding independence, responsibility, and plans for the future of the nation. Approximately 5 percent of entries discussed colonialism, but no positive comments were made. Almost 3 percent of entries made negative comments about British and Europeans, the former colonial powers. Together, these are signs of negative views of colonialism. Kenyans also showed a desire to take on

responsibility and plan for the future in the newspaper entries. Table 4 shows that 13.8 percent of the entries exhibited or made a reference to responsible behavior. Thirty-eight of the 48 entries related to the responsibility variable expressed individuals taking responsibility. This show of responsibility in the culture gives support to McClelland's hypothesis and the hypothesis of Harrison that responsible behavior would be evident in countries experiencing economic growth. Table 4 also shows that 9.1 percent of the newspaper entries dealt with the issue of planning for the future. Twenty-eight entries exhibited a positive opinion of planning, 2 had a negative opinion, and 2 referred to planning, but did not state whether it was good or bad. The majority of the positive statements about planning for the future came in the three years following Kenya's independence from Britain. In planning for the future, there was also an emphasis on making well-informed decisions in 2.6 percent of the articles.

Table 4: Measurement of Variables Related to Responsibility

<i>Examples or References to Responsible Behavior</i>	Percentage	N
Behave Responsibly or Encourage Responsibility	10.9	38
Neutral	0.3	1
Irresponsible or Discourage Responsibility	2.6	9
No Mention	86.2	300
Total	100	348
<i>Examples of Planning for the Future</i>		
Positive	8	28
Neutral	0.6	2
Negative	0.6	2
No Mention	90.8	316
Total	100	348

Three other variables stood out in the analysis, giving some strength to the hypothesis. There was support for the emancipation of women in Table 5. Almost 4 percent of the entries commented on the emancipation of women, and 1.7 percent

had positive things to say about it, while only 0.6 percent showed support for the continued subordination of Kenyan women. As shown in Table 5, nearly 10.5 percent of the entries were concerned with the spirit of the *harambee* movement, and the majority of these entries were written in 1964, 1965, 1966, and 1969. This was the time *harambee* was most emphasized in Kenyan politics. Of the 18 entries mentioning *harambee*, 15 made positive comments about the movement and three comments were neutral. Another variable goes along with the nature of *harambee* and that variable is readiness to assist. Fifteen entries, or 4.3 percent, indicated that individuals were ready to help when asked.

Table 5: Further Support for McClelland's Hypothesis

<i>Attitudes Toward Emancipation of Women</i>	Percentage	N
Positive	1.7	6
Neutral	0	0
Negative	0.6	2
No Mention	97.7	340
Total	100	348

<i>Opinions Toward Harambee</i>	Percentage	N
Positive	4.3	15
Neutral	0.9	3
Negative	5.2	18
No Mention	89.7	312
Total	100	348

<i>Expressions of Readiness to Assist When Asked</i>	Percentage	N
Positive	4.3	15
Neutral	0.9	3
Negative	0	0
No Mention	94.8	330
Total	100	348

Although the majority of the analysis showed support for McClelland's hypothesis and the presence of high *n-ach* prior to growth, there were some entries that provided contrary evidence to the presence of *n-ach* in Kenya in the 1960s and 1970s. If levels of *n-ach* were high in the entries, there would have been a low desire shown for close relationships and friendship. This was not the case, however. As displayed in Table 6, 37 entries, or 10.6 percent, discussed the issue of close relationships or friendships, and 30 expressed a desire for such relationships. Only 6 viewed close relationships negatively and one made a neutral comment in regard to the issue. Another piece of contrary evidence was a slightly negative view of risk taking behavior, also in Table 6. Twelve entries, or 3.4 percent, made reference to risk taking, and five of them viewed it in a negative light. Three references to risk taking were neutral, while 4 were positive.

