

Exit, Voice, Loyalty Theory: Its Implications For Household And National Level Dynamics In Kenya

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Abstract: Exit, voice and loyalty can be seen in the light of declining performance in economic, social and political systems. Individuals, business firms and organizations in general are subject to lapses from efficient, rational, law abiding, virtuous or otherwise functional behavior. The theory has an impact on the household level dynamics as well as national level dynamics. The paper clearly indicates that exit, voice and loyalty theory explains many occurrences in our society on a day to day basis. There is no sphere of household or national life that is not characterized by the occurrence of one or all the three concepts. The theory is therefore relevant to social dynamics as it rightly tries to explain phenomena.

Key Words: Exit, Loyalty, Voice, Household, Theory

1. Introduction:

Exit, voice and loyalty can be seen in the light of declining performance in economic, social and political systems. Individuals, business firms and organizations in general are subject to lapses from efficient, rational, law abiding, virtuous or otherwise functional behavior. Albert O. Hirschman says that no matter how well a society's basic institutions are derived, failures of some actors to live up to the behavior which is expected of them are bound to occur. Society must be able to marshal from within itself forces which will make as many of the faltering actions as possible revert to the behavior required for its proper functioning. Exit, voice and loyalty not only characterize firms producing saleable outputs for customers but also applicable to organizations such as voluntary associations, trade unions or political parties that provide services to their members without direct monetary counterpart. The performance of a firm or an organization is assumed to be subject to deterioration for reasons which are neither so compelling nor so durable as to prevent a return to previous performance levels. The deterioration in performance is reflected by deterioration of the quality of the product or service provided. A lower performance causes discomfort to humans. They are blamed on the management, design and salesmanship. In another argument, Albert K. Cohen notes that certain deviant acts may provide useful warning devices to indicate that one aspect of society, firm or organization is malfunctioning. Such acts of deviance may draw pressure to solve it. Another writer, Haralambos as cited by Nyangau, 1996, notes that truants from school, deserters from the army, and runaways from borstal institutions may reveal unsuspected causes of discontent and lead to changes that enhance efficiency and morale (Haralambos, 1985).

Robert K. Merton in his book 'social theory and social structures', believes that in any firm, organization or society, people cannot strictly adhere to prevailing conditions. If they do that society, group or organization is static and unchanging meaning that exit, voice and loyalty are part of the society. To quote him, "Correlatively, strict and unquestioned adherence to all prevailing norms will be functional in a group that never was; a group that is static and unchanging" (Merton 1968:1960). To Merton, discontentment of group members leads to deviation that in turn leads to change. He notes that a certain degree of deviation from current norms is functional for the basic goals of the group, meaning that elements of voice and exit can help bring about change. Merton (1968) adds that people dissatisfied with the way society unequally provides opportunities for the achievement of goals may resort to retreatism and rebellion. Retreatism could be equated to exit while rebellion to voicing.

2. Exit, Voice, Loyalty Expounded:

Exit

To Hirschman, this is where a customer or a client or a member of a firm or an organization, dissatisfied with the product of a firm or a firm or the service provided by an organization shifts to another. Exit is said to mostly belong to the realm of economics. Here, the customer uses the market to defend his welfare or to improve his position and he sets in motion market forces which may produce recovery on the part of the firm that declines in comparative performance. In economics, one either exits or does not; it is impersonal – any face to face confrontation between the customer and the firm is avoided- and the success or failure of the organization are communicated to it by a set of statistics. The economist tends to think that his mechanism is far more efficient and is in fact the only one to be taken seriously. A particularly good illustration of this bias appears in a well known essay by Milton Friedman which advocates the introduction of the market mechanism in public education. The essence of Friedman's proposal is the distribution of special purpose vouchers to parents of school – age children. With these vouchers, parents could buy educational services that would be supplied in competition by private enterprises. He says that parents could express their views about schools by withdrawing their children from one school and sending them to another. This is a perfect example of the economist's bias in favour

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of exit and against voice. In the first place, Friedman considers withdrawal or exit as the “direct” way of expressing one's unfavourable views of an organization. Exit has often been branded as criminal for it has been labeled desertion, defection and treason. The availability to a consumer of the exit option and their frequent resort to it are characteristic of normal competition. The exit option is widely held to be uniquely powerful by inflicting revenue losses on the delinquent management. Though exit is said to mainly belong to the economics realm, it is also a common occurrence in competitive politics, the family, school, the church, trade unions, among others.