Table 6: Contrary Evidence to McClelland's Hypothesis

<i>Expressions of Desire for a Close Relationship</i>	Percentage	N
Positive	1.1	4
Neutral	0.9	3
Negative	1.4	5
No Mention	96.6	336
Total	100	348

<i>Opinion of Risk-Taking Behavior</i>	Percentage	N
Positive	1.1	4
Neutral	0.9	3
Negative	1.4	5
No Mention	96.6	336
Total	100	348

In summary, the evidence supporting McClelland was a large aggregate presence of *n-ach* and the number of entries displaying a positive view of a modern lifestyle, education, time, responsibility, and independence. Evidence refuting McClelland was the dependence on government, the desire for close relationships, and the negative view of risk taking behavior. The presence of values mentioned by other culturalists was also taken into consideration in the newspaper analysis.

The absence of amoral familism in the *harambee* movement and the growth of the Kenyan economy rendered Banfield's hypothesis inapplicable to the movement. It was concluded in the section on *harambee* that the values underlying the movement are contrary to Banfield's hypothesis. A lack of trust, a lack of organizations, or the presence of fatalism in the newspaper entries paired with economic stagnation would support Banfield's hypothesis. Table 7 shows that 4.3 percent of the 348 entries dealt with the value of trust. Of those 15 entries mentioning trust, 13 showed contrary to Banfield's hypothesis that trust was present. The table also shows that all 25 entries (7.2 percent) that referred to people working together were positive in nature. Finally, 4.6 percent of entries expressed an opinion about hope for a better life. Eleven entries showed that a lack of hope for a better life was not present; 11 had hope for a better life.

Table 7: Expressions of Banfield Variables

<i>Variables Related to Banfield's Hypothesis</i>	Percentage	N
Lack of Trust is Present	0.6	2
Trust is Present	3.7	13
No Mention of Trust	95.7	333
People Work Together	7.2	25
People Do Not Work Together	0	0
No Mention of Working with Others	92.8	323
No Hope for Better Life	1.1	4
Neutral About Hope for Better Life	0.3	1
Have Hope for Better Life	3.2	11
No Mention of Hope	95.4	332

Analysis of the data did not show support for Oscar Lewis' hypothesis either. Lewis thought that economic development was inhibited by the presence of a "culture of poverty". In such a culture, individuals lack hope for anything better in life (Oscar Lewis 1966, xlv), are fatalistic, and feel a sense of resignation, rendering development unlikely (Oscar Lewis 1966, xlviii). In the data analysis, as mentioned earlier, fatalism was not found. As shown in Table 16, 6.3 percent (22) of the entries mentioned fatalism. Of those 22 entries, 17 expressed non-fatalistic behavior. Further, the findings indicate that 6 entries (1.7 percent) discussed participation in

institutions and all 6 showed support for participating. Finally, Table 16 shows an overall view of organizations in the entries. Twenty-three entries (6.6 percent) exhibited a positive view of organizations, while no negative comments were made.

Table 8: Expressions of Lewis Variables

<i>Variables Related to Lewis' Hypothesis</i>	Percentage	N
Are Fatalistic	1.4	5
Are Not Fatalistic	4.9	17
No Mention of Fatalism	93.7	326
Support Participation in Institutions	1.7	6
Neutral Toward Participation in Institutions	0	0
Do Not Support Participation in Institutions	0	0
No Mention of Participation	98.3	342
Positive View of Organizations	6.6	23
Neutral View of Organizations	0.3	1
Negative View of Organizations	0	0
No Mention of Organizations	93.1	324

When looking at the overall picture of the newspaper analysis, the preponderance of the entries are in support of McClelland's hypothesis. Many of the characteristics of high *n*-ach individuals were expressed in the entries. The aggregate measure of *n*-ach which measured any presence of any characteristic of *n*-ach was an especially strong indicator of the presence of achievement motivation within Kenyan culture prior to economic growth. However, the different *n*-ach values were expressed in varying degrees, some appearing more frequently over the ten-year sample than others. This leads to an important question that McClelland did not discuss. Are all characteristics of *n*-ach equally important to development? Does a culture need all the *n*-ach values to experience economic growth, or does it need one value in a bigger proportion than another? Do different ratios of the cultural attributes produce different results in reference to economic growth? Due to these questions, I am unable to make a solid conclusion that McClelland's hypothesis can be used to explain Kenya's economic growth. It appears that various aspects of *n*-ach preceded the economic growth. Yet, there are so many different aspects of *n*-ach that it is impossible to say which were responsible for the economic growth.

Traditional Values Expressed In *Harambee*

Evidence in support of McClelland's hypothesis has been presented in the analysis of *harambee* and entries in *The Daily Nation*. It is clear that high *n*-ach was present, to some extent, in Kenya in the *harambee* movement and the newspaper articles in the 1960s and 1970s. The presence of *n*-ach supports the idea that a generation of high *n*-ach children were raised in the 1960s, which led to a period of economic growth in Kenya when the high *n*-ach individuals entered the workforce. However, the analyses also exposed the lack of high *n*-ach and modern values within Kenyan society. The lack of high *n*-ach that appeared in the newspaper entries has already been presented. This section will focus on the aspects of *harambee* that provide evidence contrary to the culturalists, especially McClelland.

A close examination of *harambee* as an institution reveals that it is hard to classify as strictly modern or traditional. It is a movement of a development-minded group of Kenyans who took responsibility for the development of their communities when the government did an inadequate job. I would like to suggest that *harambee* has become a hybrid institution, communal in form yet individualistic in the values it promotes. This communal individualism is what makes the movement hard to classify because one element of it is traditional in nature, while the other is modern. When describing the different types of *harambee* groups, it is clear that groups worked for their friends or with those which they felt a close neighborhood bond. The sanction for not working was either ostracism or the termination of the friendship, an obvious indicator of the role interpersonal relationships played in the workparties. However, I believe the more important distinction to be made between the groups is the nature of their goals. More specifically, consideration should be given to whether the workparty expresses modernism or traditionalism. The *harambee* groups all are based on some sort of relationship, but the goals they are trying to achieve are changing and need to be re-examined. Prior to the mid-1970s, the primary focus of communal projects was choosing a project, such as building a school, that benefitted the entire community. This focus on communalism is clearly traditional. Yet, Hill and I have observed that *harambee*'s focus has shifted toward individualism, a modern value. Some of the *harambee* groups from the more modern areas of Kenya consisted of women who were promoting the betterment of the individual women in the group. Other modern characteristics of workparties included an emphasis on education and gradual movement toward a market economy.

At the surface, though, the most noticeable characteristics of *harambee* are its emphasis on communalism, rather than individualism; agriculture, rather than business ventures; and high *n*-affiliation. The movement was based on an African communal tradition and mutual aid (Hill 1991, 133). Community co-operation and the notion of reciprocity are key to workparties. Loyalty to the group was emphasized and restraints were placed on individual freedoms (Hill 1991, 93, 94).

These are clearly signs of low *n*-ach individuals. In 1952, parents were still viewing agricultural work as more important than education, although politicians claimed that more and more valued education over agriculture (Hill 1991, 29). *Myethya* are also characterized by high *n*-affiliation because within each group, a support network formed for members who were displaced from the group while working on the coast (Hill 1991, 174). Friendships developed and there was a desire to help one another cope with urban life. Another sign of high *n*-affiliation was that group members feared being ostracized from the workparty. This suggests that members cared how others viewed them and had a desire to be liked, a characteristic of *n*-affiliation. A final piece of evidence which goes against McClelland is that even in the newer variations of *myethya* at the time of Hill's study, workers were paid for the task they completed, not the amount of time they worked (Hill 1991, 161). This can be interpreted as time not being valued, which is characteristic of low *n*-ach individuals. The plethora of low *n*-ach, traditional values expressed in Kenya prior to the country's period of economic growth goes against McClelland's hypothesis.