Voice

Hirschman defines voice as an attempt to change rather than escape from an objectionable state of affairs whether through individual or collective petition to the management directly in charge. Through appeal to higher authority with the intention of forcing a change in management or through various types of actions and protests including those that are meant to mobilize public opinion (Hirschman 1970:30). According to Hirschman, once one has exited he has lost the opportunity to use voice but this view cannot apply in all cases. To take an example of Kenyans who at one time or another exited out of the country for allegedly being persecuted for agitating for change, they continued voicing in their countries of refuge in Europe and the United States of America. They took every opportunity to draw the international community's attention to the fact that things were not well in Kenya. This is an action sometimes known as “interest articulation”. Voice is said to belong to the realm of politics. Political scientists have for long dealt with this function and its various manifestations. Choice is often between articulation and desertion – voice and exit. In fact in political realm exit has fared much worse than has voice in the realm of economics. The decisions to voice one's views and efforts to make them prevail are referred by Friedman as a reason to “Cumbrous” political channels. In human institutions, from the state, to the family, Voice, however “Cumbrous” or ineffective, it is all that members normally have to work with. Voice is more “messy” concept because it can be graduated all the way from faint grumbling to violet protest; it implies articulation of one's critical opinions rather than a private, 'secret' vote in the anonymity of a supermarket and finally it is direct and more straight forward – rather than roundabout. Voice is political action par excellence. Economics rather than take the exit option can try protest thereby force improved quality or service upon delinquent management. It is important to examine the conditions under which voice as an option is likely to make an effective appearance either as a compliment to exit or substitute for it. To resort to voice, than to exit is for the customer or member to make an attempt at changing the practices, policies and outputs of the firm from which one buys or the organization to which one belongs. If the decline of quality of products leads to voice rather than exit on the part of the discontented member or customer, then the effectiveness of voice will increase up to a certain point, with its volume. But voice like exit can be overdone: the discontented customers or members could become so harassing that their protests at recovery are undertaken. This is unlikely to happen between customers and business firms but very real in the

political realm. In politics, proper functioning of democracy requires a maximally alert, active and vocal public. Robert Dahl says that failure by the ordinary citizens to use their potential political resources to the full, makes it possible for them to react with vigor unexpecting by using normally unused reserves of political power and influence whenever their vital interests are directly threatened. The democratic political system requires that on one hand citizens must express themselves so that the political elites know and can be responsive to people's wants and on the other hand these elites must be allowed to make decisions. The citizen must thus be influential and deferential. Hirschman notes that voice has the function of alerting the management about its failings but it must give it some time to respond to the pressures that have been brought to bear on it. The voice option is the only way in which dissatisfied customers or members can react whenever the exit option is unavailable. This is nearly the case in such basic organizations as the family, the state or the church.

Loyalty

Albert O. Hirschman sees loyalty as a special attachment to an organization. A member with considerable attachment to a product or organization will often search for ways to make himself influential especially when the organization moves to the wrong direction with the believe that he can get things back on track. He is likely to develop strong attachment for the organization in which he is powerful. The presence of loyalty makes exit less likely and gives more scope to voice. The likelihood of voice increases with degree of loyalty. Loyalty holds exit at bay and activates voice. It is true that in the face discontent with the way things are going in the organization an individual can remain loyal without being influential, himself but with expectation that someone will act or something will happen to improve matters. Loyalty can neutralize the tendency of the most conscious customers or members to be the first to exit. This tendency deprives the faltering firm or organization of those who could best help it fight its shortcomings and difficulties. As a result of loyalty, these potentially most influential customers and members will stay on longer than they would ordinarily do in the hope or rather expectation that improvement or reform can be achieved from within. Loyalty far from being irrational can serve the socially useful purpose of preventing the deterioration from becoming cumulative as it often does when there is no barrier to exit. It helps infant industry or firm or organization have the chance of becoming efficient or a chance to recuperate from a lapse in efficiency. It serves to stimulate voice in deteriorating, yet recuperable organizations which would be prematurely destroyed through free exit. So a measure of loyalty to a firm or organization has the function of giving that firm or organization a chance to recuperate from a lapse in efficiency (Hirschman 1970:33). Loyalty is at its best functional when it looks most irrational. When loyalty means strong attachment to organization that does not seem to warrant such attachment because it is so much like another one that is also available. Such seemingly irrational loyalties are often encountered, for example, in relation to clubs, football teams and political parties. While loyalty postpones exit, its very existence is predicted on the probability of exit. That even the most loyal member can

exit is often an important part of his bargaining power vis-a-vis the organization. For voice to function effectively, it should be backed up by the threat of exit, whether it is made openly or whether the possibility of exit is merely well understood to be an element in the situation by all concerned. The threat of exit will be made by the loyalist – that is, by the member who cares – who leaves no stone unturned before he resigns himself to the painful decision to withdraw or switch. The effectiveness of voice is strengthened by possibility of exit.

3. Implications of the Theory for Household – Level Dynamics

Any society, traditional or modern experiences both functional and dysfunctional elements of behavior. Hirschman notes that no matter how well the society's basic institutions are designed, failures of some actors are bound to occur. The family (household) being the society's basic social unit is no exception and subsequently voicing, exit and loyalty are observable. The family (household) level deterioration or decline in living conditions and relations between household members may force resort to any of the options. However, greater marital satisfaction and adjustment in form of behaviors like communication, self disclosure, and expression of affection, the exchange of pleasurable behaviours and perceptual accuracy have been shown to be associated with voice (Davidson, Balswick and Halverson, 1983 as cited by Onyango, 2000:5-6). Factors promoting marital satisfaction for example Homogamy and esteem for partner tend to encourage more durable and stable relations. That is loyalty. To set the stone rolling, elders in the traditional African society are known to protest (voice) against the influence of Western culture on African values and norms. They point at new lifestyles including modes of dressing and how the young relate to the older. There are changes on the family structure with many young people moving away from polygamy to monogamy which is fast distancing couples from the extended family system in preference for the individualistic leaning nuclear family system. Cases have been reported of elders committing suicide (exiting) because of the perceived state of disorder (Emile Durkheim's anomie) in society. Some strongly complain (voice) against cross-cultural marriages and the ban on female circumcision. However, in general they are coming to terms with the changes and are accepting them, with others urging for moderate acceptance. This can be interpreted to be an act of loyalty where the elders participate in some way in influencing acceptance of the changes that are good for society while working for the rejection of those they feel are detrimental to the society's moral foundation. Elders have come to recognize that their reliance on long personal experiences alone to preserve their authority in competition with the young cannot work in the face of modernization and is why the resort to compromise which can be taken to be a form of loyalty. There are situations under which voicing and exit at the family or household level are inevitable. In some societies in Kenya, when rape, incest, homicide, infanticide or bestiality occur, those who commit such acts run away (exit) from their homes for fear of repercussions and this follow anger and rage (voicing) from those seeking revenge. Exit can also be seen when one is banished from home for committing a crime. It is a common occurrence