Conclusion

The *harambee* movement is representative of the Kenyan culture in that it was a widespread movement present in the more modern and traditional areas of the country and was not unique to one particular tribe. Analyzing the characteristics of a cultural phenomenon such as *harambee* allows one to better understand the values of a culture. In the 1950s and 1960s, culturalists such as McClelland attributed economic growth to culture. McClelland thought that when a country has high levels of achievement motivation within its culture the country's economy will experience a period of economic growth. This paper challenged McClelland's theory by identifying a period of economic growth in Kenya and looking a generation prior to that growth for signs of high achievement motivation within the culture. Analysis of the *harambee* movement as well as newspaper entries provided an idea of what the Kenyans valued prior to the period of economic growth. The presence or absence of values mentioned by McClelland, Banfield, Lewis, Kahn, and Harrison as important to economic growth was noted in the analyses. The following are the nine conclusions that resulted from the analyses.

First, the analysis of *harambee* and entries in the *Daily Nation* led to the dismissal of several of the cultural hypotheses. The absence of amoral familism in the *harambee* movement and the newspaper entries, paired with the growth of the Kenyan economy, rendered Banfield's hypothesis inapplicable to Kenya. The lack of fatalism and the presence of a desire to participate in institutions and organizations disproved Lewis' hypothesis. Two culturalists' hypotheses, not considering McClelland, were given support through the analyses. The hypothesis of Harrison was supported by the finding of responsibility in the culture in the newspaper as well as *harambee*. Kahn's work was also given further support due to the wide-spread communalism of Kenya.

Second, it is difficult to characterize *harambee* strictly in terms of high or low *n*-ach. At the core of *harambee*, there is a need for communities to band together to take care of the needs for education, health care, and basic provisions such as water that the government is not providing. Communities take the initiative to form their own grassroots development organizations to meet the needs of the group. It is difficult, though, to make a definitive statement regarding the degree to which *n*-ach is at the roots of the *harambee* movement. On one hand, *harambee* groups are high in *n*-ach because they represent a development minded community that is willing to take initiative in providing for their present and future needs. However, the notion of a group of people coming together to meet the needs of everyone places an emphasis on the community, not the individual. This is a sign of low *n*-ach. *Harambee* becomes even more difficult to characterize in terms of achievement motivation when we look at the workparties of the more modern parts of Kenya. Those workparties focused on projects that met the needs of an individual, not projects which benefitted the entire community. This focus on the individual is a sign of high *n*-ach.

The distinction of Kenyan culture as simply high or low *n*-ach is also influenced by the analysis of entries in *The Daily Nation*. When looking at the aggregate *n*-ach variable, many of the entries contained at least one or more of the high *n*-ach values. However, many showed a concern for close relationships, which is a characteristic of low *n*-ach. Numerous entries also revealed that Kenyans are dependent upon the government and Kenyans do not look highly upon risk taking. These are also signs of a society low in achievement motivation.

The difficulty of classifying Kenyan culture as high or low in achievement motivation is, in part, due to there being so many components of achievement motivation. With all the various components of *n*-ach, it was not uncommon to come across an entry in the newspaper sample that contained both high and low *n*-ach characteristics. The same was true for examining the nature of the *harambee* movement. This third conclusion brings into question which variable or variables are most central to *n*-ach? Which *n*-ach variable did McClelland feel was most important to economic development? Did McClelland think a specific combination of variables was needed, or did a country have to have a certain amount of *n*-ach present in its culture in order for economic growth to occur?

Cultures that have high achievement motivation are thought of as modern and individualistic, while cultures low in achievement motivation are referred to as traditional and communal. It is hard to classify Kenyan culture as solely individualistic or communal, modern or traditional. The fourth conclusion suggests that perhaps one should look at how the traditional practices of Kenyan culture, such as the communal workparty system, have been used to promote modern community development initiatives and the needs of individuals. The *harambee* movement then can be described as a system of communal individualism in which the community

comes together to promote the development of the entire economy, as well as the needs of individuals.