among the Luhya community especially when one who is involved in incest. Exiting can also be seen in the context of arrest, prosecution and subsequent imprisonment of those who have broken the law as already mentioned. In some cases these can lead to temporary exiting and in others permanent. For example, where individuals are committed to life sentences or to hang. Other individuals can leave (exit from) their homes because of factors that are not own making like mental disorders or illnesses. Women and children are known to complain (voice) against abuse by husbands/fathers. Sometimes the wife and children may leave (exit) if the man cannot respond to their cries (voicing). The exiting may be a temporary measure to allow the man to come to his senses. The abuse may manifest itself in several forms among them beatings, failure to provide them with basic needs like food clothing and shelter or even abandonment. In some cases, it may be due to his irresponsible wastage of money in alcohol and mistresses or concubines. Some men abuse their wives because they are inferior to them in income and education. Men are known to resent the changed relationship that this brings about especially when women have surpassed them in professional careers. In some situations, women have gone to the extent of divorcing (exiting from) men because of their negative attitudes. But in spite of this many of the families have managed to hold together and tried to fight the deterioration from within in order to restore peace and economic wellbeing in the family (household). This sticking together can be seen as an act of loyalty brought about by emotional attachment especially to the children, joint investments, societal stand on the institution of marriage and the costs and complexity of divorce proceedings. Instead many women and children resort to voice to address their problems with husbands/fathers sometimes involving elders and sometimes going as far as women and child welfare and rights organizations like the children's department and the federation of women lawyers of Kenya (FIDA). This does not mean that husbands/fathers do not exit. They indeed do and it is a fact that unlike women they have alternatives in form of mistresses and concubines. This happens when they are mistreated by their wives or when deterioration in conditions in the household is caused by the women. Voicing and sometimes exit within the household may be as a result of adultery where one of the partners engages in sexual relationship with another person or with other people. There can be complaint (voicing) of one of the partners failing to effectively perform sexually. In some situations the couple may decide to separate or divorce (exit) but in other situations, they may try to maintain contacts for the sake of children who need the care of both parents. At times, they may try to give each other time to allow for change on the part of the offender and here voicing is given prominence whereas exit is postponed. But in extreme cases, discovery of infidelity may lead to murder (a form of exit), for the person killed and the subsequent imprisonment of the partner is another way of exiting. Other than direct protesting (voicing), other ways can be used within the family as a way of registering dissatisfaction. If the man is the source of the deterioration in state of affairs within the family, the wife may deny him food and shun him from any sexual activity. The man can do likewise if the wife is the source of dissatisfaction within the household. Children can voice by stealing either from

the family or from the neighborhood. This will indicate to the parents that something is amiss and therefore, they will try to establish the source of problem and act on it accordingly. Sometimes the partners (couple) may incite the children against either partner to register their dissatisfaction with the other's behavior. There are cases where children have left home (exited) for the streets because of the deterioration of services at home while others have resorted to drugs as a way of getting away from the reality of things. As already seen, voice is more common than exit at the household level though the later is used in extreme cases where the family is completely unable to restore things to order by protesting. Loyalty instead helps to postpone exit. Some couples take religious and cultural factors into consideration as they contemplate any action when there is decline in the state of things in the household. Christianity discourages any form of separation whereas the Africa traditional society strongly upholds the institution of marriage and there are internal mechanisms of dealing with whatever problems that may arise. Others prefer to stick to their partners even with what Hirschman calls decay to maintain their standing as respected people in the society especially if they occupy high economic or social status in society. People prefer to keep some things secret by not exposing extreme cases of dissatisfaction, is mainly because of the children in a marriage. There is always the fear that children will suffer if the parents parted. Exit is therefore, only used as a last resort though there is always no ready alternative to move to in the case of a marriage where there are children. The economic burden of caring for the children without the support of the other partner also discourages separation and activates the voice option.

4. Implications of the theory for National-level Dynamics

Exit, voice and loyalty characterize all spheres of life of the Kenya Society. In the political arena, all the three concepts are a daily occurrence. To Hirschman, in the absence of competitive party politics, citizens may not achieve fundamental social and political changes as it was the case in Kenya before 1992 where KANU (KENYA AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION) was the only legal political party. At the time there was no room either for voice or exit and citizens had to be loyal members of the party. Albert O. Hirschman said that whoever does not exit is a candidate for voice and this was the situation at the advent of multi party politics in the country. At times the voicing was so high that it degenerated into violent protests and strikes. Many people saw deterioration in the political field in terms of violation of basic human rights like freedom of speech, association and movement. Those who protested (voice) were either expelled from the party or prosecuted. With exit, either impossible; or unthinkable, provision was there for expelling the individual members who registered their dissatisfaction. Expulsion according to Hirschman can be interpreted as an instrument one of many which "management" use in organizations to improve the quality of service, KANU tried internal reforms to fend off protests which never stopped the fight for a multi party political system. Finally the KANU leadership removed the contentious section 2 (a) of the constitution ushering in multi-party system politics. Other political parties were allowed to operate, some of which had been formed but had not been registered, for example, the

Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD) while new ones were registered. Many ordinary Kenyans and prominent political figures exited from KANU to join the new political parties while others formed their own. There were also exits from the government. Cabinet Ministers like Mwai Kibaki and George Muhoho left (exited) to join the opposition. Here is when exit was at its climax because there were alternative parties to move to. As people were exiting, others decided to remain loyal to the party in spite of the availability of options, with the hope that things were going to change for the better. These loyal members were either influential or powerful or not. The voice option was activated as it had been accepted by the party as part of the changes that were effected. Joseph Kamotho is an example of a loyal member who stuck to his party even as the entire central province shifted (exited) to the opposition. Today within individual political parties, voice, exit, and loyalty persist. From KANU to DP to SDP to NDP to FK there are those members protesting (voicing) about the shortcomings in their respective parties. Some of them have technically exited from their parties and lend their allegiance to other parties as they await the dissolution of parliament to make permanent exits. In KANU these were termed 'rebels'. Since the adoption of multi-partism, there have been quite a number of exits from one party to another. The common term used in Kenya politics is defection. An example of defection (exiting) was the decision by NDP to leave the opposition to merge with KANU citing 'rot' in the opposition. Ford Kenya also saw the exit of Gitobu Imanyara to Ford People. In spite of all these, the respective parties remained with loyal members. These loyal members saved many parties from collapse as they fought for change from within. Exit from ministerial positions by ministers citing poor governance was also seen in Kenya. The case of Kenneth Matiba and that of Simeon Nyachae are good examples. The exit of the Bretton Woods Institutions (World Bank and International Monetary Fund – IMF) from financing some of the Kenya government programmes in 1997 can be seen as an example of the play between exit and voice. Before the exit, the institutions had for long protested (voiced) against poor governance, slow pace of the sale of state corporations and corruption. In the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and world bank threatening to exit from the talks unless there were concrete steps by the government while the government threatened to stop the sale of the remaining state corporations because it was not seeing reciprocal gestures from the two institutions. Since then, it has been voicing all through. President Moi is known to protest (voice) at all times about the financial institutions' bias and double standards in giving aid. He laments (voices) that in spite of Kenya being peaceful and having attempted to implement most of the conditions given, funds were not forthcoming while countries in political mess were assisted. An act of loyalty can also be seen here from both sides considering that there are still regular contacts between the parties. The government cannot do without the institutions and that is why it has maintained the relationship. Other donor countries at one time or another also withdrew (exited) from financing government programmes or offering project support citing different reasons (areas of deterioration) but at the same time cannot completely cut ties because of international politics of influence where different countries compete. Their continued stay can be

interpreted to be a form of loyalty. Exit according to Hirschman is very real in the realm of economics, a situation that can be observed at the Nairobi stock exchange where the best informed stockholders shift (exit) for better – managed companies when prices deteriorate where they hold shares. Such a situation was seen when stockholders shifted from the National Bank of Kenya Limited and Kenya Airways when share prices dropped for better organizations. They therefore orient themselves towards exit than towards voice as Hirschman notes. Investors follow the rule that “if you do not like the management, you should sell your stock “. The ready availability of alternative investment opportunities in the stock market makes any resort to voice rather than to exit unthinkable for any but the most committed stockholders (loyal). The manufacturing sector in Kenya has not been spared from voicing, exit and loyalty. Kenyan manufacturing companies have since 1997 been protesting (voicing) against the importation or dumping of counterfeit goods (a form of deterioration) from mainly China. In October, 2001, the companies spoke in unison over crisis from the burgeoning counterfeit hitting business when they are most vulnerable. Industry sources estimate that in the last one year, the sector has lost Kshs. 20 billion in direct sales to counterfeit. A survey recently by the Kenya Association of manufacturers found that 27 of its biggest members have suffered huge sales losses to the counterfeit products denying the treasury in excess of 1.3 billion shillings in taxes. The most affected companies include Eveready batteries, Unilever, East African Breweries, BAT and Firestone. This has sparked huge job cuts as manufacturers come to terms with harsh business environment. BAT and Firestone have been for the last three years at war (voicing) against counterfeit products. Both have suffered major drop in their sales in the period. Unprincipled competition in terms of sales of untaxed products in the domestic market continued to undermine their market position – domestic market continued to undermine their market position – domestic sales declining by 4.9 %. Firestone is seeing demand for its products falling because of the market being flooded with cheap contraband second hand tyres. Since 1997, Firestone sales have fallen by 20% even as it sought market kin the East Africa Region. For Eveready batteries illegal counterfeit accounts for 40% of all dry cell batteries made in Kenya. Pressure (voicing) is on the Kenya Government not to sit back while industries are being brought down by fakes. However, the industries will wind up and move (exit) to other countries where they can realize profits. However, the industries have noted the importance of traditional customers (loyal) who value quality. Daily Nation, Wednesday 17, 2001) Unilever sold (exited) its Kimbo and Cow Boy to Bidco as it could not match the competition from Bidco's equally quality but cheap products. Lonhro East Africa also exited from the turning extraction business (deteriorating market) and sold its Wattle tree plantation farms in the country. Kenya Cooperative Creameries (K.C.C) has also seen protests (voicing) and exits by farmers who have not been paid their money long after they delivered milk. The company is facing a stiff competition from upcoming strong dairy industries like Brookside which is now receiving milk from a large proportion of former KCC suppliers. Brookside came up in 1992 when the government liberalized the milk industry and