As one examines the presence of *n*-ach in Kenyan culture, it is important to note the angle being taken in the analysis because a behavior can be interpreted in several ways. The following is an example of this fifth conclusion. The communal aspects and low *n*-ach characteristics of the *harambee* movement could serve as contrary evidence to the hypotheses of Harrison, Lewis, and Banfield. *Harambee* groups were irresponsible for expecting politicians to provide them with the money needed to support their projects. Village chiefs even joined in, encouraging politicians to compete in giving funds to the projects (Hill 1991, 244). However, it is important to note that this could also be seen as a creative alternative way to raise the needed funds. If the fund-raising from politicians is considered irresponsible, this serves as contrary evidence to Harrison and Lewis who said responsibility and a willingness to participate were needed for development to occur. Banfield's hypothesis was contradicted by the distrust that members felt toward leaders. Accusations of embezzlement and a reluctance to give anyone permanent leadership are signs of a lack of trust within Kenyan society (Hill 1991, 183, 278).

The communal aspects of *harambee* that provide contrary evidence to Harrison, Lewis, Banfield, and McClelland give support to Herman Kahn's hypothesis. Looking at the Confucian ethic as a generalized theory, it presents a problem to the cultural approach. This is the sixth conclusion. Accepting Kahn's hypothesis that the communal Confucian ethic causes economic growth stands Weber's individualistic Protestant argument for capitalist development on its head. When combining Weber's examples of early development by Protestants and people focused on individualism with the Asian countries that have developed while conforming to Confucian and communal values, we conclude that both communal and individualistic societies spur economic growth. The conclusion is further complicated when one considers the work of Bradford DeLong who found Catholic, not Protestant, societies among the fastest growing countries in Europe (DeLong, 129).

If communal, Confucian, individualistic, Protestant, and Catholic societies can all experience economic development, it becomes very difficult to continue arguing that culture is the dominant factor in economic development. Culture remains important to development, but it is not the determining factor in whether or not a country will develop. In this study, it raises the possibility that perhaps another factor sparked Kenya's economic growth from 1984 to 1991. Interestingly, the increase in the price of Kenya's main commodity exports, coffee and tea, closely follows the growth of the GDP. Perhaps cultural phenomena such as an increase in the presence of high *n*-ach individuals did aid in the growth of the Kenyan economy in the 1980s. However, if all that was examined was culture, it would not be evident that the price of Kenya's main exports, tea and coffee, rose sharply during this period. The seventh conclusion, therefore, is that it seems likely the increase in the

prices of the main commodity exports goes a long way toward explaining the economic growth.

Finally, there is the evidence that culture may not be the key factor altering a country's economic growth. Three of the culturalists-- McClelland, Weber, and Kahn-- state different cultural characteristics that are essential to economic growth. While McClelland and Weber emphasize the importance of individualism, Kahn states that communal values such as those of Confucianism will promote economic growth. If both are correct, this aspect of culture is not important to development. The important variable would be whatever needs to be added to either communal or individualistic cultures in order for growth to occur. Culture, then, cannot be included as a key factor in the explanation of the economic development. Further, countries have varied growth patterns, each with peak and trough economic periods. The swing in the economy does not necessarily mean the culture has changed, though. The culture of the generation prior to economic growth may have the same values as the previous generation.

Endnotes

1. McClelland used various methods to determine achievement levels. Designs on vases exhibited more balance, harmony, and activity during corresponding times of economic growth (McClelland 1961, 126). Children's literature also served as a measure of achievement levels because they reflected widely accepted values that society was trying to instill in their children (McClelland 1961, 73). Higher achievement imagery appeared in nations developing more rapidly economically (McClelland 1961, 103).

2. The Kamba people are a tribe in Kenya that was studied by anthropologist Martin Hill.

3. The singular form of *myethya* is *mwethya*.

4. In the early 1980s, the movement was contributing "one-eighth of all labor, material, and finances invested in rural development" (Durning 1989, 71).

5. A statistical program was used to determine the number of articles needed in the sample to maintain a .05 margin of error (Kish, 1965). Then, the articles were sequentially numbered and a die was used to make the final selection. Articles were first taken from the "letters" section of *The Daily Nation*, followed by the editorial section and the front page of the newspaper. The other widely circulated mainstream Kenyan newspaper is called *The Standard*.

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