removed price controls. This encourages competition and efficiency as there was little innovation during the KCC monopoly. KCC can only still survive because of those farmers with strong attachment (loyalty) to the company who have waited to see that the company recuperates after the slack that was experienced. Most of them bought shares in the KCC 200 Company the successor to the former to underline their commitment, a strong indication of loyalty. In the port business, stakeholders have voiced their concern that the future of the port of Mombasa is being threatened by shippers opting (exiting) for other ports in the southern Corridor such as Dar Es Salaam where traffic in the Northern corridor (deterioration of service, to use Hirschman's words). Apart from delaying traffic flow and cargo delivery, stakeholders say that these barriers also promote corruption with traffic police using them for extortion purposes. This can be seen as some kind of “roi” in the system leading to poor service to shippers and transporters. With increasing competition between the northern and southern Corridor, it is feared that Mombasa may lose business to the southern corridor. Some truck drivers are said to spend up to three days at weigh bridges and check points while transporting transit cargo to neighbouring countries. To Hirschman, this too could be seen as deterioration or decline in the quality of service which is certainly going to lead to exit by conscious customers. It is reported that last year, shipper using the Kisumu Island Container Depot (ICD) also raised storm (voiced) over the numerous barriers which have continued to hinder free flow of traffic. Protests or voicing are usually meant to alert leaders of firms, organizations or the state to act on the deterioration but in the case of this example, was done to change the trend. Instead the number of check points and weigh bridges are reported to have increased in the recent past therefore increasing concern (voicing) among stakeholders forcing the Kenya Revenue Authority (KRA) to promise to take immediate measures to check the situation. The prolonged protest by some shippers can be interpreted to mean that these are the ones who do not want to leave (exit) from the port without first trying to try to correct the mess. They can be said to be those with special attachment (loyalty) to the port. Kenya Revenue Authority (KRA) Commissioner General Mr. John Munga says that the country's transport system needs to be streamlined to prevent traders from shifting (exiting) to other ports. He says that because of competitors, Durban in South Africa, Asmara (Eritrea) and Djibouti. The Commissioner General says that Kenya Revenue Authority has reason to worry if transport cargo is diverted (exited) to other ports, noting that this would greatly affect the country's revenue base. In this example, it is clear that deterioration in the quality of service lead to voicing which if it fails could lead to exit. It can also be interpreted to show that loyalty postpones exit as voice is given a trial. Voice, exit and loyalty can be observed in the agricultural sector in Kenya. It is usual to hear of protest (voicing) tea, coffee, maize, wheat, or pyrethrum farmers pressing for better prices. In the recent past, this has been the case with maize farmers in Uasin-Gishu and Trans Nzoia District and with Pyrethrum farmers throughout the country. The point the farmers were making is to do with losses resulting from high production costs and poor prices for their crops. Many maize and pyrethrum farmers threatened to quit (exit) farming the crops in protest

in order to push for better prices. The pyrethrum Board of Kenya responded to the protests by announcing a plan for payment of additional bonus to farmers. The Board lamented (voiced) that the protest would hurt its markets abroad and cited the board's failure to pay satisfactory bonus to be due to global economic recession. The September 11 terror attacks on the United States of America and the Board's old plants and machinery breaking from time to time, hence high running costs. The government in reaction to maize farmers's protests announces better prices through its cereal buying agent, the National Cereals and Produce Board. The reaction by the management in the case of pyrethrum and maize farming underlines the importance of voice in bringing about change. At the national level, members of trade unions dissatisfied with the services provided have exited to either join others or went ahead to form their own. A good example is the move by some secondary school teachers to abandon (exit from) Kenya National Union of Teachers (KNUT) to form Kenya Union of Post Primary Teachers (KUPPET). However, even as this happened not all teachers in secondary school moved out. Instead of switching, some remained and hoped to revitalize KNUT which they feel has lived to satisfy their interests. This is a situation of strong attachment to the Union. It is an act of Loyalty concepts can be seen in the case of Sacco societies. Many of them including Harambee and Afya cooperative Saccos have in the recent past failed to meet their members' demands for loans at the requested amounts and on time (a form of deterioration). While a good number of members have left (exited) after complaining (voicing) for a long time, there are those who have remained and ensured that the societies did not fall all together. These are the loyal members who would like to show the management that things are at a mess and should be correct. To Hirschman, it always involves the decision to remain with the deteriorating firm or organization and evaluating the chances of getting the firm or organization back on track (Hirschman, 1970:33) Protest (voicing) by doctors, nurses and teachers. At one time or another, these protests (voicing) have degenerated into violence. Teachers and indeed doctors and Nurses have at different times downed their tools (temporarily exited). Their complaints have usually centered on poor pay and other terms of service. They point at their deteriorating living conditions due to hard economic times. By participating in strikes, workers are actually voicing to the authorities concerned as part of bargaining so that they can resume working. It happened in the case of the doctors and nurses strikes and also the teachers in 1997 when the government gave them 44% salary increase and promised additional increments in phases. The Government did not honour its part of the bargain and that is why teachers through Kenya National Union of Teachers (KNUT) protested and issued threats of strike (exit). Nairobi city Council Nurses have also had their demands met after striking indicating the importance of voice and threats of exit in bringing about change in organizations. Many doctors in Government Hospitals have actually moved out (exited) from the public service for either private practice or have left the country for employment in countries like Botswana and South Africa where terms are better. This exit (brain drain) has worried the government which has protested at the rate at which doctors are leaving

the public service. The minister for medical services Mr. Maalim Mohammed says that less than 10% of locally trained doctors work in public hospitals. He says that due to the exodus of doctors seeking better pay outside the country, only 600 of the 6000 locally trained doctors worked in public hospitals. He complains that the brain drain had affected the provision of health services as public hospitals were experiencing a shortage of doctors. In response, the Minister says that the government was looking at the plight of doctors and nurses with a view to improving their terms of service and this has indeed happened when the government announced an increment for doctors' allowances to stem off the brain drain again indicating the importance of voicing and exit in forcing change. (Daily Nation, Monday, January 2, 2001) In some situations protests (voicing) have led to exit where response by the leadership has not been forthcoming. A good example can be seen when tenants leave (exit) from an estate because of insecurity, poor garbage collection systems, shortage of water, or poor maintenance of roads. This exiting occurs after a length of time of protesting (voicing). In some parts of Nairobi, the communities have formed their own security groups (vigilant) parallel to the state security agents (police) because their complaints for beefed security have not met a proper response. People therefore, move (exit) to secure their neighborhoods. Complaints (voicing) over poor infrastructure in some areas ended up forcing some people using their own resources (labour and financial) to improve their roads. Strikes or threats of same have also been applied in the transport industry in order to force some changes. For example, Matatus (mini buses) going on strikes (exiting) to force reduction of high insurance premiums by the association of Kenya Insurers. Retrenched civil servants have gone to court as a way of protesting (voicing) against the government; failure to pay them their final dues. Through the Kenya Retrenched Workers Association they say that their retrenchment in October, 2000 was discriminatory, illegal and null and void. The workers resorted to the court because of lack of response by government. This is a way of exiting because they have exhausted the use of voice. In the church, it is not uncommon to hear of protests (voicing) or wrangles over leadership or financial mismanagement. There are even cases where some members have exited to either join other churches or went ahead and formed their own. We usually read in Newspapers of amorous church leaders being excommunicated (forced to exit) because of involvement in adulterous relations with their flock. Some of them because of guilt may move out of the church to safe themselves embarrassment. Even with differences occurring in some churches, there are still those who do not leave but wait and give a chance for order to prevail. The church of God Buruburu is a case in point. It was engaged in a long power struggle that sometimes degenerated into open war between wrangling camps. In the face of this, members (loyal) could still attend Sunday services even under the protection of the police. Another example is the war of words (voicing) between Charles Njonjo and David Gitari over the latter's decision to divide Nairobi diocese of the Anglican Church into two dioceses. In spite of their differences they are both still in the church. This can be interpreted to be an act of loyalty. The school has also seen a lot of voicing, exiting and loyalty in play. We usually hear

of parents moving (exiting) their children from one school to another after attempts (voicing) to improve performance have failed. The blame is usually on the school administration for failing to effectively manage the schools, for misappropriating school funds and for failing to create a cordial working relationship between teachers, pupils, parents and school boards. The deterioration of the academic standards, quality education conscious parents exit but of course after failing to secure change through voicing. The state and the church have also been at odds in the way schools where both have interest should be run. A quote from one of the papers can make this clear "The Catholic Church closes six schools.' The Catholic Church has closed (exit from) six schools it sponsors in Mbere district to protest (voice) against the move by the Ministry of Education to transfer catholic heads from the institution. The church insists that the more than 400 pupils in the schools stay at home until the transfers are revoked " (Sunday Nation February 3, 2002). The unfortunate members of society including HIV/AIDS victims have used protest (voice) to fight against discrimination and isolation by other members of the society. There are situations where these have led to some victims committing suicide or leaving (exiting from) home completely due to the stigma attached to such illnesses. To illustrate this point, we take a quote from the Sunday Nation of December 2, 2001, 'Tears as victims tell of hardships. Thousands of people (Wananchi and dignitaries) were yesterday moved to tears by testimonies (voicing) of people living with AIDS'. Speaking at Nyayo National Stadium, Nairobi, the group of 14 men and women gave heart-rending stories of hardships they faced as they tried to cope with the killer virus. "We are still facing discrimination in our society. People have not stopped blaming us ... We are tired of people pointing fingers at us ..." Another group of Kenyans that has protested (voiced) against discrimination is women. The loudest protests were heard when parliament voted out a motion seeking to delimit the number of women representatives in the East African Parliament. Said Beth Mugo, " when I heard the Head of state say he does not support affirmative action and that the men who do so will regret it and swim in that confusion, I could not sleep. It is said that the president, the very person who is supposed to look after the welfare of all citizens was quite clear that he does not have any regard for women! He has deep hatred for women" (Sunday Nation, December 2, 2001). Women have complained (voiced) that those who have sought support on merit find it hard because of deep seated cultural barriers. In fighting for elective posts, women have no wealth and muscles. They begin from very weak positions. The rejection of affirmative action has led to a fresh look as whether Kenyan women really need it. Affirmative action is defined as 'techniques' to remedy existing and past discrimination and end such it. Women complain (voice) that they cannot get to high positions because of existing cultural barriers which have translated into political and economic powerlessness for women. They also complain (voice) that men use dirty language like ' prostitute' when a woman enters politics but they (women) do not respond in the same language. This can be seen as an act of loyalty to the men on the part of the women. Women leaders also lament that quite a large portion of Kenya women still believe that only men can lead (again an

act of loyalty). They say that it is a stereotype that has been instilled in them for generations. To many women, choosing a man is the natural thing to do. Gichugu Member of Parliament, Martha Karua points out (voices) that cultural expectations made it hard for women to compete and that matters are worse especially for single mothers. She laments (voices) that in spite of women making up more than 50% of the population, they still vote for men (loyalty). Dr. Julia Ojiambo says, "Men use their wealth, muscles and positions as providers to intimidate women to vote for men. Women are told they will be thrown out of their homes if they don't follow their husbands ' choices. You don't want your husband to throw you out because your brother will also throw you out of your parent's home. We comply. It is not that women don't like each other", she says" (Sunday Nation, December, 2001). This example is a very good illustration of act of voicing and loyalty. It shows how women in Kenya find it quite difficult to exit because of cultural values guiding their relationship with men. They are therefore bound to be loyal whether they like it or not.

5. Conclusion

It is now clear that exit, voice and loyalty theory explains many occurrences in our society on day to day basis. There is no sphere of household or national life that is not characterized by the occurrence of one or all the three concepts. The theory is therefore relevant to social dynamics as it rightly tries to explain phenomena.

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